

**SLAVERY AND THE 30 LARGEST SLAVEHOLDERS  
CARROLL COUNTY, TENNESSEE IN 1860  
Peggy Scott Holley**

**SLAVERY IN CARROLL COUNTY, TENNESSEE**

**Composition of the Carroll County Population in 1860 and 2020**

Chattel slavery had been in Carroll County for about 40 years at the time of the 1860 census. Some 13,373 free individuals (13,352 whites and 21 blacks) and 4,152 slaves made up the county population of 17,525 people. Enslaved blacks and mulattos made up about 24% of that total, or nearly 1 in every 4 people. Whites comprised about 76% of the population. The small free black population consisted of only 11 adults and 10 minors.<sup>1</sup>

By comparison, in the 2020 census the population of Carroll County totaled 28,440, or 10,915 more people than 160 years earlier. White inhabitants increased to 86.6%, up from 76%. Black inhabitants declined from 4,152 to 2,834, or only 10.1% of the population, down from 24% in 1860. The remaining small percentage in 2020 was “other,” a category uncounted for in the 1860 census.

**The Small Slaveholders in 1860**

The small slaveholders of the county greatly outnumbered the large owners. Within the 596 owners in the county, 566 held fewer than 20 people. Only 30 men owned 20 or more slaves. No woman owned 20 people in 1860. The widow Mary Jamison held 18 slaves, the most among the women. The widow Susan Fergus had owned 22 in 1850 but not in 1860.<sup>2</sup> In neighboring Henderson County, Elizabeth Harmon had 55 slaves, while two other women held 25 and 31.<sup>3</sup> The 95 women slaveholders in Carroll County held about 1/10<sup>th</sup> of the workers.<sup>4</sup> Thirteen women held 10 or more people, and 77 owned 9 or fewer. By contrast, in the 1836 Tax List only 8 women owned people.<sup>5</sup>

**The Acquisition of Slaves**

Women usually inherited or were gifted slaves rather than acquiring them by purchase. Most acquisitions came through wills. Husbands frequently transferred ownership of all or some of their workers to their wives at death. If no will existed a Tennessee wife inherited any family slaves for her lifetime or widowhood. Daughters inherited equally with sons if both parents died intestate.<sup>6</sup> Fathers often gave daughters slaves in dowries. Some fathers even included a proviso that the daughters could not transfer ownership of the workers to their husbands,<sup>7</sup> which hints of some distrust of certain sons-in-law.

---

<sup>1</sup> Occupations of the 8 adult women included maid (1), cook (2), washers and/or ironers (5). The 3 men worked as a day laborer, a tobacco roller and a boot and shoe maker. The boot and shoemaker, Amos Patterson, owned real estate worth \$1750. One of the washers had real estate valued at \$650 and another \$100. The others had no property.

<sup>2</sup> 1850 Carroll County Slave Schedule. Fergus, who was 75 in 1860, could not write her name, according to her application for bounty land on husband James Fergus' Revolutionary War service record, but owned 22 people.

<sup>3</sup> The widow, Elizabeth Harmon, however, died in 1855 so the number must be her estate.

<sup>4</sup> 1850 Slave Schedule for Carroll Co. Forty-one women held 239 slaves in their own right in 1850.

<sup>5</sup> Women owned 19 people (total). Delia Baucom (5), Rutha Chambliss (5), Mary Stone (4) and others 1 each.

<sup>6</sup> Caleb Perry Patterson, *The Negro in Tennessee, 1790-1865* (Austin, TX: The University of Texas, 1922), p. 53.

<sup>7</sup> Carroll County Slave Transcriptions, Book G, page 337. A 23 year old slave named Jake was to remain the property of Margaret B. A. Green. 3/07/1849.

Men purchased slaves far more frequently than women but they, also, acquired workers by gift and inheritance. Male owners of fewer than 20 slaves owned about 65% of the enslaved workers in the county. Few Carroll County wills gave the greater part of an estate to the oldest son. Dividing among all the children tended to break up large acquisitions into smaller holdings. Banks M. Burrows' will divided his large estate into eight pieces.

Most Carroll County wills divided property between both sons and daughters, even if sometimes unevenly. Few children found themselves disinherited. Only occasionally did an errant son or daughter receive a few token dollars or nothing.

The tendency toward increasingly smaller farms affected slave lives. By 1860 three-fourths of the captive peoples' owners had smaller farms and fewer workers. This led to greater contact between slave and owner, limited socialization with other slaves and increased the chance of being sold for owner debt.

## **THE PLANTERS**

### **The Thirty Owners of Twenty or More Slaves**

Some writers have suggested that to live an easy lifestyle a slave owner needed to own at least 20 slaves.<sup>8</sup> The author used this arbitrary number to find the men in the county with the most slaves and adopted the term "planter" to separate them from those with fewer than 20 workers. Using this number, no person in Carroll County in the 1836 Tax List would be considered a "planter." By 1850 fourteen men and one woman qualified. The Reverend Banks M. Burrow owned 64 slaves that year, the highest number known to be held by one person in county history. Burrows even referred to himself as a "planter" in his will. By 1860 the number of planters had doubled to 30.<sup>9</sup> Reverend Burrow having died in 1851, Stephen S. Pate and William H. Clay, each with 46 workers, held the highest number in 1860. The 30 "planters" comprise the main subjects of this study. As a group they held a total about 25% of the enslaved peoples in the county. Given their plantations rural settings and with a total county population of 17,525, one's chance of encountering one of these 30 men on a given day would be rather small.

The 30 planters collectively owned 907 people. Sixteen had 20-29 slaves, 8 had 30-39 and 6 had 40-46.<sup>10</sup> Even with 30 planters, Carroll County contained fewer large owners than neighboring Henderson County or Gibson County. Many other areas had not only more planters but also more slaves per plantation. Middle Tennessee had 25 planters with more than 100 slaves and one man with 300.<sup>11</sup> Compared to many other areas of the state and to the Deep South, the number of planters and slaves in Carroll and some nearby counties was comparatively small.<sup>12</sup>

### **The Location of the 30 Planters' Plantations**

---

<sup>8</sup> Even 20 slaves would not guarantee an easy life or that the owner would necessarily be richer than someone with fewer slaves or someone who ran a successful business. The owner's 20 slaves could be young and not yet capable of hard work.

<sup>9</sup> Some planters may have owned slaves in other counties as well. Those were not counted in this article.

<sup>10</sup> 1860 Carroll County Slave Schedule. Only 4 out of the 14 planters in 1850 remained on the 1860 list. Leroy Strayhorn, for example, died and left 32 slaves to his son(s) under the guardianship of Meredith H. Neal.

<sup>11</sup> Caleb Perry Patterson, *The Negro in Tennessee, 1790-1865* (Austin, TX: The University of Texas, 1922), 34-38.

<sup>12</sup> Adjacent Gibson County, TN had 1,033 slave owners. Forty-five owners held at least 20 workers, including three men with 65, 72 and 74 people. Henderson County had 35 planters, 23 owned 20-29 slaves, 10 owned 30-39, 1 owned 40, and 2 owned 50-55

A majority of the 1860 farms with slaves, and “plantations” with lots of slaves, stood in the north central, western and southwestern parts of the county. Fifteen planters had McMoresville, (the wealthiest town in the county),<sup>13</sup> as their closest post office. Five located closer to Huntingdon, (the County Seat). Four lived nearer to Hico, 3 to Macedonia, 1 to Cedar Grove, and 1 to Christmasville. Benjamin Nesbitt, near the Sandy Bridge Post Office, resided on the only plantation located in a district on the eastern border of the county. The majority of slave owners and slaves lived on the western side of an imaginary line drawn from the northeast corner to the southwest corner of the county. This area also contained the most Confederate leaning part of the county.<sup>14</sup>

### **The Origin of the Planters**

No planter in 1860 began life in Carroll County, which had been settled only about forty years. Residents over 40 came from either middle or eastern Tennessee, or some other state. Only four of the 30 planters began life in any part of Tennessee. The rest migrated to Carroll County from other southern states. Thirteen came from North Carolina, 8 from Virginia (mostly Halifax County), 2 from South Carolina, and 1 each from Alabama, Georgia and Kentucky. Ten arrived during the 1820s, eight in the 1830s, seven in the 1840s and five in the 1850s. The majority resided in the county for at least 10 years and some nearly 40 years by 1860.

### **The Age and Marital Status of the Planters**

In 1860 all the Carroll County planters had reached middle age or older with the exception of Fredrick Henderson and Sidney Baucom, both still in their thirties. Seven men were in their forties, 10 in their fifties, 10 in their sixties and the oldest being age 72. The majority of the men married in their 20s or 30s to women in their own age group. Three of those who remarried after their spouses died married teenage women. The three men who waited to marry until their 40s and 50s married women 20+ years younger. Nineteen men married only once, 9 married twice and 1 three times. One may have never been married or had been widowed or divorced for at least 20 years.

### **Participation of the Planters in Community Life**

All 30 planters farmed, of course, but many made time to hold public office, own businesses and/or serve in prominent positions in the communities and state. Valentine S. Allen and John Norman served as Tennessee State Senators and Yancey Bledsoe as a Tennessee State Representative. On the local level, Edward Gwinn held the post of County Court Clerk and John Norman as Circuit Court Clerk. Norman also held the offices of Sheriff, Justice of the Peace and County Judge. John Hillsman owned part of a retail business and Edward Gwinn a mill and a cotton gin. Reverend Abner Cooper sold railroad stock and James Adkisson served on the board for the Tennessee Central Railroad. Valentine Allen, Garland Snead and David Coleman seem to have served in the state militia. Planters Haynes, Fuqua, Hart, Gregory, Norman and Crawford all hired resident white overseers to supervise their plantations. Others likely used black overseers who would not be listed in the census. Slave ownership proved no hindrance to election to public office, business success, or religious appointments.

Most planters participated in the religious life of the county. Four out of the 30 served as ordained ministers. Samuel Clark and Robert Hurt preached for the Baptist while Reuben

---

<sup>13</sup> Sesquicentennial Booklet, “Business Directory of McMoresville,” p. 25.

<sup>14</sup> Peggy Holley, “Unionists in Eastern West Tennessee 1861-1865,” <http://7thtenncavusa.com>.

Burrow and Abner Cooper ministered to the Cumberland Presbyterians. Edward Gwinn and Edward Cooper served on the board of Bethel College, a Cumberland Presbyterian religious institution. Reverend Reuben Burrows held a chair in Systematic Theology at the same college. The Reedy Creek Baptist Church in McLemoresville, where planter Robert M. Hurt preached and William H. Clay attended, had 92 “colored” members, at least 8 of whom wore either the Hurt or Clay surname.<sup>15</sup> Of the planters known to attend church, 10 joined the Presbyterians, 7 the Baptist, 6 the Methodists, and 2 favored the Christian Church. Many churches, even in the South, had emancipation movements in the early 1800s. In its early days the Cumberland Presbyterian Church even denied membership to slaveholders. By the 1830s, however, most southern churches defended the system. Little evidence has been found that any of the planters, their fellow Christians or neighbors felt that buying, selling and holding human beings as forced laborers violated Christian ethics or the command to “Do unto others as you would have them do unto you.”

### **The Planters and the Civil War**

The price of rebellion proved high both personally and financially for the 30 Carroll County planters. At least 34 of their sons fought in the Confederate Army,<sup>16</sup> as well as several grandsons and sons-in-law. Six of these died and several more sustained wounds. Although ownership of twenty slaves exempted men from conscription,<sup>17</sup> planters John J. Crawford and John H. Hillsman joined the regular Confederate Army. Crawford died in federal prison but Hillsman survived the war. Valentine S. Allen enlisted in Tennessee State Troops and procured supplies for the rebel military. He, however, became ill, surrendered, took “the oath” and ended up living out the war in one of his former slave cabins on his ransacked plantation.<sup>18</sup>

Since the planters resided in a war zone, their persons and property suffered damage and pillage from both armies, as well as from gorilla and bushwhacker groups. The rich had the most supplies to command so posed ready targets. Some slaves took advantage of the nearness to Union Army lines and ran away, leaving farms with fewer workers. Williamson Younger, whose slaves Moses and Jack went to the Union troops at Humboldt, wrote that fellow West Tennesseans from the 7<sup>th</sup> TN Cavalry (local Union regiment) encouraged slaves to leave their masters.<sup>19</sup> The Union established camps for runaway slaves in West Tennessee at East Memphis, Grand Junction, Bolivar, Jackson and Somerville.<sup>20</sup> Henry Sparks, slave of planter Isaac Sparks, ran away and managed to join the US Colored Troops in Columbus, Ky.

A few of the planters may have been pro-Union or neutral. Samuel Hawkins had sons and a grandson in the Union Army. Four of the planters filed Loyalist Claims after the war. David Coleman took “the oath” early in the war but he had sons who fought for the Confederacy. The most outspoken Unionist, John Norman, acted in support of the Federal cause throughout the war and came out of the war in better economic and political shape than many.

---

<sup>15</sup> Unpublished records of the Reedy Creek Baptist Church can be accessed at the Tennessee State Archives or the Gordon Browning Library in McKenzie.

<sup>16</sup> Many likely had older sons who fought but were no longer at home by the 1850 census.

<sup>17</sup> Confederate Conscription Act of 1862.

<sup>18</sup> G. T. Ridlon, *History of the Ancient Ryedales*, part 2, published by the author, 1884, p. 504-5.

<sup>19</sup> Williamson Younger, *The West Tennessee Historical Society Papers*, “The Diary of Williamson Younger,” v. 13, 1959, p. 60.

<sup>20</sup> Bobby L. Lovett, “Contraband Camps,” *Tennessee Encyclopedia*, University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville, TN. Online Edition, 2002-2021.

Turning from the Carroll County planters themselves, we examine the value of their plantations at the time when slavery reached its height in the early 1860s and compare that period to the times after the Civil War and Emancipation.

## **A COMPARISON OF THE PLANTERS' PROPERTY IN 1850, 1860 AND 1870**

### **The Census Figures**

The combined value of a plantation owner's "Personal Estate" and "Real Estate," constituted the non-specie wealth of a planter. The 1850 census recorded only an estimate for "Real Estate" value, but the 1860 and 1870 censuses contain both categories. The property owner, however, made the estimates and informed the census taker so the figures should be considered with some skepticism. A person might like to brag or might prefer others not know his business. These estimates, however, constitute the only figures available. The numbers might be deceptive to the modern reader due to the high rate of inflation in the United States since the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. For comparison, one US dollar in 1860 had the purchasing power of about \$31.00 and \$1,000 would be about \$31,000.00 in 2020/21. The more current value of amounts from the census or other source mentioned in this paper follows in parenthesis. The number changes daily. To update use the site below.<sup>21</sup> Census numbers do not include money in the bank, hidden under the mattress, or gold buried in the yard but only the estimated value of property, if sold. Planters usually tended to be richer in land and possessions than cash,<sup>22</sup> as much of their capital went to purchase people.

### **The "Personal Estates" of the Carroll County Planters**

The census category "Personal Estate" consisted of the estimated value of the household goods, farm equipment, wagons, farm animals and slaves, plus any other objects capable of being moved to another location.<sup>23</sup> Slaves constituted the most valuable movable asset, as clearly demonstrated in wills and by a comparison of slave owners' personal estate numbers with those of non-slaveholders.

The age, fitness and sex of an individual slave determined his or her economic value. In 1860 a male in his or her prime could cost \$1,000 (\$30,890.84) or more.<sup>24</sup> Planter James H. Harrell's personal property evaluation, the highest among the planters in Carroll County in 1860, totaled \$57,160 (\$1,765,686.17) and included the value of 36 slaves. The high evaluation suggests Harrell possessed many adults.<sup>25</sup> Although Stephen Pate and William H. Clay had 10 more slaves at the time, their personal estates of \$48,208 (\$1,489,156.74)<sup>26</sup> and \$42,907 (\$1,325,407.57), received lower assessment due to the number of young children.<sup>27</sup> Sidney Baucom's low evaluation of only \$16,000 (\$494,243.86) even with 23 slaves resulted from his having 18 children age 12 or younger and only 5 adults. Four females of childbearing age help

---

<sup>21</sup> The calculator below was used throughout the paper to figure current value at the time of the writing in 2021-22. The number can be updated at <https://www.officialdata.org/us/inflation/1860?amount=16000>.

<sup>22</sup> Maury County Tennessee Wills, Vol. 1, Bk B:1810-1825, "Isaac Roberts." Roberts, father of planter Samuel Hawkins' wife, owned 14 slaves but had only \$800 in cash to dispense in his will.

<sup>23</sup> City property would be similar.

<sup>24</sup> Carroll County Slave Transactions. Twenty males and 3 females bought \$1000 or more on the local market from 1847-1865.

<sup>25</sup> Harrell's 1860 slave list was unreadable but in 1850 he had 7 adults, 7 age 10-19 and 6 age 9 and under

<sup>26</sup> Pate had 26 children ages 1 to 9 years within his 46 slaves in 1860.

<sup>27</sup> Clay had 23 children 12 years old and under within his 46 slaves in 1860.

explain the large percentage of children. Images of plantations with children 12 and under comprising half or more of the slaves seldom comes to mind nor does the fact that females in Carroll made up slightly over half of the slaves (2018 males, 2143 females).<sup>28</sup> Since the 1808 embargo on importation of slaves into the country births among the slave women became the only legal way of increasing the pool of available forced workers.

Workers could, of course, be bought from other slave owners who fell into debt or who needed cash. Auctions, especially of those slaves being sold for owner debts, often took place on the Huntingdon Court House steps with the local sheriff in charge, at times that sheriff being planter John Norman. Some of the other planters served as lawyers for the settlement of estates and arranged for the sale of the slaves involved.

In addition to local slave sales, both Nashville and Memphis had large slave markets. One of the eight markets in Memphis belonged to Nathan Bedford Forrest from 1854-1858, before he joined the military.<sup>29</sup> An historic marker stands at the site. An account survives of a Carroll County slave family taken in a gang to Memphis. The market sold the mother, father, daughter Jane, daughter Mary and Mary's baby separately. Mary ended up with a new owner in Milan, Tennessee and Jane in Holly Springs, Mississippi. Jane, whose granddaughter told her grandmother's story to a government official, never saw any of her family again but did later learn the location of her sister from a friend.<sup>30</sup> Very few such stories have survived. Finding one about Carroll County was serendipitous.

Indications suggest that some owners of 10 or fewer people may have been experiencing sufficient financial difficulty in the decade before the Civil War to be forced into selling some or all of their slaves. This can be seen in a perusal of the local "Slave Transactions" for that decade<sup>31</sup> and in a look at the 2<sup>nd</sup> district of Carroll County. Out of 45 small owners in that district in the 1850 census, 19 left the county before 1860, 15 of those remaining lost or sold some of their slaves. Only 11 owners gained slaves.

In the same decade (1850-1860), the 30 planters in the county with the most slaves added 350+ forced laborers to their plantations.<sup>32</sup> John T. Fuqua added the most with 22 additions in those 10 years. The average acquisition per planter numbered 17 new people. Only three planters lost slaves. James Greer lost 7, James McDonald 2 and Yancey Bledsoe gave away or sold a total of 20 slaves, seemingly having financial problems and/or beginning to feel his mortality. He died 4 years later and may have been insolvent. Bledsoe had been one of the largest slaveholders in 1850, holding 58 people, 12 more than anyone else owned in 1860. All in all the 1850s proved to be boom years for most of the 30 Carroll County planters. Bledsoe seems to have been an exception.

The Civil War in the 1860s brought an end to the boom. Emancipation dealt a severe economic blow to slave owners since they lost not only the services of their workers but also their invested capital. The total "Personal Estate" in 1860 for 28 of the planters amounted to \$890,433 (\$27,656,741), an average of \$31,801 (\$992,731) per planter. In the 1870 census, the movable property of 22 planters totaled only \$77,550 (\$1,533,838), an average loss of \$3,525 (\$69,719.93) per planter. Although personal wealth declined drastically for these men, most

---

<sup>28</sup> 1860 Slave Census for Carroll County.

<sup>29</sup> Smithsonian Magazine, "Smart News," March 8, 2018.

