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THE HALES FORD COMMUNITY

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1856 - 1865

by: Barry Mackintosh

**MACKINTOSH: THE HALES FORD COMMUNITY**

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**UNITED STATES  
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR  
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Booker T. Washington National Monument  
(Area)

**FILE CODE:**

**THE HALES FORD COMMUNITY**

**1856-1865**

by

**Barry Mackintosh  
Historian**

November 13, 1968

**FROM:**

**TO:**

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*Approved by WASO  
2/17/69*

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## I. PURPOSE

The Burroughs plantation, site of Booker T. Washington's birth and boyhood in slavery, is the focus of much new attention with the approval of the living historical farm concept for Booker T. Washington National Monument. In developing and interpreting the Burroughs plantation under this concept, study will be given to all aspects of its existence: its people, buildings, farm practices, crops, and livestock. But despite the relative self-sufficiency of this Piedmont tobacco plantation, it did not exist in a vacuum. To consider it alone, out of the context of the surrounding community which supported and was supported by it, could not help but result in incomplete understanding of life here over a century ago.

This paper is intended to provide a concise overall survey of the Hales Ford community between the years 1956 and 1965, when Booker T. Washington was born and lived here on the Burroughs plantation.

## II. AN AGRICULTURAL COMMUNITY

A. The Plantation. The Hales Ford area, as well as Franklin County as a whole, was overwhelmingly agricultural in the mid-nineteenth century (and still is, in fact). Tobacco was the principal cash crop, with other crops and livestock raised primarily for home consumption. With flax supplying the raw material for homespun fabric, no cotton was grown in the vicinity.

The Burroughs plantation was fairly typical of the average farm<sup>1</sup> in this community in size, production, and value. In 1860 James Burroughs had 107 acres of improved land on his 207 acre estate, which was valued at \$3105. During the year ending June 1, 1860, he was listed as having produced 2000 pounds of tobacco, 450 bushels of Indian corn, 250 bushels of wheat, 100 bushels of oats, 30 pounds of wool, 20 bushels of sweet potatoes, 5 bushels of Irish potatoes, 10 pounds of flax, 2 pounds of flaxseed, 75 pounds of butter, and one bushel of peas and beans. (The accuracy of some of these quantities is questionable, but we may assume that

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<sup>1</sup>The terms "plantation" and "farm" are used rather loosely. Objections have been made that the Burroughs plantation and others like it were really farms because of their small scale. Their owners did call themselves "farmers" rather than "planters," but the term "plantation" seems often to have been used for any holding worked by slaves. Washington referred to his birthplace as a plantation (though perhaps he was just using a name generally associated with Southern agriculture for the interest of his Northern readers). "Plantation" will continue to be used in reference to the local slave-operated farms, but the distinction must be kept in mind between the plantations of this area and the vast domains in other regions usually associated with the name.

the products themselves are correct.) His livestock consisted of four horses, four milk cows, five other cattle, twelve sheep, and sixteen swine, with a total cash value of \$535. James had no oxen, but two close neighbors, Josiah Ferguson and Asa Holland, each had a pair which might have been borrowed when needed. Of the forty listed on the same census page with Burroughs in 1860, twenty had more improved acreage than he, the most being 400 improved acres; thirteen produced more tobacco and five the same amount.<sup>2</sup>

B. Slavery. The institution of Negro slavery was directly related to the agricultural nature of the Hales Ford community. Slaveholding here was on a relatively small scale compared to much of the deep South, in keeping with the size of the average local plantation. Needless to say, the subject is of particular importance in the interpretation of Booker T. Washington National Monument today.

In the way of human property, as in the size and value of his real estate, James Burroughs was reasonably typical in his holdings. In 1860 he was recorded as having seven slaves,<sup>3</sup> and upon his death the following year the inventory of his property listed ten.<sup>4</sup> With only two of these

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<sup>2</sup>1860 Census, Schedule 4: Productions of Agriculture, Northeast Division, Franklin County, Va.

<sup>3</sup>1860 Census, Schedule 2: Slave Inhabitants, Northeast Division, Franklin County, Va.

<sup>4</sup>Will Book 12, p. 150, Franklin County Courthouse, Rocky Mount, Va.

being adult male fieldhands James and his sons had to take an active part in their farming operations.

Other neighborhood slaveholders in 1860 ranged from Thomas Benjamin Ferguson with one eleven-year-old girl, to his brother John Cardwell with eight slaves, to their father Josiah Ferguson with eighteen, to Asa Holland, one of the wealthiest locals, with twenty-five slaves.<sup>5</sup> Among the total population of 9,311 in Franklin County's Northeast Division in 1860, there were 2,999 slaves--nearly a third of the whole.<sup>6</sup> Some were cooks, maids, and other domestic servants, but most were directly involved with agriculture. As in the case of James Burroughs, slaves comprised a large monetary portion of their owner's personal property: James' personal estate upon his death was valued at \$7083.80, of which \$5550 was represented by slaves. Values were assigned to slaves according to their age, physical condition, aptitude, and breeding potential. James' ten slaves ranged in worth from \$1000 for Lee, an adult male, to \$200 for Booker's two-year-old sister Amanda.<sup>7</sup> The average local slaveholder could not have purchased all his slaves; some were inherited, others, like Jane Burroughs' children, were born on the plantation like other livestock. Buying and selling did take place locally, handled by men like "Tradin' Tom" Dudley with an

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<sup>5</sup>1860 Census, Schedule 2: Slave Inhabitants, Northeast Division, Franklin County, Va.

