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A Romantic Adventurer Comes of Age:
The Life of Daniel Trigg of Abingdon, Virginia

A Thesis

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of Requirements for the
Degree of Master of Heritage Preservation
in the College of Arts and Sciences
Georgia State University

1997

by

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank the following for their support in writing this thesis: Dr. Timothy Crimmins and Dr. John Matthews with the History Department at Georgia State University; William R. Erwin, Jr. and the Special Collections Department, Duke University; Robert Holcombe, Confederate Naval Museum, Columbus, Ga.; Virginia Historical Society; Raymond Teichman, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, N.Y.; John M. Coski, Museum of the Confederacy, Richmond, Va.; Alice S. Creighton, Special Collections Division, U.S. Naval Academy; John Casteen, Special Collections/Manuscripts, University of Virginia; Col. Joseph H. Alexander and Capt. William T. Alexander, descendants of Lieut. Robert Chester Foute, P.N.C.S.; E.W. King Library, Bristol, Tn.; Special Collections, University of North Carolina; Clerk's Office, Washington County Courthouse, Abingdon, Va.; Historical Society of Washington County, Virginia; Bud Phillips, Bristol, Va.; M. Caldwell Butler; the late Margaret Craig, of Abingdon, Va.; John Orsi; Clyde M. Collier, Ashville, N.C.; Bill Styple, Kearny, N.J.; Bill Statser and the staff at the John Cook Wyllie Library, Clinch Valley College, Wise, Va.; my friends, especially Jennifer Ballengee and Daniel Breen; and last, but not least, my family, immediate and extended (including George Harris Sargeant and Elizabeth Francis), especially my mother and father, Peter and Julie Trigg, and my grandparents, Edwin and Adelaide Trigg.

Additional thanks to all those who are working to preserve the history of the Confederate Navy, and Virginia, and to all those who have preceded us.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

EWK	E. W. King Library, King College, Bristol, Tennessee
JCWL	John Cook Wyllie Library, Clinch Valley College, Wise, Virginia
JWJ, Duke University	John Warfield Johnston Papers, Special Collections Department, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina
McM, Duke University University,	McMullen Family Papers, Special Collections Department, Durham, North Carolina
n.d.	no date (for publication or letter)
n.p.	no place (for publication)
P.N.C.S.	Provisional Navy Confederate States of America
UNC	Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.
UVA	University of Virginia
VHS	Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Virginia
WCC	Clerk's Office, Washington County Courthouse, Abingdon, Virginia

INTRODUCTION

As a candidate for the degree of Masters in Heritage Preservation, I thought it appropriate to focus on a topic that would attempt to preserve the heritage of my family. Since my course concentration was in folklore and cultural heritage in anticipation of working in a local history museum, this choice also seemed beneficial. The faculty of the History Department agreed and thereby demonstrated that the writing of one's family history is no longer the purview of amateur historians, but can be a scholarly pursuit as well. Family history may be the last subject area to move finally into academia, following behind local history. Both areas had long been undervalued by scholars, and their contributions to the full understanding of history are now beginning to be appreciated.

To this end, I chose to research and write about my great-great grandfather, Daniel Trigg, born in Virginia in 1843. By tradition, anyone in our family named Daniel does not receive a middle name. Fortunately he wrote his memoirs and also left behind a diary. This thesis is his story of how he adapted to the rapid changes in his lifetime and how he captured the spirit of his time.

Skillfully managing and synthesizing old traditions with new bombarding thoughts is not an easy task. The ability to adapt to change is the maxim for survival for all species of plants and animals. The life of Daniel Trigg, a quintessential nineteenth-century gentleman, demonstrates this adaptability. Reared in a well-connected Virginia family, his was a heritage of an interlocking network of kin — alien to most of today's families — but quite typical for a man of his class in Virginia. Damaged certainly by the War, it was a beneficial ingredient in Trigg's formula for survival. Other aspects of his personality helped him to adapt. He had a great sense of humor and also a certain charm and friendliness about him

that drew people to him. His strong character caused him to have an influence that by the end of his life was statewide.

Trigg's life also demonstrates the spirit of the times. By this I mean that the era he lived in was one where a blend of a spirit of adventure with rough and ready, but gentlemanly, qualities were admired. Romanticism as a literary and artistic movement was well established by the time he grew up, and though I have no direct evidence that he was a romantic, the early period of his life has qualities of the romantic movement, namely, the spirit of adventure, bravado, and an appreciation of nature. With these terms in mind, I will call this being a "romantic adventurer". As an adult, Trigg was very well read and loved to read literature and books on history.

Trigg entered the U.S. Naval Academy in Annapolis at the age of fifteen, and two-and-a-half years later he made the difficult decision to go with his beloved native state of Virginia when the Civil War broke out. His roommate and friend, Silas Terry of Kentucky, however, opted for the Federal navy. Trigg saw action early on at the Battle of Hampton Roads that included the historic duel between the world's first ironclads, the *Merrimac* and the *Monitor*. He was sent along with other young officers to France to man new warships which the South counted on but never received. Toward the end of the war, he went on at least one secret mission to mine rivers in Virginia to secure the supposed kidnapping route of Pres. Abraham Lincoln. Trigg ended up with Comm. John Randolph Tucker's bedraggled sailors during the retreat from Richmond and fought and surrendered in his first land battle at Saylor's Creek. After his release from prison, Trigg, only twenty-two years of age, decided to fight as a soldier in South America. He was hired for his torpedo experience and nearly died twice before making it back to Virginia. He managed, though, to keep a journal of his adventures in the southern hemisphere that sheds valuable light on his character.

Through all of this, the Civil War and the South American detour, Trigg's attitude was one of being the "romantic adventurer" — a typical profile in the nineteenth-century South, but one not generally carried out. The title of this thesis is "A Romantic Adventurer Comes of Age." After this period

of instability and uncertainty in his young life (his “romantic adventurer” period) Trigg shifted to a more conservative stance after he returned home from South America — it was a search for stability. He came of age. This change in character echoed the shift taking place all across the New South and the rest of the country. What other profession than law promised stability and whose very nature was the essence of precedent and established codes of conduct and language? Trigg therefore became a lawyer and was involved in the heated post-Reconstruction politics in Virginia.

Many factors had an influence in the shaping of Trigg’s outlook on life and molded the man who was full of life and zest. How did the values and thinking of the newly arrived Victorian era shape his growth, his thought? And the birth pangs of the Industrial Revolution? Was his sense of humor genetic, or was it his reaction to the comparatively rapid changes in lifestyle that he was to witness in his short lifetime? One must presume many things when peering at a man and his life through many attitude changes and more than a hundred years of time. Nevertheless, some surviving records give us clues into his life — enough to illustrate plausibly what a typical man of his time and place experienced in a difficult era.

Epigraphs appear at the beginning of each chapter and are quotes from the works of Scotch poet Robert Burns that capture the mood of the chapter. Robert Burns was picked for a number of reasons. One, it can be supposed that Trigg liked Burns’s poetry because he quoted a poem of his in a letter. Second, books of Burns’ poetry were inventoried in his father’s house and therefore were readily available to Trigg as a youth. And third, the region Trigg was born and reared in was heavily Scotch-Irish in makeup.

At the eleventh hour of finishing this thesis, I discovered the Trigg-Floyd Papers at Clinch Valley College in Wise, Virginia. This was a discovery that one always hopes for in this type of research. However, the copied material reaches three inches in height and it was impossible for me to include the bulk of it in this thesis. Where I was able to clarify or add points to the thesis in light of this discovery, I did so. Most of the material, though, documents the legal aspects of the Douglas Land Company, and it

opened so many doors, that I could never explore them all fairly and finish my thesis in time. I hope to be able to do so afterwards and include my discoveries in a future publication.

CHAPTER ONE
HIS BACKGROUND AND EARLY LIFE

*I dream'd I lay where flowers were springing
Gaily in the sunny beam,
List'ning to the wild birds singing,
By a falling, chrystal stream;
Streight the sky grew black and daring,
Thro' the woods the whirlwinds rave;
Trees with aged arms were warring,
O'er the swelling, drumlie wave.*

*Such was my life's deceitful morning,
Such the pleasures I enjoy'd;
But lang or noon, loud tempests storming
A' my flowery bliss destroy'd.
Tho' fickle Fortune has deceiv'd me,
She promis'd fair, and perform'd but ill;
Of mony a joy and hope bereav'd me,
I bear a heart shall support me still.
Robert Burns, I dream'd I lay, &c.*

The average child living in Daniel Trigg's time experienced sickness and death at a much earlier age than the average American today. His mother gave birth to a total of ten children, but five of Trigg's brothers and sisters never reached the age of two. Trigg, though, most likely remembered only the death of his infant younger brother, Wyndham Robertson Trigg. This alarming infant mortality rate of fifty percent was common. Many dangers awaited an infant and its mother: scarlet fever, malaria, cholera, croup, pneumonia, and others. Trigg and his wife would also face this fact of life, like his parents, grandparents and great-grandparents before him. It was not unusual for a man to have married three wives in his lifetime, each one fatally worn out by childbirth.

Daniel Trigg was born on March 12, 1843, in Abingdon, a small town nestled between the mountain ranges of southwestern Virginia. His range of experiences — his surrounding environment — was the mountains looming nearby, the fertile valley region in which Abingdon was situated, and this small town in which his family lived.¹ He was the fifth child of Dr. Daniel Trigg and Anna Munford Tompkins.

Its history and its relative sophistication made Abingdon an unusual small town. Its origin dates from Daniel Boone, who gave the town its original moniker Wolf Hills. In 1776, settlers built a fort on the site, and its growing population figured well in the fight for American independence in this region. By the time Trigg was born, the town, though small, was an outpost of culture and society in this rural Appalachian region. It had already supplied two governors and one lieutenant-governor to the state of Virginia. Being the county seat certainly contributed to its position; brick houses soon lined the main street, and the courthouse was the center of political activity for the county. A tight web of social and familial ties was thus in place — a stratum in which members of these privileged families intermarried and conducted the affairs of the area.

Several generations previously, Trigg's family had moved from Christiansburg, Virginia, to Abingdon and had become a part of this web when his great aunt married, in 1799, a William King of Abingdon, one of the wealthiest men in the region. This great aunt was like a mother to her younger siblings, so when she removed to the home of her husband in Abingdon, they followed. After the death of her first husband, this great aunt remarried a Francis Smith, another millionaire, and by him she had a daughter who married one of only two governors to serve from Abingdon (Wyndham Bolling Robertson). The youngest sister of this great aunt married the brother of the other governor (David Campbell). Thus, Trigg's ancestors quickly became a part of this small-town social sphere.

¹Lewis Preston Summers, History of Southwest Virginia, 1746-1786, Washington County, 1777-1870 (n.p.: Lewis Preston Summers, 1903; reprint, Johnson City, Tenn.: The Overmountain Press, 1989), 787.

This environment shaped his outlook on life; by the time Trigg was born, this small town of several hundred persons was, to him, a tight mesh of kindred and social relationships. Closer to home, there were both positive and negative influences at work: his father was a prominent physician and mayor, but he was also a slave owner. Surviving diary entries from a brother of Gov. Wyndham Robertson document the Trigg clan's prominence in Abingdon society. "Thur. 29th [July 1841] Mary & Wyndham were visited by Mr. and Mrs. Wm. Trigg, Dr. Trigg & Lady, Conally Trigg & Lady, Lilburn H. Trigg & Lady, & Miss Mary Trigg and in the evening by Mr. Thos. Preston & Miss Preston daughter of Senator Wm. & Mrs. [Wade] Hampton."¹ Wyndham's brother filled his diary with frivolous entries like this; he seems a spectator of his brother's active social life recording who visited whom, who came to dinner, ad infinitum.

The dark-haired and dark-eyed Trigg and his three brothers and one sister grew up in a two-story frame house on Main Street next to their father's office, known in town as 'The Doctor Shop.' They witnessed pain and death in this physician's office. From accounts left, it appears that his father was a strong role model; he was well respected as a physician and citizen of Abingdon and the surrounding community, generous, and well loved. The family boasted only a single painting in their house, Elijah and the Ravens; this single testimonial therefore speaks volumes —Trigg's religious inculcation must have been deep. On the other hand, their house alone held more than 230 volumes of books. A wide variety of these were at Trigg's disposal. Their library ranged from such religious works as *Ecclesiastical History*, *Early Piety*, Richard Baxter's *The Saints Everlasting Rest*, and John Fox's *Book of Martyrs* to such classics as Homer's *Iliad* (of which they owned four copies), Samuel Johnson's *The History of Rasselas Prince of Abyssinia*, Edward Gibbon's *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, and the works of Virgil, Caesar and Jean de la Fontaine. Also available were: numerous works

¹J. Allen Neal, Bicentennial History of Washington County, Virginia 1776-1976 (Dallas, Tx: Taylor Publishing Company, 1976), 94.

on philosophy and natural history; histories of France and America; French and Spanish grammars; Thomas Moore's biography of Lord Byron; works by Webster and Laurence Sterne; Edward Moore's comedy *Gil Blas*; and even Sir William Herschel's book on astronomy. Also, consistent with the American fascination with Greece during this period, their library included Jacob's *Greek Reader*, *Greaca Majora* and *Minora*, Grimshaw's *Greece*, and a Greek dictionary. The work of Scotch poet Robert Burns was on the shelf as well and since Trigg later quoted a poem of his, it is safe to assume that Trigg was a reader and lover of his poems.¹

Their house was a bustling hive. Besides the necessary activity at the 'Doctor Shop', duties related to the running of a large household kept their house physically alive as well. From six to nine slaves lived in the Trigg home, and visiting relatives swelled the household population from time to time. In addition, the Trigg family owned livestock: cows, hogs (as many as twenty-eight), sheep (as many as sixty), as well as a horse, a pony, and some mules. Trigg and his siblings certainly did not lack for entertainment or stimulation. If they did, they only had to go a short distance to be in the wilderness to play and hunt.²

Thus, it must have been a tragic loss to this ten-year-old boy when his father died at the early age of forty-five on February 2, 1853.³ It must have been doubly difficult for his mother; she was left with five children to raise, the youngest only eighteen months old. Mrs. Trigg moved her young family to her father's house in Lynchburg, Virginia. They lived for several years there with their grandfather, Alexander Tompkins, who most likely provided emotional and financial support to the widowed mother.⁴

¹Inventory and appraisal of the estate of Dr. Daniel Trigg, 27 March 1854, Will Book 13, Clerk's Office, Washington County Courthouse, Abingdon, Va., pp. 141-45, repository hereinafter cited as WCC.

²Ibid; 1850 U.S. Census (Slave Index), Washington Co., Va.; 1860 U.S. Census (Slave Index), Washington Co., Va.

³Catherine S. McConnell, *High on a Windy Hill* (Bristol, Tenn.: King Printing Co., 1968), 77.

⁴Law Order Book L, WCC, p. 530.

Trigg attended the Abingdon Male Academy in town in Abingdon for many years. His most influential teacher there was the Rev. Thomas Brown, who also taught a private class at Trigg's home for several years, which greatly benefitted Trigg. This type of school instruction changed drastically, however, when he turned fifteen. He received his appointment to the U. S. Naval Academy in Annapolis, Maryland,

in a letter from the Secretary of the Navy, Isaac B. Toucey, dated March 20, 1858.¹ George W. Hopkins, longtime Congress member representing the region, appointed Trigg. Representative Hopkins was no doubt influenced by Secretary of War John Buchanan Floyd² of Abingdon. Along with this letter, Trigg received the rules of admission and a list of items to bring to the school. These articles included his uniform and other pieces of clothing, plus a mattress, pillow, and sheets, various combs, a mug, and a thread and needle case. The roommates were to acquire jointly "one looking-glass, one wash basin, one water pail, one slop bucket, and one broom."³

What inspired a valley boy, miles from any ocean, to be an officer in the United States Navy? Did he read this letter with anticipation or dread? Perhaps, like other boys in his time, the naval battles of the War of 1812 captured his imagination, or perhaps it was Captain Ahab and his adventures in Moby Dick or the naval adventures written by James Fenimore Cooper that did the trick. Or could it have been

¹Isaac Toucey to Daniel Trigg, in care of George W. Hopkins, LS, March 20, 1858, Department of the Navy, Nimitz Library, United States Naval Academy, Special Collections and Archives Division, Annapolis, Md.