<sup>30</sup> Virginia Davis to Irene Robertson, interviewer in the WPA "Slave Narratives from the Confederacy." After emancipation Jane Cash, grandmother of Virginia Davis and source of the story, moved to Arkansas.

<sup>31</sup> <http://genealogytrails.com/tenn/carroll/deedslaveg-i.html>

<sup>32</sup> Five of the planters came to the county after 1850.

remained far better off than the average citizen in Carroll County due to the value of their extensive real estate holdings.

### **The “Real Estate” Holdings of the Carroll County Planters**

The value of the “Real Estate” category in the census depended on the quality, size and location of the person’s acreage plus anything else unmovable from the premises, such as houses, slave cabins, barns and other outbuildings. Among the planters in 1860 the most valuable real estate, that owned by Rev. Samuel P. Clark in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Civil District near McLemoresville, had a value of \$37,500 (\$1,158,384.04). Sidney Baucom, the youngest planter, had real estate worth only \$1000 (\$33,049.40). Before the war (1860) the value of the planters’ real estate proved lower than the value of their personal property in all 30 cases. After the war (1870) the situation reversed. Personal property estimates fell drastically due to the emancipation of the workers but real estate value held.

As to the buildings on the planters’ real estate, even the richer people in Carroll and surrounding counties in 1860 usually lived in log or log and weathered board (frame) houses. A typical house for a prosperous farmer would be a four to six room, one or two story structure with a kitchen in the back.<sup>33</sup> The houses tended to look very similar. Few houses with large Greek columns, such as found in the Deep South, existed before the war. The planters usually built their homes on large acreages away from other buildings except their own barns, smokehouses and cabins for slaves.

In 1860 Carroll County had 931 slave cabins for 4,152 slaves.<sup>34</sup> This averages a little over 4 inhabitants per cabin. A typical size of a one “family” cabin measured 16X20 feet and a two “family” 36X14 feet.<sup>35</sup> The author has been unable to discover any slave cabins remaining in the county.

In 1860 the combined worth of the “Real Estate” of the 28 planters for whom data is available, came to \$348,575 (\$10,881,461.58) for an average of \$12,449 (\$388,620.28) per plantation. Since the Federal Government chose not to confiscate the property of rebels, farmers and planters retained their acreage and buildings after the war. Twenty-two former planters still held property in the county in 1870.<sup>36</sup> That year the reported value of the real estate of the majority of planters had declined from its 1860 high but less than might be expected. Their holdings averaged \$12,084 (\$239,005.84) per plantation as compared to \$12,449 (\$388,620.28) in 1860. The value of the real estate of Stephen Pate, Garland Snead, Dabney Wingo, John H. Hillsman and Sidney Baucom actually increased in value during the war and early postwar years. These estimated figures represented only the assumed worth of possessions if sold. After the war even with valuable land the planters would need gold or US dollars on hand or in the bank to pay bills and hire workers, Confederate money no longer having value.

## **THE PLANTERS AND FREEDMEN AFTER THE CIVIL WAR**

### **The Freedmen Search for Gainful Employment**

---

<sup>33</sup> Gustavus W. Dyer and John Trotwood Moore, Compilers, The Tennessee Civil War Veterans Questionnaires, Southern Historical Press, 1985 contains descriptions of the homes of soldiers’ parents.

<sup>34</sup> “1860 Slave Schedule” for Carroll County, TN.

<sup>35</sup> Caleb Perry Patterson, The Negro in Tennessee, 1790-1865 (Austin, TX: The University of Texas, 1922), 34-38.

<sup>36</sup> Eight planters died in the 1860s.

Emancipation meant the freedmen lost their food and housing plus they had no reserves of food or cash. Few opportunities for paid work materialized. Many took anything offered or starved. The 1870 census shows some freedmen still living adjacent to their former owners. Rather than a demonstration of affection, they more likely sharecropped the former owners land or worked the land for no more than lodging and food. Even with little or no money the planters could find laborers. Two government interviews with former Carroll County slaves illustrate the problem.

Andrew Gregory, born a slave on the George Houston <sup>37</sup> farm in Carroll County, answered questions after the war about his family's experiences during slavery. His father, a former slave on planter Tilman Gregory's plantation, told his son that freedom "wasn't much better than bein' owned." The family had to "work or starve." The white population "didn't keep nobody from starving." The Gregory family left the county and settled in Brindley, Arkansas after they heard rumors of available land there.<sup>38</sup> In 2020 Brindley remained a primarily black town.

Mary Divine, a former slave of Jacob H. Whitehorn of the 11<sup>th</sup> district, told a government interviewer how the wage system cheated the freedmen.<sup>39</sup> She said white people promised to pay workers but instead housed them in old slave cabins, gave them enough food to enable them to work but seldom paid them. Planter Valentine "Sub" Allen told Divine's mother, Mary Whitehorn, he would pay \$1 per week (\$17.25) but refused to pay when the daughter became ill and he had to call a doctor.<sup>40</sup> Divine and her mother moved on from farm to farm always hoping to be paid. "We had nobody down in dat country to make folks keep dere word and pay a n\_\_\_\_, so we just have to keep on travelin'." Mary Divine left Carroll County and eventually found work in a nut factory in St. Louis, Missouri.<sup>41</sup>

Many freedmen found Carroll County an inhospitable environment and "kept on traveling." As mentioned earlier, the black population of 4,173 in 1860 shrank to only 2,457 by 2020.

## Deaths of the Planters

Eight of the 30 planters died during the decade of the 1860s. In this era men often died young and the war made life even more difficult. Tilman Gregory died first, immediately before Tennessee left the Union. Benjamin Nesbitt, Yancey Bledsoe and John J. Crawford died in the last two years of the war. James McDonald, Samuel Hawkins, Dabney Wingo and Reuben Burrow survived the war but died before 1870. Four of these eight men reached their 70s, two their 60s and two only made it to their 50s. Seven of the eight died of natural causes as far as known. John J. Crawford, however, died in the military. The 53 year old planter joined the Confederate Army, fell prisoner to Colonel Isaac R. Hawkins of Carroll County,<sup>42</sup> and died in the Union prison at Rock Island, Illinois.<sup>43</sup>

---

<sup>37</sup> Andrew Gregory recalled that George Houston, the 37 year old owner of six slaves, was at a neighbor's house when war was declared. Houston jumped up and said "I'm gonner be the first to kill a Yankee." then died.

<sup>38</sup> Slave Narrative of Andrew Gregory at <https://www.loc.gov/resource/mesn.023/?sp=113>

<sup>39</sup> Ex-Slave Stories, Library of Congress, #240202. The site is not very well organized and difficult to navigate.

<sup>40</sup> We know that Allen had to sell some of his property to pay debts so money must have been very tight.

<sup>41</sup> Ex-Slave Story of Mary Divine. Library of Congress.

<sup>42</sup> Colonel Ike Hawkins of the 7<sup>th</sup> Tennessee Cavalry was the son of planter Samuel Hawkins.

<sup>43</sup> Johnson, Frank White, "A History of Texas and Texans," vol. 3, 1914. Article by Crawford's son. No record has been found of Crawford's enlistment, capture or death, except for his son's memory of his father.



David Coleman, killed by marauders in 1870, became the first of the seven planters who died in the 1870s. William H. Clay, John Norman and Edward Gwinn died in 1874, Fredrick Henderson in 1876, Valentine Allen in 1877 and Isaac Sparks in 1878. Five of the six had reached their 70s but one only made 58. All but Coleman appear to have died of natural causes.

The 1880s began with the death of Rev. Samuel P. Clark, then of John T. Fuqua and James Harrell in 1882. Stephen S. Pate and John J. Burrow succumbed in 1887 and Albert Warren in 1889. Four of these men had reached their 70s and two their 80s.

The 1890s saw the last known deaths of the 1860 Carroll County planters. Robert M. Hurt went first in 1890, Abner Cooper in 1891, John H. Hilsman and John Haynes in 1892 plus Sidney Baucom and Garland Snead in 1895. No date of death has been found for James Greer or James Adkisson but it appears that no planter from 1860 lived into the 1900s as these last two would have been well over 100.

### **The Planters Final Resting Places**

One somehow assumes that rich, powerful people will have large memorials in very public places to ensure their legacies but a search for the burial plots of the 30 planters located only 24. Of those found, seven men, or their families, chose public city cemetery burial. Six more opted for cemeteries connected with the churches to which they belonged. The monuments in the public and church cemeteries tend to be larger and sites better maintained than the small family cemeteries on private property. Only six memorials seem as impressive one might expect.

The richest planter, James H. Harrell, presumably rests in the Paris City Cemetery in Henry County, TN within a large enclosure surrounded by a wrought iron fence and a gate with "J. H. Harrell" written on it. Strangely he has no tombstone in the enclosure. Albert S. Warren and his wife share a tall stele in the Clark Cemetery in Huntingdon. The stones of the three ministers, Samuel P. Clark, Abner Cooper and Reuben Burrow, bear notice. Clark's monument in Gibson County, TN has apparently been moved and no longer stands over his body which lies under an addition to a church building. Cooper and Burrow have large stones in the big McLemoresville Cemetery. The Cumberland Presbyterian Church erected Burrow's more modern monument years after his death.

Twelve planters lie buried, or are said to lie buried, in family cemeteries on or near their former properties. Benjamin Nesbitt has an ornate stone in the very impressive Nesbitt family cemetery but the tombstones in family cemeteries generally tend to be small or medium sized and the grounds poorly maintained. The unkempt Snead's Cemetery contains Garland Snead's small, broken stone. Yancey Bledsoe once had a stone in the Bledsoe Family Cemetery #2 but the area has been grated over by a later owner of the land. Robert Hurt had a stone in the Hurt Cemetery but it disappeared. Family cemeteries often exist in inaccessible areas on property no longer in the family. No agency checks to see if the sites receive attention or even if someone destroys them. The author failed to find stones or even references to burial sites for James Adkisson, Fredrick Henderson, James Greer, Valentine Allen, John Fuqua, and John J. Crawford.

### **Burial Places of the Slaves and Freedmen**

If six rich planters grave sites proved impossible to find think how many slaves and freedmen lie in unmarked graves or graves marked only by rocks. The Adkisson plantation slave graveyard can still be located by a few people but the fieldstones which formerly marked the

interments have disappeared and the location may soon be forgotten.<sup>44</sup> Given the many slaves who lived in the county between 1820 and 1863, many, many sites have already been lost. Most of the known black cemeteries currently in use began several years after emancipation. A few former slaves lived long enough, and had enough money for a marker, to be buried in one of these. The burial places of others can sometimes be found on death certificates and funeral home records.

### **Surviving Reminders of the Planters**

The surnames of the planters survive around the county in several ways. There remains a Gwinn's Creek, a pre-Civil War Gwinn house,<sup>45</sup> an area called Gwinn Switch, and a Gwinn Cemetery. In Trezevant there is a Wingo Chapel, Wingo Lane, Wingo Circle, Clay Farm Road, Clay Street, and Adkisson Street. Nesbitt Circle is in Hollow Rock. Warren Road is near Trezevant. Pate Road, Hawkins Creek Road and Hawkins Lane are in Huntingdon and there is a Harrell Street in McLemoresville. Clark Lane is in Lavinia, Clark Place and Clark Street in McKenzie, plus Haynes Street, and Pate Alley. The Bledsoe, Gwinn, Wingo, Nesbitt, Clay, Coleman, Hurt, Hawkins, Burrow and Clay are all surviving, but not all well-kept, family cemeteries in the area.

## **SHORT BIOGRAPHIES OF THE 30 PLANTERS**

### **Introduction to the Biographies**

In 1860 in Carroll County 596 people owned slaves. If your ancestors resided in this county before the Civil War, some of them most likely owned people, as did some of the author's. Our ancestors, especially at that late date, should not be excused by saying "everyone thought it right." The North and much of the civilized world had already abolished slavery. By this time the South knew very well that many people condemned the practice.

These biographies of the 30 planters focus primarily on the men's personal connection to the institution of slavery, a part of their lives seldom mentioned in family histories. Not intended to be exhaustive, these bios examine the arrival of the men in Carroll County, the expansion of their slave and property holdings before the Civil War, their personal connections to the Civil War, the effect of the war and emancipation on their postwar lives and deaths. The bios also include any available information about the identification, treatment and fate of their former workers that might aid those looking for information on slave ancestors. They also look at the rate blacks with the planters' surnames left the area.<sup>46</sup> The family information given in the bios below reflects the general agreement arrived at by surname researchers and should be used only for general identification. It is not the author's personal research and no footnotes are given as information concerning the originator of family information in most cases no longer exists. The order of presentation descends from persons with the most slaves (46) to those with 20. The 30 men below had a large part in expanding the use of forced labor in Carroll County in its early years.

---

<sup>44</sup> Jonathan K. T. Smith, "Tombstone Inscriptions From Black Cemeteries in Carroll Co., TN." internet.

<sup>45</sup> Martin, Jason, "The Gwin Family." The McKenzie, Tennessee Banner on the internet at <https://www.mckenziebanner.com/stories/the-gwin-family,4639>

<sup>46</sup> Former slaves were not required to keep their owners surname but many did. Women often took their husbands' names so the connection to their former holder is lost.

## **An Observation on the “Idyllic” Lives of the Planters**

Romanticizing the Old South can be tempting, at least to white people. To some it sounds idyllic to have slaves to do one’s bidding, to live in a charming old house, to espouse a “Lost Cause,” while wearing picturesque clothing and drinking mint juleps. Later generations fail to remember the terror, especially on isolated plantations, of a possible “uprising” by enslaved people who very often outnumbered those in the “big house.” The fear comes from knowing the people one holds captive might strike back. Even the children sense the possibility without being told. The following quotation comes from the opening of the memoir “War Leaflets” by the Anna Cole Hawkins, daughter of Richmond Cole, a Carroll County holder of 15 slaves and cousin to planter Garland Sneed. Asked to recount her childhood memories, the very first thing she recalls is her fear of retaliation by the slaves.

“My earliest recollection of the public affairs date back to the time of the execution of John Brown at Harper’s Ferry in Virginia. I can remember the dark oppressive fears we children had of the negroes rising, as it was called.

We could see no special reason for these fears. My Father owned some negroes and in daytime it seemed impossible to associate such thoughts and suspicions with the familiar, satisfied, sable faces that surrounded us, but when night came we would assemble in a corner by the fireside and talk, and tell in whispers of how the negroes were holding secret meetings everywhere in the South, planning and thirsting for our blood.

We pictured in our childish imagination how they would come at the dark hour of midnight, armed with hoes, axes, and clubs to knock down, drag out and slay on every side as they came to us.

Our parents never talked such things to us but the fear was there. We would go to sleep with it in nervous terror.”

## **THE BIOGRAPHIES OF THE 30 PLANTERS**

**STEPHEN SWEENEY PATE** was born in 1799 to Stephen and Honor Sweeney Pate of Richmond County, NC, early settlers in what became McKenzie, TN. Stephen Sweeney Pate married Rebecca Randle about 1825 and by 1830 lived in the 12<sup>th</sup> District of Weakley County with his wife, 2 small children, and 2 slaves.<sup>47</sup> His father, who owned 5 slaves in 1836, died in 1839 and may have left him slaves or proceeds from their sale. Pate also presumably received a part of the proceeds from the sale of his father’s 155 acre home place and 67 1/2 acre lot, which the family advertised for sale in July 1839.<sup>48</sup> His father-in-law Mearitt Randall, who owned 9 slaves in 1836, also died in 1839 and left an inheritance of \$400 to his daughter. Randall specified, however, it be held for her by someone other than her husband and paid to her only in person.<sup>49</sup> By the 1840 census Pate owned 13 slaves.<sup>50</sup> In August 1844 Pate acquired 246 plus more acres of land in Weakley County.<sup>51</sup> In the 1845 tax list there he owned 4 slaves worth \$2,100 (\$76,801.00). In 1850 Pate estimated the value of his estate as \$3000 (\$106,903.00) yet the Slave Schedule attributed an incredible 29 slaves to him.<sup>52</sup> This does not compute. Some

---

<sup>47</sup> 1830 Census of Weakley Co., TN.

<sup>48</sup> “Huntingdon Advertiser,” v. 1, #. 1, July 5, 1839.

<sup>49</sup> Carroll County, TN Will Book A, “Mearitt Randall.” p. 75. Randall apparently did not trust his son-in-law.

<sup>50</sup> Seven males were under 10 years old, 1 male 24-36, 2 females under 10 and 3 females 10-24.

<sup>51</sup> “Ansearchin” News, West Tennessee Genealogical Society, vol. 19, No. 1, 1972, p. 756.

<sup>52</sup> 1850 Slave Schedule Weakley Co., TN. Eighteen were male and 11 female. Seventeen were 12 and under.

windfall must have come his way that so far is yet to be discovered or the tax list or 1850 census errs. In 1850 no Pates lived in Carroll County. By the 1860 census the 60 year old Stephen S. Pate and his 45 year old brother Richmond Love Pate both moved their families from Weakley County to near McKenzie in Carroll County.<sup>53</sup> Stephen Pate brought along his 26 year old 2<sup>nd</sup> wife, the former Elizabeth Cox Huff, whom he married in 1854. By 1860 an additional 17 slaves brought his total enslaved people to 46.<sup>54</sup> This placed him in a tie with William Henry Clay for the most slaves in Carroll County held by a single owner in the period shortly before the Civil War. Pate held a large number of very young children on his plantation, 26 of the 46 slaves being under the age of 9 years,<sup>55</sup> some undoubtedly plantation births. The value of his real estate in 1860, which included not only the land, but the family home, 7 slave cabins, and other outbuildings, totaled \$19,000 (\$586,914.58). His personal estate, which included his slaves, came to \$48,208 (\$1,489,156.74). Pate's total worth in 1860 came to \$67,208 (\$2,098,031.33), up from supposedly only \$3000 (\$106,903.00) 10 years earlier. At least two of his sons served in the Confederate Army and survived. Ten years after the war Pate named a son Jefferson Davis so he clearly supported the rebellion. By 1870 the value of his real estate had risen to \$25,000 (\$489,301.53), having increased even during the Civil War and the 5 years following. His personal estate, however, fell to only \$2,000 (\$39,144.12) in the same period, reflecting the loss of his slaves. His property value still totaled \$27,000 (\$534,024.96). The 70 year old Pate again remarried, this time to 25 year old Winnie Rebecca Baxter. In the 1870 census two white and two black families appear to be farm hands living on Pate's land. One of the black families had the Pate surname.<sup>56</sup> Stephen S. Pate died in 1887 at age 88. The Pate family appears to have been connected to the Enon (later Salem) Baptist Church, having given land both for the church building and a burial ground. Some think Pate might be buried there but no marker exists for him or his wives. In the 1870 Carroll County census 30 blacks had the surname Pate.<sup>57</sup> By 1880 only 15 black Pates remained in the county. The 38 white Pates still resident result, at least partially, from Stephen's 3 marriages to younger women and his continuing to sire children into his mid 70s.

**WILLIAM HENRY CLAY** was born on February 14, 1799 in Halifax County, VA.<sup>58</sup> of uncertain parentage. In 1848 he arrived in Carroll County aged about 47, along with his 20 year younger wife Susan Ann Brooks Clay and 4 young children. Elizabeth Clay Bomar age 77 who lived with the family in 1850 may be his mother.<sup>59</sup> No white family with the surname Clay, except that of William Henry Clay, resided in Carroll County in the 1850 census. In that year Clay owned 30 slaves (12 adults, 2 teens, 16 children),<sup>60</sup> and real estate estimated at \$4000 (\$135,834, 36). He added an astonishing 16 more people by 1860 for a total of 46 slaves, which he housed in 6 cabins. Some of the additional 16 probably came from plantation births rather than the slave market. In 1860 the value of Clay's real estate reached \$18,400 (\$568,380.43) and

---

<sup>53</sup> Slave Schedules 1850 and 1860 Weakley Co, TN shows R L Pate with 13 slaves in 1850 and 15 in 1860

<sup>54</sup> Slave Schedule 1850 for Weakley County and 1860 for Carroll County, TN.

<sup>55</sup> Pate had 14 males and 12 females with ages from 1 to 9 years, 5 males and 3 females from 10-19, 6 males and 1 female from 20-29, 1 males and 2 females from 30-39 and 2 females from 50-59.