<sup>6</sup>1860 Census, Schedule 6: Social Statistics, Northeast Division, Franklin County, Va.

<sup>7</sup>Will Book 12, p. 150, Franklin County Courthouse, Rocky Mount, Va.

auction block in his front yard.<sup>8</sup> Thomas Robertson Burroughs, a son of James, was engaged as a "trader" nearby in southern Bedford County in 1860.<sup>9</sup>

An aspect of slavery not so often considered was its effect on the "master race." In Up From Slavery, Washington discussed this in connection with life on the Burroughs plantation:

The whole machinery of slavery was so constructed as to cause labor, as a rule, to be looked upon as a badge of degradation, of inferiority. Hence labor was something that both races on the slave plantation sought to escape. The slave system on our place, in a large measure, took the spirit of self-reliance and self-help out of the white people. My old master had many boys and girls, but not one, so far as I know, ever mastered a single trade or special line of productive industry. The girls were not taught to cook, sew, or to take care of the house. All of this was left to the slaves. The slaves, of course, had little personal interest in the life of the plantation, and their ignorance prevented them from learning how to do things in the most improved and thorough manner. As a result of the system, fences were out of repair, gates were hanging half off the hinges, doors creaked, window-panes were out, plastering had fallen but was not replaced, weeds grew in the yard.<sup>10</sup>

Washington neglected to mention the prevalence of white sexual exploitation of the Negro, except to admit that he himself was a product of this common practice. Washington's father was probably the aforementioned Thomas Benjamin Ferguson, and Washington's older brother John was "blamed"

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<sup>8</sup>Jacqueline James, "Uncle Tom? Not Booker T." American Heritage, XIX (August, 1968), 97.

<sup>9</sup>1860 Census, Schedule 1: Free Inhabitants, Southern District, Bedford County, Va.

<sup>10</sup>(New York, 1901), pp. 17-13.

on James Benjamin Burroughs, a son of his owner.<sup>11</sup> (Jane's third child, Amanda, was the daughter of Washington Ferguson, a hired-out slave belonging to Josiah Ferguson.) Josiah Ferguson, who lived in a comfortable brick home directly across the road from the Burroughs, in addition to being one of the community's more well-to-do citizens, had a total of nine illegitimate children by his two slave mistresses.<sup>12</sup> Such were among the customs of Hales Ford in the days of slavery.

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<sup>11</sup> James "Uncle Tom? Not Booker T." p. 96.

<sup>12</sup> Jacqueline James, Letter to Barry Mackintosh, October 23, 1968.

### III. INDUSTRY

Industry existed chiefly as a servant of agriculture in the Hales Ford community. In 1860, the local industrial establishments were as follows:<sup>13</sup>

A. Tobacco factories. These were the most important businesses in this dark tobacco region. Following harvest and curing on the plantations, the tobacco was carted loose on wagons to these nearby factories, where plug and twist chewing tobacco was manufactured. The boxed product was sold through commission merchants in Lynchburg and elsewhere.

The largest local factory and the one closest to the Burroughs plantation was the Ferguson and Hatcher tobacco factory, about two and a half miles to the east at the center of Hales Ford. During the year ending June 1, 1860, this establishment processed 160,000 pounds of tobacco and shipped out 1500 boxes of it worth \$24,000. Performing the labor were forty slave men hired from their owners at \$10 a month and four slave women hired at \$5 a month for the manufacturing season. Owners of the operation were John Cardwell Ferguson, oldest son of the Burroughs' closest neighbor Josiah Ferguson, and Benjamin Hatcher, nephew of James Burroughs. "Card" Ferguson was married to Sallie Hatcher, James' niece, and after her death married Anne Elisabeth Burroughs, James' daughter. We may well assume that the Burroughs were patrons of the Ferguson and Hatcher tobacco factory.

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<sup>13</sup>1860 Census, Schedule 5: Products of Industry, Northeast Division, Franklin County, Va.

Another nearby tobacco factory was that operated by Powell and Ferguson near Taylor's Store, about five miles west from the Burroughs plantation. This Ferguson was Thomas Benjamin, previously mentioned in another connection. (An interesting sidelight on Ben Ferguson is that he had two free Negroes in his household in 1860--not a common occurrence in this area.)<sup>14</sup> Three other tobacco factories in the larger community were operated by S. G. Holley, A. S. Burwell, and A. S. Holland.

B. Mills. The 1860 Census listed five mills in the area, each being a combination sawmill and gristmill powered by water. Their owners were Price H. Morgan, S. G. Holley, A. S. Burwell, Lewis Dillon, and M. R. Hurt. One of Washington's most vivid recollections of his slave days was the task of carrying corn each week to the mill to be ground:

The mill was about three miles from the plantation. This work I always dreaded. The heavy load of corn would be thrown across the back of the horse, and the corn divided about evenly on each side; but in some way, almost without exception on these trips, the corn would so shift as to become unbalanced and would fall off the horse, and often I would fall with it. As I was not strong enough to reload the corn upon the horse, I would have to wait, sometimes for many hours, till a chance passer-by came along who would help me out of my trouble.... The time consumed in this way made me late in reaching the mill, and by the time I got my corn ground and reached home it would be far into the night.<sup>15</sup>

There is some question about which mill the Burroughs used. An article describing Washington's visit to his birthplace in 1908 stated that

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<sup>14</sup>1860 Census, Schedule 1: Free Inhabitants, Northeast Division, Franklin County, Va.