²John Buchanan Floyd was the eldest son of Gov. John Floyd and Letitia Preston. He also served as Governor of Virginia from 1849 to 1852. At this time, he was Pres. James Buchanan's secretary of war, but Floyd resigned in late 1860, at the eve of the Civil War. Daniel later becomes related to him by marriage to Louisa Bowen Johnston, Floyd's niece. Floyd's grandfather, Capt. John Floyd, was a pioneer companion of Daniel's great, great-uncle Col. Stephen Trigg. Robert Sobel and John Raimo, eds., Biographical Directory of the Governors of the United States 1789-1978, Vol. 4, (Westport, Ct.: Meckler Books, 1978), 1643.

³Isaac Toucey to Daniel Trigg, in care of George W. Hopkins, LS, March 20, 1858, Department of the Navy, Nimitz Library, United States Naval Academy, Special Collections and Archives Division, Annapolis, Md.

that his family forced him to go due to financial difficulties? At any rate, in September 1858, Trigg, escorted by former Virginia governor and current Secretary of War John B. Floyd, left his secure mountain valley town for the sleepy colonial town of Annapolis, the capital of Maryland, to pursue a professional career in the navy.¹

The U.S. Naval Academy was scarcely thirteen years old when Trigg enrolled, and only five years previously had the Academy proven that it was more than just an experiment.² The Academy was located on an isthmus, called Windmill Point, at the site of old Fort Severn, which had a high brick wall surrounding nine of the forty-two acres of the Academy grounds.³ Trigg entered these grounds, under the strong disciplinarian Capt. George S. Blake, on the thirtieth of September and immediately took his academic and medical examinations. His medical examiners found him “free from deformity and disease and imperfections of the senses.”⁴ Perhaps Trigg’s experience was similar to that of James Morris Morgan, who entered several years later. Morgan recalled that

I went to Annapolis and presented myself before the Board of Examiners for admittance. The dignity and solemnity of the officers who, arrayed in their uniforms with their swords beside them, sat at a long table, caused me to have a slight attack of stage fright; but the ordeal was soon over and I was allowed to go out in the fresh air.⁵

¹Louisa Morgan Sargeant, Hampton, Virginia, to Angela Trigg, Atlanta, Georgia, LS, 11 March 1991. Original letter in possession of writer.

²Charles Todorich, The Spirited Years: A History of the Antebellum Naval Academy, (Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 1984), 18, 98.

³James Russell Soley, The Sailor Boys of '61 (Boston, Mass.: Estes and Lauriat, 1888), 46; James Russell Soley, A.B., Historical Sketch of the United States Naval Academy (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1876), 119; Walter B. Norris, Annapolis: Its Colonial and Naval Story (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1925), 247; Official Register of the Officers and Acting Midshipmen of the United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, Maryland, November 1859 (Washington, D.C.: William A. Harris, 1859), 12.

⁴Medical Board Examination of Daniel Trigg, DS, September 30, 1858, Department of the Navy, Nimitz Library, United States Naval Academy, Special Collections and Archives Division, Annapolis, Md.; Academic Board Examination of Daniel Trigg, September 30, 1858, Department of the Navy, Nimitz Library, United States Naval Academy, Special Collections and Archives Division, Annapolis, Md.

⁵James Morris Morgan, Recollections of a Rebel Reefer (New York: Houghton Mifflin

Since this was the only place one could prepare to become an officer in the United States Navy, Trigg met other young men who would later be his fellow officers, and those he would fight against, in the future Civil War. Since some of these men played roles in his life and will be discussed later on, it is worth mentioning them now. Others arriving in Annapolis at the same time as Trigg to be in the fourth class (or

first year) were: Robert Chester Foute of Tennessee; Wyndham R. Mayo of Virginia; Henry H. Marmaduke of Missouri; Ivey Foreman of North Carolina; Hardin Beverly Littlepage of Virginia; Alexander Macomb Mason of Washington, D.C.; and Silas Wright Terry of Kentucky.¹ Terry and Trigg roomed together at some point during their stay at the Academy. Trigg's upperclassmates, or 'oldsters' and, presumably, the tormentors of the fourth class, were a lot fewer, since many dropped out during the four-year school. He made friends with Edmund Gaines Read, a Virginian in the second class. Two members of the first class would later be fellow officers: Henry Ballatin Claiborne of Louisiana and Walter Raleigh Butt, from the Washington Territory.²

With their new room assignments, Trigg and his classmates started classes on October 1, 1858. They studied arithmetic, algebra, geometry, English grammar, history, composition and sketching, the first term lasting until the first of February. They took exams and immediately started classes again, which were the same as the previous term. Classes lasted until the first of June when they took their

Company, 1917), 21.

¹Official Register of U.S. Naval Academy, 1859, 11-13; United States Naval Academy Alumni Association, Inc., Register of Alumni: 1845-1956 (Annapolis, Md.: The Association, 1956), 128.

²Newspaper clipping in the possession of George Harris Sargeant, Norfolk, Va. It was a wedding announcement for Daniel's daughter, Nannie Greenway Trigg to B. Franklin Bache of Philadelphia, at Daniel's home in Abingdon on December 15, 1897. Silas Terry attended the wedding "to testify his friendship for his old room-mate at Annapolis." Copy of article in possession of writer; Official Register of U.S. Naval Academy, 1859, 7, 8.

annual exams.¹ Trigg did not do very well on his finals and, since he had also received 116 demerits during the year, he had to repeat fourth class for being “deficient.”² His roommate, Silas Terry, suffered the same fate. About thirty-four percent of his fellow classmates, however, were eighteen years or older at the time of the examinations.³ Still, his accumulation of demerits is the first glimpse into his character; that Trigg was a

product of the nineteenth century — rough and ready, with an adventuresome spirit, but always the gentleman. Terry and Trigg were probably partners in crime, running around the Academy, playing pranks on their fellow mates.

After his examinations in June 1859, Trigg joined the 106 other acting midshipmen in the annual summer cruise aboard the *Plymouth*.⁴

While on watch, the midshipmen answered orders such as trimming, furling, or reefing sails, fueling the galley, bracing the yards, and tacking or wearing the ship. The deck watch, in addition, drilled for three hours in marlinspike seamanship, while the below watch studied navigation. At 4:00 P.M. all hands mustered at station for man overboard, fire, collision, and abandon ship drills. . . . In all, a midshipman was on deck watch every day for six hours, not counting drills, and for four hours every three nights of four. Every fourth night he spent an ‘all night’ in his hammock which had only twelve inches swinging room.⁵

Thomas T. Craven commanded the ship, and they visited England, France, Spain, the Madeira Islands, and the Cape de Verde Islands. On these cruises the young crew had to put up with rancid food, seasickness, overcrowding, and storms that could become rather violent at times. On Trigg’s first cruise

¹Official Register of U.S. Naval Academy, 1859, 17.

²Out of 72 classmates that took the June exams, Daniel ranked the following: In Math, he ranked 65th; in Geometry he ranked 63rd; in Grammar, he ranked 59th; in History and Composition, he ranked third to last; and in Sketching, he ranked 60th. Official Register of U.S. Naval Academy, 1859, 12.

³Ibid., 11-13.

⁴Todorich, 173; Official Register of U.S. Naval Academy, 1859, 4.

⁵Todorich, 171.

in 1859, the ship almost wrecked during such a violent storm. The ships always made it back to Annapolis in September though, much to the relief of Craven to be sure.¹

When Trigg and his shipmates returned from the cruise, they began classes again. Trigg and Terry joined the fourth class midshipmen that were arriving, most likely awing them with their salty tales from the summer. Some of his new classmates that he would associate with later were David A. Telfair of North Carolina, Daniel Carroll of Maryland, William R. Dalton of Mississippi, and William J. Craig of Kentucky.² That year, because of overcrowding problems, the fourth class had to spend its first year aboard the newly returned *Plymouth* anchored in the harbor. They slept, ate and learned their lessons on this ship.³

Trigg and the other Academy men continued with their studies in the fall of 1859, attended balls in Annapolis, and at times held informal dances on the school ship. Elsewhere, radical politicians were inevitably working towards a deadly conflict. Conservative elements North and South appeared to constitute the majority, and it looked as if the country was calming down from the secession threat of 1850. However, in October of 1859 on the other side of Maryland, John Brown and his compatriots sneaked across the border and attempted to seize the Federal arsenal in Harper's Ferry, Virginia, and incite slaves into a rebellion. This was the catalyst that rapidly sent the country into conflict with itself.

During the 1859 - 1860 school year at the academy, students discussed and argued about John Brown's Raid as well as the upcoming presidential election campaign. This type of environment, with students from both the North and the South, was an unusual opportunity for men their age to mix. At this

¹Ibid., 172, 173, 176; Daniel Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], TMs, 1909?, transcription in possession of writer, p. 1.

²Official Register of the Officers and Acting Midshipmen of the United States Naval Academy (Washington, D.C.: George W. Bowman, 1860), 12.

³Todorich, The Spirited Years, 179, 187.

time, these issues were mostly in the realm of the philosophical, though a few fist fights did break out between Northern and Southern midshipmen. On the whole, they continued with their studies as usual.

According to Trigg's list of demerits for this school year, he was many times doing everything but studying during study hours, however. Trigg earned almost one-quarter of his 134 demerits that way, some of which he earned with Terry, his roommate. On March 19, 1860, Trigg earned six demerits for having his "Room very noisy at 9:15 p.m." and four demerits for allowing visitors, one of whom was Terry, for he received ten demerits for "Visiting at 9:15 p.m."¹ Some of Trigg's other demerits are worth mentioning: he was caught throwing snowballs at the buildings on December 14 and in the Battery on December 15; and on May 18, 1860, he was given two demerits for "Calling his section to 'fall in,' in the tone of an Auctioneer."²

Trigg made only one more cruise during his stay at the Academy — the cruise of 1860. "[Thomas T. Craven] was especially impressed with the [newly formed] third class midshipmen. . . . Craven attributed their exceptional performance [during the 1860 cruise] to this new 'school ship' system which he labeled as 'eminently successful.'"³ Those among the new fourth class entering during the fall of 1860 with whom he would have contact later were Matthew P. Goodwyn and Wyndham R. Mayo, both of Virginia. Trigg traveled with Goodwyn at least once to visit Goodwyn's family during that year.

The 'Old Days' at the Academy were ending fast, however. Events around the country were beginning to come to a boil, and everyone's life was to change irrevocably. The nation was in the middle of a highly sectional and heated campaign for the presidential seat, and four major parties were in the contest, with South Carolina threatening to secede if the Republican Party won. The 1860-1861 school

¹"Acting Midshipmen Conduct Roll," D, 1859-1860, Department of the Navy, United States Naval Academy, The Nimitz Library, Special Collections Division, Annapolis, Md., pp. 285-87.

²Ibid., 286-87. He ranked 59th out of about 100 classmates during this school year. He ranked the following: Algebra and Geometry, 55th; Geography, 65th; English Grammar, 33rd; History and Composition, 81st; and Drawing, 27th; Official Register of the Officers and Acting Midshipmen of the United States Naval Academy, 12; Todorich, 190.

³Todorich, The Spirited Years, 179, 187.

year would end up quite differently for the midshipmen from what any of them could have expected when they began this fall term. Unfortunately, Trigg's academic record for this school year no longer exists, and so it is hard to see how the unfolding events affected his conduct. Some of his friends, however, either carried on as usual, or changed drastically. Robert C. Foute, who would end up being the first to resign, racked up 120 demerits in just the months of October and November before he left in the beginning of December. Before then, he had an average conduct record: in the whole eight-month term of 1859-60, he had earned 118 demerits. Many a midnight young Southern midshipmen gathered in rooms, like Foute's apparently,

smoked their forbidden tobacco, by lamplight read the day's news on the unfolding situation, and discussed their dilemma.¹

By the end of 1860 a dark cloud had settled over our spirits and we no longer spent our few moments of leisure in skylarking, but instead discussed the burning question of secession. We did not know about its merits, but conceived the idea that each State was to compose a separate nation.²

In those days, many felt a person owed allegiance to a state first, and second, through the state to the Union. However, as officers these boys had also taken oaths to the Constitution of the United States and so felt torn between dual obligations. Many decided that when their state seceded, this absolved them of their oaths to the Constitution. Many then resigned and answered the call of their states, regardless of whether they agreed with its decision. The first acting midshipman to resign since Abraham Lincoln's

¹Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 1, 5; U.S. Naval Academy Alumni, Register of Alumni, 130; Park Benjamin, The United States Naval Academy (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1900), 228; Leland P. Lovette, School of the Sea: The Annapolis Tradition in American Life (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1941), 80-81; "Acting Midshipmen Conduct Roll," 1859-1860, 158; "Acting Midshipmen Conduct Roll," D, 1860-1861, Department of the Navy, United States Naval Academy, The Nimitz Library, Special Collections Division, Annapolis, Md., pp. , 96, 196-97, 290.

²Morgan, 32.

election on November 6, 1860, was Trigg's good friend Robert C. Foute. His resignation was accepted on December 4, 1860.¹

By March [1861], a 'feeling of despondency and distrust' pervaded [the Naval Academy] as 'officers, professors, and students observed each other silently as if uncertain what course each would pursue.' While some midshipmen wore secession badges, others shunned discussion of slavery and secession to 'avoid unpleasant feeling.' Each felt himself to be 'standing on the edge of a volcano which might at any moment commence an eruption.'²

The following letter serves as an illustration of the tense feelings that pervaded the academy and the difficult questions the midshipmen had to face. This is a letter that was written to a captain who had tried to recruit a popular midshipman at the Academy for the Confederacy.

Dear Cap — I shall never do it. What! be one of the very first to fire on the flag? Not I. I have no appetite for argument tonight; my heart is sick. Is it not enough to drive an honest man out of his senses to find thieves making a great nation destroy itself? Where are your wits, man? How can this business end? In "peace" and "Slavery?" The end may bring death of both forever, and worse, inaugurate an era of bloodshed unparalleled. Will the South be whipped by the North? Not while one Southerner lives. Will the North be whipped by the South? Not while the Alleghanies [*sic*] rise above the land. Just look, then, at the prospect. Blood, rapine, desolation, war. [Capt. George N.] Hollins, "Thou canst not shake thy gory locks at me, and say I did it!"

Yours in Union,
C[harles] W. Flusser³

These sentiments were certainly typical of many at the Academy — many chose not to pick sides hoping that the controversy would fade. Trigg's feelings at this point are unknown, but doubtless he was feeling the same pressures and tensions as his fellow students. Lacking a father to counsel him, though, most likely made Trigg look to older relatives for advice, and he had many to pick from. He

¹J. Thomas Scharf, A.M., LL.D., History of the Confederate States Navy from its Organization to the Surrender of Its Last Vessel (New York: Rogers & Sherwood, 1887), 12-13; William S. Dudley, Going South: U.S. Navy Officer Resignations & Dismissals On the Eve of the Civil War (Washington, D.C.: Naval Historical Foundation, 1981), 45.

²Todorich, 191.

³Ibid.

came from a family that had been involved in politics for generations. More recently, his uncle, Connally F. Trigg, who had moved to Knoxville when Trigg was twelve, had become a popular lawyer there and a staunch unionist. President Lincoln later appointed him a district judge.¹ Connally Trigg's outspoken views on the Union caused a split with the Abingdon Triggs. Other relatives, like Trigg's cousin, former Virginia Governor Wyndham Robertson, did all they could to preserve the Union, but when President Lincoln made the call for troops they became staunch Confederates. Trigg's older brother, William King Trigg, also seemed to be on the conservative side: he would cast his lot with the Confederacy and enlist in Company G

of the Eleventh Virginia Infantry three days after Trigg resigned.² Other associates who may have influenced Trigg had conflicting opinions after Lincoln's election: Secretary of War John B. Floyd of Abingdon, who had been for secession in 1850, had changed his mind because he believed Lincoln's administration would fail. He changed his tune again, however, and was vocally pro-southern after South Carolina's secession on December 20. He resigned by request on December 29.³

Probably the man who had the most influence on Trigg was his cousin Judge John A. Campbell, for Trigg affectionately called him 'Uncle' throughout his life and he would later be Trigg's mentor when he studied law. Judge Campbell was an old-line Whig and so was most likely pro-union at this point. Judge Campbell was soon elected as a delegate from Washington County, Virginia, to the Virginia State

¹He was appointed on July 2, 1862. Summers, History of Southwest Virginia, 775.