<sup>56</sup> Charles and Ann Pate still resided in Carroll County in 1880 when most of the black Pates had left.

<sup>57</sup> At least six of Clay Freedmen seem connected to Richmond Love Pate, brother to Stephen S Pate, who held 15 slaves at one point.

<sup>58</sup> "Whig and Tribune," Jackson, TN, September 5, 1874 and tombstone Clay Cemetery, Atwood, TN.

<sup>59</sup> Elizabeth Clay Bomar (1770-1860) wife of Fielding Bomar of Halifax Co, VA is buried in Clay Cemetery.

<sup>60</sup> Clay owned 8 adult females of whom 6 were of childbearing age and 6 adult males ages 70, 60, 40, 37, 35, 27.

his personal estate (including his slaves) came to \$42,907 (\$1,319,291.30) for a total property value of \$61,307 (\$1,913,819.88). Five years after the Civil War (1870) the value of Clay's real estate had declined to \$17,000 (\$332,725.04). His big loss, however, occurred in his personal estate which sank<sup>61</sup> to \$4000 (\$78,288.24), due primarily to the loss of slaves. His total property value stood at \$ 21,000 (\$415,352.75). Clay's position on the civil rebellion remains unknown. That he remained wealthy after the war can be seen in his investment and appointment as a commissioner, along with fellow planter John Norman, in a railroad company startup in 1867, only 2 years after the war's end.<sup>62</sup> A one time member of the Reedy Creek Baptist Church, something caused his exclusion from the group. His wife, Susan Ann Brooks Clay and 4 slaves, Sarah, Susan, Selma and Robert, remained members.<sup>63</sup> Four freedmen farmhands and their families (24 individuals) with the surname Clay still lived near William Henry Clay in 1870 and likely still worked his land. Robert Clay, head of one of the families, might be the Robert who attended Reedy Creek Baptist Church. Clay's two story house stood near Atwood (2020). An older picture of the house shows impressive Greek columns, a feature seldom seen in plantation houses in Carroll County.<sup>64</sup> Clay's last child arrived when he was 70 years old. He died near McLemoresville on August 24, 1874 at an "advanced age" (77) after a long decline. His Masonic stone stands in the small Clay family cemetery in Atwood, TN. His obituary lauded his integrity, generosity, hospitality, nobility, morality and purity of life.<sup>65</sup> His slaves might have disagreed about his hospitality and generosity. Sons John Henry and William Edward served as his executors and received \$135 for their trouble. The 1880 census lists his 61 year old widow with five of her grown children still at home. Forty-two blacks used the Clay surname in 1870 and 43 in 1880. Since no other white Clay family lived in Carroll County from 1850 to 1880 it follows that many older blacks listed in the 1870 and 1880 censuses with the surname Clay once worked the William Henry Clay plantation.

**EDWARD GWINN** was born in 1799 in Sumner County, Tennessee to John and Sarah Donnell Gwinn, who moved to Carroll County by 1821<sup>66</sup>. Both son and father, a Revolutionary war veteran, received appointments as two of the first Justices of the Peace of the county, even though the son was only in his early 20s. Edward Gwinn also served as Chairman of the first County Court and held the office of clerk for several years.<sup>67</sup> In trouble with the law himself by September 1822, the first Grand Jury of the county issued a presentment against him for an assault and battery "on the body of a woman slave, the property of Samuel McCorkle."<sup>68</sup> The outcome of this intriguing presentment remains unknown. Both men continued to serve together as members of the Grand Jury. Gwinn married Margaret Webb Bowden in Carroll County in 1824 and reportedly had, or raised, enough money to build the first hotel in the county. The 1836 tax list credits him with 9 slaves, 1 town lot and 1800 acres. In 1838 R. E. C. Dougherty, a large landowner, hired him to sell all his Tennessee holdings which must have been a lucrative

---

<sup>61</sup> The Statutes at Large of the United States, etc, 47<sup>th</sup> Congress, Vol. 22, p. 676.

<sup>62</sup> Acts Passed at the General Assembly of the state of Tennessee, 1<sup>st</sup> Session, 35<sup>th</sup> General Assembly 1867-68, p. 37

<sup>63</sup> Reedy Creek Baptist Church Records. Gordon Browning Museum, McKenzie, TN.

<sup>64</sup> Picture posted on Facebook by Brent Cox.

<sup>65</sup> "Whig and Tribune," Jackson, TN, September 5, 1874 and August 29, 1874.

<sup>66</sup> Pension Papers of John Gwinn.

<sup>67</sup> Goodspeed, Carroll Co, TN, Biography of Edward's son R. D. Gwinn and "Settlement," Sesquicentennial Booklet, p. 6- 7.

<sup>68</sup> Goodspeed History of Tennessee, Carroll, Henry and Benton Counties Tennessee quoting court records.

undertaking.<sup>69</sup> In 1848 Gwinn transferred ownership of his slaves Lavinia and her children, namely Forty (age 15), Sylvia (age 7), Marion (age 4) and Stephen (age 2), to his brother, James Madison Gwinn, in Holmes County, Mississippi. In 1849 his brother transferred the same family to their sister Mary Murray, also in Mississippi. By 1850 Gwinn owned 34 slaves (13 adults, 4 teens, 17 children)<sup>70</sup> and real estate worth \$10,000 (\$332,180.77), part of the real estate he obtained from a foreclosure near Huntingdon in 1834.<sup>71</sup> By 1860 the worth of his real estate holdings had risen to \$32,000 (\$988,487.71). His personal estate, which included his slaves, totaled \$41,850 (\$1,292,756). In 1860 Gwinn owned 42 people, including 8 women of childbearing age and 14 children age 10 and under, which he housed in 8 slave cabins. The total value of his real estate and personal estate in 1860 totaled \$73,850 (\$2,312,643.89). When the Civil War began Gwinn's son Robert Donnell Gwinn, a physician who studied at Jefferson College in Pennsylvania, joined the Confederate Army as a surgeon<sup>72</sup> and son John Elias Gwinn served as a private. Both survived the war. On the home front near the end of the war, the 65 year old Edward Gwinn suffered a run-in with a band of robbers. They tortured him, attempting to discover the location of his wealth and treated his wife Margaret roughly when she tried to intervene. Some local men, along with one of Gwinn's slaves, reportedly arrived in time to keep Gwinn from being hanged.<sup>73</sup> After the war (1870) the value of Gwinn's real estate, which included a mill and a cotton gin,<sup>74</sup> shrank to \$25,000 (\$489,301.53) and his personal property to \$2,000 (\$39,144.12). The estimate of his total property's worth came to \$27,000 (\$550,416.64). He remained a wealthy man, at least in property. Thirty-six blacks wore the surname Gwinn in 1870. Of those, 31 still lived near Gwinn or his son and most probably continued to labor for the Gwinn family. Margaret Gwinn died in 1873 and Gwinn in 1874. They lie buried near the homestead on the old Gwinn plantation but someone removed the stones. Thirty-one black Gwinns left the county between 1870 and 1880. The five remaining lived in the household of former slave George Gwinn.

In 1902 freedman George Gwinn became the subject of an article published in the Nashville Banner and picked up by an Atlanta paper. Still living in Carroll County George Gwinn gave an interview at age "102 years old."<sup>75</sup> He said Edward Gwinn bought him<sup>76</sup> when he was "hardly big enough to sit astride a horse" and "tied him behind him on his horse with a large red bandana handkerchief and brought him to town." George Gwinn and his first wife had four children while he was still a slave. She was sold, taken to Little Rock and he never saw her again. He "married" five more times and had, by his count, 47 children, 140 grandchildren 10 great grandchildren and 3 great-great-grandchildren. In the 1870 census 19 people live in his household. Clearly not all are his children, however. His son Lewis Thomas, son of his 4<sup>th</sup> wife Charlotte Thomas, lived in Huntingdon and was the only child living near him at the time of the interview.<sup>77</sup> Not many newspaper articles exist about the life of a former slave.

<sup>69</sup> Carroll County, TN Deeds, Book D, p. 286.

<sup>70</sup> Five of the 19 females in 1850 Slave Schedule were of childbearing age and 13 of the 17 children were female.

<sup>71</sup> Microfilm Roll 125, Carroll County Tennessee Deeds, v. F, p. 418.

<sup>72</sup> Goodspeed, Carroll Co, TN, Bio of R. D. Gwinn.

<sup>73</sup> Anna Cole Hawkins, "War Leaflets," Gordon Browning Library, McKenzie, TN. Unpublished.

<sup>74</sup> Will of Edward Gwinn, Will Book B, Carroll Co, TN.

<sup>75</sup> George Gwinn was 50 years old in the 1870 census and 62 in the 1880. He would actually be only about 82 in 1902, not 102. He apparently exaggerated his age and probably "overestimated" the number of his children as well.

<sup>76</sup> George Gwinn remembered his parents surname was Williamson. A white Williamson was likely their owner.

<sup>77</sup> "Semi-Weekly Journal," Atlanta, Georgia, April 10, 1802, [chroniclingamerica](http://chroniclingamerica) newspaper series.

**COLONEL VALENTINE SUBLET ALLEN, JR.** was born on October 9, 1802<sup>78</sup> in North Carolina to Agnes Whitlock Hoggatt and Valentine Sublet Allen, Sr. The family moved to Montgomery County, TN where Valentine Allen, Sr. died in 1840.<sup>79</sup> Valentine Allen, Jr. settled near Huntingdon in Carroll County sometime in the 1850s and married Nancy Allison Ridley Ridley, ex-wife of her cousin Dr. John Clark Ridley, in Rutherford County, TN in August 1854. Allen was 52 and she was 31. Her 17 year old son from her first marriage lived with them. In 1857 Col. Allen served as chairman of a Bar Association meeting and in 1858 as a manager for the National Ball at the Huntingdon Inn.<sup>80</sup> He represented Carroll, Gibson and Dyer Counties as their Tennessee State Senator, beginning in 1859. The 1860 census listed him as a lawyer with real estate (which included 7 slave cabins) worth \$10,000 (\$308,902.41), and personal property, (including 40 slaves)<sup>81</sup>, worth \$42,875 (\$1,324,419.08). His total property value in 1860 came to \$52,875 (\$1,650,598.24). Allen spoke publicly in favor of the fast approaching war. Because the author of a book on the Ridley family interviewed Mrs. Allen in her later years, more information than usual has survived about the couple's war experiences.<sup>82</sup> When Union troops reached Huntingdon, Col. Allen left the area and joined Tennessee State Troops. At least part of his assignment included procuring supplies for the Confederate Army. Union soldiers took over the Allen plantation in his absence, ransacked the plantation, and threatened to shoot Mrs. Allen. She gathered what little she could and left the plantation on horseback to join Colonel Allen in Waverly, Tennessee. Once at his mother-in-law's house in Smyrna, Tennessee, Union troops surrounded the house and Col. Allen barely escaped capture. When his health failed, he retired from the service, took the oath of allegiance to the Union and returned to his plantation. He and his wife set up housekeeping in one of the slave cabins until the house could be vacated and repaired. Due to insufficient funds the couple took in travelers on the Rosser Ferry Road. Mrs. Allen said she "worked herself to death" but tried very hard not to let her husband how hard it was for her "being poor." Allen, a good card player, played cards for coffee, sugar and candles during a particularly difficult time. After the war he returned to being a lawyer and farming. His widow described him as "broken down by misfortune."<sup>83</sup> Between 1860 and 1870, Allen's real estate value dropped to \$4000 (\$78,288.24) and his personal property went down from \$42,875 to only \$300 (\$5,871.62), partially at least because of the loss of 40 slaves and the damage to his plantation.<sup>84</sup> The total worth of his property in 1870 came to \$4,300 (\$85,048.42). Shortly after the war the Sheriff of Carroll County sold at least some of Allen's property to satisfy a loan from the Bank of Tennessee in Huntingdon.<sup>85</sup> Allen tried to farm with hired workers after the war. A freedwoman and her daughter, Mary Divine are known to have worked for him. The daughter said he never paid the \$1.00 (\$19.57) per week he promised them.<sup>86</sup> People called Allen "Colonel" even before the Civil War<sup>87</sup> and until the end of his life. No record of a regular army

---

<sup>78</sup> Family *Bible* of Valentine Sublet Allen, Sr. A subdivision in Clarksville, TN seems to be named for his father.

<sup>79</sup> *Genealogies of Virginia Families*: Tyler's Quarterly, Volume 1, p. 13.

<sup>80</sup> *Sesquicentennial Booklet*, Carroll County Historical Society, p. 63.

<sup>81</sup> Allen owned 19 males and 21 females. Thirteen were adults, 8 teens and 19 children.

<sup>82</sup> G. T. Ridlon, *History of the Ancient Ryedales*, part 2, published by the author, 1884, p. 504-5.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>84</sup> Only three other planters had less than \$1000 (\$19,572.06) in personal property in 1870.

<sup>85</sup> "*The West Tennessean*" newspaper, June 24, 1869.

<sup>86</sup> "*Slave Narratives*," Volume X: Missouri Narratives, Project Gutenberg, "Mary Divine." Mary was born May 24, 1852 in Carroll County. Her mother was owned by George Whitehorn, who owned only 2 other slaves in 1850.

<sup>87</sup> "*Clarksville Chronicle*," Friday, April 29<sup>th</sup>, 1859, p 1. Allen might have served in the Tennessee Guard which was based in Carroll Co. in the 1840s.

commission exists, however. Valentine Sublet (“Sub”) Allen died in Clarksville, TN on Aug 23, 1877.<sup>88</sup> No tombstone or burial site has been found. His widow proved unable to keep the plantation and moved eventually to Murfreesboro, TN.<sup>89</sup> The couple seems to have never had children although they owned 19 children at one time. Mrs. Allen’s son from her previous marriage, Henry Moses Ridley, joined Co G, 12<sup>th</sup> Tennessee CSA at the beginning of the war and died from battle wounds. His lieutenant buried him near the railroad tracks in Resaca, Georgia. Mrs. Allen mentioned a cook named Anna whose unnamed husband apparently told the soldiers where Mrs. Allen hid some of her things and threatened her with a revolver during the Union presence. In the 1870 census, 28 blacks in Carroll County carried the Allen surname. In 1880 there were 24. Other Allen families also owned slaves, however.

**REVEREND SAMUEL PRICE CLARK** was born in Charlotte County, VA on 3/5/1801. He married his first wife, Elizabeth Wilmoth Hall on 11/15/1826 in Halifax Co, VA. In 1832 he moved to Carroll County, TN<sup>90</sup> and settled near McLemoresville. In 1836 Clark paid taxes on 5 slaves, a town lot and considerable acreage. Ordained as a minister at the New Hope Baptist Church, Clark began preaching in 1842. Churches he served included New Hope, Eldad, Turkey Creek, Chapel Hill, and Boiling Springs. Once he baptized “thirty-six people in fifteen minutes.” He preached for “mere nominal sums” due to “having a fine estate and being a “fine financier.”<sup>91</sup> By 1850 Clark owned 24 people, including three newly acquired boys, John Thomas age 9, John age 10 and Isaac age 11.<sup>92</sup> Half of his 24 slaves were 11 years or younger, some probably born to the 7 women he owned of child bearing age, unlike the 3 above. Clark held 40 people by 1860. Two of these, Julia Ann and her child Mary Francis, he loaned to his daughter for life.<sup>93</sup> In 1860 the value of his real estate, (land and buildings including 8 slave cabins) came to \$37,500 (\$1,158,384.04) and his personal estate, which included his slaves, to \$41,075 (\$1,379,700.40). His combined property wealth totaled \$78,575 (\$2,438,084.44). Although he reportedly “held out for the Union for a long time,”<sup>94</sup> Clark switched sides and spent some of his wealth aiding the rebel cause. In 1862 he moved to Gibson County, TN. After the war (1870) Clark’s real estate value dropped to \$27,000 (\$528,445.65) and his personal estate to \$2,500 (\$49,671.76). The worth of his properties totaled \$29,500 (\$586,126.72). Still wealthy enough to contribute \$1000 (\$19,572) and some land for the erection of the First Baptist Church in Milan,<sup>95</sup> he also had enough to help finance a railroad between Milan and Huntingdon and purchase stock in an insurance company. In 1877 a fellow Baptist visitor found the 76 year old Clark to be hospitable, hail and hearty, liberal, robust, broad across the shoulders, large featured and baldheaded plus “bold, determined and persistent,” or, as some thought, “obstinate.”<sup>96</sup> Another pre-war friend, Samuel Neely, a former teacher of Clark’s children, visited him long after the war and thought him “embittered and sorry to be reminded of former times.” The admittedly late memoir “quotes” Clark as saying that he “couldn’t preach with his negroes walking around free as he

---

<sup>88</sup> “*The Public Ledger*,” Memphis, TN, Sept 8, 1977. The paper says he died “last week.”

<sup>89</sup> G. T. Ridlon, *History of the Ancient Ryedales*, p. 504-5. Ridlon interviewed Allen’s widow, Nancy Ridley Allen.

<sup>90</sup> Joseph H. Borum, *Biographical Sketches of Tennessee Baptist Ministers*, Rogers and Company, 1880, 148- 149.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 148. Clark was ordained by Elder J. C. Martin and Elder J. M. Hurt.

<sup>92</sup> Carroll Co. Slave Transcriptions, Books G and H.

<sup>93</sup> Carroll Co. Slave Transcriptions, Book L, p. 382. (1861)

<sup>94</sup> Mollie Neely Owen Memoir, unpublished. Available at Gordon Browning Library, McKenzie, TN.

<sup>95</sup> *Gibson County: Past and Present*, p. 401, Turner Publishing Co, Paducah, KY.

<sup>96</sup> Joseph H. Borum, *Biographical Sketches of Tennessee Baptist Ministers*, Rogers and Company, 1880, 148-149.



was.”<sup>97</sup> Clark’s first wife died in 1873 and he married Mrs. Sarah M. Shaw of Haywood County in 1874. He filed war claims with the government hoping for compensation for some of his war losses but they were disallowed. Dying at age 78 in Milan, TN on 3/3/1880, he was buried in the Milan First Baptist Church Cemetery. He and his first wife have impressive matching tombstones. An old photograph shows a cast iron fence enclosure. A local resident believes the stones have been moved several times and the bodies of Rev. Clark and his wife lie under an extension to the current 1917 church building.<sup>98</sup> In the 1870 census of Carroll County 53 blacks used Clark as their surname and 97 did so by 1880. Four other Clark families, however, also owned slaves.

**JOHN JEFFERSON BURROW** was born on November 22, 1806 in North Carolina to wealthy Methodist Episcopal minister Banks Mitchum and Mary Blanchard Burrows.<sup>99</sup> He spent his early schooling years in Bedford County, TN. His grandfather Phillip, his parents and their families moved to Carroll County, TN. in the early 1820s. John J. Burrow finished at the University of Nashville and in 1832 married Eliza Snell of Rutherford County, TN.<sup>100</sup> Unlike his father, he does not appear to have participated in civic pursuits. In 1836 he was taxed for ownership of 5 slaves and 362 acres of land. By 1850 he had 18 slaves. His father, who died in 1851, owned 65 people in 1850, (the largest number known to have ever been held by one person in Carroll County,) and 2700 acres of land in Carroll and Gibson Counties.<sup>101</sup> John Jefferson Burrow and B. M. Burrows, the executors, advertised the land for sale in the “Nashville Union and American” newspaper. This particular sale included no slaves. By the 1860 census John Jefferson Burrow owned 40 slaves, some presumably bought with the 1/8<sup>th</sup> of his father’s estate he inherited or willed to him as part of his inheritance.<sup>102</sup> He owned real estate, including 9 slave cabins, worth \$10,000 (\$308,902.41) and personal property valued at \$30,000 (\$926,707.23). Burrow had only one living son and no military record has been found for him. The family most likely supported the Confederacy since his brother rose to the rank of general in the Confederate Army in Arkansas and Burrow became a Democrat after the war. In 1870 Burrow’s real estate had fallen in value to \$3000 (\$58,716.18) and his personal property to \$3500 (\$68,502.21), for a total property value of \$6500 (\$127,218.40). After having been turned down earlier, Burrow filed a petition in 1875 under the Bowman Act in another attempt to recoup damages sustained from the Civil War.<sup>103</sup> As did his parents, the John Jefferson Burrows attended the Methodist Episcopal Church. They had 15 children, only two of whom grew to adulthood and only one survived them. Their experience serves as a sad reminder of infant and youth mortality in this era, even among the rich. Death among the slave children must have been frequent as well. John Jefferson Burrow died on Christmas Eve 1887 and lies buried in the Burrow family cemetery in Lavinia, TN along with his parents, wife and children. His double stone with his wife is broken but the base remains in place. Thirty-five black family members wore the surname Burrow in the Carroll County 1870 census. Twenty-five of these lived very near the Burrows after the war and the adults probably still worked for him. Fifty seven black Burrows resided in Carroll County in

---

<sup>97</sup> Mollie Neely Owen Memoir, unpublished. The “quote” most likely is not verbatim, of course.

<sup>98</sup> <https://www.findagrave.com/cemetery/2715322/s.p.-clark-family-cemetery>

<sup>99</sup> *History of Carroll Co, Tennessee*, Goodspeed Publishing Co, Chicago, IL “Biographies.”

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>101</sup> “Nashville Union and American,” Sunday, Oct. 18, 1857, p. 3. “Great Sale of Real Estate.”

<sup>102</sup> Will of Banks M. Burrow, Carroll Co TN Will Book A. Burrow wanted his property to be divided “so as not to break or divide families of Negroes where it can be avoided.” If it did not come out even, then divide, presumably.

<sup>103</sup> *Journal: 1<sup>st</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> Congress: House of Representatives*, Feb 26, 1885. p.679

1880. Some, however, would have been owned by his first cousin, Rev. Reuben Burrow (below), another of the planters, or by other members of the Burrow family.

**JOHN PINKERTON HAYNES** was born on September 8, 1807 in either Virginia or Tennessee to Thomas and Hannah Gilbert Haynes.<sup>104</sup> He married Elizabeth G. Dillahunty in Henry County, TN on 10/18/1831. In 1850 his parents lived in Henry County, TN where his father owned 56 slaves. In 1850 John Pinkerton Haynes owned \$800 in real estate and 18 slaves.<sup>105</sup> Thirteen of the 18 were under 16 years old. He moved his family to Macedonia in Carroll County in 1858, buying land from Boyd Bledsoe.<sup>106</sup> His mother died in 1855 and his father in 1859 so the estate most likely went to their 5 children. In the 1860 census Haynes had real estate valued at \$5,150 (\$159,084.74). His personal property, which included 39 slaves,<sup>107</sup> totaled \$40,205 (\$1,241,942.14). The combined property came to \$45,355 (\$1,359,571.01). Some of the new slaves might have been inherited. The Haynes had at least 12 children. Their son, 24 year old William Dillahunty Haynes, served as the manager of the Haynes plantation. At least 3 of John's 7 sons, including William Dillahunty, fought for the Confederacy. John B. died on the battle field at Corinth, Mississippi and James in Tupelo, MS from wounds in the battle of Harrisburg, Mississippi.<sup>108</sup> In 1870 their daughter Susan Johnson and her children lived with the parents. That year the census failed to post a real estate estimate, listing only \$600 (\$11,743.24) in personal property, a drastic economic downturn from his situation before the war. Field hands and a cook with the surname Haynes still lived nearby. Son William Dillahunty Haynes, lived in the same district, had real estate worth \$2,500 (\$477,225.60) and maintained a black cook named Adline Haynes. As late as 1888 John Pinkerton Haynes applied to the Federal Government for compensation for his losses during the war. He died on January 19, 1892 at age 85. He and his wife have a double stone in the Dillahunty cemetery on the old Dillahunty property in Henry County, TN. They lie near his parents' broken, but once impressive stele, in the same cemetery. Haynes brother, Preston G. Haynes, at one time the sheriff of Henry County, is also buried there. A black cemetery stood adjacent to this cemetery but has been plowed over.<sup>109</sup> Twenty-one blacks in Carroll County had the surname Haynes in 1870 and 17 in 1880.

**JOHN T. FUQUA** was born in 1811 in Halifax County, VA to Joseph H. and Patsy Dennis Fuqua, Sr. He married Elizabeth Vaughn on 12/25/1837<sup>110</sup> and arrived in Carroll Co, TN in the late 1840s, probably following his uncle David Fuqua, Sr. His father, Joseph H. Fuqua, Sr., who married three times, died in 1849 in Virginia, leaving everything to his third wife. Joseph H. Fuqua, Sr. left nothing to John T. Fuqua, his brothers, David W. Fuqua, and Joseph H. Fuqua, Jr., nor his half brothers, William Younger Fuqua and James P. Fuqua.<sup>111</sup> By 1850 all the brothers

---

<sup>104</sup> Find A Grave, "Elizabeth Dillahunty Haynes."

<sup>105</sup> Haynes in 1850 had 7 slaves (5m-1f) under 10; 6 (4m-2f) from 12-16; 2 age 20 (1m-1f), 3 (1f-2m) 35-45.

<sup>106</sup> History of Carroll County Tennessee, 1987, p. 196.

<sup>107</sup> Haynes owned 25 males and 14 females in 1860. Twenty of his people were children 12 and under.

<sup>108</sup> Bible of John P. Haynes in "Family Findings," v. 20, #2. 1973.

<sup>109</sup> Sue Reed, "Compendium of Henry County Cemeteries. Henry County Archives.

<sup>110</sup> Jane Babb contributed lots of Fuqua information on rootsweb.com in the 1990s.

<sup>111</sup> "Chronicling America Newspapers," September 24, 1849 at <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/leen.seq-4>. The article announced that Joseph H. Fuqua had died and the location of his sons Joseph H, Jr, John T., David W. and William Y. Fuqua was unknown.

except William Younger<sup>112</sup> resided in the 5<sup>th</sup> district of Carroll County but only brother Joseph H. Fuqua, Jr. owned any real estate. John T. Fuqua, however, owned 16 slaves<sup>113</sup> (7 adults, 4 teens, 5 children).<sup>114</sup> By 1860 his personal estate, which by that time included 38 slaves, came to \$36,200 (\$1,118,226.72). His family left the 5<sup>th</sup> district and moved to 1200 acres of land in the 19<sup>th</sup> district,<sup>115</sup> northwest of Huntingdon. The permanent structures on the land included a six room, brick, hewed log and frame family home,<sup>116</sup> and 6 slave cabins. The estimated value of Fuqua's real estate was \$15,000 (\$463,353.61). His personal estate and real estate combined came to \$51,200 (\$1,647,369.25). The Fuquas raised two children. Their son, William Joseph Fuqua, who fought with the 22<sup>nd</sup> Tennessee Infantry CSA, survived both being wounded and imprisoned. After the war William represented Carroll County in the Tennessee State Legislature. Around the turn of the century he answered the Civil War Questionnaire about his life before and during the war.<sup>117</sup> He said that he and his father both worked on the farm and that his mother did any kind of domestic work needed.<sup>118</sup> In 1860 they had help from James Pearson who appears to have acted as their plantation overseer. In 1861 Fuqua sold a boy named Eli to his half brother, Joseph H. Fuqua, for \$900 (\$28,513.84).<sup>119</sup> Several members of the extended Fuqua family held memberships in the Reedy Creek Baptist Church.<sup>120</sup> John T. Fuqua's wife of 30 years died in 1867 and he married Mrs. Martha Ann Hurt the same year. After the war (1870 census) he still had real estate worth \$8,000 (\$156,576.49) but his personal property had gone down to \$7,000 (\$137,004.43), giving a total property value of \$15000 (\$298,030.53). John T. Fuqua died in 1882. He left his 2<sup>nd</sup> wife 100 acres near Christmasville while the rest of his property went to his son William J. Fuqua and daughter Mary M. Aden, with the exception of a feather bed and covering to his granddaughter Elizabeth H. Fuqua and his gold watch to his son.<sup>121</sup> John T. Fuqua's 1<sup>st</sup> wife is buried in the Fuqua Family Cemetery and he may be also but, if so, he has no stone. Forty-two blacks used the Fuqua surname in 1870. Burrell, Roda, David, Elizabeth, Isaac, Minnie, Armstead, Nathan and George Fuqua, in the 1870 census were born in Virginia and were old enough to have come with the John T. Fuqua from Virginia. Fifty-eight blacks used the name Fuqua in 1880, a name believed by the family to have originated in France.<sup>122</sup>

---

<sup>112</sup> Joseph H. Fuqua, Sr's ex-wife Mary and her son, James P. Fuqua, were in Carroll Co by 1850. All the Fuquas in the county were kin in 1850. William Younger Fuqua resided in Carroll County by 1860.

<sup>113</sup> David W. Fuqua owned 3 slaves, Mary Fuqua, ex-wife of James H. Fuqua and mother of James P. owned 7 slaves.

<sup>114</sup> Five of these people might have been Burrell, Roda, David, Elizabeth and George Fuqua, all of whom were born in Virginia and still lived near John T. Fuqua or David W Fuqua in the 1870 census.

<sup>115</sup> John T. Fuqua's half brother, James P. Fuqua, and Mary his "step mother" also moved to the 19<sup>th</sup> district by 1860. James P. was connected to the foundry that made the Fuqua Plow. Some of their 9 slaves may have been used at the foundry.

<sup>116</sup> *The Tennessee Civil War Veterans Questionnaires*, compiled by Dyer and Moore, (Easley, SC: Southern Historical Press, Inc., 1985), 868-9.

<sup>117</sup> His 1<sup>st</sup> cousin James William Fuqua, son of David W Fuqua, also answered the questionnaire.

<sup>118</sup> *The Tennessee Civil War Veterans Questionnaires*, compiled by Dyer and Moore, (Easley, SC: Southern Historical Press, Inc., 1985), 867-8.

<sup>119</sup> Carroll Co Slave Transcriptions, Book O, p. 174.

<sup>120</sup> Joseph H. and wife, David W. and wife, William Younger and wife. Black Fuquas were Burrell, Jenny, Luckey, Mary, Nathan and Shack. Burrell, Nathan and Slack are in the 1870 census. Nathan and Slack are in the 1880. John T. Fuqua probably was Baptist, as well, but lived too far from Reedy Creek. His son, Wm J, was a Baptist.

<sup>121</sup> Carroll County, TN Will Book B, p. 270, Nov. 9, 1881.

<sup>122</sup> Fuqua may be from the French word Fouquet.

**COLONEL DAVID COLEMAN** was born Jan 25, 1798 in Cabarrus County, NC to Mark and Margaret Coleman. The father emigrated from Germany and owned no slaves at his death. David Coleman married Sarah Love in North Carolina. She was the daughter of General Thomas Love, who owned about 25 slaves<sup>123</sup> and very large tracts of land in West Tennessee.<sup>124</sup> Coleman, whose first child, Robert Love Coleman, was born in 1823 in Haywood County, NC. The family arrived in Carroll County by the 1830 census. Coleman had no slaves or land listed on the 1836 tax list. In 1844 his wife, Sarah Love Coleman, received a girl named Sally, a girl Sealy and a boy Henry plus land worth \$1,000 (\$34,185.87) from her father's will.<sup>125</sup> By the 1850 census David Coleman held 32 slaves (6 adults, 7 teens and 19 children)<sup>126</sup> and real estate worth \$2,500 (\$82,177.56). By 1860 he had real estate valued at \$7800 (\$240,943.88) and personal property, which included 38 slaves, worth \$34,736 (\$1,073,003.41). The total property value amounted to \$42,536 (\$1,313,947.29). A drawing of his home shows a two story house with four rooms, a small porch on both stories and a kitchen in the back.<sup>127</sup> His 38 slaves lived in 6 cabins located behind the house.<sup>128</sup> Coleman served as a colonel in the Tennessee State Militia at some point<sup>129</sup> and used the title until death. In September 1862, at the beginning of the Civil War, he voluntarily took the Oath of Allegiance to the Union.<sup>130</sup> At least two sons, Robert L. and Green J., however, fought for the Confederacy. Captured by Union forces at the battle of Parker's Crossroads, Robert L. spent time prison<sup>131</sup> but both sons survived the war. Coleman lost a lot of supplies and livestock to the Union Army<sup>132</sup> for which he never received payment, most likely due to his sons' rebel connections. Sons John Love and William A. married daughters of neighbor and fellow planter John Norman. No financial estimate for Coleman appears in the 1870 census because robbers mortally wounded him in January 1870. Newspapers,<sup>133</sup> from as far away as Pittsburgh and New York, ran conflicting stories concerning the event. According to the papers either four or five freedmen,<sup>134</sup> or freedmen with two white leaders, perpetrated the crime. The men wore masks or did not wear masks and were known or unknown. They belonged to the KKK or did not, but disguised themselves as "Ku-Klux."<sup>135</sup> They hoped to extort cash or to make Coleman produce hidden gold or \$2,200 in buried money. When caught they all confessed or one confessed and named the others plus the two white men, who might or not have been names. Coleman's sons led the mob that took the black defendants from the County Jail where they

<sup>123</sup> Years later Gen. Love's grandson believed that General Love "always saw that they (his slaves) had comfortable quarters, were well cared for and (he) was considerate of their every welfare." Jonathan Fairbanks and Clyde Tuck, *Past and Present of Green County, MO*, c. 1914 pp. 784-187.

<sup>124</sup> Mary Ruth Trawick Devault, "The David Coleman Family History, 1755-1971." p.3. Mrs. Devault wrote the primary Coleman family history.

<sup>125</sup> Will of General Thomas Love. May 9, 1844.

<sup>126</sup> Four of the females were of childbearing age.

<sup>127</sup> "Carroll County Sesquicentennial Book" written by the Carroll County Historical Society, 1972, p 147.

<sup>128</sup> Devault, p.3.

<sup>129</sup> Goodspeed Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Northeastern Arkansas, 1891, biography of "Robert L. Coleman."

<sup>130</sup> Devault, p. 6.

<sup>131</sup> Goodspeed's Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Northeastern Arkansas, 1891. Biography of "Robert L. Coleman."

<sup>132</sup> Devault, p. 5. This included 300 bushels of corn, 800 of corn fodder, 3 mares and 12 mules valued at \$2,710.00.

<sup>133</sup> "Memphis Daily Appeal," 1/26/1870, p 1; "Nashville Union and American," 1/26/1870, "Pittsburgh Weekly Gazette," 1/28/1870; "New York Herald," 1/28/1870, p. 4.

<sup>134</sup> "The Nashville Union and American" named Matt Brown, George Ballow, Allen Roberts, Allen Robinson and George Coleman as the perpetrators.

<sup>135</sup> The term seemed to be used for any organized gang, on occasion.

awaited trial or they guarded the suspects from the mob. Everyone did agree that the mob shot the freedmen and that any white men who might or might not have been involved failed to be apprehended. Colonel<sup>136</sup> Coleman left no will but the administrators valued the estate as worth \$8,982.44 (\$178,469.43).<sup>137</sup> Coleman and his wife lie buried under a small, but intricately designed, double stone in the Coleman Family Cemetery near Trezevant. About 40 blacks in Carroll County had the Coleman surname in 1870. One of them rode in the group thought to have murdered him, this according to one account but not others. In 1880 only 27 black Colemans remained in the county.

**JAMES H. HARRELL** was born January 16, 1806 in North Carolina. He married Damaris Rhodes in Guilford County, NC in May of 1833 and came to Carroll County sometime after 1836 and before 1840. The estimate of his estate in 1850 came to \$10,300 (\$338,571.56). He had 21 slaves (7 adults, 5 teens, 9 children). In 1851, he added an 18 year old woman named Stelly, a 1 ½ year old toddler called Madison and a ten month old named Alfred at a cost of \$825 (\$27,760.82).<sup>138</sup> By 1860 he owned 36 workers whom he housed in 8 slave cabins. The value of his real estate alone came to \$33,500 (\$1,034,823.07) and his personal estate to \$57,160 (\$1,765,686.17), for a total estimated property value of \$90,660 (\$2,800,509.25). The richest planter in Carroll County in 1860, Harrell's total estate came to almost \$12,085 (\$418,612.75) more than the 2<sup>nd</sup> highest (Reverend Clark) and \$73,660 (\$2,551,511.40) more than the value of the total estate of Sidney Baucom, the "poorest" planter. Very active in civic affairs, Harrell served on county juries, posted many bonds for city officials, and oversaw road work. He held membership on the original board of trustees of Bethel College, which probably indicated membership in a Cumberland Presbyterian Church.<sup>139</sup> His sympathies appear to have been with the Confederacy. After the battle of Shiloh a wounded Confederate soldier died in Harrell's home.<sup>140</sup> His daughter Elizabeth Tamesia Harrell married James Stephen Brown of Paris, Tennessee, well-known professor at Bethel College and later a major in the Confederate Army. Neither of his sons, James M. or Joseph V., appear to have served in the military. Very little personal information has survived about James H. Harrell, not only the richest among the planters but one of the richest men in the county in 1860. In later years some did remember his fine carriage, its driver and two fine horses.<sup>141</sup> By 1870 Harrell and his wife had left the county, presumably for Paris, TN where his surviving daughter lived. Mrs. Harrell died on February 23, 1876 and Harrell died June 3, 1876 at age 70. They lie buried in the Old Paris City Cemetery in Henry County along with their 3 daughters, two of whom died young. His wife's once impressive monument stands within a large enclosure surrounded by a wrought iron fence. The gate on the fence has James H. Harrell's name on it but no separate monument to him exists in the enclosure. His son Joseph V. Harrell served as his executor but no will has been found. In 1870 about 37 blacks still used the Harrell surname in Carroll County. In 1880 only 25 remained.

**ROBERT MARSHAL HURT** was born March 13, 1819 in Halifax County, Virginia. He moved to Carroll County about 1827 with his parents, Rev. James Mann and Patricia Marshall

---

<sup>136</sup> The Tennessee Guard was based in Carroll Co. in the 1840s. Coleman might have been a member.

<sup>137</sup> Devault, p. 5, quoting Carroll County Settlement Book, 1869-1880, p. 269.

<sup>138</sup> "Carroll Co Slave Transcriptions," Book H, p.247.

<sup>139</sup> The obituary of his daughter, Elizabeth T. Brown, says, however, that she was a Baptist from childhood.

<sup>140</sup> Hayden, Horace Edwin, Virginia Genealogies, p.282.

<sup>141</sup> Devault, p. 19.

Hurt. His father, his grandfather Rev. Philemon Hurt and great-grandfather Moza Hurt in Virginia all owned slaves.<sup>142</sup> By 1836 Robert Hurt's father had 1,528 acres and 9 slaves in Carroll County. His uncle, Robert Hurt, had 1,836 acres and 19 slaves,<sup>143</sup> and also owned one of the only three carriages in the county.<sup>144</sup> Hurt married Narcissa Emily Dickson by 1840. Continuing in his family religious tradition, he held membership in the Reedy Creek Baptist Church where he served as a deacon and where his father held the positions of minister/elder. Daniel, Peggy, Frank and Phillis Hurt,<sup>145</sup> presumably Hurt family slaves, also held membership at Reedy Creek but which Hurt owned them is unclear. By 1850 Robert M. Hurt held 18 slaves (6 adults, 5 aged 6-12 and 7 aged 5 and under)<sup>146</sup> and his father had 16 people. His first wife died about 1858. By 1860 Hurt had real estate (which included 5 slave cabins), worth \$10,500 (\$324,347.53) and personal property (which included 32 slaves) valued at \$40,000 (\$1,235,609.64). Twenty one year old Thomas D. Vaughtner, Jr, son of a neighbor,<sup>147</sup> served as overseer for the plantation. Hurt also owned a dry goods store in McLemoresville with his first wife's father, John M. Dickson. He married his 2<sup>nd</sup> wife, Mrs. Martha E. Woods Hurt, on 4/22/1860. The family appears Confederate but official records are difficult to locate. Robert M. Hurt's son, Isham Green Hurt, joined the military, as did Hurt's brothers Joseph David Hurt, James M. Hurt, Jr. and Anthony B. Hurt.<sup>148</sup> Family lore says Federal Forces killed both Hurt's son Isham and brother, Joseph David, on the same day at the Battle of Peach Tree Creek in Atlanta, Georgia. The overseer, Thomas Vaughtner, also left for the Confederate Army.<sup>149</sup> After the war (1869) Robert M. Hurt joined those who petitioned the Governor and Legislature of Tennessee to restore the right to vote to those who had supported the Confederacy. Although by 1870 the value of his real estate had declined to \$9,500 (\$185,934.58) and his personal property to \$1,500 (\$29,358.09), the family remained financially able to maintain a cook and two farm hands on the property. Several blacks living nearby most likely worked his land as well. In August 1877 Hurt made the "Milan Exchange" newspaper by contracting whooping-cough as an adult. On the evening of April 24, 1890 he died suddenly while conversing with his wife<sup>150</sup> and was buried in the Hurt Family Cemetery in Trezevant, as is his first wife. Fifty Blacks used the surname Hurt in the 1870 and 52 in the 1880 census. Several members of the Hurt family owned slaves. Twenty Hurts have stones in the Mt. Ararat Cemetery in Trezevant, a burial ground for the black community for many years.

---

<sup>142</sup> 1782 Heads of Households Census of Halifax Co, VA lists Philemon Hurt with four blacks. The will of Moza Hurt in 1763 mentions "sundry negroes" given to his four children, including Philemon.

<sup>143</sup> Robert Hurt (uncle of Robert M. Hurt) owned the most slaves owned by one person in Carroll County in 1836. Banks Burrow, the father of planter John Jefferson Burrow (above), owned 17, the 2<sup>nd</sup> highest number.

<sup>144</sup> "Ansearchin News," vol. 39, #1, Spring 1992, p. 18. 1836 Carroll Co Tax List. Robert Mitchum and James B Jones owned the other two carriages in the county.

<sup>145</sup> Phillis Hurt was 75 years old in the 1870 census and was perhaps brought from Virginia with the Hurt family. She lived with Frank Hurt (her son?) who was probably the Frank above. Frank had \$400 (\$8,219) of personal property in 1870, which was very unusual for a former slave.

<sup>146</sup> There were 9 females, 4 of childbearing age and 9 males, 2 adult males ages 38 and 35 plus 7 males under 12.

<sup>147</sup> Thomas D Vaughtner or Vawter was the son of Thomas L and Agnes H. Vaughtner, also of the 2<sup>nd</sup> district of Carroll Co.

<sup>148</sup> Lynch, J. D., *The Bench and Bar of Texas*, pp.344-353. (ebook) James Mann Hurt, Jr. moved to Texas, raised an infantry company, became its captain, survived the war and became a well-known judge and legal scholar in Texas.

<sup>149</sup> Thomas Vawter (Vaughtner) was a private in Co. F, 12<sup>th</sup> Consolidated.

<sup>150</sup> Dujont, Frand L., Account of Hurt's funeral service by Dujont (The minister who preached it.)

**COLONEL GARLAND SNEAD (SNEED)** was born March 16, 1806 in Rockingham, Richmond County, North Carolina to John and Nannie Cole Snead. Although his brother Israel had settled near McKenzie by 1836,<sup>151</sup> Garland Snead first appears on the census as a householder in Carroll County in 1850. A 44 year old bachelor at that time, he held 10 adults and 6 teenagers, all old enough to work.<sup>152</sup> His estate value came to \$2500 (\$82,175.96). Not long after the census he married 24 year old Amy Elizabeth Kelly<sup>153</sup> of Weakley County. In January 1854 he paid \$1000 (\$34,226.67) for a 21 year old man named John he bought from a private owner.<sup>154</sup> In March of 1860 Snead sold a right-of-way through his estate to the Nashville and Northwestern Railroad,<sup>155</sup> a transaction that likely resulted in useful cash to buy more slaves. By July of 1860 the value of Snead's real estate, including 8 slave cabins, came to \$10,000 (\$308,902.41) and his personal property, which included 31 slaves, to \$29,000 (\$895,816.99), for a total of \$39,000 (\$1,204,719.40). Although pro-Confederate, neither the Colonel nor his sons served in the rebel army. At the beginning of the war Snead had reached his late 50s and his sons their preteens. A memoir by Anna Cole Hawkins, a relative and neighbor, gives a glimpse into the Snead household during the early years of the war. Hawkins attended a wartime cotillion on the Snead plantation that included Confederate officers and a band that played the then popular song "Run, N\_\_\_\_, Run, The Patrol Will Catch You. Run N\_\_\_\_ Run It's Almost Day."<sup>156</sup> Imagine being a slave serving guests while the band played that song. The guests who stayed overnight ate slave produced "beaten biscuits" for breakfast the next morning.<sup>157</sup> Hawkins also mentions a later occasion when Federal Troops camped between the Snead and Cole homes and ransacked both plantations, confiscating or destroying anything that might be of value to the rebels.<sup>158</sup> Shortly after the war (1868) Garland Snead's first wife and oldest son James died in an epidemic. Mother and son lay-in-state in the Snead home.<sup>159</sup> On June 22, 1869 Snead married Lydia Keating, another woman 20 years his junior. The value of Snead's real estate more than tripled from \$10,000 (\$308,902.41) in 1860 to \$35,000 (\$685,022.14) in 1870, this during the period which included the Civil War and the rebuilding period afterward. In that same time, however, his personal property dropped from \$29,000 (\$895,834.46)<sup>160</sup> to \$8,000 (\$156,576.49), reflecting the loss of his slaves. With a total estate worth \$43,000 (\$841,598.63) he remained a wealthy man, at least in property. Sometime after the war Snead reportedly gave land for a black church in McKenzie.<sup>161</sup> He made the Nashville newspaper in August of 1871 when he was thrown from his horse at age 65 and severely injured.<sup>162</sup> Snead still had 5 pre-teens and one teen

---

<sup>151</sup> Israel Snead owned 3 slaves and 292 acres of land in the 1836 tax list of Carroll Co., TN.

<sup>152</sup> There were 6 males and 10 females, 9 of the females were of childbearing age yet there were no children. Were they being sold, perhaps?

<sup>153</sup> Hawkins, Anna Cole, "War Leaflets," unpublished. Available at McKenzie TN Library or on line at [tn-roots.com/tncarroll/civilwar/warleaflets1.htm](http://tn-roots.com/tncarroll/civilwar/warleaflets1.htm), p. 4. Hawkins remembered Elizabeth Snead as always having a switch available and having used it at least once on Sall, her daughter Nannie's black companion/maid.

<sup>154</sup> Slave Transcriptions, Book K, p. 218.

<sup>155</sup> Garland Davis, "Garland Snead," History of Carroll County, Tennessee V. 1, Turner Publishing: Paducah, KY, p. 328. Thirty Irish laborers lived on two of his neighbors' property during construction of the railroad. (1860 census)

<sup>156</sup> The song most likely was not popular with the slaves.

<sup>157</sup> Anna Cole Hawkins, p. 40-41. Flour became a scarce item since most wheat came from the North.

<sup>158</sup> Anna Cole Hawkins, "War Leaflets," p. 15. Hawkins' father was Richmond Cole, a cousin to Garland Snead. They lived about a mile apart.

<sup>159</sup> "Nashville Union and American," January 17, 1869, p. 4.

<sup>160</sup> Carroll Co Slave Transcriptions, Book K, p. 218.

<sup>161</sup> Turner, History of Carroll Co, Tennessee, v.1, p. 175.

<sup>162</sup> "Nashville Union and American," August 22, 1871.

living at home at that time. His 22 year old son William lost his arm in an accident in 1880 at the saw mill owned by Snead.<sup>163</sup> On March 13, 1891 the “Carroll County Democrat” reported that Snead “slipped and fell on his porch during last week’s snow.” Colonel Snead<sup>164</sup> died May 16, 1896 at age 90 after several months of illness and laid in the small (6 graves) Snead family cemetery. His obituary called him “one of the oldest and most prominent citizens” of the county, as well as “a good neighbor, a good citizen and a kind friend.” The newspaper also lauded him as “a most useful citizen in his day.”<sup>165</sup> His small tombstone has fallen and lies half hidden by vines. His two wives share a stone. Five black families lived adjacent to the Sneads in the 1870 census and the adults probably worked for them as day laborers. At that time 48 blacks had the surname Snead and the number had increased to 61 by the 1880 census. Israel Snead, invalid and brother to Garland, and Israel’s son William R. Snead together owned 21 slaves, which helps explain the large numbers. Israel willed two of them, Pheby and her son Travis, to Garland Snead in trust for support of Israel’s daughter, whose husband he did not trust. Pheby Snead (age 52) and Travis Sneed (age 25) can be found in the 1880 census, as can Amy (68), John (37), Thomas, (30), Margaret (51) and Ned (50), who were willed to Isaac’s son William R. Snead and Isaac’s wife, Polly Snead. Isaac Snead, died in 1865, after the slaves had been freed.

**JAMES ADKISSON** (Atkisson, Attkisson) was born about 1798 in Virginia, maybe in Halifax County. Pleasant Atkisson resided in the Carroll County in the 1830 and 1840 census and might be kin. The first mention of James Adkisson’s residency in the county resulted from his having served as a trustee for “24 or 25 slaves and several workhorses” sold for debt in Huntingdon in 1844.<sup>166</sup> By 1850 Adkisson owned 21 slaves,<sup>167</sup> 7 of whom were adults, 8 teenagers and 6 children. The value of his estate came to around \$3500 (\$108,115.84). The census listed him as living alone, without family members or indwellers. In 1853 he ordered a religious newspaper connected to the Christian Church<sup>168</sup> so most likely he had some connection to that religious organization, as did many Virginia Adkissons. In 1853 he became an officer of the planned Tennessee Central Railroad.<sup>169</sup> Still living alone in the 1860 census, he had 31 slaves housed in 4 cabins. An astounding 18 of these people were 10 years old and under while only 13 were 11 and above.<sup>170</sup> Adkisson’s real estate value that year reached an estimated \$11,520 (\$355,855.58) and his personal estate \$37,940 (\$1,171,975.74), for a total estate value of \$49,460 (\$1,527,831.32). His view of the Civil War remains unknown. In the 1870 census he still lived alone at age 72. After the war his real estate value shrank to \$7000 (\$137,004.43) and his personal estate to \$4000 (\$78,288.24) but he still had an estate worth \$11,000 (\$215,292.67). In 1870 five families (28 members)<sup>171</sup> of black Adkissons lived close by and most likely still worked his land. Four of the older generation, Boss, Louisa, John, and Mary Adkisson, began life in Virginia and may

---

<sup>163</sup> “West Tennessee Whig,” Jackson, TN, Oct. 1, 1880.

<sup>164</sup> Snead might have acquired the title of Colonel by serving in the Tennessee State Militia at some point. The Tennessee Guard was based in Carroll Co in the 1840s.

<sup>165</sup> “Carroll County Democrat,” Friday May 17, 1896.

<sup>166</sup> “West Tennessee Whig,” November 29, 1844.

<sup>167</sup> Two slaves in which he had part interest with Orra Tucker were named Manuel and Charity. Carroll County Slave Transcriptions, Book H, p. 189. They were a gift from Robert Chappell, father of Orra Tucker. Adkisson owned nine females, all of childbearing age and 12 males, 6 of whom were children.

<sup>168</sup> “The Millennial Harbinger,” a publication of Alexander Campbell out of (West) Virginia.

<sup>169</sup> Schultz, “American Railroad Journal: Steam Navigation, Commerce, Finance, Engineering, Banking, Manufactures,” 1853 p. 782

<sup>170</sup> 1860 Slave Schedule for Carroll County, TN, District #5.

<sup>171</sup> Two of the children were given the name James Adkisson even though they were born after emancipation.



have accompanied their owner to Carroll County. In 1880 James Adkisson, who would have been 82, does not appear in the census. No tombstone has been found for him. He might be buried in a cemetery on what once was his plantation<sup>172</sup> on the Big Buck Road near Trezevant. In the 1880 census 32 blacks with the surname Adkisson lived in Carroll County. Eight people with the surname Adkisson have stones in Mt. Ararat and 20 in the Wingo Chapel, both historic black cemeteries. No white Adkissons remained in the county in 1880. About 100 years after his death an article about Trezevant mentioned Adkisson.

“We know the negroes were in this community as early as the town was settled. Some say that they may have been slaves of the Wingo family or the Mr. Adkisson who lived on the farm where Mr. and Mrs. W. E. (Billie) Blanks live.”<sup>173</sup>

Many descendants of the slaves still reside in the county but no known descendants of the owner.

**JAMES GREER** was born about 1791 in South Carolina. His father, James Greer, Sr. a Revolutionary War veteran, acquired 1198 acres in Carroll Co in 1821<sup>174</sup> and became one of the first Carroll County commissioners. Upon his father's death in 1833 James Greer, Jr. inherited his father's land and slaves, except for one slave, Aney, and 50 acres deeded to his step-mother, Sarah Greer.<sup>175</sup> His five sisters and brother received only \$5 each in the will but may have received more earlier. In the 1836 tax list James Jr. owned 265 acres and 8 slaves. He married by 1828 and had four children by unknown wife then married Eliza H. Hunt in 1845. In 1850 Greer headed the only Greer family in Carroll County and had real estate estimated to be worth \$2,100 (\$69,027.81). He owned 37 slaves (8 adults, 8 teenagers and 20 children).<sup>176</sup> By 1860 his real estate alone had increased to \$7,095 (\$219,166.26) and included 7 slave cabins. His personal estate, including 31 slaves came to \$31,092 (\$960,439.37). His son Robert F. Greer, a Confederate soldier, moved to Texas about 1876.<sup>177</sup> Neither James Greer nor his wife is listed in the 1870 census of Carroll County and no death date or burial has been found. A memoir by a nephew of James' 2<sup>nd</sup> wife says Eliza Greer was buried in McLemoresville Cemetery.<sup>178</sup> James Greer may be there as well but neither has a stone. They might have been connected with the Christian Church since he ordered literature from that group and his granddaughter later held membership.<sup>179</sup> No black person in the 1870 census had the surname Greer, yet in 1880 a lot of black Greers lived in the county. It appears the census taker wrote Green instead of Greer. The families of Peter and Martha Green and William and Lizzie Green who lived near James Greer's son Robert Greer in 1870 are definitely Greers in the 1880 census. Son Robert Greer left for Texas in the 1870s which left 3 white Greers and 41 black Greers in the county in 1880. The New Reedy Creek Cemetery has both a Greer WWI and a Greer WWII black veteran.

**YANCEY BLEDSOE** was born on July 14, 1803 in Wake Co., NC, to Jacob (a Revolutionary War veteran) and Ruth Yancey Bledsoe. The family arrived in Carroll County in the 1820s. Yancey Bledsoe married Henrietta Wilkes of Gibson County on 12/11/1823. His father, Jacob

---

<sup>172</sup> Jonathan K. T. Smith, *Tombstone Inscriptions from Black Cemeteries in Carroll Co, TN*, p. 24.

<sup>173</sup> Margaret Presson, "Trezevant," *Carroll County Sesquicentennial Booklet*, 1972, p. 157.

<sup>174</sup> Carroll County, TN Land Surveys, #439.

<sup>175</sup> James Greer's Will, delivered to Carroll County Court June Term 1833.

<http://files.usgwarchives.net/tn/carroll/wills/greerj43.txt>

<sup>176</sup> Nineteen were females, 10 of whom were of childbearing age. Eighteen were males.

<sup>177</sup> "Dallas Morning News," June 4, 1909, p. 3. Robert F. Greer, born in Carroll Co 8/11/1825 and died Texas 1909.

<sup>178</sup> "Pioneer Families of Carroll Co, TN" <http://genealogytrails.com/tenn/carroll/pioneerbigham.html>

<sup>179</sup> James Greer, Jr. ordered the "Millennial Harbinger," a publication of Alexander Campbell in 1842-43.

Bledsoe, died in 1835. In the 1836 Tax List Yancey Bledsoe owned a town lot, 266 acres of land and one slave. In 1837 the Tennessee Supreme Court ruled against Bledsoe in a case concerning a slave named George, purchased by him for \$510 in 1833.<sup>180</sup> George might have been the one slave he owned in 1836. Elected to political office in 1839 Bledsoe served as a Whig member of the Tennessee House of Representatives. In 1847 the Tennessee Supreme Court ruled against Bledsoe again, this time over a deed. This trial became somewhat famous as a precedent case. The 1850 census listed Bledsoe as a merchant rather than a farmer. The Slave Schedule credited him with 51 slaves (11 adults, 10 teens, 30 children).<sup>181</sup> How he acquired so many slaves when only 14 years earlier he had only one remains a mystery. A plantation with 3/5 of the “workers” 12 and under defies imagination. Fifteen of the 30 were five years old or under. Still adding even more children in 1851 he bought Eliza, age 35 and presumably her 4 children (Thomas 10, Darthele 7, Sylvia 3 and Gracie 2) at a cost of \$1500 (\$49,946.88).<sup>182</sup> In 1852, however, Bledsoe gave 6 adults and 3 teenagers to his recently married daughter, Mary Bledsoe McCain,<sup>183</sup> decreasing the number of his actual workers even more. Transactions began to occur that seem to indicate mounting financial problems. He used two adult women and 6 children as security on a debt in 1853.<sup>184</sup> He sold Evaline and 4 children, aged 9, 7, 5 and 21 months, to fellow planter John Norman for \$2450 (\$72,202.91),<sup>185</sup> a 12 year old girl named Harriett to fellow planter Sydney Baucum for \$750 (\$22,102.93),<sup>186</sup> 6 year old Parilee for \$450 (\$13,111.06) in order to pay off a debt, Steve for \$967.50 (\$28,512.78) to fellow planter John R. McDonald<sup>187</sup> and 15 year old Dolly to the sheriff for \$875 (\$25,786.75).<sup>188</sup> By the 1860 Slave Census, Bledsoe owned only 28 people but still had personal property worth \$22,280 (\$688,247.99) and real estate, including 7 slave cabins, valued at \$5,000 (\$154,454.22) for a total worth of \$27,280 (\$842,702.21). In January 1861 just before the fighting began, Bledsoe gifted his two early 20s, unmarried sons with 16 slaves, aged 6 months to 20 years.<sup>189</sup> This could have left Bledsoe with about 12 slaves. When war came about 3 months later his sons, Captain Jacob D. and William H. Bledsoe, fought for the Confederacy in the 55<sup>th</sup> Tennessee Infantry. The Union Forces captured both at Island #10 and imprisoned them on Johnson Island. They both survived. Yancey Bledsoe died on August 16, 1864 before the war ended. Buried in Bledsoe Cemetery #2 in Carroll County, a broken stone laying on a log once read “A loving husband, a father dear, a faithful friend lies buried here.”<sup>190</sup> No stone remains and someone graded over the area.<sup>191</sup> The

<sup>180</sup> Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Supreme Court of Tennessee, Volume 20, p. 281.

<sup>181</sup> Twenty-eight were females, 10 of whom were childbearing age. Twenty-three were males.

<sup>182</sup> Carroll Co Slave Transcriptions, Book G, p. 351. Group was purchased from N. P. Smith.

<sup>183</sup> Carroll Co Slave Transcriptions, Book O, p. 279. Given possession in 1852 but recorded in 1861. (Henry age 27, Martha 26, Sarah 26, Webb 24, Brad 20, Dennis 20 and Carroll 18.) In 1860 the McCains owned 12 slaves plus McCain’s indwelling mother owned four more.

<sup>184</sup> Carroll Co Slave Transcriptions, Book J, p. 274. Deed of Trust to Sheriff George W. Holladay. Jane age 27, Emily 7, Parolee 4, Evaline 26, Tabitha 6, Margaret 4, Green 3 and Nathan 8 months.

<sup>185</sup> Carroll Co Slave Transcriptions, Book K, p. 699. 1855. Evaline age 28 and her child 10/12 plus Beth 9, Margaret 7, Dan 5.

<sup>186</sup> Carroll Co Slave Transcriptions, Book K, p. 687. 1855.

<sup>187</sup> Carroll Co Slave Transcriptions, Book O, p. 229. 1861. Girl named Parilee about six years old.

<sup>188</sup> Carroll Co Slave Transcriptions, Book K, p. 655. 1855.

<sup>189</sup> Carroll County Slave Transcriptions, Book O, p.245. Their names were Elizabeth (20), Margaret 6/12, Em (15), Inse? Female age (14), Adaline (12), Peter (11), ?ice boy (10), Hannah (8), Ann (18), Stephen (2), Art (15) f, Eady (14), Cush (10) f, Poney (12) m, Unice (9) Sug? (6) f. Some are identifiable in the 1870 census.

<sup>190</sup> “An Inventory of Antebellum Tombstone Inscriptions Carroll Co, TN” by Jonathan K. T. Smith 2002. A picture of the now vanished tombstone is included.

Bledsoes appear to have been members of the Christian Church. Bledsoe's sons became doctors. They and their families moved to Gibson County, as did their sister. Only four white Bledsoes, the widow of Henderson Bledsoe and their three adult children, resided in Carroll County in 1870. Forty-two black Bledsoes did so and also the same number in 1880. One family even named a child Yancey in 1876.

**ISAAC SPARKS** was born on June 5, 1805 in Georgia, perhaps Oglethorpe County. He married Orpha Thompson in Wilson County in 1824. The 1830 census of Carroll County lists both Isaac and his uncle, Isaac Sparks, Sr. which causes some difficulty when researching the family. In 1829 the younger Isaac, son of Nathan and Sarah Hancock Sparks, received 40 acres of land in Carroll County from his father. By the 1836 Carroll County tax list Isaac Sparks owned 2 slaves and 114 acres. In 1842 he married his second wife, Jane L. Donnell, in Wilson County where his parents lived. His father died in 1844 but Sparks received no <sup>192</sup>slaves as his father granted his one slave, 18 year old Anthony, to a daughter. By 1850 Sparks had acquired 15 people (5 adults, 3 teens and 7 children)<sup>193</sup> and had an estate worth \$4500 (\$147,919.62). By the 1860 census he owned real estate (including 4 slave cabins) worth \$13,000 (\$401,580.96). Living in one of those cabins may have been the previously mentioned Anthony, bought by Isaac Sparks from his sister Eady New's son Nathan New for \$105.00 in 1853.<sup>194</sup> In 1860 Sparks' personal property, which included 29 slaves, was valued at \$30,000 (\$926,725.30). Immediately before the Civil War his estimated total worth would have been \$43,000 (\$1,348,174.34). Whether his sons of military age served in either army in the Civil War is unknown, although his two nephews, Nathan and Pleasant New, for whom he served as guardian, joined a Confederate unit in Texas. The military record of Henry Sparks, a 32 year old slave of Isaac Sparks, says he ran away to Columbus, Kentucky and enlisted in the US Colored Troops in June 1863.<sup>195</sup> After the war Isaac Sparks served as a Carroll County Magistrate.<sup>196</sup> In the 1870 census his real estate value sank to \$10,000 (\$195,720.61) and his personal property to only \$1,200 (\$23,486.47). His total property holdings came to \$11,200 (\$219,207.08). The Federal Government allowed Sparks' Loyalist Claim, which indicates a lack of known support for the Confederacy.<sup>197</sup> In September of 1874 he lost two tracts of land due to a lien on his property.<sup>198</sup> Sparks died February 27, 1878 and lies buried in Shiloh Cumberland Presbyterian Church Cemetery near McKenzie, TN, a church in which he had served as an elder. His modest Masonic tombstone inscription reads "Sleep, father dear and take thy rest. God called thee home. He thought it best. It was hard indeed to part with thee, but Christ's strong arm supported me." In 1870 forty-five blacks in the county had taken the last name Sparks. All but 12 still lived in the 9<sup>th</sup> district, many still near Isaac Sparks. By 1880, however, there were only 17. The Army discharged the run-away slave Henry Sparks in Pine Bluff, Arkansas in 1866 and he, too, choose to live somewhere other than Carroll County.

---

<sup>191</sup> Both Yancey Bledsoe and his wife, Henrietta Wilkes Bledsoe had stones in 1981 when the Carroll County Cemeteries Book was compiled.

<sup>192</sup> Some bits of information about Sparks genealogy came from <http://www.sparksfamilyassn.org/pages/172-A.html>.

<sup>193</sup> There were 8 females, 4 of whom were childbearing age and 7 males.

<sup>194</sup> "Carroll Co Slave Transcriptions, Book K, p.128. 1853. Nathan S. New, a Rebel, died in 1862 during the war.

<sup>195</sup> Records of the Field Office, United States Freedman's Bureau. Henry Sparks, 5' 10" tall, was discharged at Pine Bluff, Arkansas in February of 1866.

<sup>196</sup> "West Tennessean," October 15, 1868.

<sup>197</sup> Southern Loyalist Claim of Isaac Sparks #2,693

<sup>198</sup> "The Peoples Paper," Sept 1, 1874.

**REVEREND ABNER EDWARDS COOPER** was born in Halifax County, NC on October 12, 1803 to Isles and Nancy Edwards Cooper. He spent his youth in South Carolina before moving to Carroll County in the 1830s. In 1839 he married Mary H. Clendenning, daughter of Colonel Robert Clendenning of the South Carolina Legislature.<sup>199</sup> Joining the Cumberland Presbyterian Church in the 1830s he soon became one of its leaders, as did his fellow planter Reverend Reuben Burrow. Affectionately referred to as “Uncle Abner,” Cooper served as a ruling elder, an ordained minister, circuit rider and moderator for the church. He preached for the Shiloh Church in Carroll County for 45 years. Apparently an effective speaker, he reported that more than one hundred penitents responded to his appeal at one service. Cooper served for 41 years as President of the Board of Trustees for Bethel, a Cumberland Presbyterian college<sup>200</sup> founded in 1842. He also sat as a member of the County Court at one time. Despite his many religious and civic pursuits he continued to expand his land and slave holdings. In 1849 he bought a 1/3 interest in Tempy (age 30), Solomon (16), Isaac (11), Bedford (9), John (7), Mary (5) and Louisa (3).<sup>201</sup> By 1850 Cooper owned 15 slaves (6 adults, 2 teens, 7 children), of whom 7 were female and 8 male. His estimated estate value came to \$4000 (\$131,484.10). In 1852 he served as a commissioner for selling stock for a railroad between McMoresville and Camden.<sup>202</sup> In 1859 Cooper felt prosperous enough, as did his fellow planter Reuben Burrow, to pledge \$1000 (\$33,591) to Bethel College’s fund raising campaign.<sup>203</sup> By 1860 he had 26 workers whom he housed in 4 slave cabins. The 1860 census, unfortunately, failed to record the value of his estate. In 1861, with the war rapidly approaching, Cooper traveled throughout Cumberland Presbyterian Churches asking for unity over the “slavery question.” In the early 1800s, when first formed, many churches of that denomination rejected slave holders as members but as slavery became more entrenched, policy changed.<sup>204</sup> Four of Cooper’s sons fought for the Confederacy. Dr. Edward Cooper died in 1862 but the other three survived. Bethel College closed during the Civil War and both armies occupied it at some point. Cooper’s daughter Mary married the son of fellow planter Dabney Wingo in 1864. Five years after the war Cooper’s real estate value came to \$10,000 (\$195,720.61) and his personal estate \$5,000 (\$97,860.31) for a total worth of \$15,000 (\$293,580.92). Abner Edwards Cooper preached his last sermon at Shiloh Church in October, 1891 and died of old age (88) and *la grippe* on December 8, 1891.<sup>205</sup> He lies buried in the McMoresville Cemetery with a tall, elaborately carved tombstone, as might be expected of a well-known cleric and wealthy citizen. In 1870 three black families (23 individuals) and in 1880 three families (17 individuals) in Carroll County used the Cooper surname. Abner Cooper was the only Cooper in Carroll County who owned slaves in 1860.

**TILMAN GREGORY** was born in Union County, South Carolina in 1797 to John and Margaret Gregory. We know he arrived in Carroll County after the 1830 census but before 1836 because he was taxed that year for 205 acres and 2 slaves. In 1838 he became a commissioner to raise

---

<sup>199</sup> Goodspeed, Carroll Co, TN and “The Cumberland Presbyterian,” Jan 14, 1892, p. 521. (below)

<sup>200</sup> <http://www.cumberland.org/hfcpc/minister/CooperAbnerEdwards.htm> (obituary)

<sup>201</sup> Carroll County Slave Transactions, Book G, p 333.

<sup>202</sup> Acts Passed at the General Assembly of the State of Tennessee, 1852, p. 310.

<sup>203</sup> Davis, Louise, “Lone Survivor,” “Bethel College,” in the “Extension of Remarks,” Jan 15, 1973 Tennessee House of Representatives, p. 1100.

<sup>204</sup> “Essay on the Shiloh Cumberland Presbyterian Church.” July 21, 2009 internet.

<sup>205</sup> Obituary of Abner Cooper.

money for a turnpike between McLemoresville and Dresden.<sup>206</sup> In 1844 he received a land grant of 66 more acres in the county.<sup>207</sup> His first wife Elizabeth (Patton?) having died the previous year, Gregory married the 17 years younger Mrs. Sarah Dudley on September 26, 1845, also acquiring 4 stepchildren. By 1850 Gregory owned 15 slaves (7 adults, 1 teen and 7 children)<sup>208</sup> and had real estate worth \$5000 (\$164,355.13). By 1860 he had real estate valued at \$3000 (\$92,672.53) and his personal estate (which included 26 slaves) estimate came to \$23,400 (\$722,845.73). His son, Thomas P. Gregory, served as his overseer. The total estate would have been worth about \$26,400 (\$815,518.27) when he died at age 64 on 7 May 1861, just previous to Tennessee joining the Confederacy. Gregory's small tombstone stands in Pilgrim's Rest, a cemetery connected to a Cumberland Presbyterian Church. The estate managers divided Gregory's 22 slaves into 6 parts and the recipients drew lots in May 1862,<sup>209</sup> only a few months before emancipation. Having the names and ages of the slaves helped locate some of them in the 1870 census.

1. Son William H. Gregory drew lot #1, which included slaves John (age 18), Saline (32) Rufus (8) and Ep (5), valued at \$2875 (\$90,363) William H. Gregory married in Carroll Co in 1870 but is not in the 1880 census. We do know former slave Ep Gregory grew up in the county and married Martha Gilbert there in 1880.
2. Son Thomas P. Gregory drew lot #2, which included Harry (14), Plina (27), Peter (11), valued at \$2600 (\$81,719). Thomas P. remained in the county after the war with real estate worth \$6000 (\$117,432.37) and personal property valued in 1870 at \$1500 (\$29,358.09.) A family of workers named Hart lived on Thomas P. Gregory's land. Plina (Lina) Gregory apparently married a Hart and worked as the housekeeper for her then widowed former owner.
3. Son-in-Law William E. (wife Lavinia Gregory) Patterson drew lot #3, which included Richmond (18), Sina (11), Reuben (10), valued at \$2600 (\$81,719). In 1870, freedwoman Sina Gregory married Arch McCollum who worked on a farm owned by Richard White, a mulatto.
4. Son-in-Law Willis (wife Mary J. Gregory) Bobo drew lot #4, which included Sheft (22), Sally and child(ren) Corah, Simon (6), Spencer (5), valued at \$2600 (\$81,719).
5. Son-in-Law Dr. William (wife Sarah A. Gregory) Travis drew lot #5, which included Dick (37), Jule (35), Matty (8), Emmerson (5), valued at \$2750 (\$86,434). Dick may be Richard Gregory, head of a mulatto family in the 1870 census. Born in South Carolina, Dick might have come with the Gregory family to Carroll County.
6. The widow Sarah W. Gregory drew lot #6, Henry (24) Lue (38) Ann (5), Lee (6), valued at \$2700 (\$84,863). Only her husband, Tilman Gregory, owned these people previously. The widow died in 1868 at age 54. In the 1870 census only one family of 6 blacks (all mulattoes) had chosen the surname Gregory. In 1880 only 5 black Gregorlys resided in Carroll County, and none were mulatto. In a December 1937 WPA Slave Narrative, Andrew Gregory mentioned that his father had been owned by Tillman Gregory while he and his mother were owned by George Houston.<sup>210</sup> At age 19, Andrew Gregory left Carroll County with a group of freedmen headed for

<sup>206</sup> Acts of the State of Tennessee Passed at the General Assembly, 1838, p. 374-5.

<sup>207</sup> Western District Land Grants, Book 1A, p. 630.

<sup>208</sup> 1850 Slave Schedule, Carroll County, TN, p. 11 Seven people were female, 5 of childbearing age. There were 3 male adults and 5 male children.

<sup>209</sup> Carroll County Slave Transcriptions, Book O, p. 474. Only 12 of the 22 would have been fully productive workers.

<sup>210</sup> George Houston lived in Carroll County and owned 6 slaves in 1860. At a neighbor's house, he jumped up and said "I gonner be the first to kill a Yankee," then fell back and died. This according to Andrew Gregory in "Slave Narratives from the Confederacy."

Brinkley, Arkansas where they expected to find “new land.”<sup>211</sup> In 2019, Brinkley had 1.6 more blacks than any other racial/ethnic group.

**SAMUEL HAWKINS** was born in Bath County, KY about 1793.<sup>212</sup> In his early 20s he married his first cousin Nancy G. Roberts, the daughter of General Isaac Roberts of Maury Co., TN. Roberts, one of the surveyors of West Tennessee, died in 1816 and Nancy inherited 1/10<sup>th</sup> of his estate, which included land in West Tennessee.<sup>213</sup> In 1828 the Hawkins family left Maury County, TN and moved to Carroll County, TN. In the 1836 tax list Samuel owned 1,054 acres and 6 slaves. By 1850 he had 16 slaves (6 adults, 1 teen, 9 children)<sup>214</sup> and real estate worth \$3,950 (\$129,840.55). In 1858 he added a slave named Joe in exchange for a 13 year old boy named Spencer and a payment \$550 (\$17,197.16).<sup>215</sup> The 1860 census taker failed to record Hawkins’ real estate or personal estate values but the slave schedule shows ownership of 24 slaves housed in 4 cabins. Samuel Hawkins died in 1861 as war clouds gathered and is buried in the Hawkins Family Cemetery under a modest stone. His will divided his 24 slaves among his wife, Nancy Roberts Hawkins, and their four sons. His wife kept Letty, Levi, Aaron and Ann. The sons received Jesse, Susan, Caroline, Stephen, Edy, Joe, Mariah, two children named Rose, Jeff, Frank, Carroll, Jane, Margaret, Milly, Bob, Allen, Peter, Hannah and Julia. The will estimated the value of the 20 people given to the sons to be \$10,350 (\$301,554.31).<sup>216</sup> Two of Hawkins’ sons actively supported the Union. Isaac Roberts Hawkins worked for peace before the war and became a lieutenant colonel in the Union Army. He supported the Republican Party after the Civil War, served as a Republican in the US House of Representatives and helped save Tennessee from Reconstruction. Lucian L. Hawkins served in the Tennessee House of Representatives. Samuel Hawkins’ brother John Hawkins’ had sons with divided loyalties but the two oldest sons supported the Union. Ashton W. Hawkins served as a captain in the Union Army and Alvin T. Hawkins later became a Republican Governor of Tennessee. The sons and grandsons of Samuel and his brother John Hawkins dominated the fields of law, publishing, medicine and politics in West Tennessee well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In the 1870 census 33 blacks used the surname Hawkins. They all still lived in the Huntingdon area near Samuel Hawkins home place. Letty, Levi, Aaron, Susan, Edy, Mariah, Carroll and Milly (above) can be identified in the 1870 census from the names in the will. In 1880 only 20 blacks with the surname Hawkins remained, only 10 of whom had been born in slavery.

**JOHN NORMAN** was born in Rutherford Co, TN on December 5, 1804 to John and Mary Margaret Stockard Norman. He married Nancy Neal in Rutherford Co., TN in 1827, moved to Carroll County about 1828 and became Constable by 1832. In 1834 he served as a county commissioner.<sup>217</sup> In 1836 he paid taxes on 100 acres of land (no slaves) and served as the County Sheriff from 1838-1844. In 1850 he had real estate worth \$2300 (\$76,734.19) and owned 7 people (3 adults, 2 teens and 2 children)<sup>218</sup>. Adding to his workers, in February 1852 Norman

---

<sup>211</sup> Irene Robertson, interviewer of Andrew Gregory in “Slave Narratives from the Confederacy.”

<sup>212</sup> Goodspeed’s Biographical Sketches: Carroll Co, TN,” Goodspeed Publishing Co., 1886.

<sup>213</sup> <http://genealogytrails.com/tenn/maury/willssettlements.html>, p. 435; Maury Co., TN Wills, v. 1, Book B:1810-1825, “Isaac Roberts.” Roberts had 14 slaves at the time he made his will. He died in 1816.

<sup>214</sup> Hawkins had 11 males and 13 females. Sixteen were age 12 and under.

<sup>215</sup> “Carroll Co Slave Transcriptions,” Book N, p. 63.

<sup>216</sup> Carroll Co Slave Transcriptions, Book O, p. 327, 349, 350

<sup>217</sup> Microfilm Roll 125, Carroll Co, TN Deeds, Volume F, p. 418.

<sup>218</sup> Norman held 4 females (ages 44, 16, 12, 4) and 3 males (ages 23, 11, 18) in 1850.

bought Jim (a mulatto) for \$700 (\$23,657.18).<sup>219</sup> In November 1852 he purchased Hannah (age 26) and her child Delia Ann (1) for \$875 (\$29,571.48).<sup>220</sup> In August 1854 he held three people as securities for debts: Cloe (age 50) and in October Ned (age 39), and Garland (age 24).<sup>221</sup> In 1854-56 he served as Clerk of the Circuit Court. In 1855 he bought Eveline (28) and her child (10/12), Beth (9), Margaret (7), and Dan (5) from fellow planter, Yancey Bledsoe, for \$2450 (\$75,900.12).<sup>222</sup> By 1856 he was a county judge. In 1860 his personal property was worth \$36,015 (\$1,129,174.39), which included 24<sup>223</sup> slaves of his own housed in 4 cabins plus 7 more held in trust for 5 minors.<sup>224</sup> His real estate estimate was \$15,000 (\$470,293.37) for a total property value of \$51,015 (\$1,713,624.58). He acquired the bulk of his fortune and slaves during the period from 1850-1860. Norman hired William G. Hartman as his overseer.<sup>225</sup> Perhaps the tremendous amount of time he spent on civic affairs necessitated the hire.<sup>226</sup> Norman served in the Tennessee House of Representatives from Carroll County from 1859-1861. Openly supportive of the Union during the war, Norman backed the winning side and did well in the years following the war including representing Carroll County again in the House from 1865-67 and as the representative from Carroll, Dyer and Gibson Counties in the Tennessee State Senate from 1867-69. That Norman remained wealthy can be seen in his investment and appointment as a commissioner in a railroad company startup in 1867.<sup>227</sup> By 1870 he had moved from the 19<sup>th</sup> district into the city of Huntingdon. The census listed him as a retired judge. Even in retirement he still owned \$10,000 (\$198,648.09) worth of real estate and had \$8000 (\$158,918.47) of personal property, even after the loss of his slaves. His only son, John Bell Norman, married Mary Fannie Ragland in 1865 and remained in the 19<sup>th</sup> district with real estate worth \$10,000 (\$198,648.09), presumably some of it inherited family property. The Normans also had 7 daughters, two of whom married sons of fellow planter and neighbor David Coleman. On September 1, 1874 the "People's Paper" announced that Postmaster Judge Norman,<sup>228</sup> with yet another job, was confined to his room with sickness. Norman died on October 5, 1874 at age 69 while in Madison Co, TN, presumably on business or visiting.<sup>229</sup> He lies buried in the Zion Cumberland Presbyterian Church Cemetery in Huntingdon, TN under a medium-sized, but impressive stone. Only 17 blacks used the Norman surname in 1870 and 11 in 1880. No white Normans remained in the county in 1880.

---

<sup>219</sup> Carroll Co Slave Transcriptions, Book J, p. 113. Jim might be the Jim Norman on page 279 of Turner, History of Carroll Co., TN, Volume 1, p. 279. If so, Jim would have been 2 years old when bought. He might also be the Jim Norman who died in 1940 and is said to be in an unmarked grave in the black section of Oak Hill Cemetery.

<sup>220</sup> Carroll Co Slave Transcriptions, Book J, p.199

<sup>221</sup> Carroll Co Slave Transcriptions, Book J, p. 176, Book K, p. 403.

<sup>222</sup> Carroll Co Slave Transcriptions, Book K, p. 699. Yancey Bledsoe was liquidating property.

<sup>223</sup> Sixteen of Norman's slaves and slaves in trust were male and 15 female. Nineteen were 12 or under.

<sup>224</sup> One of the minors was John L. Ragland, age 21. He seems to have been the son of Edward Ragland (d. 1854) and Sarah who died 1860.

<sup>225</sup> Hartman is buried in the Zion Cumberland Presbyterian Cemetery, where John Norman is buried.

<sup>226</sup> Devault, Julian (Mrs) and Mrs. Allen Holliday for an article in "Two Hundred Years at Muscle Shoals," (Alabama) by Nina Leftwich. <https://rememberingtheshoals.wordpress.com/tag/john-norman/>

<sup>227</sup> Acts Passed by General Assembly of the State of Tennessee, First Session, 35<sup>th</sup> General Assembly 1867-68, p37.

<sup>228</sup> His salary was \$380 as postmaster of Huntingdon. Official Register of the United States, 1874 p. 915; This looks like an appointment to a job where someone else did the work. The newspaper calling him "Postmaster Judge" is a possible veiled accusation or at least a dig.

<sup>229</sup> "Whig and Tribune," Jackson, TN Oct 31, 1874.

**FREDERICK HILL HENDERSON** was born January 31, 1821 in Raleigh, North Carolina<sup>230</sup> to Dr. James Martin and Margaret Moore (Hill) Henderson. The family moved to Carroll County in early 1828 when Frederick was about 7 years old. They settled near Huntingdon where Fredrick's mother Margaret died in 1829. His grandparents, (Major) Pleasant Stephen and Sarah Martin Henderson, left Chapel Hill, North Carolina and took up residence with their widowed son and his children in 1830. Pleasant Henderson had been a steward of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and had 19 slaves at one point.<sup>231</sup> He, however, had fallen on hard times. The Henderson grandparents came from two well-known and well-educated North Carolina families who, at times, held multiple land grants in Tennessee and Kentucky.<sup>232</sup> Frederick Henderson's uncle, Tippo Saib Henderson, also lived in the county. He owned 2104 acres and 14 slaves in the 1836 Tax List. Fredrick's well-educated father Dr. James Martin died when he was about 10 years old. The will left the grandparents in charge of the orphan children, estate and slaves, dividing the estate and slaves among the children as they came of age.<sup>233</sup> It mandated that married slave couples be kept together but fails to mention their children. The slaves Andrew, Betty and their children were to remain on the estate to help the Henderson orphans and their grandparents.<sup>234</sup> Grandmother Sarah Martin Henderson died in 1840 and Grandfather Pleasant Henderson died in Huntingdon on December 10, 1842 at age 86.<sup>235</sup> His obituary ran in the "Raleigh (NC) Register" on January 13, 1843. About 1843 Frederick Henderson became eligible to receive his part of his father's estate.<sup>236</sup> He married Julia A. Covington in Carroll County on December 11, 1844. In 1847 he bought a twenty-six year old woman named Harriet for \$600 (\$19,041).<sup>237</sup> By the 1850 census he owned 11 people (5 adults, 1 teen, 5 children).<sup>238</sup> By 1860 he owned 23 people whom he housed in 4 slave cabins. His personal property, which included his slaves, came to \$17,173 (\$538,423.21) and he owned \$15,000 (\$470,293.37) worth of real estate. Since Henderson did not enlist in either army and had no sons of military age, his views on the war are unknown. He did file a claim with the Southern Claims Commission in 1873 denying participation in the war and asking for \$2,621 (\$60,708.48) in damage to his property,<sup>239</sup> which must have been extensive. Even after the war (1868) the infamous "Skullbone Gang," the remains of a guerilla group out of Gibson County, claimed one of Henderson's mules belonged to them and arrived to reclaim it. A gun battle ensued and the defenders killed one of the gang and wounded two more. The "Nashville Banner" of February 26, 1869 reported the incident. By 1870 Henderson's personal property, minus the value of the freed slaves, had dropped to \$5,000 (\$99,324.00) but his real estate still came to \$15,000 (\$297,972.00). Henderson served as a Justice of the Peace and remained active in civic life after the war. The "Milan Herald" of July 20, 1876 ran this obituary on page 3.

---

<sup>230</sup> Lane, Francie, The Martin Family History, Vol. 2, p. 134. (on line)

<sup>231</sup> Slavery and the Making of the University, "Slavery of Faculty and Townspeople," [https://exhibits.lib.unc.edu/exhibits/show/slavery/faculty\\_townspeople](https://exhibits.lib.unc.edu/exhibits/show/slavery/faculty_townspeople)

<sup>232</sup> Ibid, p. 99.

<sup>233</sup> Carroll County Tennessee Wills, v. A-B, p. 22, probate July 16, 1831.

<sup>234</sup> Will of James Martin Henderson. Family slaves Lewis and George were also mentioned in the will.

<sup>235</sup> Historical Sketches of North Carolina, v. II, pp 335-36.

<sup>236</sup> <https://sites.rootsweb.com/~tncarroll/wills/jhenderson22.htm>.

<sup>237</sup> Carroll Co Slave Transcriptions, Book G, p. 175. He bought her from Lewis A Grace.

<sup>238</sup> Henderson owned 6 males and 5 females, 3 of the females were of childbearing age. His mother owned 5 males and 1 female. 1850 Slave Schedule of Carroll Co, TN

<sup>239</sup> Southern Claim #6,770



“F. H. Henderson, Esq, dropped dead at the dinner table at his residence five miles east of McKenzie Tuesday last. He had been a magistrate for years, and was one of the oldest [He was 55.] and best citizens of the county. His death is supposed to have resulted from apoplexy.”

No grave markers for the grandfather, father or son have been located, which is strange for such a prominent family. Only 6 freedmen had the surname Henderson in 1870. Prince Henderson, born in North Carolina, might have come with the white Hendersons when they moved to Carroll County. In 1880 only ten blacks and three whites had the surname. In 1900 there were 12 black Hendersons.

**SIDNEY BAUCOM** (Baucham) was born in 1828 in Wake County, North Carolina, the son of Bennett and Dililia Ann Dunn Baucom. He would have been only about 3 years old at the time of his father's death in Carroll County in 1831. His mother appears as a widow with 5 slaves in the 1836 Carroll County Tax List. In 1847, at about age 19, Baucom bought a woman named Milly and her infant for \$650 (\$20,647.00) and a woman named Nilly from fellow planter Fredrick Henderson for \$525 (\$16,676.00).<sup>240</sup> By the 1850 slave census, at only 23 years old, he owned 9 slaves<sup>241</sup> (4 adults, 1 teenager and 4 children age 4 and under).<sup>242</sup> His widowed mother owned 6 people (3 adults, 1 teen, 2 children). Mother and son lived with Baucom's brother-in-law, Burrell Oliver and his sister Charity Baucom Oliver. The Olivers owned 11 workers, making a total of 27 slaves on the plantation. Sidney Baucom's real estate value came only to \$375 (\$12,522.00). His brother-in-law and mother, however, each held property worth \$1200 (\$40,073.00). About 1853 Baucom married Harriett C. Jackson, daughter of a Henry County, Tennessee slave owner. In 1855 he paid fellow planter Yancey Bledsoe \$750 (\$22,455.00) for a 12 year old girl, named Harriett.<sup>243</sup> Baucom's mother died sometime between 1851 and 1860 and he may have inherited some of her slaves. In 1860 his real estate, including 3 slave cabins, came to \$1000 (\$31,382.00) and his personal property, including 23 slaves,<sup>244</sup> was worth \$16,000 (\$502,119.00) for a total of only \$17,000 (\$533,501.00). Baucom ranks as the “poorest” of the 30 planters of 1860. Of the five adults he owned, the only adult male worker appears to be Squire (Esquire?), who was given to Sidney Baucom in his father's will. Four females of childbearing age (Milly, Nilly, Harriet and ?) made up the other adults and their children perhaps comprised some of the other 18 people. Baucom has no service record in the Civil War and his sons were too young. He later applied to the Federal Government for compensation for his losses in the war and would have needed to deny support of the war. After the war (1870) the value of his real estate, which had previously been low, more than doubled to \$2500 (\$49,709.00), even though his personal property declined to \$1000 (\$19,884), from the loss of his slaves. Baucom professed religion in the Huntingdon Methodist Episcopal Church South in 1876 and his wife Harriet did so in 1877.<sup>245</sup> She died in February 1891.<sup>246</sup> In August of 1891 “Professor” Baucom closed a

---

<sup>240</sup> Carroll Co Slave Transcriptions, Book G, pp 128-129. Baucom also sold a man named Brit, age 40, to Benjamin Wheelis for \$650 in 1852. Book H, p. 435.

<sup>241</sup> Sydney Baucom's mother's age in the 1850 census is probably 62 rather than 88 in the transcription.

<sup>242</sup> In 1850 Baucom held 6 males and 3 females, all 3 of childbearing age. His mother held 5 males, 1 female.

<sup>243</sup> “Carroll Co Slave Transcriptions,” Book K, p. 687.

<sup>244</sup> In 1860 Baucom had 13 females and 10 males. Eighteen of his 23 slaves were 12 years old and under.

<sup>245</sup> “Records of the Mt. Zion Methodist Episcopal Church South, Huntingdon Circuit, Paris District, Memphis Conference,” p 1-2. Available at McKenzie Library.

<sup>246</sup> “Carroll County Democrat,” February 20, 1891.

school in Pilot Grove, TN where he had been teaching penmanship and remarried at age 61.<sup>247</sup> He died in 1895 at age 65 at his home near Hollow Rock and is thought to be buried in the family cemetery east of town, but no stone survives. His obituary says he was a “man who stood well with all who knew him.”<sup>248</sup> One wonders if his former slaves would agree. The Federal Government finally granted him \$85.00 (\$2,855.20) in compensation under the Bowman Act in 1898, but it came after his death. Eleven workers (plus 8 children born free) bearing the surname Baucom lived near him in the 1870 census and some may have still worked for him. One was Squire Baucom, age 50, and his wife Milly mentioned above. In the 1880 census of Carroll County there were 31 blacks with the surname Baucom. Sometime after the 1880 census, at least two of Squire and Milly’s children, Samuel Baucom and Jennie Johnson and their families, joined the exodus of blacks out of Carroll County, settling finally in Villa Ridge, Pulaski County, Illinois.<sup>249</sup> By the 1900 census only 3 people in the county had the surname Baucom, all black.

**ALBERT SAMUEL WARREN** was born in Halifax, Virginia on January 16, 1816 to James Stewart and Dolly Stanfield Warren. He married Elizabeth Ann Adkisson on Feb 4, 1837.<sup>250</sup> Albert Warren and family resided in Humphrey County, Tennessee in the 1840 and 1850 censuses. In the 1850 slave census he owned 17 slaves, 11 of whom were females. Of the 6 males, the oldest was only 16. The family arrived in Carroll County sometime between 1851 and 1860. His real estate in the Huntingdon area, including 4 slave cabins, had an estimated worth of \$10,000 (\$313,824) in 1860. His personal property, including 14 female and 8 male slaves, was valued at \$22,119 (\$694,148) for a total of \$32,119 (\$1,007,971). Twelve of Warrens’ 22 slaves were children and the Warrens had 11 children of their own. In 1860 two of the Warren’s sons ages 11 and 10 months died, one with typhoid and the other with pneumonia.<sup>251</sup> One wonders about the death rate from diseases among slave children, as well. In 1860 Warren gave fellow planter B. F. Harrison a boy named Lipscomb as security for a debt and sold a girl named Milley for \$700 (\$21,968).<sup>252</sup> This seems to indicate some financial difficulty immediately before the war. His oldest son may have fought for the Confederacy but where Warren stood on the conflict remains uncertain. After the war the value of his real estate had dropped to \$2,500 (\$49,709) and his personal property to \$1,000 (\$19,884), for a total property value of \$3,500 (\$69,592). These post-war figures are lower than those of most of the planters. Warren went into the business world and in January of 1879 he “changed houses” to employment in the firm of Connell, Buford and Company.<sup>253</sup> That same year he attended the Democratic Convention as a delegate which most likely indicates he had supported the rebellion. Though not listed in the Carroll County 1880 census, he did not die until January 15, 1889 at age 72. Buried in Clark Cemetery in Huntingdon, TN, Warren has an impressive stele, which he shares with his wife, who died in 1897. The Warrens buried their two young sons there previously. The Warrens left little information about their personal lives but Mrs. Warren is known to have been a faithful member of the Christian Church.<sup>254</sup> Their son Dr. James J. Warren represented Decatur, Perry and Lewis Counties in the 44<sup>th</sup> General Assembly of the Tennessee House of Representatives. Son Albert

---

<sup>247</sup> “Carroll County Democrat,” August 28, 1891. “It was quite an old couple, each having passed the 50<sup>th</sup> milepost.”

<sup>248</sup> “Carroll County Democrat,” January 18, 1895.

<sup>249</sup> Correspondence of the author with Valerie Jones, gg granddaughter of Squire Baucom. 09/20.2021.

<sup>250</sup> Find A Grave website for Albert Samuel Warren.

<sup>251</sup> Clark Cemetery and 1860 Census Mortality List.

<sup>252</sup> “Slave Transactions,” Book O, p. 68.

<sup>253</sup> “The Vindicator,” v II, #40, published in Huntingdon, TN.

<sup>254</sup> Obituary of Elizabeth Warren on “Find a Grave.”

Samuel Warren Jr. moved to Nashville, TN and built a Queen Anne mansion that stood in downtown Nashville's Music Row until 2020. Atlantic records used the house as offices in the 1980s. Only four blacks in Carroll County had the surname Warren in 1870 and six in 1880.

**JOHN RANDLE ROBINSON** (Robertson, Roberson) was born in North Carolina in 1815 to Randle and Mary Robinson. The family moved to Carroll County by 1836 when his father appeared on the Carroll County tax list with 10 slaves. In 1843, at about age 28, John Randle Robinson married the widow Louisa Ellen Jordan Vinson. Her father, Burton Jordan, divided 17 slaves between his three sons and eight daughters in 1848.<sup>255</sup> Robinson and his brother-in-law, Eli W. Hale, auctioned off to the highest bidder the 9 slaves in which their wives had part interest. The auctioned slaves were Meaby (17) and her child Louisa (6/12), Charity (8), Reuben (24), John (28), Alfred (20), Winney (63), Doctor (36), and Narcissa (8). This sale took place in late 1849 and early 1850. Five individuals bought one person and two bought two. The brother-in-laws made \$4,721 (\$157,654) from the sale.<sup>256</sup> After the liquidation of their estate, the elder Jordans moved in with the Robinson family. By the 1850 census Robinson owned 8 workers, 3 males and 5 females. Five were adults and 3 were teens. In 1853 he paid \$3,000 (\$101,483) for a slave family he bought from R. H. Algea, his sister-in-law's merchant husband. The family included 29 year old Nelson, his 23 year old wife Easter and their 3 children, Tennessee age 5, Sylvester 2½ and Louisa 2 months.<sup>257</sup> In 1858 Robinson bought Mary, a young woman about 18 years old, for \$1000 (\$34,000.24).<sup>258</sup> In 1859 his mother, by then widow Mary Robinson,<sup>259</sup> gave the 8 slaves she owned to Robinson and his sister, Sophia J. Love. Robinson's gift included Harry (age 35), his wife Charity (34) and their two daughters Mary Jane (5) and Sarah Eliza (3).<sup>260</sup> By 1860 he owned 22 people and had \$13,500 (\$423,663) in real estate, including 5 slave cabins, and \$20,000 (\$627,648) in personal property for a total property value of \$33,500 (\$1,051,311). Robinson's position on the rebellion is unknown. He could not be conscripted since he owned 20+ slaves. His only son was four and obviously too young to fight. Sometime in the 1860s the family moved to adjacent Gibson County, TN.<sup>261</sup> In the 1870 Gibson County census Robinson's real estate had declined to \$10,000 (\$198,835) and his personal property to \$2,500 (\$49,709). The household still retained a black laborer named A. Jordan (50) and a cook, Hannah Jordan (45), most likely former slaves of Robinson's in-laws. John Randle Robinson died in Gibson County on November 12, 1872<sup>262</sup> at age 57. He lies buried under a small broken stone in the overgrown New Hope Cemetery, now on the old Milan Arsenal property. His wife and Jordan in-laws are also buried in New Hope.<sup>263</sup> A few of the Robinson family's former slaves can be identified in later censuses. Nelson Robeson and daughter Tennessee, two of the family bought for \$3,000 in 1853, lived on the property of Dr. R. D. Phillips in 1870. Nelson and his son-in-law, Neal Jordan, worked as farm hands. Tennessee named her first child after her mother Easter. This family disappears before the 1880 census. Harry Robeson and Charity, the

---

<sup>255</sup> "Slave Transcriptions of Carroll Co, TN," page 373.

<sup>256</sup> Ibid, Book H, pp 80-83.

<sup>257</sup> Ibid, Book K, p. 205.

<sup>258</sup> Ibid, Book N, p. 154.

<sup>259</sup> Randle Robinson died in 1845. Mary Robinson had 8 slaves in the 1850 Slave Schedule. The four slaves Mary gave her daughter were Charley (13), John (6) Elvira (13) and Hannah (9). Mary Robinson died in 1862.

<sup>260</sup> "Carroll Co Slave Transcriptions," Book N, p.154, Book M, p. 277.

<sup>261</sup> 14<sup>th</sup> district of Gibson Co.

<sup>262</sup> "Whig and Tribune," Jackson, TN, Nov. 23, 1872.

<sup>263</sup> Visiting New Hope Cemetery requires permission from the Milan Arsenal.

family Robinson's mother gave him in 1859, appear in the 1880 census. They, their two daughters and two more children, still resided in the county. In the 1<sup>st</sup> district in 1870, where the old Robinson and Jordan properties stood, 29 black Jordans and 21 black Robesons still resided, often living near each other. Sixteen black Robinsons (Robesons) and 24 Jordans remained in the county in 1880.

**JAMES COLUMBUS "LUM" MCDONALD** was born in Halifax County, Virginia in 1792 to Magnus and Tabitha Morris McDonald and taken to Wilson County, Tennessee as an infant. Columbus, shortened to "Lum," seems to be a frequent second name in the McDonald "clan." Using Lum for an initial seems strange, however. McDonald married three times, first to a Miss Vaughn in 1812, second to Ann L. Duty in Wilson County, TN in 1817, and third to 15 year younger Charity E. Lankford in Madison County, TN in 1830. He served as both a sheriff and a tax collector while living there.<sup>264</sup> In the 1850 Slave Census McDonald owned 24 slaves, 13 of whom were 10 and under. He moved to Carroll County by the 1860 census. At that time he owned real estate, which included 4 slave cabins, worth \$4,756 (\$149,255). He estimated his personal property, including his 22 slaves (nine under the age of 8), at \$20,800 (\$652,754). His entire estate totaled \$25,556 (\$802,009). At least two of his sons and one grandson fought for the Confederacy in Company G, 55<sup>th</sup> Browns, the regiment for which his son Joseph E. McDonald served as Major. In August 1863, in the midst of the Civil War, James L. McDonald wrote his will, mentioning property and slaves he had given and was in the process of giving to his children and grandchildren. He mentioned the following slaves by name, Green, Manuel, Betty, Adeline, Gabriel, Jenny, Tom, Parrelle, Gran(?), and specified to whom they would be given.<sup>265</sup> Lincoln had already officially freed the slaves by the time McDonald registered the will in August of 1863. John L. McDonald died in Carroll County on October 25, 1868 at age 76. Buried in the McLemoresville Cemetery, he has an interesting medium sized double tombstone which he shares with his 15 year younger last wife who died the same year. Twenty-seven blacks in Carroll County used the name McDonald in 1870. Since John L. McDonald was the only McDonald who held slaves in the county in 1860, any black McDonald residents of the county in 1870 who chose to use the surname likely had been enslaved by him. Freedwoman Lottie McDonald, age 80 in 1870, gave her birthplace as Africa, which is very unusual. She must have been one of the last to be brought in before the 1808 ban on importation. From the list of slaves in the will, Adaline, Betty, Jenny, Tom, and Parrelle appear to still live near some of McDonald's children in the 6<sup>th</sup> district in 1870. Thirty-seven blacks used the surname McDonald in 1880.

**JOHN JAMES CRAWFORD (CROFFORD)** was born on November 12, 1812 in Madison County, Alabama to William and Rachael Titus Crawford, who left Virginia, moved to Madison County, AL and eventually settled in Lincoln County, Tennessee.<sup>266</sup> John James Crawford married Nancy Moore, daughter of a large slave holder in Madison County, who lived close to the Tennessee line in Alabama.<sup>267</sup> They had 5 children before Nancy died in the mid 1840s. He might have acquired slaves from this marriage. Crawford married for a second time to Susan C.

---

<sup>264</sup> Goodspeed History of Madison County, Tennessee, 1887, 797-917.

<sup>265</sup> Will of James L. McDonald transcribed by Steve Hatch on the internet at <https://wc.rootsweb.com/trees/101659/I01569/jamesl-mcdonald/individual>

<sup>266</sup> <https://www.geni.com/people/Rachael-Crawford/6000000037563271313>

<sup>267</sup> Johnson, Frank W, "A History of Texas and Texans," 1914, v 3, pp. 1273-4.

Carroll. In the 1850 census they lived in Marshall County, TN, a county immediately above Lincoln County, TN. His personal estate came to \$1500 (\$53,615.77) and he owned 10 people,<sup>268</sup> 6 females and 4 males. In 1859 Crawford and 7 of his siblings and in-laws contested the will of his blacksmith father<sup>269</sup> but he seems unlikely to have inherited much. By 1860 Crawford lived in Carroll County with his 2<sup>nd</sup> wife and 7 children. At that time he owned 21 people,<sup>270</sup> which he housed in 5 cabins. His son, John Warren Crawford, later recalled having acted as an overseer of slave labor by age fourteen.<sup>271</sup> In 1860 Crawford estimated his real estate value as \$5,000 (\$156,912) and his personal property as \$20,000 (\$627,648), for a total property value of \$25,000 (\$784,560). He is one of three planters, out of the 30, thought to have served in the military during the Civil War. His son, John Warren Crawford, later wrote that his father identified with the “Southern cause when the Rebellion broke out” because of his “connection with slave labor.” “He was an officer on the staff of General Forrest, and was taken prisoner by Colonel Ike (Isaac) Hawkins’ men and sent to Rock Island, Illinois where he died in the military prison.”<sup>272</sup> Crawford, however, is not listed among the prison dead at Rock Island nor does he seem to have military records and no grave has been found. N. B. Nesbitt lists a J. J. Crawford in his roster and memoir of Co. H. 55<sup>th</sup> TN Infantry but he appears to be a recruit from Kentucky. Records exist for three of Crawford’s sons, all of whom served in the Confederate Army. Son William H. died during the war but John Warren<sup>273</sup> and Ebenezer survived. Son John Warren said he found himself “in financial straights when the Confederacy collapsed, and his efforts at farming while he remained in Tennessee were feeble and insignificant.” He began railroad building and farming in Texas in 1873. Ebenezer moved to Petersburg, TN and worked in merchandizing when Carroll County became unprofitable for him.<sup>274</sup> John J. Crawford’s second wife Susan is widowed in the 1870 census. She still has \$1,000 (\$19,884) in real estate but only \$500 (\$8,942) in personal estate. She lies buried in the Shiloh Cemetery near McKenzie. Nineteen blacks in Carroll County had the Crawford/Crofford surname in 1870 and only two in 1880. They, too, seem to have joined the exodus.

**REVEREND REUBEN BURROW, SR.** was born in Guilford Co., North Carolina on June 26, 1798 to Ishmael and Catharine Elizabeth Coble Burrow. He arrived in Carroll Co. in 1821, became convicted in religion and moved to Middle Tennessee to take up the ministry. Burrow spent time from 1821-1828 doing itinerate preaching for the Cumberland Presbyterian Church in Tennessee, Missouri, Arkansas, Virginia, North and South Carolina. One 18 month period he received only \$50 for his efforts. In February 1828 he married Elizabeth Wier Bell of Franklin County, TN. and moved to Madison Co, TN. He continued his itinerate ministry, however, traveling back to former areas and as far away as Pennsylvania and Ohio. During these years of itinerancy his wife had the responsibility for the farm and their nine young children.<sup>275</sup> In the late

<sup>268</sup> The J. J. Crawford in Co. H 55<sup>th</sup> TN. Inf. was court-martialed by CSA and sentenced to be shot.

<sup>269</sup> Will Book 41, Lincoln Co, TN.

<sup>270</sup> Twelve of Crawford’s slaves were female and 9 male. Fourteen were children 12 and under.

<sup>271</sup> Johnson, Frank W, “A History of Texas and Texans,” 1914, vol. 3, 1273-4.

<sup>272</sup> Ibid.

<sup>273</sup> Ibid. John Warren Crawford was in Co. D 22<sup>nd</sup> Tennessee Infantry and is buried in the Gilmer City Cemetery in Upshur County, Texas. His autobiography is in “A History of Texas and Texans.” Above.

<sup>274</sup> Ibid.

<sup>275</sup> Logan, James B, *Chronicles of Sylvanton: A Sequel to Alice McDonald*, Southwestern Book and Publishing Co, 1873, xi. A short bio of Elizabeth Wier Bell Burrow and her picture are in this religious publication of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church.

1840s he worked mainly among the poor in Tennessee and Mississippi.<sup>276</sup> Burrow bought a male worker named Ben for \$500 (\$17,771) in 1843 at an estate sale so he had money from somewhere. The 1850 Census gave no estimate for his real estate yet Burrow owned 15 slaves, (10 female and 5 male,) and must have kept them on land he owned or rented. Where did he acquire the money? Some people in his generation apparently asked the same question. Elizabeth Burrow's father died sometime in the 1830s. Some inheritance might have come to her from the John Bell estate. Burrow spoke of his own parents as "industrious but poor." Purchasing property and slaves from the proceeds of his preaching appears impossible as he complained he seldom received pay. His wife might have been financially savvy. Referring to his wealth in his 1852 autobiography he said he "had drawn a veil over the subject,"<sup>277</sup> a rather strange assertion. Burrows joined the faculty of Bethel College in 1852, another job in which he was unlikely to make much money but he stepped up first to pledge \$1000 (\$33,591) to Bethel's fund raising campaign in January of 1859.<sup>278</sup> His fortune continued to increase. By 1860 he owned 21 people whom he housed in 4 slave cabins. He had also accumulated real estate near McLemoresville worth an estimated \$8,000 (\$251,059) and personal property \$21,450 (\$673,153) giving a total of \$29,450 (\$924,212). Suddenly the war came and his life turned tragic. Three of his sons died in the war and one received bad wounds. His wife also died and some believed the war had shortened her life.<sup>279</sup> Reuben Burrow died on May 13, 1868 at the home of a son-in-law in Shelby Co., TN. Brought back home to McLemoresville by train, his fellow planter and minister Reverend Abner Edward Cooper preached his funeral.<sup>280</sup> Burrow had been a minister in the Cumberland Presbyterian Church for 46 years.<sup>281</sup> The Presbytery of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church erected his tombstone in the McLemoresville cemetery. Any surviving male children appear to have left the county by 1870 but 57 former slaves and their offspring used the name Burrow in the 1870 census and 59 in the 1880. Some of these, however, must have taken the family name from his first cousin and fellow planter John Jefferson Burrow.

**BENJAMIN H. NESBITT** was born on 2/02/1812 to Nathan and Jane Angeline Jamison Nesbitt, very early Carroll County settlers. We know the family arrived from Dickson County, TN by December 1822 because Nathan Nesbitt became chairman of the first Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions. In his 1827 will Nathan mentions 13 slaves by name. He left no slaves to his son Benjamin,<sup>282</sup> but did leave him one lot of land containing 769 acres, a horse, saddle and bridle. This horse would become Benjamin's as soon as he reached age 21 or specifically on 2/02/1833.<sup>283</sup> He might also receive a part of the proceeds of the sale of five young slaves (Jesse, Lida, Alex, Crouch, and Jo) if the bequests turned out to be uneven. In 1848 Nesbitt married Mary Jane Pinson, daughter of Thomas and Martha Pinson. His wife died in 1850 leaving a one

---

<sup>276</sup> Burrow, A. G., ed. Medium Theology. "Lectures of Rev. Reuben Burrow, D.D., Professor of Theology in Bethel College from 1851 to 1860. With Autobiographical Sketch and Short Account of Funeral." Nashville, TN: Printed at the Cumberland Presbyterian Publishing House, 1881, pp. 9-18. The article includes a picture of Rev. Burrow.

<sup>277</sup> Ibid.

<sup>278</sup> Davis, Louise, "Lone Survivor," "Bethel College," in the "Extension of Remarks," Jan 15, 1973 Tennessee House of Representatives, p. 1100.

<sup>279</sup> Logan, James B, *Chronicles of Sylvanton: A Sequel to Alice McDonald*, "Mrs. Elizabeth Weir Bell Burrow," xi. Includes a picture of Mrs. Burrow

<sup>280</sup> Burrow, A. G., ed. Medium Theology, pp. 9-18.

<sup>281</sup> Ibid. pp. 19-21.

<sup>282</sup> Other slaves dispensed in the will were Chloe, Tilda, Handy, Mary, Ann, Randal, for a total of 13. His sisters each received one slave. The brothers received land. All received part of the final sale of property, presumably.

<sup>283</sup> Nathan Nesbitt's Will, Carroll Co, TN, Will Book A, 1828, p. 15.

year old son named Nathan. In the 1850 census the child lived with his widowed maternal grandmother, an uncle and two aunts. The widow Pinson held 13 slaves (6 adults, 4 teens and 3 children) plus she owned an estimated \$3,000 (\$100,182) in real estate. Nesbitt, however, lived in the household of Thomas A. Pasteurs, a native Ohioan and Postmaster of Buena Vista, TN. Nesbitt farmed but had no real estate listed in the 1850 census nor any slaves on the 1850 Slave Schedule. He had inherited 769 acres, however, for which there remains no account. Nesbitt sold a girl named Eliza in 1851 so he had acquired one. Selling may perhaps indicate some financial difficulty.<sup>284</sup> His mother-in-law died in 1851, leaving her estate to her four remaining children but nothing to her former son-in-law or her grandson.<sup>285</sup> In 1852 Nesbitt married Martha A. Pinson, his former wife's sister, giving him access to his 2<sup>nd</sup> wife's part of the Pinson estate. By 1860 Nesbitt owned a surprising 21 slaves and an even more surprising \$8000 (\$251,059) in real estate. His personal property, which included his slaves, was worth \$30,000 (\$941,472) for a total property value of \$38,000 (\$1,192,532). Nesbitt's only surviving son was too young to fight in the Civil War but extended family members fought in the Confederate Army, some of them in Texas and some in Tennessee. Benjamin H. Nesbitt died at age 52 on 9/11/1864 toward the end of the Civil War but most likely of natural causes. He has an impressive monument in the Nesbitt Cemetery in Carroll County, as do others of his family and also his Pinson in-laws. His strange epitaph says "A good man doth his favors show and doth to others lend, he with discretion his affairs will guide unto the end." His widow still had real estate worth \$3,000 (\$59,651) and personal estate valued at \$1,000 (\$19,884) in 1870. In that year 16 blacks wore the surname Nesbitt and 39 did so in 1880. Benjamin's brother Wilson Nesbit also owned slaves so some could be named for that branch

**DABNEY WINGO** was born in 1792 in Virginia to John James and Hannah Ann Wingo.<sup>286</sup> At about age 21 he served for a few months in the Virginia militia in the War of 1812 and later received a Bounty Warrant for 150 acres of land for his service.<sup>287</sup> In the 1820 census of Nottaway County, VA Wingo lived alone, and engaged in agriculture with the help of 1 slave. He married Rhoda M. Rudd in the early 1820s. In the 1830 Nottaway County census he owned 5 slaves. The Wingos moved near the Hermitage<sup>288</sup> in Davidson County, Tennessee in 1835<sup>289</sup> and moved on to Carroll County by 1840. At that time he owned 7 slaves. By 1850 Wingo owned 16 slaves (5 adults, 3 teens, 8 children)<sup>290</sup> and had real estate valued at \$4000 (\$133,576). He held three additional slaves in trust for minors John and Sarah Wingo, presumed to be orphaned relatives. The 1850 census listed four families of Virginia Wingos, but in 1860 only Dabney Wingo's family remained. John and Sarah Wingo indwelt and had personal property worth \$1725 (\$57,766.30) each, most likely the worth of their 3 slaves in trust. In 1860 Dabney Wingo owned 20 slaves and estimated his personal estate as \$20,000 (\$627,648). His real estate, which included three slave cabins, came to \$7,104 (\$222,941). Wingo's total estate was worth about \$27,104 (\$850,589). He and his wife held membership in the Reedy Creek Missionary Baptist

<sup>284</sup> B. H. Nesbitt did own a girl named Eliza on December 25, 1850, however, but he sold her for \$600 to John Sneed. It was recorded on 2/25/1851. Slave Transcriptions, Book H, page 182.

<sup>285</sup> Carroll Co, TN Will Book A, p. 168.

<sup>286</sup> Wingo Cemetery marker, Carroll Co, TN. Wife's name from the Wingo Researcher Publication v 3, p. 14.

<sup>287</sup> Larry Wingo and Rose Wingo Peterson. File Number 49,333 (NNRG) 55-160-49333. Wingo Researcher Publication Vol. 3, p. 14.

<sup>288</sup> Former President Andrew Jackson was a resident of the Hermitage when Wingo lived nearby.

<sup>289</sup> "Confederate Veteran," Vol 23, p. 84. Bio of Dr. Thomas R. Wingo, son of Dabney Wingo.

<sup>290</sup> Wingo had 9 females (ages 54, 25, 20, 17, 9, 6, 4, 4, 3) and 7 males (ages 35, 22, 19, 16, 3, 2, 6/12).



Church, as did one slave named Eliza Wingo. Their son, Dr. Thomas Rudd Wingo, joined the Confederate Army and became Senior Field Surgeon in the Army of the Tennessee. Son John James did not serve and son Joseph A. died before the war. John James Wingo married Mary Cooper, daughter of fellow planter Rev. Alfred E. Cooper. Dabney Wingo died in 1868 at age 76 and is buried north of Trezevant in the Wingo Cemetery. He has a modest stone which appears to have been placed at a later time. In 1870 his widow Rhoda Wingo still had real estate worth \$6,000 (\$119,301) and personal property worth \$1,000 (\$19,884). His son Thomas had real estate worth \$10,000 (\$119,301) and son John James had real estate worth \$12,000 (\$238,602), most likely in part from their father's estate. Only 15 blacks wore the name Wingo in 1870 and 16 in the 1880 census but the county still has descendants of the Wingo freedmen. The author of a 1972 article on Trezevant<sup>291</sup> remembered hearing about the Wingo slaves. "We know the negroes were in this community as early as the town was settled. Some say that they may have been slaves of the Wingo family or the Mr. Adkisson who lived on the farm where Mr. and Mrs. W. E. (Billie) Blanks live." A community named Wingo still exists in Carroll Co.

**JOHN HINDE HILLSMAN** was born to Reddick and Mary Arundel Perry Hillsman in North Carolina on 2/22/1820. The family moved to Carroll County by 1821<sup>292</sup> when John was still an infant. By the 1836 tax list his father owned 526 acres of land and 12 slaves. Only three people in the county owned more than 12 slaves in 1836.<sup>293</sup> In 1847 John H. Hillsman married Mary Amanda Perry and in 1850 the couple lived on his parents' plantation, along with his father's 36 slaves. The census listed John's occupation as "merchant," not as "farmer." John and his brother Bennett Hillsman owned parts of a retail business in McLemoresville<sup>294</sup> and in addition John served as a commissioner for building a road from McLemoresville to Camden.<sup>295</sup> The first slave known to have been owned by John was a 17 year old girl named Sarah whom he bought for \$700 (\$21,918) in 1854.<sup>296</sup> That same year he served as an estate agent attorney, a job which included selling estate slaves for other people.<sup>297</sup> When his father, Reddick Hillsman, died in 1857, he willed an astonishing \$15,800.00 (\$506,330.07) in cash at a time when cash was often in short supply for many slave owners. He also gave a great deal of land and 47 slaves to his wife, 5 children, 2 grandchildren and a son-in-law. John and his brother Bennett each received 8 people.<sup>298</sup> John inherited William, Nelson, Novel, Jiney, Spencer, Needham, Mary and Sarah, plus land and \$2,600 (\$80,766.81).<sup>299</sup> By 1860 John possessed 20 slaves while his brother Bennett had 16. Their two families comprised the only white Hillsmans in the county in 1860. Both families attended the Reedy Creek Baptist Church, as did 10 slaves with the Hillsman surname.<sup>300</sup> These black Hillsmans were Cherry, Edy, Isham, Mary, Mike, Nathan, Richmond, Sarah, Stephen and William, all of whom had been gifted in Reddick Hillsman's will. John

---

<sup>291</sup> Carroll County Sesquicentennial Book.

<sup>292</sup> Turner, p. 203. Reddick Hillsman was one of the first commissioners of Carroll Co.

<sup>293</sup> Robert Hurt owned 19 people, Banks Burrow 17, Tippo Henderson 14. Moses Green also had 12.

<sup>294</sup> Carroll County, Tennessee Sesquicentennial Booklet, 1976, p. 123.

<sup>295</sup> Acts of the State of Tennessee Passed by the General Assembly. Section I.

<sup>296</sup> Carroll County Slave Transactions, Book K, p. 205. She is probably not the Sarah Hillsman on the Reedy Creek Baptist Church records.

<sup>297</sup> Slave Transactions of Carroll County, Book K, p. 291-292, 335.

<sup>298</sup> Bennett Hillsman inherited Nathan, Jesse, Richmond, Betsy, Viney, Moses, Caroline and Artimesy. Nathan and Richmond are on the Reddy Creek church rolls.

<sup>299</sup> Will of Reddick Hillsman available on Rootsweb.com.

<sup>300</sup> Stephen, Isham, Charity, Mike and Cherry were willed to Reddick Hillsman's wife Mary.



Hillsman's new real estate in 1860 was valued at \$12,750 (\$400,126) and his personal estate, which included his newly acquired slaves, was estimated at \$23,243 (\$729,421) for a total of \$35,993 (\$1,129,547). The Civil War began soon afterward. The 42 year old John and his brother Bennett joined Company G 55<sup>th</sup> Infantry (Brown's), a local Confederate Unit, even though John could have been exempted since he owned 20+ slaves. He rose in rank to major and both brothers survived the war. Family lore attributes the postwar good order of John's family estate to the determined personality of his wife, Mary Amanda Perry Hillsman.<sup>301</sup> By 1870 the value of John Hillsman's real estate had risen to \$17,500 (\$347,961). His personal estate, minus his slaves, went down to \$12,000 (\$238,602). He, however, began building a two story Greek Revival home one year after the war and owned a steam and grist mill by 1879,<sup>302</sup> both indicating that his wealth remained substantial. He attended the Democratic Convention as a delegate in 1876.<sup>303</sup> John Hinde Hillsman lived until 10/18/1892 and is buried in the large Trezevant Cemetery under a small double, tablet-shaped tombstone he shares with his wife, who died in 1896. His parents, his two children who died young, and his brother lie in the tiny Hillsman Family Cemetery. In the 1870 census 61 blacks wore the surname Hillsman. Three black Hillsman families (20 individuals) still lived near John Hillsman and most likely still worked his land. The adults in one of the three families, Norvel and Sally Hillsman (married 1868), were given to John Hillsman in his father's will. In the 1880 census 64 blacks in the county had the surname and most likely had been owned by one or the other of the Hillsman brothers.

Researched and written by Peggy Scott Holley during the Covid Pandemic of the early 2020s.

---

<sup>301</sup> Turner, p. 202-3.

<sup>302</sup> Carroll County Sesquicentennial Book, p. 25.

<sup>303</sup> "Milan Exchange," 7/13/1876.