<sup>15</sup>Up From Slavery, p. 6.

"Mr. Washington inquired about Morgan's Mill, to which he used to carry corn...."<sup>16</sup> But this was located at the fork of Gill's Creek and Blackwater River, over eight miles distant from the Burroughs plantation. A more logical choice would be Teel's Mill, about three miles to the north. (Calvin Teel bought the mill property during the 1860 Census year, so the mill and its production were not recorded until the 1870 Census.)<sup>17</sup> Jacqueline James states that this is the one to which Booker carried his corn.<sup>18</sup>

C. Blacksmith. The local blacksmith shop was owned by Ferguson and Hatcher and was located at Hales Ford with their tobacco factory. Three men were employed there in 1860, one being John Thurman. During the year preceding the Census they produced two wagons together valued at \$270 and did "plantation work" worth \$430. Each plantation commonly had its own small forge for home repairs.

D. Tanneries. Joseph D. Meador and C. C. Cundiff each operated a local tannery. Meador hired two men at \$15 a month each and produced \$800 worth of leather in the year preceding the 1860 Census.

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<sup>16</sup>"Tuskegee's Principal at His Old Home," The Tuskegee Student, October 3, 1908.

<sup>17</sup>Deed Book 26, p. 217, Franklin County Courthouse, Rocky Mount, Va.; 1870 Census, Schedule 5: Products of Industry, Gill's Creek Township, Franklin County, Va.

<sup>18</sup>"Uncle Tom? Not Booker T.," p. 99.

E. Carder. G. and J. Musgrove had a carding machine, and produced 1200 pounds of wool rolls in the census year valued at \$600.

F. Tailor. William E. Andreas turned out coats, pants, and vests for the local trade.

G. Cabinetmaker. A. B. Crouch produced "bedsteads, safes, bureaus (sic) and other work."

H. Saddlemaker. In the census year, S. G. Bright made fifty saddles valued at \$1500, and harnesses and bridles worth \$600.

In sum, the twenty establishments named above employed 146 men and 29 women and produced goods and services valued at \$133,411 in the year ending June 1, 1860. In the Northeast Division of Franklin County, there were 64 such industries in the midst of 735 plantations and farms.<sup>19</sup> Average wages in this part of the country, other than those already mentioned, were as follows:<sup>20</sup>

Average monthly wage to a farm hand with board...	\$10.00
Average wage to a day laborer with board.....	.50
Average wage to a day laborer without board.....	.75
Average daily wage to a carpenter without board..	1.50
Weekly wage to a female domestic with board.....	1.00
Price of board to a laboring man per week.....	2.00

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<sup>19</sup>1860 Census, Schedule 6; Social Statistics, Northeast Division, Franklin County, Va.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid.

The presence of slavery, of course, tended to limit the need for many of these occupations.

A new industry which appeared in the 1870 Census was the brandy distillery. Two were in operation in the vicinity that year, using apples for raw material. That this business existed during Washington's last years here is shown by Fannie Burroughs' remark in her 1865 letter: "There are not a great many apples so cant be much stilling done" (see Appendix A).

Not listed in the Census but recalled by John Washington was "Mr. Newman's old wagon and coffin shop," located between Asa Holland's home and the Ferguson and Hatcher establishments (see his letter to Asa Duncan, Appendix B).

#### IV. EDUCATION AND COMMUNICATION

A. Education. "There is no established institution of learning in my district. Common schools are not to be found at any one place of longer duration than a few months." Thus wrote Isaac Cannady, Assistant Marshal of the Southwest District of Franklin County, in the 1860 Census.<sup>21</sup> There is no reason to believe that the situation was any different in the Northeast Division, which listed twenty common schools, each with one teacher and between twelve and thirty pupils. The Burroughs children undoubtedly received limited formal education in such schools as these-- perhaps at the Frog Pond schoolhouse located several miles to the southeast.<sup>22</sup> Laura Burroughs, a daughter of James, served as a common school teacher, and Becker sometimes rode to school with her to return her horse to the plantation. But despite later claims made by certain Burroughs descendants, the Burroughs daughters almost certainly made no attempt to teach their young slave to read. Education for slaves was both illegal and extremely rare.

B. Communications. There were no newspapers or periodicals published in Franklin County in 1860. The nearest source of such items was Lynchburg, home of the Virginian and the Republican. A list of newspapers and periodicals delivered to the Hales Ford Post Office in 1861 includes

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<sup>21</sup>Schedule 6: Social Statistics, p. 123.

<sup>22</sup>Sarah Dinwiddie, Interview, July 3, 1969.

the Lynchburg Daily Virginian, the Lynchburg Daily Republican, the Lynchburg Weekly Virginian, the Richmond Weekly, the Richmond Christian Advocate, and the Richmond Daily Examiner.<sup>23</sup> At this time, the Burroughs' neighbor Asa Holland was the postmaster, in addition to being the community's leading merchant and farmer.

The slave population had its own methods of keeping abreast of the news--particularly news concerning the progress of the war so vital to its own future. In Up From Slavery, Washington described the "grapevine telegraph":

Often the slaves got knowledge of the results of great battles before the white people received it. This news was usually gotten from the coloured man who was sent to the post-office for the mail. In our case the post-office was about three miles from the plantation, and the mail came once or twice a week. The man who was sent to the office would linger about the place long enough to get the drift of the conversation from the group of white people who naturally congregated there, after receiving their mail, to discuss the latest news. The mail-carrier on his way back to our master's house would naturally retail the news that he had secured among the slaves, and in this way they often heard of important events before the white people at the "big house," as the master's house was called.<sup>24</sup>

Jacqueline James relates another story of the "telegraph":

Only a mile from Taylor's Store lived a planter called Ol' Manas, who owned twenty-nine slaves. One of them could read. The girl who cleaned the master's room in the morning would sneak out the latest newspaper and return it after it had been read. It would be carefully folded or crumpled as it had been before--but the news in it was already on its way.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>23</sup>Post Office document in possession of Sarah Dinwiddie.

<sup>24</sup>op. 6-7.

<sup>25</sup>"Uncle Tom? Not Booker T.," p. 100.

## V. CHURCHES

In the Northeast Division of Franklin County, there were fourteen churches in 1860: six Baptist, four Methodist, three Union, and one "Free."<sup>26</sup> The Burroughs were Baptists, and attended the Hales Ford Baptist Church, located just beyond Asa Holland's home. John Washington describes a moment of excitement there in his letter to Asa Duncan (Appendix B).

Another church the Burroughs may have visited occasionally was the Old Fork Meeting House, to the southeast. According to a story related by his son Hammet, two men who had been with James Benjamin Burroughs in the army met Ben's wife there one Sunday and told her that her husband had been wounded in Pickett's Charge at Jettysburg.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>26</sup>1860 Census, Schedule 6: Social Statistics, Northeast Division, Franklin County, Va.

<sup>27</sup>Mary Dimwiddie, Interview, August 15, 1958.

## II HALS FORD AND THE WAR

Franklin County was the scene of no battles during the Civil War, but the war's presence was felt here as in the rest of the South. As Washington recalled, the slaves felt it at least as much as did the white families of the community:

During the campaign when Lincoln was a candidate for the Presidency, the slaves on our far-off plantation, miles from any railroad or large city or daily newspaper, knew what the issues involved were. When war was begun between the North and the South, every slave on our plantation felt and knew that, though other issues were discussed, the primal one was that of slavery. Even the most ignorant members of my race on the remote plantations felt in their hearts, with a certainty that admitted of no doubt, that the freedom of the slaves would be the one great result of the war, if the Northern armies conquered. Every success of the Federal armies and every defeat of the Confederate forces was watched with the keenest and most intense interest.<sup>28</sup>

The first muster of Company D of the Second Regiment of Virginia Cavalry, known as the "Franklin Rangers," was held in an open field by Taylor's Store in 1861. Frank and Billie Burroughs were there, as was Thomas Benjamin Ferguson.<sup>29</sup> James Benjamin, Thomas, and Edwin Newton Burroughs also served in the Franklin Rangers; Frank and Billie both died in the war, and the others except for Thomas were wounded.<sup>30</sup> Ben Ferguson later hired a substitute, who subsequently deserted.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>28</sup>Up From Slavery, p. 6.

<sup>29</sup>James, "Uncle Tom? Not Booker T.," p. 38.

<sup>30</sup>H. B. McClellan, The Life and Campaigns of Major-General J. E. B. Stuart (Boston, 1885), p. 431.

<sup>31</sup>James, "Uncle Tom? Not Booker T.," p. 96.

The war had its economic effects locally. Food became less abundant in the South, and Virginia in 1863 passed an act to limit the production of tobacco and increase the production of grain. Washington wrote thus of wartime conditions at Hales Ford:

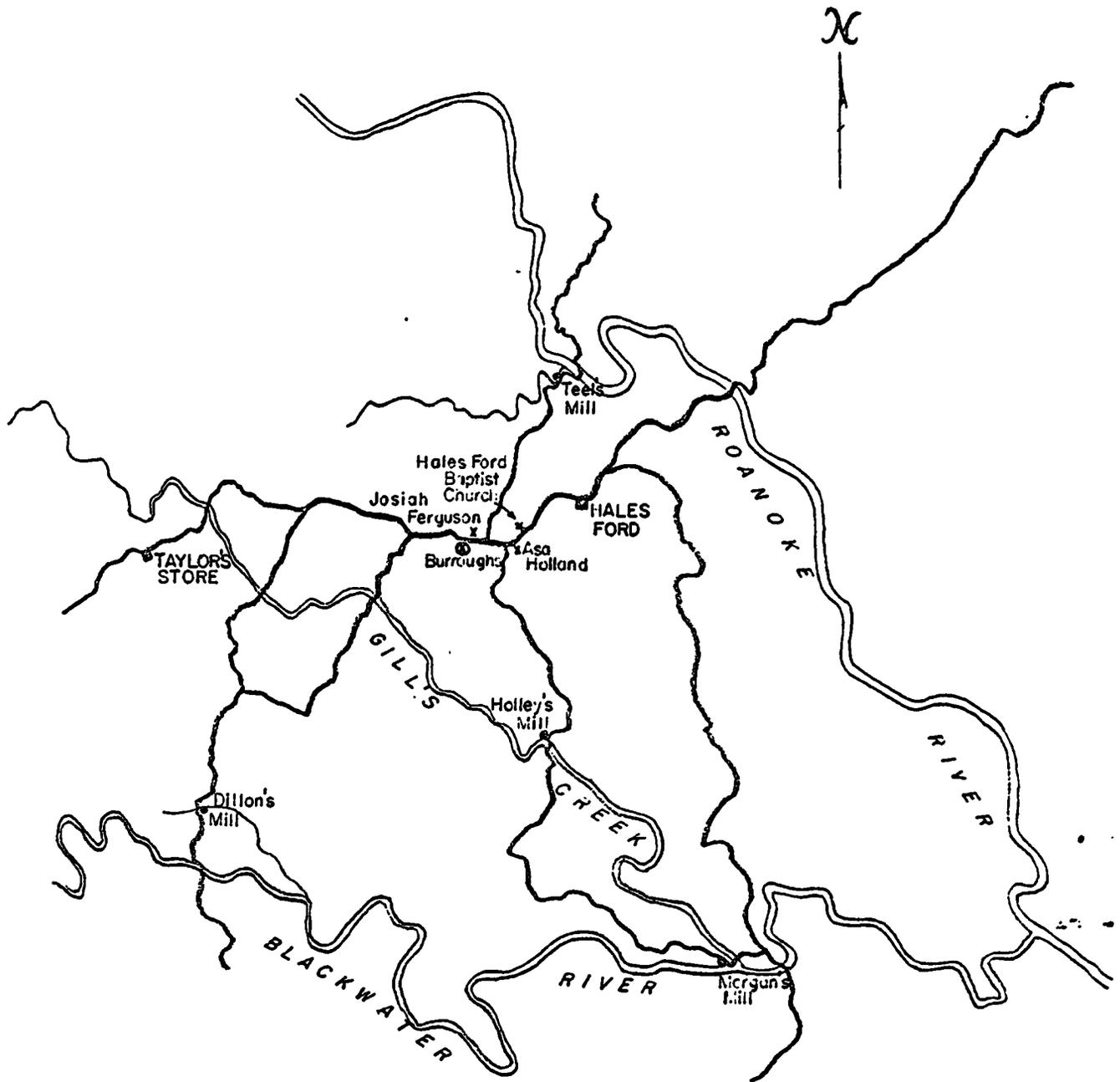
I think the slaves felt the deprivation less than the whites, because the usual diet for the slaves was corn bread and pork, and these could be raised on the plantation; but coffee, tea, sugar, and other articles which the whites had been accustomed to use could not be raised on the plantation, and the conditions brought about by the war frequently made it impossible to secure these things. The whites were often in great straits. Parched corn was used for coffee, and a kind of black molasses was used instead of sugar. Many times nothing was used to sweeten the so-called tea and coffee....

Finally the war closed and the day of freedom came. It was a momentous and eventful day to all upon our plantation. We had been expecting it. Freedom was in the air, and had been for months. Deserting soldiers returning to their homes were to be seen every day. Others who had been discharged, or whose regiments had been paroled, were constantly passing near our place. The "grape-vine telegraph" was kept busy night and day.<sup>32</sup>

By the time Fannie Burroughs, Frank's widow, wrote her descriptive letter to her parents (see Appendix), Washington and his mother, brother, and sister were preparing to leave Hales Ford for their new lives in freedom.

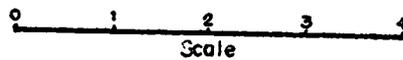
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<sup>32</sup>Up From Slavery, pp. 10, 19.



HALES FORD  
AND VICINITY

C. 1860



APPENDIX A

M. F. BURROUGHS LETTER

M. F. ("Fannie") Gundiff Burroughs, the widow of Christopher Frank Burroughs, wrote this letter to her parents just after the Civil War. The original was owned by the mother of Ella V. Robertson of Bedford, and was copied by Miss Robertson in 1952.

Halesford Franklin Cty. Va. July the 6th 1865

Dear Pa & Ma

As Admire has gotten out of prison & will start home next monday I will let you hear from me. I intended at first to go with him, but after trying a week & could not get any conveyance, I find I will have to give it out for the present. I cant get a two horse waggon any where or a buggie that will make the trip. Tom Burroughs will have his buggie done up in about a month or six weeks & says I can have that & a horse after while & Ben Turner will go home with me any time. but for a buggie the load will be very heavy, it is hardly my opinion we can make it on the buggie if we have to carry provisions. They think here they ought to send me home & not put you to the trouble of sending for me. But I will say this, I thought perhaps brother Bennet or some of the rest of you would like to come in & are afraid to start for fear of meeting, or missing me on the way. If that be the case you can come on for I will be show not to start before the fourth sunday in August (at wich time Mag Moultons funeral will be preached) as I think that will be as soon as we can get off. Toms buggie will have to have new tire & it will be some time befor he can get it fixed. Tom has five horses some of wich are in tolerable good order. Old mother Burroughs has four wich are low in order. If any of you wish to come in & can conveniently make arrangements for me to go back with you do so, if not come on any how if you want to & Ben T. & I will go out with you all the way that I have spoken of above. I can get home after while without you sending for me & will when most convenient to my accomodating friends, they as well as myself are very anxious to see Brother Bennet and Lucie & say tell them to come in. It seems to me like I have been from home a long time & am very anxious to see you all, especially my dear prisoner brother I received two letters from home since the surrender written by Elic & Lucie wich I was very glad to get but sorry to hear of your misfortune That together with my on misfortune renders me very unhappy at times.

But let us try & bear our troubles with christian fortitude I wrote to you all twice directly after the surrender & sent them by soldiers that

were passing but suppose you never received them. Franks funeral was preached the first sunday in May by Rev. T. C. Goggin. We had a splendid sermon & a large crowd in attendance. The text is in 2nd Timothy 2nd chapter 3rd 4th & 5th verses Franks business affairs have been badly arranged so far. His partnership horse together with his saddles, blankets, & halter were apraised before the surrender at confederate rates & the money paid to me after the surrender together with \$500 on the horse that Marshall bought wich leaves me with little upwards a thousand dollars on hand that is no account, but Tom proposes to pay me one dollar in specie for every sixty of confederate as that is the way old Lord Lions proposes old confederate debts should be paid They all think it is hard on me the way it has turned out. but I dont feel disposed to grumble. Tom & Nic Burroughs were very scarce of money or they would have paid it sooner & given me a chance to spend it for clothes. There is five hundred dollars yet to pay on the Marshall bond wich I understand he says he is willing to pay in good money what is right, whenever he can. I would like to have your advice about the matter & if any of them come in please write me. I think it will be best for me to take the offer of Toms as I expect it will be all I will ever get though it looks like it will be hard on him too. Times have come to that, that people hardly know what to do. The negroes are considered free by Military law. Some of them are behaving now as well as they did before & some of them are cutting up on a high horse. Some rejoice in their freedom & some are cut down about it but as a general thing they remain with their Marsters & we have heard lately that they are bound to keep them until next April Some think they will never be free & some think they will. One thing certain the most of them are ruined & the next thing will be to send them off.

The Yankees pass in small numbers all most every week along the turnpike. They have been at Rocky Mount for a month & are getting very tired of the blacks behavior they are called upon so often to settle a difficulty between them I heard sometime ago that Rhoda had come back to old Tom Dudlyes without her children but I heard it through negroes and dont know that it is so, & didnt inquire much about it. Will ... got home without being hurt, also John & Will .... John has been having chills ever since he got home. He & his wife are staying at Aunt Sophias this summer. Penn ... is at home & mightly improved. I was at Uncle Moultons yesterday they were all well there & jogging along as usual

The wheat crop about here is rather sorry hardly any body about here will make much more than seed except Ben Hatcher Made a good crop at the Mountain Corn in most places looks right promising at present, & I hope will make a good crop Oats are right good. There are not a great many apples so cant be much stilling done. I forgot to tell you Mr. Nic Robertson got home about a month after the surrender. Prisoners are coming home constantly. Susie Tompkins talks like she will go out to carolina & teach school for you next winter if you want her but will not walk far as she is to delicate to stand a long walk I was thinking the ... house fixed up would do right well She says she will teach your children & Uncle Lewis'es if you prefer it & will pay enough to clothe her & will teach Bennet to & would like to board with us if there is room enough I

think she will make a splendid teacher if you think you can make arrangements to suit you.

Well Ma I dreamed night before last that I went home & asked you if you had been grumbling because I had not come home any sooner & you said no that you all had such a little there that you thought I was better off here I thought perhaps there was some truth in it, but I am willing to suffer with my parents, had rather suffer my self than to see them suffer but I hope you all are getting along fustrate I am very anxious to know what was burned & what was saved though I believe there are many things gone that we will miss I imagine you have had the shelter planked up & a chimney built to it for a kitching & will have a chimney put to the lumber house before winter I must tell you I have seen a Mr. Saunders from Kentucky a nephew of Aunt Becca's that says she & Almira are both married & Married union men from Tennessee & spoke of them like they were Sorry trash any way Aunt Becca married a Mr. Carter, dont know the name of Almira's man Aunt Nancis wonders if you will feel like she did when you hear it. She says she felt like Aunt B was no longer her sister & couldn't gone out to meet her if she had come up in the yard just then Aunt Mat was up three weeks ago but I did not see her I saw uncle Jack earlier in the spring he was looking right well They are well at Uncle Silases also and the friends generally send their love to you all I imagine I can see that Hubart has grown some when I get back I would be so glad to see you all. I feel very anxious about all of you & hope it will not be long before I get to see you all I think now I will be at home by the first of Sept. If you all have brother Rufuses funeral preached this summer I would be glad for you to put it off until I come home I will try & come time enough to have it over befor cold weather. There are many things I would like to write that I cant now think off I am very absent minded more so than I use to be I will close this & write to B. & L. My best love to you all May God bless us & I bid you adieu with a hope of seeing you all soon.

N. F. Burroughs

## APPENDIX B

### DUNCAN-WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENCE

The following letter was written by Asa L. Duncan, Judge of the Fourth Judicial District Court in Missoula, Montana, on July 23, 1913.

Dr. Booker T. Washington,  
Tuskegee, Ala.

Dear Sir:-

I have for a number of years thought of writing to you. I doubt if you remember me though I am sure that I remember you when you and I were each small children. I have watched your course through life with no little interest and read your book up from Slavery. I lived on a plantation a part of which joined the one on which you were born. You lived on what we called the Old Burroughs place. I lived when I saw you with my Grand father, Asa Holland, down the Turnpike below where you and your people lived. You may perhaps remember my grand father, Asa Holland. He was the post-master at the Hale's Ford post office during the civil war and for a long time afterwards. The place just opposite, or nearly opposite where you were born was the place known as the Ferguson place. He was generally called Old Cy Ferguson. I recall him as a man of rather low stature, florrid face, and was said to be a very hard master. I remember that he owned two slaves, one a very dark man called Jordan, and another mulatto, I think named Dennis. The reason I remember Jordan so well was that on one occasion in the winter, Jordan had run away and some one found him in the barn of my grand father. It was a cold snowey morning, and there was great excitement when they found him. Mr. Ferguson came and he was taken in to the post office and a colored boy named Giles, who belonged to my Grand father went out there to see him. Giles was much older than I and when I went out there they had this poor fellow with a rope around his waiste. I was a very small child five or six years old, and I remember that when I looked in to the room and saw the rope, I was so agitated, and frightened, that I wept and told Giles to take me away. I never knew what became of Jordan after the emancipation. I think I recall seeing you several times and I will mention the incidents and would like to know if I am correct and if your memory corroborates my recollection. Miss Eliza Burroughs about the close of the War taught school at my great Uncle's, Thomas Holland. She used to ride horseback there to teach. I think she went on Monday Morning and returned home on Friday afternoons, evenings as we call it there. And if I am not mistaken you used to go with her and take the horse back home and go for her. Some small colored boy did and I think it must have been you. Then again, I think they sent you at times to the post office in the yard of my Grand father on what we called "mail days" during the war.

If I am not mistaken once you were going to mill, the old grist mill, that was then known as Forbes' Mill down near Staunton River, on a small creek, however, and your sack of corn fell off. Of course it was impossible for you to again get it on the horse and you came back to the post office to get some one to put it back on the horse. My grand father sent his nephew, Alexander Holland to put it up for you.

I suppose that you are entirely too old now or wrather too young to recall these little incidents and I should perhaps not remember them but for the fact that for years I have heard and read of you with much interest. For I can realize in some small way what you have done, the great good you have done for your race and the people of this country by your educational work.

My own life has been a very hard one especially my boyhood days and my efforts to get an education.

I was In Virginia about a year ago and my Aunt Anne Leitch Duncan, who was Anne Leitch Holland, a daughter of Asa Holland whom I have mentioned above, told me of your visit there and of the little speech that you when you went back there several years ago. It made a strong impression on her I know for the reason that she gave me the very ideas and seemed to have remembered nearly very thing that you said.

I saw one of my old playmates, a colored man, named James Holland. he lives near where you lived when you were living there. He lives out on Gills Creek on some land which I helped to buy a number of years ago. The land belonged at one time to the Dillons. You may recall the name.

For years I have thought I would write you and learn if you remembered any of these incidents. As we both came from the same neighborhood, and probably had some acquaintances in common, I wished to learn if you recalled any of the things, people or incidents mentioned in this letter. It has been so long ago that it is all like a dream to me.

If you feel like doing so I would be glad to have a reply to this.

Yours sincerely,  
(signed) Asa L. Duncan

The reply came from John H. Washington on August 20, 1913:

Judge Asa L. Duncan,  
Missoula, Montana.

Dear Sir:

My brother, Dr. Booker T. Washington, sent me your letter of July

23", written to him, and you cannot imagine how glad I was to have an opportunity of reading it, as it brought back to my memory so many things that happened in my childhood days.

Many of the incidents mentioned in your letter refer to me, not my brother, as I was three and a half years older than he, and am the one who usually went around with the Misses Burrough, and also who went to the mill and to the Postoffice, and drove the carriage to church and other places on Sunday. Perhaps my brother did go to some places with them.

I was born in '54 and my brother being about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  years younger, you can readily see was not very old. My Mother, with her three children, Booker, my sister Amanda, and myself belonged to the James Burrough family, and were emancipated at the surrender and left Franklin County in 1865 for West Virginia, at a little town named Malden, near the capitol, where we made our home until coming to Alabama to start this school in 1881.

In order that you may know that I know about that section of the country, and also many of the people mentioned in your letter, I am going to take your valuable time in telling you a few things that I do remember:

I could until a few years ago call the name of almost every family that lived on the Rocky Mount and Lynchburg turnpike, from Bord's store in Bedford County up to the Booth store in Franklin County. Booth's store was located near Armstead tobacco factory.

You speak of Mr. Simon Ferguson, usually called "Old Cy", as being a hard master, but you did not put it strong enough. He was a cruel master and bad man, as I recall it.\* I well remember the large number of slaves he owned. The mulatto Dennis spoken of in your letter was a boy considerably larger than I, and a tough one. He used to come to our house Sunday afternoons to play marbles with me. I usually had some store bought marbles, but the most of my marbles were made of red clay rolled out as nearly round as I could make them and put in the ashes in the fire place and baked hard. Dennis would play marbles with me until nearly dark on Sundays, then grab my store marbles and run. I might say here, that in making or burning these clay marbles, I learned that in order to keep them from cracking while being burned, it was necessary to apply a very little heat at first, until they had dried out, and then gradually increasing to a red heat. This lesson was of great value to

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\*Laura Burroughs Holland verifies this judgment of Josiah Ferguson in her letter of January 4, 1904 to Booker T. Washington. She objected to Washington's portrayal of his uncle Monroe being whipped with a cowhide in The Story of My Life and Work, saying that her father only used a switch. "I never knew him to use a cowhide, even on his stock, but old Mr. Silas Ferguson used one on his colored people, & when he got mad, his children often had to stop him from whipping them."

me in beginning to burn brick at our school.

The person called Jordan was named Jerry. I remember the incident mentioned in your letter when he was caught in Mr. Holland's barn after being gone a year. In fact Jerry lived in the woods more than he lived in the house, but he was very slue footed and whenever it either snowed or rained and he went out they usually could track him.

Mr. Ferguson had one daughter, named Charlotta. She was considered by all of the slaves owned by her father and the community generally as being an extraordinarily good lady, and took great interest in her slaves. She married a man by the name of Mr. Garrett, which doubtless you remember something about.

My stepfather belonged to this Mr. Ferguson but never would live on his place so he used to hire him out during slavery to a man at the Salt works in West Virginia. Just before West Virginia seceded from Virginia he brought my stepfather back home and hired him out to the tobacco factory in Lynchburgh, Va.

When Hunter made his raid in that part of Virginia, my stepfather left with the Yankees and went back to West Virginia, where he was free. After the emancipation he sent a wagon to our home in Franklin County, Virginia for my Mother and the three children. This accounts for our being raised in West Virginia.

There was another cruel man who did not live very far from your Grandfather, by the name of Mr. Benjamin Hatcher. He had a large tobacco store or factory, and a blacksmith shop, and I used to take horses to his shop every week, passing by your Grandfather's. Mr. Hatcher's mother was a sister of Mr. James Burrough. She had two daughters, named Misses Fannie and Pattie.

You doubtless remember Mr. Newman's old wagon and coffin shop, which was located between your Grandfather's and Mr. Ferguson's.

I used to drive the carriage on Sunday and sometimes in the week, to take the ladies to the old Baptist church, which is located between your Grandfather's and Mr. Hatcher's store. I remember being at the church on the Sunday when the first Yankees, consisting of one company, about 100 or more, came through that section. When notice was given out in that church that the Yankees were coming and the advance guard appeared coming down the road, the preacher stopped preaching and everybody got down to praying. I never heard so many people praying at one time before or since then. The Yankees passed on by, and so far as I know did not disturb anything in that section, and did not even take any of the horses around that church, as was expected.

The Methodist church was located further down the road, below Mr. Hatcher's store, near Mr. Meadows.

I remember very distinctly the young man Giles spoken of in your letter. He used to be sent out by your Grandfather at times and we would meet up together. As I remember it there was another Holland lived on the turnpike near the bridge on Stanton river. Also I remember Mr. Powels, who lived on the same turnpike. I am not certain but I think his name was Mr. Kit Powels. He had a daughter named Miss Fannie.

I think Mr. Tom Holland, who lived, as I remember it, out as you turn blackwater, was related to the Burrough family. I remember also the Dillons spoken of in your letter. There were two families of them living on the plantation adjoining the Burrough plantation. One of them was named Mr. Bob Dillon and he had two sons. These sons shot one of our horses because he got in the corn field on Gill's creek, and I never liked them after that.

One of the Hollands, though I am not certain he is related to your Grandfather, married Miss Laura Burrough. I correspond with Miss Laura now. She is located a few miles out from Bedford City, Virginia, which used to be called Liberty.

I am the person who was on the way to the mill when the sack of corn fell off the horse and some one was sent from your Grandfather's house to put it on.

I have never been back in that section of the country since I left there in my childhood, though I have often wanted to travel the turnpike from Rocky Mount over into Bedford County.

A man by name, Mr. Ferdinand Price married Miss Lucinda Burrough. The last I heard from here she was living as a widow at Salem, Virginia. One of the grandsons of one of the young Burroughs is now a very prominent lawyer in New York city. My brother has meet him more than once.\* You know that Mr. James Burroughs had quite a large family, consisting of seven boys and six girls (sic). Two of them were killed during the war. Gills creek runs through the Burrough plantation, and I have had a pleasant time in it, catching fish and going in wading.

Several years ago, when I was sent to inspect a school presided over by one of our graduates near Christiansburg, Va., I went up to Rocky Mount and stayed all night with the intention of going down to Burrough's plantation, but at that time Gill's creek was up very high and had washed the bridge away. While in Rocky Mount I noticed by the paper that Mr. Ben Hatcher was there that night attending court and I went to the hotel to see him, but he was so thoroughly under the influence of strong drink that I could not hold an intelligent conversation with him.

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\*Ambrose Hammet Burroughs, son of James Benjamin Burroughs and, from strong evidence cited by Jacqueline James in her letter of October 28, 1968 to this writer, half brother of John Washington.

I hope that you will at least find time to read this letter and that somethings in it will be of interest to you.

Should you at any time be in this section of the country I hope that you will not fail to visit Tuskegee Institute.

It might be well to state to you that a large number of colored people from that section of the country, belonging to the Wrights, Fergusons, Hatchers, Hollands and others, located in West Virginia. At or near Charleston, there was a man by the name of Peter Holland who lived in that section, and also a man by name of Abner, who did the blacksmithing at Hatcher's shop. He, with all his family lived in West Virginia until he died.

To be plain about the matter, Cy Ferguson had a number of children by one of his slaves. Some of these children are now living at or near Charleston, W. Virginia and doing well, and one of them, a daughter, is married and living in Birmingham, Ala.

Very truly,  
(signed) John H. Washington

(These letters are from Container 934, Booker T. Washington Papers, Library of Congress.)

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