²The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, 2nd ser., (Harrisburg, Pa.: National Historical Society, 1898; reprint, 1985), 1:824. The day that William enlisted, April 23, 1861, was the same day that Company G, or "Home Guard," left Lynchburg by train to report for duty in Richmond; Robert T. Bell, 11th Virginia Infantry (Lynchburg, Va.: H.E. Howard, Inc., 1985), 4, 6, 96.

³E.B. Long, Civil War Day by Day: An Almanac 1861-1865 (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1971; New York: Da Capo Press, n.d.), 4, 15, 16-17.

Secession Convention and so went to Richmond in February when their proceedings commenced.¹

Doubtless, he kept Trigg informed.

The Confederates dashed all hopes of a peaceful compromise when they fired upon the Federals holed up in Fort Sumter on April 12, 1861.² The American Civil War had started.

That evening at the Academy the second class had an informal hop aboard the *Constitution*, but because of torrential rain, few ladies were present. The band had just played “Hail Columbia” and “Yankee Doodle” when news of Fort Sumter arrived. No one could believe it. Lieutenant Christopher R.P. Rodgers assembled the midshipmen and read the Articles of War. The great debate was over. It was time to choose sides.³

However, the course that some states would follow, namely the border states of Virginia, Maryland, and Kentucky, was still uncertain. Conservatives in the Virginia State Convention, who had been meeting for several months, still hoped that secession for Virginia would not be the answer. They had already rejected a motion to pass an ordinance of secession eight days previously.⁴ President Lincoln supposedly considered a proposal by a Virginia unionist, exchanging Virginia’s loyalty for the surrender of Fort Sumter.⁵ Trigg’s hometown paper, the Abingdon Democrat, stated, however, that “Union fever” was “gradually but surely dying out.”⁶

Days later came the deciding factor — Lincoln’s call for troops on April 15 was the line drawn in the sand; this was the catalyst for Virginia — how could it send troops to Washington, D.C., to fight

¹Cynthia Miller Leonard, comp., The General Assembly of Virginia July 30, 1619 - January 11, 1978 (Richmond, Va.: Virginia State Library, 1978), 477.

²Todorich, 191.

³Ibid.

⁴Long, 53.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Craig L. Symonds, Joseph E. Johnston: A Civil War Biography, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1994), 96.

their own people? This call sparked the secessionists in these border states and turned former unionists into secessionists. Capt. George S. Blake, superintendent of the Naval Academy, ordered the midshipmen to fortify the grounds as defense against a possible attack by Maryland secessionists.¹ “To their credit, the southern midshipmen continued to perform their duties faithfully while still under the flag. The gentlemen ideal had its good points.”² Virginia debated for two more days and then seceded on April 17, 1861. A mob in nearby Baltimore attacked the Massachusetts Sixth Regiment that was on its way to defend Washington, D.C., on April 19.³

While some Southerners dropped out at the beginning of hostilities, Trigg waited until his own native state of Virginia seceded from the Union. This delay on Trigg’s part, combined with the fact that he joined the Virginia Navy and not the Confederate Navy, shows that, like most people of his class, he believed that his allegiance to his state was foremost. Whether he agreed with Virginia’s decision is not known. Most likely he agreed because of Lincoln’s call for troops, but nevertheless he was duty bound to follow his native state. Again, Trigg showed that he is a typical man of his time and place.⁴

Trigg made his break with the Union on the twentieth, the same day another Virginian, Robert E. Lee, resigned his commission as a colonel in the United States Army. Between December 4 and April 16, sixty-six acting midshipmen had already resigned, only two of them Virginians. On the twentieth of April, Trigg and four other Virginia midshipmen resigned in what was the largest day for naval officer resignations during the whole period — twenty-two resignations. From the first resignation on December 4 of Trigg’s friend Foute to the final resignation on November 12, 1861, 111 acting midshipmen of 267 resigned. Trigg’s classmate Henry Marmaduke had already tendered his resignation on March 12, and it was accepted on March 18. Others waited until later. Ivey Foreman’s resignation was accepted on April

¹Todorich, 192.

²Ibid.

³Soley, 105.

⁴The Confederate Navy Department was established February 21, 1861. Long, 40.

24; H. B. Littlepage's was accepted on April 25; Charles K. King's was accepted on May 16, 1861; and Edmund G. Read tendered his resignation on May 1, but it was dismissed. Trigg's roommate, Terry, however, had different sentiments and joined the United States Navy, becoming, in time, a rear admiral.¹

¹Dudley, 15, 45-50; Mark Mayo Boatner, III, The Civil War Dictionary (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1959; reprint, 1967), 63; U.S. Naval Academy Alumni, Register of Alumni, 128-129.

CHAPTER TWO
THE CIVIL WAR

*For gold the merchant ploughs the main,
The farmer ploughs the manor;
But glory is the sodger's prize,
The sodger's wealth is honour;
The brave poor sodger ne'er despise,
Nor count him as a stranger;
Remember, he's his country's stay
In day and hour of danger.*

Robert Burns, When wild War's deadly Blast was blawn

The decision made, at age eighteen Trigg packed his bags and left Annapolis after two and a half years at the Academy. He slipped through the lines and traveled immediately to Richmond to join the newly formed Navy of Virginia as a midshipman. At this time the Virginia Navy had just come into possession of Norfolk and its great navy yard, and the Federals were assembling at Fort Monroe, located on the north bank of the James River where it empties into Chesapeake Bay. The Virginians were tediously building defenses in the Elizabeth River to protect Norfolk and Portsmouth and along the James River to protect Richmond. Authorities in Richmond ordered Trigg to Craney Island at the mouth of the Elizabeth River to help build a battery on its shore as part of this defense of the James River. Here he served for several months under Capt. William McBlair of Virginia.¹

¹Register of Officers of the Confederate States Navy 1861-1865 (U.S. Navy Department, 1931), 197. Scharf, 132, 140. Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 1.

Craney Island, May 4, 1861

My dearest I yesterday took command here and am very busy and anxious in mounting my battery of 22 eight inch guns, it certainly is the most important battery in defense of the harbor and I may say the most uncomfortable one. . . . The public mind here is very much embittered against all who took part in the burning of the [Norfolk] Navy Yard. . . .

Wm. McBlair¹

On April 22, 1861, Gov. John Letcher of Virginia appointed Robert E. Lee as commander-in-chief of the army and navy of Virginia. Lee soon ordered the *United States*, abandoned when the Federals evacuated and burned the Norfolk Navy Yard, to be the first ship commissioned in the Virginia Navy.² By the eleventh of May, Captain McBlair felt that the defenses on Craney Island were secure. On June 8, Virginia officially turned over its military forces to the Confederate States, and Trigg entered the service of the Confederate States Navy as acting midshipman on June 11. The final step for Virginia, the ratification of the Constitution of the Confederate States, took place on June 19, 1861.³

Trigg's next orders assigned him for duty on August 23 to the *United States*, rechristened as *Confederate States*, at anchor at the Gosport Navy Yard in the Elizabeth River. Set up as a receiving ship and school to train the men, it was also used to defend the yard and the gun park at St. Helena, Virginia. Its commander was Thomas R. Rootes. Some of the midshipmen also stationed on this ship were Trigg's

¹Captain William McBlair, Craney Island, Virginia, to his wife, Virginia Myers McBlair, 4 May 1861, LS, Virginia Myers McBlair Papers, Document No. 74, Special Collections, Woodruff Library, Emory University, Atlanta.

²The Federals felt that it was unnecessary to destroy such an old ship. Naval History Division, Navy Department, comp., *Civil War Naval Chronology 1861-1865* (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1971), 6:318.

³Scharf, 39; Navy Department, *Civil War Naval Chronology*, 1:10, 12; Captain William McBlair, Craney Island, Virginia, to his wife, Virginia Myers McBlair, 4 May 1861, LS, Virginia Myers McBlair Papers, Document No. 74, Special Collections, Woodruff Library, Emory University, Atlanta; Long, 83; Dudley, 48.

classmates from the Academy: William J. Craig and Matthew P. Goodwyn of Virginia. Daniel Murray Lee, General Lee's nephew, was also on this ship.¹ On board, the young 'middies' performed watch duties.²

The next phase of Trigg's participation in naval matters is sketchy. He received the following orders, which were sent to him at Gosport Navy Yard in September, so we know he was stationed there on the *Confederate States* until at least then:

NAVY YARD, GOSPORT, September 16, 1861.

SIR: You are hereby directed to take charge of the guns, etc., a list of which will be furnished to you, and proceed without delay with them to New Orleans, where, on your arrival, you will report to Captain G[eorge] N. Hollins, commanding the station.

After the performance of this duty you will lose no time in getting to Apalachicola, in obedience to your orders from the Department.

Very respectfully,

F. FORREST

Midshipman DANL. TRIGG³

Whether Trigg performed this duty is unknown, as well as what his orders were regarding Apalachicola; no orders on this matter have been found. The Federal Navy had begun to threaten the defenses of Apalachicola on September 6, so maybe his orders were related to its relief.⁴ His next orders, dated October 31, told him to report to Lieut. George Terry Sinclair, who was stationed at the time at Gosport Navy Yard and may have been there, and proceed together to Wilmington, North Carolina, to

¹Dan Lee was the son of Sydney Smith Lee and Anna Maria Mason.

²Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion, hereinafter, Official Records, 2nd ser., (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1921), 1:270, 1st ser., 5:806, 808; Register of Officers of the Confederate States Navy 1861-1865 (U.S. Navy Department, 1931), 197; Office of Naval Records and Library, comp., Register of Officers of the Confederate States Navy 1861-1865, rev. ed., (Mattituck, N. Y.: J. M. Carroll & Company, 1983), 42, 73, 111-112; HERE--FORREST LETTER BOOK.

³Official Records, 1st ser., 16:839.

⁴Raimondo Luraghi, A History of the Confederate Navy, trans. Paolo E. Coletta (Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 1996), 47.

“perform such duty as may be assigned you.”¹ Most likely this was when he was stationed at Fort Caswell, North Carolina, for Trigg stated that he was stationed there for a short time under a “Capt. Perry St. Clair” which is undoubtedly Lieut. George Terry Sinclair who had held the rank of captain in the Virginia Navy. Trigg was also at Fort Fisher, North Carolina, before being assigned to the *Jamestown*. On December 10, he wrote to French Forrest, commandant of the Norfolk Navy Yard, and requested that he be allowed to report back to Commandant Forrest for duty, which was granted. It must have been at his point that Trigg was transferred to the *Jamestown*, anchored off Mulberry Island Point, a steamer in the James River Squadron.²

No naval engagements occurred in Hampton Roads and the James River during January and February 1862. The Confederates used the time to work on the new ironclad ship *Merrimac* and strengthen the shore batteries. The *Merrimac* was an experiment that the Confederates hoped would balance the discrepancy in size and power that existed between the two navies. The Federals had sunk the ship when they had evacuated Norfolk. Now, workers were feverishly refurbishing it as an ironclad vessel, the first of its kind, under the direction of Lieut. John Mercer Brooke. It was rechristened *Virginia*. On February 8, 1862, Capt. Franklin Buchanan of Maryland, the first superintendent of the U.S. Naval Academy and now commander of the *Virginia*, ordered the James River Squadron, commanded by Comm. John Randolph Tucker of Virginia, to be in a “constant state of readiness” to help the *Virginia* whenever the workers completed its makeover. Consisting of the *Teaser* and two wooden, side-wheeled steamers, the *Patrick Henry* and the *Jamestown*, the James River Squadron had been established in June of 1861 to defend the James River. Some of Trigg’s classmates from the Academy were aboard the *Virginia* and participated in the coming Battle of Hampton Roads, better known as the *Merrimac-Monitor*

¹Order Book, Gosport Navy Yard, French Forrest Papers, (microfilm), Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, hereinafter UNC.

²Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 5; Order Book, Gosport Navy Yard, French Forrest Papers, (microfilm), UNC.

duel. Hardin B. Littlepage, Henry H. Marmaduke, Robert C. Foute and Walter R. Butt were assigned to the *Virginia* and Ivey Foreman was assigned to one of its gunboats, the *Beaufort*.¹

Battle of Hampton Roads

The James River Squadron, with Trigg aboard the *Jamestown*, moved down to Day's Neck Point on March 7, 1862, to be close at hand for the impending foray against the Federal fleet, the North Atlantic Blockading Squadron, blockading Newport News, Virginia. Captain Buchanan, commander of the *Virginia*, told the James River Squadron to sail into Hampton Roads when they first heard the noise of battle. The next afternoon, hearing the volley of guns in Hampton Roads, the squadron braved the Federal batteries at Newport News and raced to the area, thereby becoming a participant in the famous Battle of Hampton Roads on March 8 and 9, 1862. They arrived just in time to witness the incredible effect the experimental iron monster, *Virginia*, was having on the Federal fleet. Earlier, the *Virginia* had set out for a trial run down the Elizabeth River, heading for Newport News. It caught the Federal ships completely unaware as it chugged into Hampton Roads. It happened to be laundry day for the Federal fleet, and clothes hung from the rigging as the ships rocked lazily with the waves. Here were anchored the Federal frigate *Congress* and the sloop *Cumberland*. Up at Fort Monroe on Old Point Comfort were stationed the Federal frigates *Minnesota*, *Roanoke*, and *St. Lawrence*.²

¹Scharf, 143; Shelby Foote, The Civil War: A Narrative, vol. 1, Fort Sumter to Perryville, (New York: Random House, Inc., 1958; Vintage Books, 1986), 255; William M. Fowler, Jr., Under Two Flags: The American Navy in the Civil War (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1990), 80; Navy Department, Civil War Naval Chronology, 2:20; Office of Naval Records and Library, Register of Officers of the Confederate States Navy, 27, 63, 64, 115, 128.

²Captain James Henry Rochelle, Life of Rear Admiral John Randolph Tucker, (Washington: The Neale Publishing Company, 1903), 30; William C. Davis, Duel Between the First Ironclads (n.p.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1975; Louisiana State University Press, 1981), 97; Fowler, Under Two Flags, 84; Col. John Taylor Wood, "The First Fight of Iron-Clads," Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, vol. 1, From Sumter to Shiloh, 2d ed. (New York: Castle Books, 1956), 696; Foote, 1:256.

On the southern shore, from Willoughby Spit to Ragged Island, gray-clad infantry and artillerymen lined the beaches. They saw [Buchanan's] intention and tossed their caps, cheering and singing 'Dixie.' Across the water, from Old Point Comfort westward, men in blue observed it too, but with mixed emotions. They had heard that this strange new thing was being built, and now they saw her coming slowly toward them. To an Indiana volunteer, watching her across five miles of water, she 'looked very much like a house submerged to the eaves, borne onward by a flood.'¹

The Federal sailors had spotted the *Virginia* at 12:45 P.M. and had watched the slow approach of the strange contraption with growing apprehension.² The captain of the *Congress* tried to allay fears by giving a speech to his men. "My hearties, you see before you the great Southern bugaboo, got up to fright us out of our wits. Stand to your guns, and let me assure you that one good broadside from our gallant frigate, and she is ours."³ So when the *Virginia* finally came into range of the Federals (it took her an hour), they opened up their fire, raking the iron ship with heavy broadsides. However, all on board the Federal ships quickly realized the fate of their own now-vulnerable wooden vessels when their broadsides glanced so harmlessly off the ironclad monster. By the time the James River Squadron had arrived, the *Virginia* had already sunk the Federal sloop *Cumberland*, and the *Congress* was trying to escape her deadly rams. Soon the *Congress* ran aground and was even more helpless. Trigg and his fellow officers and crew worked hard on board the *Jamestown* and *Patrick Henry*, adding to the *Congress's* woes by joining in the relentless fire aimed at her.⁴ As *Congress's* second-in-command, Lieut. Austin Pendergrast, observed: "The *Patrick Henry* and the [*Jamestown*] . . . appeared from up the James River, firing with

¹Foote, 1:256.

²William N. Still, Jr., *Iron Afloat: The Story of the Confederate Ironclads*, (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1971; reprint, 1985), 29.

³Thomas J. Wertenbaker, *Norfolk: Historic Southern Port*, 2d ed., (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1962), 213.

⁴Still, 29; Davis, *Duel Between the First Ironclads*, 88, 97, 99; Foote, 1:256.

precision and doing us great damage. . . . The men were knocked away from [the guns] with great rapidity and slaughter by the terrible fire of the enemy.”¹ Not long after, the untenable *Congress* ran up her white flag, unable to take the constant fire. During the surrender, Captain Buchanan was seriously wounded and he called on Lieut. Catesby ap Roger Jones to command the *Virginia* and fight “as long as the men and light lasted.”²

Meanwhile, the three Federal frigates stationed at Fort Monroe had set out to join the battle. The *Roanoke* and *St. Lawrence* ran aground just a little way out. The *Minnesota* made it halfway before running aground, but participated somewhat, arriving shortly after the surrender of the *Congress*. The *Jamestown*, with Trigg on board, and the rest of the James River Squadron sailed towards the *Minnesota* and engaged her, while the *Virginia* dealt with *Congress*'s surrender.³

After *Congress*'s surrender, the *Virginia* chugged out and joined the *Jamestown* and the *Patrick Henry*, who were busy battling the grounded *Minnesota*.⁴

The bright afternoon sun shone upon the glancing waters. The fortifications of Newport News were seen swarming with soldiers . . . and the flames were . . . bursting from the abandoned *Congress*. The stranded *Minnesota* seemed a huge monster at bay, surrounded by the [*Virginia*] and the gun-boats.⁵

The Confederates continued to punish the *Minnesota*, but the *Virginia* could not get close enough to finish her: the tide was ebbing and her deep draft was preventing her from moving nearer to

¹Richard Wheeler, *Voices of the Civil War*, (New York, N.Y.: Thomas Y Crowell Co., 1976; reprint, New York, N.Y.: Meridian, 1990), 68.

²Davis, *Duel Between the First Ironclads*, 100, 103.

³Wood, 698-699; Davis, *Duel Between the First Ironclads*, 102, 103-104.

⁴Davis, *Duel Between the First Ironclads*, 103.

⁵Wheeler, 70.

her prey. In addition, it was getting so dark that they could not see well enough to aim their guns. The Confederates therefore decided to retire for the evening and finish off the helpless *Minnesota* in the morning. The total casualties of the day amounted to roughly four hundred Federals dead and wounded and about sixty Confederates killed and wounded. Among the Confederates wounded, besides Buchanan, was Trigg's classmate Henry H. Marmaduke aboard the *Virginia*.¹

Thus ended the day when the first ironclad vessel in the world battled an entire fleet of conventional sailing ships. The *Virginia* "served graphic notice that the proud tall frigates and ships of the line, with their billowing sails and high wooden sides that could flash out hundred-gun salvos, would soon be gone in all their beauty and obsolescence."² The ease with which the *Virginia* engaged and defeated the Federal ships surprised and alarmed the leaders in Washington out of all proportion. They feared that this new warship would wreak havoc on Washington, D.C., and New York, unaware of the great limitations of this iron hulk. The *Virginia* could move at only five knots and her ability to maneuver almost nonexistent — it took her nearly a half hour to complete a turn. Also, she had to keep to deep waters, since her draft was an unbelievable twenty-two feet!³ In his memoirs young Trigg, only nineteen at the time and having just fought in his first naval battle, described the end of this historical day in naval history:

The "Congress" continued to burn all that evening [March 8, 1862] and into the night, until her magazine blew up between twelve and one o'clock in the mid-watch. I had come on the deck of the "Jamestown" to keep that watch and witnessed the explosion, it was a brilliant sight. . . . Next morning, Sunday, the "Minnesota" lay there stranded, aground and seemingly helpless and at the mercy of her enemy; she seemed an easy prey, but as we

¹Davis, *Duel Between the First Iron-Clads*, 104; Still, 32; Ivey Foreman, Portsmouth, Virginia, to [Martha E. (Hoskins) Foreman Lewis], LS, 11 March, 1862, MsS 2, F 7616 a 1, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Va., hereinafter, VHS.

²Foote, 1:255.

³Fowler, 84, 85; Davis, *Duel Between the First Iron-Clads*, 113; Foote, 1:255, 259. The Monitor drew 12 feet.

moved forward to take her, the “Merrimac” in the lead, a strange looking craft crept from behind her, aptly designated as the “Cheese Box On a Raft”, which proved to be the world famed Monitor. It was soon recognized that the “Merrimac” or “Virginia” had something to deal with besides the wooden hulk that lay so apparently helpless within our grasp, and such proved to be the case then and there [that] the Naval warfare of the world was revolutionized and the wooden ship was recognized to have become effete and a back number trireme. These two sea monsters at once became the center of attraction. . . .¹

The *Monitor*, designed by the Swede John Ericsson, had made its way down from Greenpoint in Brooklyn, N.Y., where it was built, and had arrived just in time to defend what was left of the decimated Federal fleet.² “She appeared but a pigmy compared with the lofty frigate which she guarded.”³ The two experimental ironclads battled it out for a while, reaching a standstill before the *Monitor* withdrew, though many considered the encounter a draw.⁴ The *Virginia* then steamed back to Norfolk.⁵ Not only was this battle the first of its kind in the naval world, it also changed the experience of its sailors, who had been trained on large ships, with huge billowing sails, yards and yards of line, sunlight, and wooden sides.

The ironclads were filled with noises unknown to sailing sailors: the chugging and clanking of steam machinery used to turn the turret and to run ventilators and pumps. Inside, the air turned hot and foul. Men responded to orders but had no idea what was going on. Only the pilot and captain could see, and even then very imperfectly. . . . The battle was dominated no longer by sounds of cannon and small arms, but by muffled roars and the ringing sound of solid shot bouncing off thick iron.⁶

¹Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 2.

²The *Monitor* reached the *Minnesota* at 11:00 P.M. on March 8. Wheeler, 70.

³Ibid., 74. Quote from Lieut. John Taylor Wood of the *Virginia*.

⁴Foote, 1:262; Wood, 703.

⁵Davis, Duel Between the First Iron-Clads, 131-133; Fowler, 87, 88; Foote, 1:262.

⁶Fowler, 89.

For Trigg and several other crewmembers of the James River Squadron, this was their first and last taste of a major naval battle in the old tradition, and they had the new experiences of the men of the *Virginia* and *Monitor* to look forward to.

The part taken by the little James River squadron is not the least remarkable part of that great fight. It was lost sight of in the battle of the ironclad giants, but in the days of oak walls would have been recorded with honorable mention among the acts of bravery and seamanship which illustrate a navy.¹

The Confederate fleet made its way to the Norfolk Navy Yard where the *Virginia* was put into dry dock for repairs. On April 6, 1862, the captains of the *Raleigh*, *Beaufort*, *Jamestown*, and *Patrick Henry* listened as the new captain of the *Virginia*, Josiah Tatnall, outlined an elaborate plan to capture the *Monitor* — they would prey on her weaknesses. However, the scheme required that all five ships act in concert according to preset plans and that they get next to her; the *Virginia* would distract the *Monitor*, while the other four ships would surround her and perform their set tasks — stuffing blankets in the smokestack, draping sailcloths over the pilothouse, driving wedges to immobilize the turret, and so forth.² Tatnall appeared almost fanatical in his determination to capture the *Monitor*. “Stamping up and down the deck of the *Virginia*, he muttered through gritted teeth, ‘I will take her! I will take her if hell’s on the other side of her!’”³ The others were not so convinced. However, with this plan in mind the Confederate fleet steamed and sailed towards Hampton Roads on April 11, 1862.⁴ “The plan had been perfected to capture the ‘Monitor’ upon this expedition, not doubting that she would come out for a renewal of the contest when offered to her, but in this we were disappointed,” Trigg recalled. As they

¹Scharf, 159-160.

²Davis, Duel Between the First Ironclads, 148.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

entered Hampton Roads, they could see the *Monitor* and the rest of the Federal fleet moving across the water near Fort Monroe. Some Federal ships, however, were sitting near the mouth of Hampton Creek. Captain Barney ordered Trigg to take a boat and capture one of them, the *Marcus of Stockton, N.J.* It turned out not to be a dangerous mission for Trigg, for there was only one defender.

In some accounts of this fight you have perhaps seen that the United States Flag was hoisted Union down as a signal of distress [on the *Marcus*]. This was done at my suggestion to [Lieutenant] Alexander who approved of it and thereupon the flag, as a matter of Taunt to the enemy, and out of a spirit of perhaps bravado, was unioned down to the rigging. . . .¹ His account of taunting the Federals by turning the Federal flag upside down demonstrates a boastful, yet eager, and rompish aspect to his personality — necessary traits of the romantic adventurer. However, the *Monitor* never approached and the encounter ended with the *Virginia* firing a gun to leeward, a signal that a fight was declined by the enemy.

Battle of Drewry's Bluff

Maj. Gen. John B. Magruder of Virginia, commander of the Confederate Army of the Peninsula, requested the James River Squadron to return to its old post and help defend his right flank with their firepower. To this end, the *Jamestown* returned to Mulberry Island on the evening of April 18, 1862, safely running past the batteries at Newport News during the night hours. Meanwhile, Gen. George B. McClellan, commander of the Federal Army of the Potomac, and his army were marching up the peninsula between the York and James rivers with Richmond as their goal, pushing back the armies of Major General Magruder and Brig. Gen. Joseph E. Johnston of Virginia, commander of the Confederate Army of the Potomac. On April 26, Brigadier General Johnston was given command of Magruder's army, thereby making it the right wing of the Confederate Army of the Potomac. The position and strength of

¹Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 3.

McClellan's army made the evacuation of Yorktown and Norfolk inevitable. Johnston had his hands full coordinating a discreet withdrawal from Yorktown; a not too easy task, considering McClellan's men were within shouting distance. Lacking ground transport to remove the sick and wounded — the first order of business — Johnston wrote to Commander Tucker on May 2 and requested that he send the *Jamestown* to King's Mill Wharf and there remove the sick and wounded to Richmond. Trigg and the rest of the men on the *Jamestown* spent a good part of the day performing this task.¹

The Confederates successfully evacuated Yorktown by May 3 and now preparations began for the evacuation of Norfolk. Again, Trigg and the James River Squadron lent their assistance. They were ordered to remove what they could from the Norfolk Navy Yard and bring it to Richmond.² As Trigg recalls: "We made several trips in this service past New Port News without incident or molestation, of course it was done at night."³ One of the objects the Squadron helped to remove was the as-yet-unfinished *Richmond*, another ironclad. The *Patrick Henry* towed it to the ironclad's namesake on the night of May 6, while the *Jamestown* towed a brig that contained the guns and ordnance of the new ironclad, without being discovered.¹ Next, on May 8 under orders from Lee and Commander Tucker, they set to work removing the heavy guns from Mulberry Island Point and Jamestown to Drewry's Bluff, where the Confederates planned to engage the Federals.

Meanwhile, General McClellan wanted the Federal fleet to flank him and join him in his movement to Richmond, but the *Virginia* prevented him from accomplishing this — she still guarded Hampton Roads. Johnston and Lee, now the commander of the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia, had plans of their own. They had orders to delay the Federals as long as possible in the James River until

¹Symonds, 153; Joseph E. Johnston, Headquarters Lee's Farm, Virginia, to John R. Tucker, L, 2 May 1862, JO 514, Johnston Papers, Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, CA.; Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 4.

²Rochelle, 39, 40; Scharf, 708, 709; Boatner, 632; Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 4.

³Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 4.

the natural defenses of Drewry's Bluff could be augmented and therefore block the Federal move to Richmond by water. However, word reached the Federal government that Norfolk was to be evacuated, so they launched an offensive to gain the advantage. Their concept was to attack the Confederate batteries at Sewell's Point with their naval squadron, while simultaneously sending the ironclad *Galena* and two gunboats, *Aroostook* and *Port Royal*, up the James River. The *Virginia* could only defend one of these areas. The Federal push up the James River began on the evening of the seventh of May, just behind the *Patrick Henry* and *Jamestown*. By the next morning, they were entering the mouth of the James River. But the *Virginia* abandoned the mouth and moved to Sewell's Point, for the Federals were bombarding it according to plan. By the ninth of May, the Federal ships *Galena*, *Aroostook*, and *Port Royal* appeared and bombarded the shore batteries opposite Mulberry Island. The Confederate sailors on the *Jamestown* and *Patrick Henry* helped the shore defenses by firing back, but when the Federals managed to quiet the guns on shore Tucker wisely withdrew the squadron up the river. Tucker then dispatched the *Jamestown* up the river to carry the news of the Federal approach to Richmond.¹

Upon nearing City Point, the captain of the *Jamestown*, Lieut.-Comm. Joseph Nicholson Barney, ordered Trigg to go ashore with a dispatch at City Point and head for Petersburg. Once there, Trigg was to send the contents of the report to Richmond and apprise the mayor of Petersburg of the situation. Trigg made it to shore and approached a house nearby. Within was a woman who, upon hearing Trigg's mission and request for a horse, readily provided him with a riding horse. "She understood the whole situation and acted as if she were lending a horse to a neighbor for a ride to town or to church," Trigg related. He made it to Petersburg in good time and found Captain Goodwyn, an acquaintance, who suggested that he take the train about to leave the station for Richmond and that he would send the dispatch to Richmond and take care of the horse. The train arrived in Richmond in due time, and Trigg made his way to the Navy Department and requested to see Secretary of the Navy Stephen Mallory. The

¹Davis, *Duel Between the First Ironclads*, 152; Luraghi, *History of the Confederate Navy*, 164.

attendant on duty refused to let him see Secretary Mallory because he was in an important meeting. Trigg persuaded the attendant that the matter was urgent and soon Secretary Mallory entered the anteroom. When Trigg told him that he was the messenger who had sent the dispatch, Mallory brought him to the meeting.²

I found [the room] filled with officers of rank and among them was one of distinction with iron grey hair and mustache and whom without introduction or ever having seen him before I recognized as General Lee. He was giving orders to one or another of the officers present and directions as to the fortification of the river. As soon as a proper interval occurred in this direction the Secretary announced to them that the messenger . . . was present and thereupon General Lee catechised me as to what I had done. Having informed him as to the number of vessels, where they were [etc] . . . , he resumed his directions. . . .³

Lee directed the men on the placement of guns, commanded that Drewry's Bluff be fortified, that the river be obstructed with the sinking of vessels from the James River Squadron, that the guns be removed and mounted on the bluff, and that the men from these ships man them. Trigg was ordered to report to the *Jamestown* that evening with Lieut. Charles M. Fauntleroy.⁴

I was struck at once with General Lee's familiarity with every detail and his accurate knowledge of every resource and accessory for meeting the emergency. We went that night on board the "Jamestown" and down to Drury's Bluff where she was dismantled and sunk in the river and her crew went ashore to mount her guns and man them.⁵

Meanwhile, the abandonment of Norfolk by the Confederates on May 9 rendered the *Virginia* useless, since it could not go anywhere else due to its many limitations. To prevent the Federals from

¹Long, 206, 209; Scharf, 709, 710; Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 4-5; Luraghi, History of the Confederate Navy, 164-65.

²Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 4-5.

³Ibid., 5-6.

⁴Ibid., 6.

⁵Ibid.

getting their curious hands on the strange craft, Tatnall ordered it to be set on fire in the early dawn hours of May 11, 1862. The crew of the *Virginia* then marched to Drewry's Bluff to help with its defenses. Now the mouth of the James River lay unguarded, and the next day the *Monitor* and *Naugatuck* left Hampton Roads at 4:30 A.M. and steamed up the James River. At noon that day, they met up with the *Galena*, *Port Royal* and *Aroostook* at Jamestown, and they continued up the river, heading for Drewry's Bluff and, ultimately, Richmond.¹

Augustus H. Drewry, a wealthy Virginian, had built the fort on his own property. In front of this fort, the Confederates feverishly worked in rain and mud in an attempt to block the water approach to Richmond. Trigg and the other men drove in piles and mounted guns, scrambling desperately to make an adequate defense to prevent the fall of Richmond and perhaps the end of the war, with victory to the Federals.² The men of the *Virginia* soon joined the squadron and helped mount the defense. Now the crew of the *Virginia* would finally have its long-awaited chance to face the *Monitor* again. "Here . . . exposed to constant rain, in bottomless mud and without shelter, on scant provisions, we worked unceasingly. . . ."³

The sighting of the Federal ships on May 15, 1862, found the Confederates' defenses incomplete, however. On seeing the Federal approach, Trigg's old classmate Midshipman Hardin B. Littlepage of the *Virginia* proudly hoisted his ship's flag. At Drewry's Bluff the river was narrow, which

¹Davis, *Duel Between the First Ironclads*, 15, 154, 155; Fowler, 91; Robert W. Daly, ed., *Aboard the USS Monitor: 1862. The Letters of Acting Paymaster William Frederick Keeler, U.S. Navy To his Wife Anna* (Annapolis, Md.: U.S. Naval Institute, 1964), 122. The *Galena* was an iron-clad, and was one of the three original proposals sent to the examining board at the U.S. Navy Department in 1861. It was designed by C.S. Bushnell & Co. of Connecticut.

²Daly, 127; Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 6; Davis, *Duel Between the First Ironclads*, 155; Wood, 711.

³Wood, 711.

forced the advancing Federal ironclads to drop anchor close to the Confederate batteries at close range.¹

As a Federal sailor remembered:

The *Galena* lay across the stream her broadside to the batteries, [the *Monitor*] anchored under her stern — the *Port Royal & Aroostook* a little further down stream & the *Naugatuck* still further down — & in this position we lay from 1/2 past 7 to 1/2 past 11, a perfect tempest of iron raining upon & around us to say nothing of the rifle balls which pattered upon the decks like rain.²

The Federals' close position prevented the guns of the *Monitor* from being raised high enough to reach the Confederate batteries on the bluff. So, essentially, the Federals just sat there for four hours, took an awful beating, and left. The advantage was certainly with the Confederates. Tired men at the batteries kept up a constant fire that was concentrated on the *Galena*, and sharp shooters lining the shore picked off any Federal sailor who showed himself. Catesby ap Roger Jones, leader of the men from the *Virginia*, was so exhausted that he slept on his shell box next to his gun during the fight; Littlepage woke him when he noticed that the *Galena*, along with the rest, had started to withdraw. Badly damaged by the shelling, the *Galena* proved to be not as shot proof as its friend the *Monitor*; Capt. John Rodgers of the *Galena* ordered its removal because they had used all of its fire power, but also probably because it was dangerously close to sinking. The Federal fleet limped back to City Point downstream.³ "Sailors are a generous lot and admire gallantry whether shown by friend or foe, and the men in the gun pits at Drewry's Bluff gave hearty cheers for the *Galena* as she drew out of action."⁴ Trigg commented:

¹Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 6; Davis, Duel Between the First Ironclads, 155, 157; Wood, 711.

²Daly, 126.

³Foote, 1:416; Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 6; Wood, 711; Davis, Duel Between the First Ironclads, 157; Scharf, 714, 715.

⁴Morgan, 82.

The fact is that here was a grand opportunity lost for [the Federal] fleet instead of anchoring where it did if it had steamed on 500 yards further there was not a gun between there and Richmond, and within two hours of the time they anchored they would have landed a shot in the Capitol at Richmond that might have ended the war. It seems to me in the light of after events that a bold man in command of this fleet would never have lost such an opportunity for the fear of obstructions, torpedoes or whatnot. Perhaps Farragut would not have lost it, perhaps Dewey would not have lost it, but [John] Rogers did lose it and after fighting an almost invulnerable point for several hours they turned their prows down the river amid the cheers and jeers of the confederates. [Lieut.] John Taylor Wood, who had command of the [Confederate] sharp shooters lying along the bank, as [the Federals] started down, hailed his quondam friend and compatriot Captain [William N.] Jeffers with the information that that was not the way to Richmond.¹

The Federals, however, had no idea that the river blockage they saw was not complete. As Paymaster Keeler of the *Monitor* recalled:

I went on board the *Galena* at the termination of the action & . . . she looked like a slaughter house . . . of human beings. Here was a body with the head, one arm & part of the breast torn off by a bursting shell — another with the top of his head taken off the brains still steaming on the deck, partly across him lay one with both legs taken off at the hips & at a little distance was another completely disemboweled. The sides & ceiling overhead, the ropes & guns were spattered with blood & brains & lumps of flesh while the decks were covered with large pools of half coagulated blood & strewn with portions of skulls, fragments of shells, arms, legs, hands, pieces of flesh & iron, splinters of wood & broken weapons were mixed in one confused, horrible mass.²

The *Galena* lost thirteen killed and eleven wounded. Of the seven Confederates killed, one was Midshipman Daniel Carroll of Maryland, from the crew of the *Patrick Henry*, who was in Trigg's class at the Naval Academy.³ He was acting as signal officer and aide to Comm. Ebenezer Farrand. During the final hours of Carroll's life, Trigg administered to him, trying to make the inevitable exit easier and

¹Jeffers was in command of the *Monitor* at this time. Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 6-7.

²Daly, 130.

³Carroll had resigned on the same day as Daniel and entered the Confederate States Navy as midshipman on July 23, 1861. Dudley, 48.

perhaps knowing some simple ministrations learned from his father. Carroll, a Catholic, dictated his last confession to Trigg with the request that he give it to a priest.¹

Trigg remained stationed at Drewry's Bluff, while Richmond's situation in the face of McClellan's huge army grew ever more critical. General Lee made a risky and daring decision to detach part of his force that was defending Richmond and attack the overwhelming troops arranged against him on June 25, 1862. This was the beginning of the Seven Day's Battle. Trigg waited anxiously at Drewry's Bluff for reports from the battles, for his elder brother, William, was engaged in these fights. Though, strategically, Lee lost most of these battles, he still gained his objective — to push McClellan's forces away from Richmond back to Harrison's Landing — for McClellan retreated despite his successes. In the second to last battle, on June 30, Trigg's older brother, William King Trigg, received a fatal wound while charging across open ground. He was one of 3,615 Confederate men killed or wounded for this piece of ground, called the Battle of Glendale, or the Battle of Frayser's Farm.² William was a private in Company G of the Eleventh Virginia Regiment, and he and his regiment had seen action at Manassas, Williamsburg, Seven Pines, and other places. An ambulance corps rushed him to the house of their cousin, Ellen Conway, wife of Doctor Conway, who lived in Richmond. At Drewry's Bluff, Trigg received the news and rushed to Richmond. His mother and his sister, Nannie Byrd Trigg, came out from Abingdon or Lynchburg. William told his family about his part in the battle and gave his Le Mat revolver to Trigg before dying there on July 2, 1862.³ Trigg's mother and sister took William's body to Lynchburg, where they buried the twenty-one year old in the Presbyterian Cemetery in the plot of his

¹U.S. Naval Academy Alumni, Register of Alumni, 129; Scharf, 714, 715; Foote, 1:416; James Knox Trigg, Trigg History (Knoxville, Tn.: Tennessee Valley Publishing, 1994), 673.

²The Federal casualty figure was 2,853. Boatner, 915.

³The Le Mat revolver was designed by Dr. J.A.F. LeMat of New Orleans. It was a nine-shot, double-barreled pistol. Trigg's was a First Model, Second Type, transitional LeMat, serial #670. Boatner, 480.

mother's family, the Tompkins.¹ Trigg asked for and received permission to journey to Abingdon to be with his mother and sister for a few days. However, the night before he was to report back to Drewry's Bluff, Trigg came down with malaria and sciatica, which kept him out of the war for several months.²

Aboard the Chattahoochee

When Trigg recovered, he reported to the Navy Department for duty, and on October 3, 1862, he was promoted to passed midshipman. The navy assigned young Trigg to the *Chattahoochee*, a gunboat being built at Johnson's Landing on the Chattahoochee River in Early County, Georgia, a few miles north of the confluence of the Flint and Chattahoochee rivers. It is interesting that this assignment seemed safe after his recent experiences and the death of his older brother; is it possible that his mother pulled some strings for this assignment so soon after the death of her oldest son? In any case, Trigg reached his new assignment sometime after October 6 and reported to its commander, Catesby ap Roger Jones of the former *Virginia*.³ Apparently, everyone liked Jones. "He is so mild, firm and has such a head! -- is aufait in all matters of interest. His occasional quiet lectures on ordnance and gunnery is worth a cruise without pay to a young officer."⁴ Trigg's old classmate Hardin B. Littlepage was there with other men from the *Virginia*, but shortly before the ship was completed Littlepage requested a transfer when he found out

¹Daniel's mother was Anna Munford Tompkins, daughter of Alexander Tompkins, a lawyer in Lynchburg.

²Boatner, 916; Bell, 96; Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 7.

³Register of the Commissioned and Warrant Officers of the Navy of the Confederate States to January 1, 1863 (Richmond, Va.: MacFarlane & Fergusson, 1862), 14; Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 7; Maxine Turner, Navy Gray: A Story of the Confederate Navy on the Chattahoochee and Apalachicola Rivers (Tuscaloosa, Al.: University of Alabama Press, 1988), 63.

⁴George W. Gift, Saffold, Georgia, to Jack Grimball, L, 23 October 1862, Grimball Family Papers, South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston.

that the ship was confined to the Chattahoochee River. Trigg spent the winter of 1862-63 aboard the immobile *Chattahoochee*. Finally, on January 23, 1863, the ship was completed and was ready to be called into service. Its first assignment was to make the trip down river to Chattahoochee, Florida, and guard the flooded areas in this region.¹ One of the lieutenants on board described the trip:

Our start was on Friday and consequently we had no right to expect good luck, and we were not disappointed; for at a short turn in the river we ran ashore, twisting the ship aft very much causing her to leak considerably, split the rudder and smashed things right and left. So here was a handsome job, wrecked within the first two hours of our career — How some folks would titter and smile and say it was just as they expected &c. &c. For my part these thoughts made me exert myself in running lines, starting the pumps &c. Our crew show themselves all sailor; hawsers were soon out and the pumps commenced lowering the water, and in less than an hour we were under way again, steaming gallantly down stream.²

This trying trip exhausted Trigg and the crew when they finally made it to Chattahoochee, Florida, at 10:30 A.M. However, they were now stranded in the small town. Besides the general damage incurred during the trip, they discovered that the air-pump gear of the engines was faulty; it needed to be sent back to Columbus, Georgia, for repair.³ Until the *Chattahoochee* could be mended, it was “little more than a floating battery.”⁴

Trigg’s superior officers were, besides Lieutenant Jones, Lieut. John Julius Guthrie, Lieut. William Conway Whittle, Jr., and Lieut. George Washington Gift. The other midshipmen on board were

¹Hardin Beverly Littlepage, "A Midshipman Abroad: Part III," *Civil War Times Illustrated* 13, no. 3 (June 1974): 19; George W. Gift, Saffold, Georgia, to Jack Grimball, L, 23 October 1862, Grimball Family Papers, South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston; Turner, 81.

²George W. Gift to Ellen Augusta Shackelford, L, 24 January 1863, George W. Gift Letters #1152, UNC.

³Turner, 81, 82; George W. Gift to Ellen Augusta Shackelford, L, 25 January 1863 and George W. Gift to Mr. Collier, L, 30 January 1863, George W. Gift Letters #1152, UNC.

⁴Turner, 83.

old classmates of Trigg's, Henry H. Marmaduke, Wyndham R. Mayo and William J. Craig. Trigg served as a clerk to Paymaster Leslie E. Brooks.¹ Apparently, life aboard the inactive ship was dull.

As repair work continued on the ship, the officers and men sought what recreation they could. Much time on board was spent reading whatever newspapers they could get and popular works of the day, such as the novels of Columbus [Ga.] author Augusta Evans Wilson.²

Not too long after their arrival in Chattahoochee, Trigg and several other midshipmen participated in the naval custom of 'bulkheading', again showing himself to be ever the prankster. The target, Lieutenant Gift, related the experience to his future wife:

This morning I submitted to my first "bulk-heading". In order that you appreciate my pleasures I must explain what "bulk-heading" is. Whenever the occupants of the steerage, midshipmen and others, have any grievance against the 1st Lieutenant they take occasion to mention it among themselves in tones easily heard through the slight bulkheads and latticed doors; In this manner they convey to the 1st luff their criticisms upon his official doings &c. &c. . . . This morning, whilst making my toilet . . . the midshipmen commenced "turning out". Their first subject was myself, and they handled some of my official acts in a very amusing manner. The burden of complaint was a refusal to excuse their boys — servants — from night watch. Trigg determined to demand his rights and sleep in a swinging cot. (He has since made his demand and I at once acceded to it and placed him in a position of the man who won an Elephant at the raffle) Mayo thought it a great outrage that their boys had not an equal chance with those of the wardroom. Little [Charles K.] Mallory stood up manfully for the ancient usages and customs of the service. "The 1st Lieutenant knew better than they what was right, and he sustained him". Gracias, my young friend I'll recollect you.³

This also brings to light another common occurrence among Southern officers — slaves brought along to serve their owners. Whether Trigg had one is not clear.

¹Ibid., 96.

²Ibid., 87-88.

³George W. Gift to Ellen Augusta Shackelford, L, 27 January 1863, George W. Gift Letters #1152, UNC.

Other activities on board the ship included listening to the fiddle tunes of Paymaster Brooks and their surgeon, H. W. M. Washington, visiting ladies onshore, and chasing deserters. “Mr. Trigg left in a smart turn out this morning in quest of the deserter,” Lieut. Gift wrote in February.¹ Trigg was also the attorney for the plaintiff in a slander trial that was held on the ship on February 6. Perhaps this was his first taste at being a lawyer. Trigg, however, failed to win the case for the plaintiff.² Trigg and the other midshipmen also found something else to occupy their idle hours:

Our midshipmen have the tatooning [sic] mania. Mayo has an eagle with a Confederate shield around his neck. Marmaduke has a coat of arms. Craig is blazoned all over. Trigg is getting ‘Sic Semper,’ etc., put on his arm. Mallory wants a ship. They keep my captain of the Fore Top continuing picking with his needles.³

Sic Semper Tyrannis is the motto of the state of Virginia, meaning “Thus always to tyrants,” and again points to Trigg’s patriotic feelings towards the state of Virginia.

Finally, nearly three months after its ill-fated maiden voyage, the *Chattahoochee* was repaired. Lieutenant Guthrie, the new commander, sailed the ship to the obstructions that blocked the passage to the Gulf of Mexico, and the crew all hoped they would finally get the chance to sail out to the open sea. In this they were disappointed — their orders were to guard the batteries there. By this time, the inactivity of the *Chattahoochee* had greatly frustrated the crew for a good many reasons: many valuable men had been kept inactive for a long time by a landlocked and ineffectual ship and, consequently, did not participate in the war that was still killing thousands in other parts of the country. Assignment to this hapless ship dissatisfied many. Relief came to Trigg, however, in May, sparing him from being aboard

¹George W. Gift to Ellen Augusta Shackelford, L, 9 February 1863, George W. Gift Letters #1152, UNC.

²George W. Gift to Ellen Augusta Shackelford, L, 6 February 1863, George W. Gift Letters #1152, UNC.

³Harriet Gift Castlen, Hope Bids Me Onward (Savannah, Ga.: Chatham Printing Co., 1945), 110-11.

the *Chattahoochee* when its futile, short life ended in a boiler explosion on May 27, 1863. The ship sank and among those killed was the young hero of the *Virginia*, “Young Mallory,” or, Midshipman Charles K. Mallory, who had defended Lieut. Gift during the ‘bulk-heading’.¹

“Special Duty Abroad”

In May, the Navy Department sent confidential orders for Trigg to report to Capt. Charles Manigault Morris in Charleston, South Carolina, for “special duty abroad.” Trigg left the ill-fated *Chattahoochee* on May 21, 1863, and traveled to Charleston. Upon arrival, he met with the other hand-picked naval officers, some of whom were former classmates at the academy. Captain Morris told them their secret mission — sail to Europe and serve on the ships being made on the river Clyde, Glasgow, Scotland, and in Liverpool, and other places, for the Confederacy. But first, they must run the blockade at Charleston. The others selected for this duty were: Master Robert C. Foute, Lieut. Henry B. Claiborne, Master Hardin B. Littlepage, Dr. Thomas Emory, Master Ivey Foreman, Lieut. Charles Kirby King, James P. Duval, Lieut. Charles C. Graves, Passed Midshipman William R. Dalton and Paymaster Douglas French Forrest.²

As Master Littlepage exclaimed, “We were all in a great glee at the idea of going abroad.”³ They boarded the *Margaret and Jessie*, a blockade runner, set sail at midnight on May 28, 1863, and slipped past the

¹Turner, 99, 102.

²Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 7, 8; Charles K. Mallory, *Chattahoochee, Florida, to his father*, LS, 22 May 1863, Hampton Arts Commission, Hampton, Va.; Capt. William T. Alexander and Col. Joseph H. Alexander, "From Ironclads to Infantry," *Naval History* 5, no. 2 (Summer 1991): 12; Littlepage, 19, 20; Douglas French Forrest, CSN, *Odyssey in Gray: A Diary of Confederate Service 1863-1865* (Richmond, Va.: Virginia State Library, 1979), 11.

³Littlepage, 19.

blockading ships around 1:00 A.M.¹ Littlepage continued, “we were between Forts Sumter and Moultrie. The clear voice of the sentry, as he walked his beat, rang through the storm, and upon the given signal we were permitted to pass quietly along.”² Nassau, on New Providence Island in the Bahamas, was their initial destination. They were unarmed and were loaded down with priceless cotton. The morning of the twenty-eighth, the ship encountered a strong gale that tossed their ship to and fro in the open sea, making sailing novices seasick.³

On May 30, sentries sighted a Federal ship, the *Rhode Island*, commanded by Comm. Stephen D. Trenchard.⁴ As Littlepage wrote: “After breakfast, while we were enjoying some good cigars and the high expectations of soon seeing land, we heard the cry of Sail ho; from the mast-head. All of us sitting aft ran forward to take a look at the strange sail. . . .”⁵ To their grief, they realized that it was a Federal ship, and it pursued them in an attempt to cut them off before they reached the neutral territory of the British Bahamas.⁶ Their shipmate, Douglas F. Forrest, kept a diary while abroad and wrote of the episode as it was happening: “There are half a dozen aloft in the cross trees, & all the passengers & crew are on deck peering at the unwelcome Yankee. . . .”⁷ The *Margaret and Jessie* was fast, but the Federal ship was faster — it soon closed the gap enough to start firing at them. The closeness of those first shots shocked the Confederates, as the Federal ship was still a comfortable seven miles behind. Only moments before, they had been jeering, thinking it a great joke that the Federal ship was attempting to ‘overhaul’ their fast

¹Ibid., 20.

²Ibid.

³Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 8; Alexander, 12; Littlepage, 20.

⁴Official Records, 1st ser., 2:235-6.

⁵Littlepage, 20.

⁶Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 8.

⁷Forrest, 8.

ship. They had just read recently of the new Parrot rifle, but they thought its range was only six miles, not seven.¹ William R. Dalton later wrote of the event:

Immediately after the first shot another came whizzing over us. “Great Scott!” said I, “what kind of a gun can that be?” “Moses,” said Dan Trigg, who had been pointing in derision a champagne bottle at them. “The Parrot is talking, and she don’t want a cracker.” The effect of the last witticism served to animate us, and we increased our speed.²

As Paymaster Forrest wrote that day:

Our boat thank God is very fast & we are dashing through the water most excitingly. Dined to the tune of broadsides. Ship nearing us, uncomfortably near. Standing on the hurricane deck the shell bursting over us was not indifferent amusement at first, but after awhile its poetry faded & the reality was not only *stern* but *bow* too.³

Their cargo of cotton alone offered a rich prize, but they could only race ahead, unable to return the fire getting uncomfortably close; their only hope — neutral territory. Their worries increased, however, when the ship started to run short of coal. Forced to conserve the ship’s fuel, the captain had no choice but to run the ship at a slower pace. Thus, the ship’s only options were to head straight for the passage between two of the islands and not try any bold maneuvers.⁴ As Littlepage noted in his diary:

An hour ago we told our old skipper that to be caught meant Fort Warren, or hell, and between the two we saw but little choice, and begged him to keep her going. He assured us that she would never stop as long as her wheels would turn around. Shot, shell and grape are flying over us as thick as hail. We are going at the rate of about 15 miles an hour. We strike a reef, are over, strike again still harder, but we are over again.⁵

¹Littlepage, 20.

²Confederate Veteran, Vol XXVI, (June 1918, no. 6), 250.

³Forrest, 9.

⁴Littlepage, 20; Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 8.

⁵Littlepage, 21.

At last, they made it to the island Eleuthera in the Bahamas, located just northeast of Nassau, whose waters were inside British territory. They sailed up close to it and skirted along its edge as close as they dared but still received the unrelenting fire of the Federal ship, although they had finally made it to British waters.¹ Trigg recalled:

We were within British territory, a marine league of the shore of one of their islands our pursuer however was keeping up her fire, some of her shots going over us and far inland into a little village on the island. Presently she made a lucky shot and landed one into our boiler, this ended the chase. We ran her upon a coral reef and abandoned her as our only resort. . . .²

Trigg and the rest of the survivors, forced to make their escape as best they could, scrambled over the side of the doomed vessel and rowed the boats to the nearby shore.³ From there they watched the approaching Federals. Trigg continued:

[The Yankee ship] lowered her boats and rowed around the wreck, but dared not to take her or rather did not take her because of her violation of the International Law was as flagrant as if she had taken her or taken the island with her.⁴

Later, an inquiry was held to determine whether the *Margaret and Jessie* was fired upon by the Federal ship *Rhode Island* while within British Territory. On April 7, 1864, the Court of Inquiry held in Boston, Massachusetts, found that no violation had occurred.⁵ It determined the following:

That at about 2:20 p.m., the *Margaret and Jessie* being from 1 mile to 1 1/4 miles inshore of the *Rhode Island* during the chase, which . . . kept away from the land, and was then run on the reef and deserted; that during the entire chase she showed no colors, but on

¹Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 8.

²Ibid.

³Littlepage, 21.

⁴Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 8.

⁵Official Records, 1st ser., 2:249-250.

her stern was found painted "*Margaret and Jessie, S.C.*," showing her to belong to a state in rebellion [underlines mine].¹

The court found that based on testimony the *Margaret and Jessie* was no nearer than 3 1/2 miles from the shore until she ran on the reef.² This was in spite of the fact that Robert C. Foute, Ivey Foreman, Charles M. Morris, H.B. Claiborne, Charles K. King, Hardin B. Littlepage and Trigg all submitted declarations that stated that the *Margaret and Jessie* was within British territory when fired upon. Many residents of the island also submitted declarations, *all* of whom stated that the *Margaret and Jessie* was within four hundred to five hundred yards from the shore when fired upon, confirming the reports filed by the crew. It seems that the court, not surprisingly, based its findings solely on the reports filed by the crew on the Federal ship.³

The night of the shipwreck the passengers made camp near the shore, and the locals came and fed fruit to the grateful strandeers and entertained them with singing. Wreckers came and hauled the *Margaret and Jessie* off the reef and eventually towed it to Nassau.⁴ Part of Paymaster Forrest's entry for that night reads as follows:

Now to bed! Aye! 'To bed but not to sleep.' Musquitoes [sic] with bills as long as Richmond landlords' have placed their interdict and if they had their way I'm sure they'd murder us as well as 'sleep.' They are blood-hounds. In vain we cover up at risk of suffocation. I have horns like the horns of the Narwel⁵ on my forehead, but unlike him I don't feel a bit comfortable under them. Terribly sunburned, my face covered with blisters. [James P.] Duval's nose shines like a beacon in the night. Poor [William R.] Dalton groans

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., 2:242-248.

⁴Littlepage, 21.

⁵A Narwhal is a member of the Monodontidae whale family. They only have two teeth and in the male, one of them can develop into a spiraled tusk. In the Middle Ages, these tusks were thought to be from a unicorn and were highly valued.

under my elbow with a terrible ear-ache. Trigg is very sick. Thank God he has preserved me through it all with health enough to enjoy it.¹

The next afternoon the passengers boarded the British schooner *Corinne*, which brought them to Nassau. Unfortunately, the ship lacked fresh water, and the men, being thirsty, found an alternate, which led to miserable circumstances!² As Trigg noted: “She had on board a quantity of gin which some of the boys discovered and as a consequence their voyage was an altogether unhappy one.”³

They reached Nassau on the morning of June 2, 1863. While in port that day, they most likely learned of the fate of the *Chattahoochee* from the newly arrived steamer *Alice*. Trigg bunked with Paymaster Forrest and Ivey Foreman while they languished in Nassau. During this time Trigg was not feeling too well.⁴ In Forrest’s June 18-20 entries, he stated that Trigg was “quite sick” again with a malarial fever. “Trigg quite sick, poor fellow!”⁵ The men, finally able to leave on June 25, boarded the steamer *Corsica* and headed for the port of Havana, Cuba. They arrived on the twenty-seventh. From there, they took the famous British mail steamer *Trent* to St. Thomas Island on July 7, arriving on Monday, July 13.⁶ Two days later, they left St. Thomas Island on the bark *Tasmanian*, on which crowded civilians from different parts of the world.⁷ As Littlepage recalled:

¹Forrest, 11-12.

²Ibid., 13; Littlepage, 21.

³Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 8.

⁴Littlepage, 23; Forrest, 16, 20, 21.

⁵Forrest, 21.

⁶On January 8, 1861, the Federal warships *San Jacinto* stopped the *Trent* and seized the Confederate commissioners James M. Mason and John Slidell in what became known as the Trent Affair. This almost started another war between Britain and the U.S. and roused sympathy in Britain for the Confederacy. Boatner, 847.

⁷Littlepage, 23-24.

All passed along quietly until July 19, when we were aroused by a Dutchman crying fire at the top of his voice. I jumped out of bed in a second and started to find out what it meant. Upon hearing some ladies crying in the next room, I endeavored to quiet them by telling them that perhaps the fellow had a nightmare, which, upon further investigation, proved to be true. . . . The next morning the steward told me that a lady had died during the night, and left a husband and three little children. Her death was probably caused by the excitement of the fire scare. . . . At sunset we were all called upon to witness a most touching spectacle. The body of the poor woman was borne to the starboard gangway where the funeral service was read by the Captain, at the end of which one end of the plank upon which she had been laid was raised and her lifeless body was consigned to the deep. Her husband and children wept bitterly and the scene was most affecting.¹

The officers finally reached Southampton, England, on July 29, after traveling 3,622 miles from St. Thomas Island.² Littlepage noted that:

About 9:30 [A.M.] we drew alongside the dock and sent out baggage to the custom house to be overhauled. I found the authorities very strict. All the American publications and English works, of which I had several, were considered contraband and therefore taken from me. We had to pay almost as much duty on our cigars and tobacco of all kinds as they cost us originally.³

From there they took a train to London, where they split up so as not to attract attention. While wandering the dark back streets of London on July 30, Trigg, Forrest, George Alfred Trenholm⁴ and Foreman had a little adventure.⁵ Forrest related the experience in his diary:

[T]hese paved alleys, too narrow for a roadway, on either side of which are old fashioned houses, stores & booths, and at the end apparently some quaint old structures are my delight here. However it twists to right and left and so through all its length. Such is Marylebone. Sometimes we find we are in a cul-de-sac & have to return as we came. Into such a place Trigg, Foreman & Trenholm under my leadership found themselves last night.

¹Ibid., 24. Forrest, 33 says he thinks she died of intermittent fever.

²Littlepage, 24.

³Ibid.

⁴George Alfred Trenholm was a Charleston, South Carolina, merchant and a member of the financial firm of Fraser, Trenholm & Company of Liverpool, England. He was a great backer of the Confederate Navy.

⁵Ibid.; Forrest, 40.

They insisted there was danger in such wanderings but I knew we mustered too strong to fear any attack. Here were gloomy walls, closed doors or open grog shops, glimmerings of light in cellars, a squalid population & as ill-favored. At the entrance near the lighted streets the wretched courtesan sought to turn you with her painted blushes. Farther on the lights diminished and the deliberate tread of the honest passerby was not heard. Instead, the stealthy lounge of the lyer-in-wait and the hurried step of the timid or the occupied of evil thoughts. We even heard some of these quick steps that had followed us for some time, suddenly cease & then on this quiet night three sharp, measured knocks — a signal. The boys seemed glad when we came out by an alley way into a lighted street. For my part I liked it amazingly. It was London. The London of which I had read.¹

On the night of August 8, the party soon embarked on a steamer for France and arrived at Dieppe the next morning. After eating breakfast at a French café, they took the train to Paris and then scattered throughout the towns to await their orders and avoid watchful eyes.²

Trigg, along with Claiborne, Foute, Foreman, and another old boyhood friend from the Naval Academy, Edmund G. Read, traveled to Metz and then Orleans. In Orleans, they were invited to a formal ball and there met Diana Bullitt Kearny, the widow of the Federal Maj. Gen. Philip Kearny, killed the year before.³ She was there with her daughters and nieces, according to Trigg, “with whom we spent several months of as happy reminiscences as most any I have ever had in life.”⁴ Indeed they must have, for Trigg’s companion Robert Foute fell in love at the ball with one of Kearny’s nieces, Mary Stewart deKantzow. She was the daughter of Eloise Bullitt of Louisville, Kentucky, and Baron Frederich deKantzow of Stockholm, Sweden. Of course, her family at first disapproved of her attachment to a Confederate officer, but they finally acquiesced.

¹Ibid.

²Littlepage, 24.

³Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 8, 19; Alexander, 13; Maj. Gen. Kearny was killed September 1, 1862 at Chantilly, Va. Boatner, 449.

⁴Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 8.

While abroad, Trigg was promoted to master in line of promotion on January 7, 1864, and then was promoted to second lieutenant of the year-old Provisional Navy of the Confederate States, Secretary of the Navy Mallory's elite navy, on June 2, 1864. The Provisional Navy was Secretary Mallory's solution to the problem of retired U.S. naval officers who had joined the Confederate States Navy at the beginning of the War, filling up the ranks. He gave them equal rank, assigned them staff positions and then created the Provisional Navy in May of 1863. For this navy, he recruited the brightest and most active of the younger officers and promoted them into this elite service.¹ On the same day that Trigg was promoted into the Provisional Navy, some of his other comrades received promotions: William R. Dalton was promoted to second lieutenant; Littlepage was promoted to first lieutenant, as were Foreman, Marmaduke and Foute.²

Despite having fun in the countryside of France, the Confederate officers felt impatient for their assignments to the promised new ships. These orders would never come. The international climate had changed since they had left Charleston, and so, consequently, a number of the officers stationed abroad had to be ordered back to the Confederacy. The fact was that the foreign governments, especially Britain, had changed their sentiments and had worked hard to prevent any warships from leaving their ports to support the Confederacy. The commander of the Confederate men stationed abroad, Capt. Samuel Barron in Paris, sent preparatory orders on July 26, 1864, for the following to return to the Confederacy: Walter R. Butt, Ivey Foreman, Robert C. Foute, Henry H. Marmaduke, William P. Mason, William R. Dalton, and Daniel Trigg, among others. On August 6, 1864, the same group of officers left on a steamer headed for Liverpool, and from there they sailed to Halifax, Nova Scotia. Here they waited for blockade runners to take them back to the Confederate States. Trigg set out for Wilmington, North Carolina, on the

¹William C. Davis, The Commanders of the Civil War (New York: Gallery Books, 1990), 142.

²Alexander, 13; Register of the Commissioned and Warrant Officers of the Navy of the Confederate States to January 1, 1864 (Richmond, Va.: MacFarlane & Fergusson, 1864), 18, 42-43.

blockade runner *Owl*, which was intent on getting through the blockade. The *Owl*, built for the Confederacy in Liverpool and able to get to the Confederate States early in the war, made this run sometime in September, apparently its first attempt to run the blockade at Wilmington since the Confederates acquired the ship.¹ Trigg described their run past the blockade:

The night we came in the Capt asked me to keep a look out for him on the upper wheel house. I observed that we were running right on a blocader at anchor. I had only time to warn the Captain who steered off from her leaving her close on our port beam. She seems never to have observed us, or she may have easily put a shot through us. In some confusion about the channel we had to slow down to take soundings, yet were enabled to pass on unobserved and next morning we were lying inside of Fort Fisher and Fort Caswell batteries at the mouth of Cape Fear.²

Trigg's friend Foute came back aboard the blockade-runner *Falcon*, and when they got through the blockade at Wilmington, "he was shocked to see the effects of the blockade and the exhausting toll of three years of war on his countrymen. War news was all bad. Morale was low, and chronic hunger abounded."³

After landing in Wilmington, Trigg traveled to Richmond to report for duty. He must have arrived early in September, because a list of officers of the James River Squadron had him already assigned to the *Virginia No. 2* and a separate list contained those officers recently transferred, the earliest dated September 13.⁴ Also, he related an incident in his memoirs that must have occurred in early September while he was in Richmond reporting for duty:

I was standing on the corner of Ninth Street and Main in Richmond when a number of prisoners were brought in who had been captured by our people and among them were a

¹Alexander, 12-13; Littlepage, 25; Official Records, 2nd ser., 2:816, 817; Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 8-9; A. A. Hoehling, Damn the Torpedoes! (Winston-Salem, N.C.: John F. Blair, 1989), 128; Navy Department, Civil War Naval Chronology, 6:278.

²Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 9.

³Alexander, 14.

⁴Official Records, 1st ser., 10:765-767.

number of Pennsylvania Buck Tails, my impression is that they were captured in one of the battles on the Weldon road.¹ As they were marched up the street of course numbers of people assembled and among them a lot of hoodlums, to witness the sight, some of them commenced to jeer at these prisoners, thereupon a tall, handsome Cavalryman held up his hand and announced that nobody but a coward would insult a prisoner and commanded that it be stopped, that he had been a prisoner and that no one should insult one in his presence. At once his sentiment was approved and applauded and the insult stopped. . . .²

The navy department ordered him to report to Capt. John K. Mitchell, commander of the James River Squadron. Captain Mitchell assigned him to the fleet's flagship, the *Virginia No. 2* ironclad, as one of the three lieutenants. The captain of the *Virginia No. 2* was Capt. John W. Dunnington. Not much later, fellow officers and adventurers abroad Ivey Foreman and W. R. Dalton were assigned to the James River Squadron.³ Foreman died in Richmond on December 21, 1864.⁴

Deserters from the *Virginia No. 2* whose information was given to the Federals in December of 1864 stated that the crew was "very much dissatisfied," consisted mainly of conscripts, had had many deserters, and were not depended upon by the officers. One listed the officers by name and mentioned Trigg.⁵

The Effort to Capture Lincoln

According to William A. Tidwell in his book *Come Retribution: The Confederate Secret Service and the Assassination of Lincoln*, the Confederate government made plans and laid the groundwork to abduct President Lincoln in late 1864 or early 1865. This was the covert aspect of an overall course of action developed by the Confederate government. This action included reestablishing the main objective

¹The Battles of the Weldon Railroad, Va., occurred August 18 - 22, 1864. Long, 556-559.

²Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 18.

³Official Records, 1st ser., 10:767.

⁴Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 9; U.S. Naval Academy Alumni, Register of Alumni, 128.

⁵Official Records, 1st ser., 11:380-383.

of the Confederacy — independence — at the cost of the abolition of slavery. With this new goal in mind, they were to negotiate openly with the Federal government for a peace settlement. If this failed, the covert action of capturing the president was to take place; as a captive, Lincoln would be forced to negotiate reasonably, so the logic went. If these negotiation attempts failed, then Lee was to abandon Richmond and Petersburg and join General Johnston's army for an offensive against Sherman's army in North Carolina. A target date for the evacuation of Richmond had been set for April 10, so if Lincoln was to be captured, it had to take place in late March of 1865.¹

The means had been developed, the escape route planned; all that was needed was to ensure that the abduction party was assembled and in place and that the escape route was safeguarded. To this end, the planners decided that the safety of the two main escape routes could be augmented with the laying of defensive mines. One of these escape routes offered possible landing sites for the pursuing Federals — between Potomac Creek and Chotank Creek on the Virginia shore of the Potomac River — so mines set up in this area would delay the Federals. The other escape route was mostly by water and the landing site was the town of Urbanna in Middlesex County, Virginia, on the southern shore of the Rappahannock River. Mines were to be placed so that the abduction party could get through the mouth of the Rappahannock but the pursuing Federals would be slowed down. In those days, people considered this type of clandestine operation as very sensitive, 'playing dirty' in nature, therefore their use of phrases such as 'secret service' and 'special service,' as Trigg's service abroad was labeled. Lieut. Beverly Kennon, Jr., was put in charge of these mining operations and in January, Capt. Sidney Smith Lee, chief of the Bureau of Orders and Detail for the Navy Department and brother to General Lee, sent orders on the eleventh to Flag Officer Mitchell for men to be detailed for temporary duty to Lieutenant Kennon with fifteen days ration each.

¹William A. Tidwell, Come Retribution: The Confederate Secret Service and the Assassination of Lincoln (Jackson, Miss.: University Press of Mississippi, 1988), 374-75, 382.

Trigg and Midshipman Bartlett S. Johnson volunteered for the secret service mission and Lieutenant Kennon picked the other twenty men, all seamen, of which most of them were Landsmen.¹ Trigg's orders were:

FLAGSHIP VIRGINIA,
James River Squadron, January 12, 1865.

SIR: You will, with Midshipman [Bartlett S.] Johnson, take charge of the 20 men detailed from the *Virginia*, *Fredericksburg*, and *Richmond* for special duty, and proceed to Richmond with all dispatch and report at the naval ordnance works to Lieutenant B. Kennon, Provisional Navy C.S.

The men are to be provided with two blankets each, no change of clothing, with fifteen days' rations, cutlass, and pistol, and two rounds of ammunition. The provisions will all be supplied from the *Virginia*.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
JNO. K. MITCHELL,
Flag-Officer James River Squadron.
Lieutenant DANIEL TRIGG, Provisional Navy C.S.

P.S. — Second Assistant Engineer Bowman is absent on detached service and passed Midshipman Hunter is at Battery Semmes, not under my command.
Respectfully, etc.,

J.K.M.,
*Flag-Officer.*²

Three days later, Flag-Officer Mitchell wrote a report to Secretary Mallory and complained of his lack of officers due to the constant change in duties. "I particularly request that the men detailed for duty with Lieutenant Kennon and those at the batteries belonging to the squadron be returned as soon as possible."³

¹Official Records, 1st ser., 11:794; Tidwell, xii, 292-3, 299-300, 310, 318.

²Official Records, 1st ser., 11:793.

³*Ibid.*, 799.

In orders and reports still extant, Lieutenant Kennon had been planting electric torpedoes before Trigg's assignment, so Trigg received training in and experience with the latest in torpedo advancement at the time.¹

The Kennon group snatched what good-weather days they could between the middle of January and the beginning of March, laying mines at the chosen sites along the Potomac River between Potomac Creek and Chotank Creek. These sailors may have been the party that skirmished with the Federal Potomac River Flotilla in Chotank Creek on March 3 and in Passapatanzy Creek on March 5. The Federal commander assumed that he had engaged men in Mosby's Rangers, but according to Tidwell, most likely it was either Kennon's group, or security forces set up along the abduction route. Apparently something happened during this exercise on the Potomac River, because Trigg mentioned in a letter about their "pull across the mire to the mouth of the Wicomoco." Unfortunately, this could mean several places. There is a Little Wicomoco River which opens into the mouth of the Potomac River, there is a Great Wicomoco River which opens below the little one into the Chesapeake Bay, and there is a Yeocomico River which opens into the Potomac, though the last one is probably the least likely one. All three, though, are outside of their target area on the Potomac River to lay mines, so what happened? Did their boat get stranded on shore? Did they have to pull it across land to escape Federal eyes? It was definitely a memorable event, since it was mentioned in the same sentence with three other shared events with Midshipman Johnston. By mid-March, it seems certain that Kennon's group had moved down to the Rappahannock and laid mines six miles above its mouth. It appears that the mining party finished their covert operation around the end of March.²

Meanwhile, Secretary Mallory had ordered Captain Mitchell, commander of the James River Squadron, to pass the obstructions at Trent's Reach and destroy Gen. Ulysses S. Grant's base of supplies at City Point, thereby cutting Grant's army in two. Seen as the Confederates last hope in loosening

¹Ibid., 12:186.

²Tidwell, 318-20; Daniel Trigg to Bartlett S. Johnston, LS, 4 May 1909, #3791 Bartlett S. Johnston Papers, UNC.

Grant's chokehold on Lee's army, the James River Squadron did not succeed in this mission, so when Trigg returned to the James River Squadron, he found himself under the new command of Rear Admiral Raphael Semmes of Maryland.¹

Retreat from Richmond

By April of 1865, 160,000 Federal troops were besieging Richmond with only 33,000 pitiable Confederates defending their capital. The unanticipated passage of Federal Gen. Philip H. Sheridan's cavalry through the Lincoln escape corridor in mid-March frustrated the Confederate attempts to kidnap Lincoln. When General Sheridan reached and pressed Confederate General George E. Pickett's men below Richmond at Five Forks, Lee's extreme right flank, on April 1, it was clear that the Confederates would have to abandon the capital a few days earlier than planned. Preparations for the withdrawal had already been laid out, though Lee realized that a junction with Johnston and the hoped for offensive against Sherman were no longer possible — abandoning Richmond was now only a last ditch effort to forestall the inevitable. On the morning of April 2, 1865, Grant broke through one point of the forty-mile defense of Petersburg. The situation was more than desperate. Secretary Mallory sent orders to Admiral Semmes that same day, which stated that he was to destroy his ships that night and join Lee's army on its march to Danville.²

Now, what the Confederates had dreaded for years had occurred. No longer defensible, the Confederate capital had to be evacuated posthaste. What a bitter pill this must have been to swallow for the ragged Confederate troops who had spent most of the war trying to prevent this very event from happening. Perhaps many saw this as an omen for the eventual demise of the newly formed country. On this day, Trigg and some other young officers had received permission to visit the captain of the

¹Scharf, 739-742, 744; Still, 183-186.

²Scharf, 746; Tidwell, 394, 396; Foote, 3:844, 864; Long, 661-663; Official Records, 1st ser., 12:191.

Nansemond, Walter R. Butt, a “fine fiddler.” However, just as they arrived, a signal came from the *Virginia No. 2* commanding that they return immediately. Upon their arrival, they learned that Richmond had been evacuated and that the men were to destroy the squadron of ships, arm themselves for shore duty, and join the retreating army. Accordingly, the men from the James River Squadron set about the destruction of the ironclads. They saturated the decks with oil, worked all night organizing everyone, and getting the men and provisions to shore. By dawn the next day, they landed just below Drewry’s Bluff. Here they set fire to the ironclads and began transferring to their wooden gun boats. Trigg noticed though that some of the men had left their muskets on the shore where they had landed. He directed them to go back and retrieve them, but they refused, afraid that the ironclads would explode any minute.¹

I saw that there was nothing to do but to make an effort to procure the arms, or else let them go unarmed, and thereupon I asked them if they would go if I would go and we went back and each man got his musket, and as we proceeded up the river a short distance above Drury’s Bluff the “Fredericksburg” blew up, just as the sun was rising, with a tremendous explosion, and it was indeed a beautiful sight. We could hear explosions all along the lines from Drury’s Bluff and Chafer’s Bluff . . . from which we could but auger the truth that the end was near, so far as Richmond was concerned, and for myself young as I was, enthusiastic with an absolutely unwavering faith in the success of my cause and in the justice of it and now, as much so as then, I did not believe and I had no idea it portended the end of the Confederate Capitol.²

Trigg’s commander, Admiral Semmes, described the scene of the destruction of the *Virginia No. 2*. ““The explosion of her magazine threw all the shells, with their fuses lighted, in the air. The fuses were of different lengths, and as the shells exploded by twos and threes, and by the dozen, the pyrotechnic effect was very fine.””³ By this time, all of Richmond was afire. Lee, with his army, had already retreated and now headed for Amelia Courthouse and a rendezvous with the rest of the Army of Northern Virginia. Then they were to march on to Danville and meet Johnston’s army. The treasury and archives, along with

¹Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 9-10.

²Ibid.

³Foote, 3:889.

many citizens, had already boarded a train steaming for Danville. Meanwhile, Semmes's fleet was still in the area.¹ As they steamed up the James River, the captain called Trigg over and asked him if he wanted a "post of honor." Trigg readily agreed and the captain told him that Admiral Semmes wanted a howitzer taken from one of the gunboats. Trigg's mission was to select enough men to drag it out and bring it to Manchester. Trigg selected Midshipman Bartlett Johnston, who had served with him in the Kennon expedition, and about thirty sailors. "We at once got it stuck in the mud up to the axle and the men had great difficulty in moving it and sailor like commenced to quarrel," Trigg related. He decided that the operation entailed too much time and should be abandoned and so instructed Midshipman Johnston to report back to Captain Dunnington the situation and ask for orders.²

In the mean time, I saw the Yankees coming into Richmond on the other side of the River, the streets seemed to be filled with a moving population, among them numbers of women and the whole lower part of the city on fire up Main Street as far as we could see. It was all on fire up to about 8th Street where the Spottwood Hotel was formerly situated. Bartlett Johnston approached soon reporting back that the Admiral said for me to remain with the Howitzer and bring it out. This ended the matter with me but not so with the men, about 30 old sailors that I had with me, they continued to growl and to make uncomplimentary remarks about an Admiral who had given such an order. We stuck to it however and lugged it along up to Manchester. . . .³

When Trigg and his men reached Manchester, they were greeted with an unpleasant surprise. Despite his orders from Secretary Mallory, Semmes and his crew had left them behind, taking the last train to Danville.⁴ "This left me alone in the world," Trigg stated. Somehow he persuaded his men not to abandon the howitzer and so they dragged it through Manchester. When they reached the outskirts of this

¹Ibid., 885; James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (n.p.: Oxford University Press, 1988; reprint, New York: Ballantine Books, 1989), 846.

²Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 10.

³Ibid., 10-11.

⁴Semmes and his crew reached Danville on April 4, 1865. He didn't surrender until the 1st of May. Hoehling, 153-54.

town, Brig. Gen. Walter H. Stevens and his staff passed them on horseback. The riders reined in their horses, consulted with each other, and then one of them rode back to Trigg and his men and asked them who they were and what they were doing.

I told him that I was simply obeying orders, and didn't know what I was going to do, and he said "You don't want to be captured I suppose", I told him assuredly not, and he said "This is General Stevens and his staff and we have been back to see that all of the bridges were on fire and there is nothing now between you and the enemy and you may be captured any minute" and I told him that my orders were imperative and told to bring that howitzer out and that I couldn't help the results and that I was disgusted and thereupon after consulting with these officers I concluded I would be justified in abandoning the howitzer and thereupon destroyed the ammunition, dismantled and spiked it and called on the men to know how many of them desired to go out, to which all expressed themselves affirmatively and we took the road in the trail of the army that had gone on before, we were for that time the rear guard of the Army of Northern Virginia. After a while we came up with the cavalry command, they soon decided that we were sailors out of our element and commenced accosting us in nautical terms such as "Ship Ahoy", "Reef your main topsail", "Put your helm to seaward", "Keep your weather eye open", etc. We took it all as we had to take it, good humoredly and passed those rapscallions by.¹

Trigg and his men, tired and starving, continued their march until they caught up with the Washington Artillery, in which Trigg had some hometown friends. They greeted Trigg and invited him and his men to join their company. The artillerymen told him that Comm. John Randolph Tucker was up ahead with his ragtag band of landlocked sailors and so Trigg decided to continue on ahead and join him. General Lee had assigned Tucker and his men to man the guns at Drewry's Bluff after Tucker's squadron had to abandon Charleston harbor and its fleet. Not too long after, at Drewry's Bluff, they had to spike the guns and start retreating after the government evacuated Richmond. Apparently, the James River Squadron just missed them as they arrived in Richmond. Now Tucker's 'Naval Brigade' rushed with the rest to catch up with the Northern Army of Virginia. Trigg and his men caught up with Tucker's brigade that evening and fell into line with their march to Amelia Courthouse.² Noted historian Shelby Foote aptly described the situation:

¹Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 11.

²Ibid., 11-12; Rochelle, 52-53; Alexander, 15.

Hunger was still a problem, to put it mildly, but there was also comfort for that; at any rate the comfort of anticipation. Amelia Courthouse lay just ahead on the Richmond & Danville, five miles west of the [Appomattox] river, and Lee had arranged for meat and bread to be sent there from the 350,000 rations amassed in the capital during the past two months. Or so he thought until he arrived, shortly before noon, to find a generous shipment of ordnance equipment . . . but no food.¹

This discovery shocked and shattered Lee. He stopped his weary men and sent out a foraging detail to scour the land for food and even sent with them a special plea to the farmers, signed by him. The delay proved deadly, but he had no other choice; he had to feed his men and wait for the rest of the army to straggle in. Tucker's men, along with Trigg and his men, arrived later that day. Somehow, Trigg and his men were able to eat for the first time since leaving Richmond, their lucky rations one pint of meal and one-quarter pound of salt pork. For Lee, the stress of the past few days, the state his men were in now, and perhaps a foreknowledge of what was in store for him and his men in the days ahead, weighed heavily on him and were evident in his posture to others around him.² The other men were not feeling too well either. Foote states:

While the wagon details were out scouring the picked-over region for something the men or animals could eat, the half-starved troops, bedded down in fields around the rural county seat or still limping toward a concentration that should have been completed before nightfall, evidenced a discouragement more profound than any they had known in the darkest days of the siege that now had ended.³

The situation was less than promising at the most. Many felt desperate. Trigg met up with General Lee's nephew Dan Lee, who had been with him on the *United States*. Together they tried to scrounge up an artillery company and sought out Lee's headquarters that night to ask permission.

¹Foote, 3:909.

²Ibid., 910, 911; Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 12, 13.

³Foote, 3:910, 911.

We approached [Lee] and Dan greeted him, whereupon in a most affectionate manner of an uncle to a nephew he greeted the boy. Told him he was glad to see him there, asked about his mother, some of the other brothers that were in the Army, the whole scene being one of affectionate simplicity such as upon any ordinary occasion may take place between an uncle and nephew. Dan thereupon introduced me and we made known our scheme to form an Artillery Company, that we had these men that were isolated from any command, had been left behind by Captain [Dunnington] and that I was in command of them and asked that we might have guns and horses for the purpose. The General listened very patiently and remarked that it was impossible, that he was already thinking of abandoning some of his artillery and transport wagons for want of horses and forage, and that under other circumstances it might be favorable but as it was it was impossible.¹

The next morning, Lee's foraging detail came back empty handed — the land had already been milked for all it was worth to feed the men in the trenches in Petersburg. Lee had to move the army, though, and he confirmed what he told Trigg and his nephew Dan Lee by blowing up a third of his ordnance because he simply lacked the transportation. The rest of the army had caught up by now, and so, amid a cold, depressing rain, the order sounded to begin the hundred-mile march to Danville early that afternoon. Tucker's men were assigned to G. W. Custis Lee's division of Richard S. Ewell's Corps. Ewell's and Richard H. Anderson's Corps formed the center, while Longstreet's Corps took the lead, and John B. Gordon's Corps protected the rear.²

The plan was to march straight down the Danville and Richmond Railroad, but five miles out the lead riders came upon encamped Federals blocking their way. Lee had no choice but to steer his army west, move around Grant's men, and link up with the Danville & Richmond again, south of Burkesville. It was now near sundown, and the men resumed their march to Farmville, where rations were supposedly waiting. Four miles later, a bridge collapsed, and so the men had to cross the river by foot, adding to their discomfort.³ Foote described what can happen when troops are on edge:

¹Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 12.

²Alexander, 15; Rochelle, 53; Foote, 3:911.

³Foote, 3:911-912.

Confusion and sleeplessness made the marchers edgy, quick to panic: as when a runaway stallion broke loose from a fence where he was tethered and came pounding down the road, the rail still tied to his rein. Abrupt and point-blank exchanges of fire by several units, in response to what they assumed was a night attack by Yankee cavalry, resulted in an undetermined number of casualties.¹

Trigg related in his memoirs that by evening his party realized that the Federals were nearby, and at nine or ten o'clock in the evening Federal scouts fired upon them across the Richmond & Danville Railroad, killing and wounding several men, some of whom were only a few yards from Trigg. The men were exhausted, some straggling further and further behind. Some, too tired to hold their rifles, dropped them as they trudged along.²

Battle of Saylor's Creek

Lee's army marched relentlessly through the night. Men snatched food or rest whenever and wherever it could be found. Trigg related the ordeal in his memoirs:

About daylight the next morning, this being the 6th of April, we marched by a pen of hogs along the side of the road and some of us in almost famished condition killed several of them and divided them among the men. Pretty soon afterward I was ordered to take some men and go foraging on our flanks and see if we could find any cattle that might be slaughtered and soon came across several forlorn looking quadrupeds which were driven in and pretty soon after the command halted and a delay was made to slaughter the animals. Fires were started and we hoped for a little rest and a chance for something to eat. I dropped about in my tracks and fell asleep having been on rather more active duties than the others, and my comrades undertook to call me when the cooking was done. I had barely closed my eyes it seemed to me when I was awakened by a stir with the announcement that the Yankees were upon us and we were ordered to fall in.³

What had happened was a failure on the part of Anderson and Ewell to communicate their movements to the commanders of the other two corps. Sheridan's skirmishers hit Anderson's flank, forcing him to slow down. This endangered the wagon trains, so Anderson and Ewell stopped to let the

¹Ibid., 912.

²Ibid.; Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 13.

³Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 13.

wagon trains move further up the column. Anderson failed, however, to notify the rear of General Longstreet's Corps in front of him and allowed a fatal gap to form in the retreating line of Lee's army as they crossed the bottom lands of Saylor's Creek. Meanwhile, word reached Ewell that General Gordon's Corps, which had been fighting in the rear against Federal Gen. Andrew A. Humphreys since about 8:30 A.M., was heavily engaged. Ewell stopped and directed the remaining wagon trains to go west by a less exposed route and then resumed his march, trying to catch up with Anderson. However, Ewell failed to notify Gordon of his route change, and so Gordon continued to follow the wagon trains and assumed that he was still behind Ewell. The Federals took full advantage of these fateful blunders. Sheridan directed his men through the gap made by Anderson, effectively cutting off the rear of Lee's army. Thus, Anderson ran into Federal Maj. Gen. George A. Custer who, along with Thomas C. Devin and Maj. Gen. George Crook, easily routed Anderson's men. Meanwhile, General Humphreys continued his pursuit of Gordon, and Federal Gen. Horatio G. Wright, with his three divisions, attacked Ewell's men, and Sheridan's two divisions joined in the battle.¹

Trigg had been going virtually nonstop on little food since his aborted attempt to hear his friend play the fiddle aboard the *Nansemond* four days previously. Since Tucker's men belonged to Ewell's Corps, Trigg and his displaced sailors found themselves caught in the Federals' tightening vice and their first land battle. Tucker's men ran down to Little Saylor's Creek and lined up on the edge of the woods next to the road. Skirmishers were sent out, and Trigg was in charge of those in his command. They were then ordered to take a different position on the road, but the Federal artillery began to fire upon them and get their range quite well. They then went back down the road, crossed Saylor's Creek, ran up a hill and into some woods, and then turned around to face the hill. They were now just in the rear of Pickett's Division, who was engaged with Sheridan's cavalry. "Soon after we were confronted by a world of

¹Boatner, 723; Foote, 3:915-918.

Yankees which proved to be the Sixth Corps and they opened upon us with artillery in the woods getting our range with exactness,” related Trigg.¹

They continued under this fire for some time. Trigg described a gruesome scene in his memoirs:

About this time a shell burst between the feet of the second man on my right killing him and the man next to me. This produced some confusion in the ranks and the line fell back a few feet and redressed. I observed then that the leaves had been ignited by the shells and one of the men whom I had seen go up three or four feet at the explosion seemed to be crawling and trying to drag himself out of the fire. I stepped forward to help these two men out of the burning leaves and several men came to my assistance and I endeavored to pick up one of them and as I put one arm around his neck and the other in his crotch I felt his warm blood on my arm as he gave an exclamation of pain as I laid him down. The other men carried him to the rear, of course he died. He was a sailor. I don't know the names of either of them but belonged I believe to the old crew of the “Patrick Henry” and had come with Commodore Tucker from Jamestown to Drury's Bluff.²

After this, they were ordered to march across a ravine and hold position where the artillery battalion had been.

As we moved across I saw the Confederate Flag for the last time in battle, and a glorious sight it was that will remain with me as long as I live. That command had been broken and scattered, there was one man holding the flag and calling upon his comrades to rally around it. It was tattered and battle worn and just then a shell from the artillery across the creek burst immediately above it. It is a picture I would like to see painted.³

They then marched back to their original position. While standing in line of battle, a Federal company came up and the Confederates took them as prisoners. “One officer rode up on a fine bay horse to within a few yards of our line when several hundred muskets were leveled at him and but for the intervention of our officers he would have been riddled in a second.” This officer was under the assumption that the Confederates were the ones surrendering, and when he realized his mistake, he lay down flat on his horse and flew back from where he had come.⁴

¹Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 13-14.

²Ibid., 14.

³Ibid., 14-15.

⁴Ibid., 15.

His Surrender

“It soon became apparent that everything was against us and thereupon Commodore Tucker ordered the white flag to be hoisted and we surrendered; but in line of battle, every man in his place and amidst bemoaning and tears we handed in our swords,” Trigg related.¹ The Naval Brigade was the last to surrender. Apparently, the fighting had been the toughest there — Tucker had never fought a land battle before, thought everything was going fine, and so refused to surrender.² The brigade had “withstood punishing artillery fire and forcibly repulsed several Union infantry charges. Loud cheers rang out from their attackers when the sailors finally agreed to yield.”³ General Wright is said to have commented after the war, “with what obstinacy one portion of the Confederate line had been held, and could not account for it until he found that it had been held by sailors who did not know when they were whipped.”⁴

Trigg surrendered to Captain W.D. Abercrombie of Baltimore, who belonged to the Sixth Maryland Cavalry. Trigg reluctantly handed him his rare Confederate States Naval sword, made in England with gilded appointments and a shark skin hilt, and his sentimentally valued LeMat pistol that belonged to his dead brother. “I requested this Captain to keep my sword and especially my pistol and let me have them back sometime, which he promised faithfully he would do.”⁵ They were then marched back across Saylor’s Creek and “an occurrence took place about dark which was both painful and amusing.” As they were being marched between columns of Federals, a Confederate Captain approached

¹Ibid., 13-15.

²Scharf, 749.

³Alexander, 15.

⁴Scharf, 749.

⁵Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 15.

Trigg and inquired confidentially why General G.W. Custis Lee and General Ewell had not been captured since they were in the field also. Trigg felt that this Captain had mistaken him for a Federal officer because of his naval uniform.

I was consequently indignant at such a question coming from a man wearing a Confederate uniform: "You are a Confederate Officer are you not," His reply was, "yes, don't you see the bars on my collar[?]" Whereupon, being somewhat given to rough language I said to him "and you are a damned traitor besides." Such indignation as he expressed at this I have rarely seen, he grew white, and said "Hell what does this mean that I should be insulted in this way, my family has been true to Virginia for 200 years." I said to him; "I don't care if your family has been true to Virginia for two thousand years you are a damned traitor," he said "I don't understand this" and I said ["I will explain it to you. You took me for a Yankee and asked me about those officers with a view to betraying them and hence what I said.["] He said, "My name is Harrison," I said, "My name is Trigg." He said "I will hold you accountable for this," to which I endeavored to make a suitable reply, thereupon he paused a moment and said, "Mr. Trigg you are a true man, I see it all now, I did take you for a Yankee at first, but before I asked you that question I changed my mind and saw that you were a Confederate Naval Officer, and therefore asked you that question." Whereupon I made every apology, . . . we were afterwards in prison together and I have learned that he was one of the sturdiest, truest and manliest of Confederate soldiers. . . . my apology was as the occasion deserved and I feel that my hasty expression found no lodgment [sic] with him after the explanations [sic] were made.¹

This incident with Capt. Harrison, and Trigg's anger and conviction, sheds some valuable light on the evolution of Trigg's life so far. Being only eighteen at the start of the war, Trigg carried his tendency for hijinks and jokes from Annapolis on into the war, even as late as his trip to France. But his experiences during the last year of fighting, and especially the retreat from Richmond, necessarily hardened the man and produced in him an unshakable respect for and attachment to the Confederate government and cause, as well as for anyone fighting alongside. Also, it is an interesting anecdote on Virginia honor at the time.

Trigg and the others were then marched back over the land on which they had fought earlier and corralled in a bull pen, around six thousand Confederates in all.

¹Ibid., 15-17.

And next morning Custer's command with a mounted band marched by displaying forty of our battle flags which was a sad sight to that body of men in the bull pen for they were of the truest of the true and would have been with Lee at Appomattox, or Johnston at Charlotte or [Edmund] Kirby Smith beyond the Mississippi, and would have died in the last ditch, being of the material that was ready to hold out to the end.¹

The Federals marched the Confederate prisoners to Burkesville, then moved them to City Point by train, and then on to Washington by boat. The prisoners marched up Pennsylvania Avenue to Old Capitol Prison, and spectators lining the street gawked at the men the whole way. It was while they were in this prison that Lincoln was assassinated on April 14, 1865. They learned about it the next day, after they heard the bells toll and cannons shoot off. A few days later, the prisoners were transferred by train to Baltimore.²

In Baltimore as we marched through under guard ragged and weary and dirty we could feel the sympathy in the atmosphere, and that there was help at hand if it only dared to manifest itself. The women showed it, the men showed it and the very atmosphere was charged with it, and whilst we went through two states each [having] furnished perhaps as many or more union soldiers to the cause than any other two states, Pennsylvania and Ohio, on the route I have always held it to the credit and been proud of the spirit of the American people that we as prisoners received not one word of contempt or disrespect or jeer from any living soul.³

They continued by train to Johnson's Island, a prison in Sandusky Bay of Lake Erie, where he arrived April 24. At the close of the war, about 3,000 Confederate officers were held prisoner in this camp. Trigg was put in Block No. 10. "We were greeted upon our entrance to the prison at Johnson's Island with a cry of 'fresh fish' from the old stagers who had been in there for sometime."⁴ Trigg learned from these 'old stagers' that life at the prison was better now than it had been earlier. Luckily for Trigg

¹Ibid., 17.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., 17-18.

⁴Ibid., 18.

and the other newly arrived Southerners, it was summertime on the island. Winter was very harsh at this prison, which had been built only as a temporary camp four years previously. Trigg found the food rough, though. His rations were salt beef and pork and beans, which they had to cook themselves. