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A CONFEDERACY WELL PRAYED FOR IN OLD HOPEWELL

Those interested in the history of Chester District families are well aware of the significant outmigration that occurred before the Civil War. The white population in the county reached a peak of 10,036 in 1830, only to fall sharply in the 1840s and 1850s. By 1860, the white population was 7096, a decline of more than 30%. Economic factors were perhaps the major reason for the decline, but there were others. Concerns grew in the early 1830s about the nullification issue (whether a state could nullify tariffs imposed by the Federal Government). And concern about slave holding intensified as the practice spread in the upcountry. In 1830 in Chester County slaves numbered 7042, or 42% of the total population; by 1860 there were 10,925 slaves in the county, or 61% of the total population.

Before the Civil War a surprising number of upcountry South Carolinians opposed secession. Many were not integrated into the cotton culture until the 1830s or later and slave labor was not essential to their economic survival. Geography and available transport in the region favored small farming operations, and secession seemed a drastic step. Lacy Ford's work on radicalism in the South Carolina upcountry, Carl Degler's study of southern dissenters and Alfred G. Smith's work on the economy all are excellent studies.¹

These major demographic changes affected institutions in the county. This short paper will examine the impact of the outmigration on the membership of three Presbyterian churches in the county, Hopewell, Union and Fishing Creek.

There were numerous Presbyterians in the upcountry. Of Scots Irish descent, some came before the American Revolution through the port of Charleston. They brought an antipathy to the established Anglican religion and went to the upcountry. Others came through Newcastle, DE and Philadelphia, and then moved south along the flank of the Blue Ridge. Reformed Presbyterians (Covenanters) made up one branch of American Presbyterianism and in the early 19th Century they were numerous in Chester County.² They shunned political activity and would not swear an oath or hold public office in a government not avowedly Christian. They did not vote, refused jury duty and would not join secret fraternal organizations such as the Masonic Lodges. Although opposed to slavery, Covenanters typically would not join anti slavery societies because they were secular institutions.³ This pattern of behavior resulted in an obscure public footprint even though they may have been substantial land owners or merchants. Family ties were important, intermarriage was common and their social activities tended to focus on the church. They valued education highly, and insisted on a well educated clergy.

In 1782 most Reformed Presbyterians joined with the Associate Church (Seceders) to form the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church (ARP). Small numbers of both groups remained outside this union. In the late 1820s and 1830s many ARP members and almost all the Covenanters left South Carolina to settle in the free states of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois.⁴ Most went to Greene County, OH, Monroe County, IN, and Randolph County, IL. Slave holding and nullification were motivating factors, but the domination of the state legislature by low country planters and a growing sense that this would not change also encouraged emigration.⁵

By the late 1830s and the 1840s most Presbyterians remaining in the upcountry were absorbed into the cotton economy. However emigration continued due to adverse economic conditions. Fluctuation in cotton prices, the marginal productivity of upcountry land, and competition from new lands in the Mississippi Delta were the most important factors. These later emigrants went mostly to recently opened cotton lands in west Tennessee, Mississippi and Arkansas.

Chester County is one of seven counties belonging to the lower Piedmont. The Presbyterians were concentrated in the eastern part of the county, along Fishing Creek and Rocky Creek, both tributaries to the Catawba River. In 1850 the upper Piedmont was still two thirds white and was dominated by

small farming operations. However in the lower Piedmont the white population in 1850 was less than one half the total. In Chester County the white population was 44% of the total.⁶ This larger proportion of blacks signified Chester County's growing participation in the cotton culture. The white population in the county declined between 1830-1860 while the black population increased dramatically.

CHESTER COUNTY

	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860
Free	9611	10,036	9889	8005	7096
Slaves	4542	7042	7858	9887	10,925
Percent of Whites	67%	58%	55%	44%	39%

Hopewell Church was located near the Fairfield County line a short distance from Blackstock. It had a large and active Covenanter congregation until well into the 1820s. After many communicants moved to the free states the character of the church changed. Both the Rev. Warren Flenniken, pastor from 1832-1850, and his successor Robert Brice were themselves slave owners. During the war years, Brice was a passionate defender of the secessionist cause. This was in sharp contrast to the Rev. Hugh McMillan, a regular preacher at Hopewell, who moved to Ohio in 1829 with his family and many Hopewell communicants because of his opposition to slavery.

But the Covenanters themselves were divided on the issue. Slave owning among some Chester County Covenanters existed as early as the pastorate of the Rev. John Riley (1813-1820), who served Covenanter congregations at Beaver Dam, the Brick Church, and Richmond. Riley welcomed members of the Hemphill, Hicklin and Cloud families into his congregation even though all three were prominent slave owners.⁷ This growing laxity and compromise with the secular environment encouraged strict Covenanters to leave the south a few years later.

The Union ARP Church was located near Richburg.⁸ This church had a large Covenanter membership until they moved to Ohio, Indiana and Illinois in the 1820s. After 1830 Union suffered additional losses to the states in the lower Mississippi Valley.⁹ Those who remained were to become loyal supporters of the Confederacy. At least three elders served in the Confederate Army and 27 of the congregation's young men fell in battle.¹⁰

Fishing Creek Presbyterian Church was located along Fishing Creek, several miles north of the old Lewisville Post Office. Few of its members had been Covenanters, but it too suffered a serious loss of members. Although some families moved north, most moved to West Tennessee, Arkansas and Mississippi.¹¹ As with Hopewell and Union, those who remained behind tended to be slave owners. In 1860 their pastor was the Rev. William Banks, himself a slave owner who later served as a chaplain with the Confederate Army.

A visitor in Chester County from October 1859 until December 1860 kept a journal that sheds light on the community's outlook just prior to the war. Samuel Harvey McMillan (SHM), born in Xenia, OH in 1833 and recently graduated from Miami University, went to Chester County to visit his uncles Robert and John Millen.¹² His parents, James Chestnut McMillan and Margaret Millen McMillan, his grandfather Daniel, and his great uncles Gavin and Hugh McMillan were among those Covenanter families who left the Hopewell congregation 25 years earlier.¹³

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Daniel had been a prosperous merchant in Chester County; Hugh and Gavin were ordained ministers. They were Covenanters and Hugh preached regularly at the Hopewell Church before his departure. Owing to his feelings on the slavery issue Hugh moved to Greene County, Ohio, taking a substantial portion of the Hopewell congregation with him. Most settled in Xenia and Cedarville Townships. Others leaving for Greene County were members of the Harbison, Nesbit, Cooper, Orr, Stormont and Dallas families, none of whom had owned slaves.¹⁴

SHM also preserved in his journal a lengthy autograph letter written by Sarah McCaw in Chester County in September 1865. Sarah was a member of Hopewell church and her unionist sympathies are clear.

A letter from James John Henry to John Hunter of Randolph County, IL dated July 13, 1829 provides a contemporary account of the move, "Mr. McMillan left here about the 1st of February to settle himself in the Ohio State, and we have had no preaching since he left us, and I expect we will have none until we arrive in the Ohio State where he is. . . the people are in a great stir about selling to move to Ohio from here."¹⁵ Anti slavery feelings among the Covenanter families became more overt in the 1820s because the Associate Reformed Synod of the South, formed in 1822, declined to take a strong stance against slavery.

Hopewell informed the Presbytery in 1834, "We have to report that emigration to the North-west, stimulated in some cases by the increase in slavery, and in all cases by the political disturbances which have torn many churches asunder, has already considerably diminished our numbers."¹⁶ Within 18 months in the early 1830s, Hopewell lost three ruling elders and 50 lay members. Earlier emigrants had settled in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, while "those of late date" settled in Tennessee, Mississippi and Arkansas.¹⁷ The decline in membership continued in the 1830s and 1840s. In 1833 Hopewell had 110 families with a total of 220 communicants; in 1849 the totals were 89 families with 200 communicants. During the pastorate of Warren Flenniken (1832-1850) some 200 communicants had been added, but more had been lost.¹⁸ During the first ten years under Flenniken's successor, the Rev. Robert Brice, Hopewell lost nearly 100 communicants, all of them moving to Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, Mississippi, or Arkansas.¹⁹ This migration of course was primarily for economic reasons.

Before her marriage, SHM's mother, Margaret Millen, together with the large Millen family had been members of the Union Church. The Millens, although of Covenanter background, were more flexible on the slavery issue than Margaret's husband and his family. Margaret Millen's father and one brother were slave owners in 1830. Her brothers David and Eli Millen, the former a slave holder, moved to Greene County, OH in the 1840s where they became prominent merchants. David freed his slaves and brought them to Ohio. Two other brothers, John and Robert Millen remained in Chester County and were prosperous farmers and slave owners when SHM visited them in 1860. Both were elders in the Union Church.

SHM's aunt, Barbara Millen was married to Robert McCoy, an ARP preacher who owned at least one slave and in 1860 was pastor to a small congregation in Macon in west Tennessee.

The session records of the Fishing Creek Church make clear the effect of outmigration in the 1820s and 1830s. In the first twenty years of the century, membership more than doubled from 68 to 167. But a significant membership decline took place in the 1820s and 1830s. In 1821 there were 171 communicants, by 1841 there were only 110. By 1847 membership recovered to 174. Unfortunately the data is less certain for the years after 1848.²⁰

There were substantial numbers of African Americans in this church. The session record for 1847 noted, "But in carefully examining the list of communicants there can only be found 98 whites and 57 blacks, total 149 [sic]."²¹ The Rev. James R. Gillam, pastor for seven years until November 1848

recorded that 79 communicants had been added during his ministry, 42 whites and 37 blacks.²² Although black and white Presbyterians worshiped together, the session record for August 12, 1851 makes clear it was not as equals. Some black communicants were called before the session and admonished for expressing anti slavery views. Six appeared and were warned that it was wrong in the sight of God to object to their status as slaves. God had made them slaves and they were bound to obey their masters.²³

It was to combat this attitude among Associate (Seceder) Presbyterians that the Reverend Thomas S. Kendall came to Chester County in August 1840.²⁴ His sermon at the Smyrna Associate church resulted in the tar and feather incident widely reported in the abolitionist press. As with other Presbyterians, Associates opposed to slavery had moved north while their brethren in the slave states made their accommodation with the practice. Born in Xenia, Kendall attended Miami University. When northern Associates determined that vigorous action be taken against their slave holding southern brothers, Kendall, then pastor to a church in Blount County, TN agreed to take on this dangerous task. While Kendall preached to the small Smyrna congregation located five miles east of Chester, a gang of young men, incited by the Rev. Archibald White of the Stirling Meeting House gathered outside. They seized Kendall, took him to Cockerell's (White Oak), a small community in Fairfield County, just across the Chester County line and there tarred and feathered the hapless preacher.

The Hopewell Church itself had a sizeable African American membership before the war. The Rev. Warren Flenniken had been a slave holder. His widow Jane Flenniken, the Rev. Robert Brice and more than half the ruling elders are listed in the Chester County Slave Schedules for 1860. Elder Robert Boyd held 11 slaves, John Jamison held 6, James McDill held 3, James Young Mills held 13, and David Moffat, Clerk of Session, held 9. The other elders listed, John F. Bigham, David Wilson, and James B. Wylie could not be identified in the Slave Schedules. A number of black communicants are listed in church records along with their white owners.²⁵

In 1859 the Hopewell Record Book listed a total of 192 members, of whom 39 were black. In 1868 the membership stood at 117, with 21 being black. In 1870 the membership totaled 119, of whom 12 were black. By 1872 no African Americans were left in the congregation. Lathan, writing in 1879, recalled that 25% of the congregation was black in 1860, but that after the war they all left the church.²⁶ Clearly their participation as slaves had been to accommodate their owners. Black communicants in Chester County churches were almost exclusively slaves as the county's free black population in 1860 was minuscule.

In December 1859 SHM was asked to teach school by Samuel McCaw, an active Hopewell communicant. SHM agreed and remained in Chester County until December 1860, boarding in the McCaw home. Samuel McCaw did not own slaves and opposed secession.²⁷ His daughter Sarah's letter to SHM after the war detailed the war's impact on family, friends and members of the Hopewell Church. SHM preserved the letter with the comment, "The enclosed letter I rec'd over a year ago from Sarah McCaw & save it for a relic of the rebellion & to show that there was some true Union people in even in [sic] old So. Carolina."²⁸

The McCaw family had been in Chester County since before the American Revolution and were longtime Hopewell communicants. Samuel McCaw farmed with the help of two sons William and John. An older child, James, had moved to Greene County, OH sometime in the 1850s where he taught school in Cedarville Township; another son, Robert helped on the farm until he married and moved to Drew County, Arkansas in 1858 or 1859. William was at home in 1860, but by December 1863 he had made his way to Jeffersonville, Indiana where he was mustered into the 10th Indiana Cavalry.²⁹ The Confederate draft law, enacted first in April 1862 and then steadily expanded, would have forced a decision on whether to serve with the Confederate forces. In her postwar letter Sarah wrote, "I was never certain untill [sic] you wrote that he [William] was in the U.S. Army."

But the McCaw family was splintered on the secession issue. Sarah's older brother Robert was

a slave owner and served in the Confederate Army in an Arkansas regiment.³⁰ Sarah wrote about sharp disagreements with Robert over the slavery issue. The two, "could not agree at all on secession and the war." Another brother, John died in the war, apparently in service to the Confederacy.

It was not easy to be a union sympathizer in Chester County during and after the war. Sarah wrote about her brothers William and James, "I do hope they will come this fall . . . I do not think they need be afraid to come here now, the best way to do is just hold up your head and think you are as good as any body, the way I have done for the last four or five years." After the McMillans and other Covenanter families moved north, the McCaws were among the few remaining Chester County Presbyterians who opposed slaveholding, and then secession.

The anguish in the McCaw family was mirrored in SHM's own. Although an only son and in spite of a concern grounded in his religious upbringing, SHM decided in August 1862 to enlist in the Union Army. No doubt the recently enacted draft law, and a bounty offered enlistees by the state of Ohio had an impact as well. With his father's blessing, SHM enlisted in the 110th Ohio Volunteer Infantry. He served three years and was wounded at the battle of Monocacy, near Frederick, MD. SHM's father visited the troops in the field on several occasions and delivered packages from home.³¹ As the war dragged on even staunch Covenanters recognized the need for action.

Four of SHM's Millen cousins served in South Carolina regiments. John Millen, or J.A. was the son of Uncle John Millen, a ruling elder in the Union Church. Uncle John, together with his brother Robert and their sons owned at least 18 slaves in 1860. In August 1861, with two other Confederate servicemen from Union ARP Church, J.A. was elected a ruling elder in the congregation.³² J.A. Millen was an officer in the state militia before it was called into Confederate service. J.A. was proud to serve his state and his service record contains a letter indicating his strong support for the Confederate cause. Wounded in December 1864 at the battle of Franklin, near Nashville, TN, he was captured by advancing Union troops and died soon thereafter.³³

Eli Harper Millen, J.A.'s younger brother also was captured at the battle of Franklin. Harper was more divided on the issue of secession. He enlisted in 1863 but later claimed that he did so only to serve in his brother's regiment. After his capture, Harper was sent to Camp Chase, (Columbus) OH. He claimed unwilling service in the Confederate Army and stated his willingness to take the oath of allegiance to the United States. Harper took the oath in March 1865 and relatives in Ohio were soon able to procure his release. He was released into the custody of "influential and loyal citizens of Greene County, Ohio", who were certainly Harper's three uncles, Eli and David Millen and James Chestnut McMillan, SHM's father. When Harper returned to Chester County, he carried a letter from SHM to Sarah McCaw which prompted the reply preserved by SHM.³⁴

Sam Millen, a brother of Harper and J.A., served in the Sixth South Carolina Infantry Regiment and was killed at the battle of Seven Pines near Richmond, VA in 1862. He was a slave holder before the war; SHM described a slave wedding at the Sam Millen plantation.³⁵

Gustavus Adolphus Millen, known as G.A., was the son of Uncle Robert Millen.³⁶ He was taken prisoner at the battle of the Crater at Petersburg, VA in 1864. Sent to Elmira, New York he wrote on several occasions to SHM asking for help in obtaining a release. G.A. was an unrepentant secessionist and SHM opted not to help his cousin, who languished in prison until war's end.

These three surviving cousins; a wounded Union veteran, a Confederate survivor of a Union prison, and an unwilling Confederate soldier who took the loyalty oath before war's end came together in Xenia after the war and shared their experiences.³⁷ SHM, the Millens, and the McCaws, although bound by ties of kinship, mirrored the divisions on secession and slavery that were found in their church and in society at large. Harper Millen returned to Chester County after the war; G.A. Millen moved to Arkansas. SHM already seriously ill with tuberculosis, lived with his father in Xenia and died in 1869.

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Sarah McCaw's letter provides information about other members of the Hopewell Church. Col. James McDaniel, owner of the Chester Standard, chaired the committee which appointed Robert Brice as pastor in 1850.³⁸ In 1860, Col. McDaniel went so far as to advocate the reestablishment of the African slave trade as a cure for the economic doldrums in Chester County.³⁹ His son Jack was editor of the Standard and wrote a number of positive articles about the Confederate cause. Sarah strenuously criticized them, "... how he did degrad [sic] the union people, & the Union."⁴⁰ The McDaniel family suffered grievously in the war. Col. McDaniel died in March 1863 after a fall from a railroad car where he had been exhorting Confederate troops passing through Chester. Jack's brother William died in 1862 at the battle of Seven Pines. Late in the war both Jack and his brother Joseph were wounded at the battle of Fort Harrison near Richmond and both died. Only one brother, J. Hemphill McDaniel returned home at war's end.⁴¹ This family, with Covenanter roots reaching back to the American Revolution, is a good example of that accommodation to a secular environment which so concerned tradition minded Reformed Presbyterians.

Other Hopewell Church members mentioned in Sarah's letter included Hugh Darrough, Hugh Henry, David Moffat, Mr. Caldwell, Jane Flenniken (widow of the Rev. Warren Flenniken), and Dr. Douglas. All were slave holders, including Hugh Henry, who was said to be the last Covenanter in Chester County.⁴²

Sarah commented on the sermons at Hopewell during the war years. Although a part of Sherman's army camped near the church, it escaped with little damage. Had the soldiers known the nature of the Rev. Mr. Brice's preaching, "... they would not have had much murcy [sic]." Robert Brice was so supportive of the Confederate cause that the McCaw family seriously considered breaking with the Hopewell Church. Sarah wrote, "... sometimes we thought to quit going to church, as it was no use to go to hear what we did not believe."

Robert Brice was a highly regarded ARP preacher who accurately reflected the changed attitudes of his congregation. He was much esteemed and served Hopewell from 1850 until his death in 1878. In Sarah's words, "Sometimes I could scarcely stay in the house so bitter was Mr. Brice's prayers [sic] against his enemy. . . . the confederacy was well prayed for in old Hopewell." Sarah McCaw lived out her life in Chester County. She died in 1901, still a member and a regular contributor to the Hopewell Church.

Joseph D. Kyle
Richmond National Battlefield Park
January 1993

1. Lacy K. Ford, Jr., Origins of Southern Radicalism, The South Carolina Upcountry, 1800-1860 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988) is an excellent study of opposition to disunion with an extensive bibliography. See also Carl N. Degler, The Other South, Southern Dissenters in the Nineteenth Century (New York, 1974). For economic conditions see Alfred Glaze Smith, Jr., Economic Readjustment of an Old Cotton State: South Carolina, 1820-1860 (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1958). A version of this paper was presented in 1990 at the Missouri Valley History Conference. I am indebted to Virginia Fohl Rainey, then of the Miami (OH) Presbytery; Harold Parker, Professor Emeritus, Western State College; and Norman J. Bender, Professor, University of Colorado at Colorado Springs, for their very helpful comments.

2. George Howe, History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina, (Columbia, SC, 1883), Vol. II, 700-707 has a sketch on the Covenanters along Rocky Creek.

3. For Reformed Presbyterian attitudes regarding slavery see David Melville Carson, "History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in America to 1871" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1964) especially 97-104 and Robert Lathan, History of the Associate Reformed Synod of the South (Harrisburg, PA, 1882), 273-74. See also W. Melancthon Glasgow, History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in America (Baltimore, 1888).

4. For outmigration from Chester County to Monroe County, Indiana see James Albert Woodburn, "The Scotch-Irish Presbyterians in Monroe County, Indiana," Indiana Historical Society Publications IV (1910), 437-522. This article includes a detailed description of Covenanter worship practices. See also Howe, 704-706.

5. See William W. Freehling, Prelude to Civil War: The Nullification Controversy in South Carolina, 1816-1836 (New York 1966) and David Duncan Wallace, South Carolina, A Short History, 1520-1948 (Columbia, SC 1966 [1951]), 516.

6. Ford, Origins, 46.

7. Howe, 705.

8. Robert Lathan, A Historical Sketch of Union A.R.P. Church, Chester County, South Carolina (n.p.: n.p. 1888), reprinted by the Chester District Genealogical Society (Richburg, SC, 1980). See also The Centennial History of the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church, 1803-1903 (Charleston, SC, 1905), 599.

9. Lathan, Union, 5,7 and 57 and Woodburn, 477.

10. Lathan, Union, 57.

11. Howe, 95, 271, 366, 509, 670 and 674.

12. The journal of Samuel Harvey McMillan and the letter written by Sarah McCaw are the property of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Thompson of Vancouver, WA. They have kindly permitted the present writer to prepare the journal for publication. The Historical Foundation of the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church has patiently supported the project, and I am very grateful. Most of the surviving records for the three congregations are at the Presbyterian Study Center, Montreat, NC. Some have been reprinted by the Chester District Genealogical Society, P.O. Box 336, Richburg, SC 29729.

13. Family history material concerning the McMillan and Millen families is located in the Greene County Room, Greene County District Library, Xenia, OH 45385 where Ms. Julie Overton has been extremely helpful, and in the Heritage Room, Chester County Library, Chester, SC. George Moore and Jean Agee of the Chester District Genealogical Society have been helpful in many ways. My thanks to Virginia Fohl Rainey for her help in sorting out the tangled subdivisions among Presbyterians.

14. Woodburn, 510. The families mentioned do not appear in the Slave Schedules of the U.S. Census for Chester County for 1820 and 1830.

15. Reprinted in the Chester Reporter, December 2, 1970. The letter also can be found in South Carolina Magazine of Ancestral Research II (1974), 39-41. For an obituary of Hugh McMillan see, Joseph M. Wilson, Presbyterian Historical Almanac and Annual Remembrancer of the Church 3 (1861), 218-19. For an obituary of Gavin McMillan see *ibid.*, 10 (1868), 390-91.

16. Quoted in Robert Lathan, History of Hopewell Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church, Chester County, S.C. (Yorkville, SC: n.p., 1879), as reprinted by the Chester District Genealogical Society, 1981, 15.

17. Lathan, Hopewell, 15.
18. Lathan, Hopewell, 16.
19. Lathan, Hopewell, 17.
20. Brent H. Holcomb and Elmer Parker (comp), Early Records of Fishing Creek Presbyterian Church, Chester County, South Carolina, 1799-1859 (Greenville, SC, 1980).
21. Holcomb, 80.
22. Holcomb, 74-82, in particular 81.
23. Holcomb, 92-94.
24. B. S. Bartlow (ed), Miami University Alumni Catalogue, Centennial Edition, 1809-1909 (N.p.: n.p. 1909?), 271 and Lathan, Hopewell, 17.
25. The session records for Hopewell for 1832-1892 were reprinted by the Chester District Genealogical Society, Richburg, SC in 1984. See 26-30 for meetings during the war years. Session members in 1860 were compared with the Chester County Slave Schedules for that year.
26. Lathan, Hopewell, 45.
27. Samuel McCaw is listed in the Chester County U.S. Census for 1840, 1850, and 1860, but does not appear in the Slave Schedules for those years. Sarah's letter described a diversified farming operation. Her letter commented on a corn and wheat crop, the fruit crop, on butter and egg production and a home grown supply of meat. There was no mention of cotton.
28. SHM journal entry for October 8, 1866.
29. Military Service Record, William McCaw, 10th Indiana Cavalry, National Archives, Washington, D.C. and U.S. Census, 1860, Chester County, SC.
30. Military Service Record, Robert McCaw, 9th Arkansas Inf., National Archives, Washington, D.C. and U.S. Census and Slave Schedule, 1860, Drew County, AR.
31. SHM journal entry for August 22, 1862. The Xenia Torchlight for July 22, 1863 reported that James Chestnut McMillan had just returned from a visit at the front with the 110th OVI.
32. Lathan, Union, 50-51.
33. Military Service Record, John A. Millen, 24th SC Inf., National Archives, Washington, D.C.
34. Military Service Record, Eli Harper Millen, 24th SC Inf., National Archives, Washington, D.C. and SHM journal entry for July 2, 1865.
35. Military Service Record, Samuel Millen, 6th SC Inf., National Archives, Washington, D.C. and SHM journal entry for June 14, 1860.
36. Military Service Record, Gustavus Adolphus Millen, 17th SC Inf., National Archives, Washington, D.C.

37. SHM's journal entries for September 13, 1864; November 21, 1864; December 5, 1864; March 19, 1865; July 1, 1865; and August (n.d.), 1865.

38. Lathan, Hopewell, 38.

39. Chester Standard, August 9, 1860.

40. Very few issues of the Standard survive from the war years. An example of the reportage done by Jack McDaniel is, "Letter From the Petersburg Trenches" dated July 16, 1864 and published in the July 28, 1864 issue.

41. Military Service Records for E. Jackson McDaniel, Joseph P. McDaniel, J. Hemphill McDaniel, William L. McDaniel, all of the 6th SC Inf., National Archives, Washington, D.C.

42. Slave Schedules, U.S. Census, 1860. Dr. John Douglas and the Caldwell family owned large numbers of slaves. Regarding Hugh Henry see Howe, 707. Additionally, the Hemphill family, prominent in the Hopewell Church, owned in excess of 200 slaves.

(Editor's Note: We would like to thank Dr. Joseph D. Kyle, 230 N. 32nd Street, Richmond, VA 23223, for sharing the above article on Old Hopewell with us. I am sure our readers will find it very informative and helpful in their research. Thank you again, Dr. Kyle.)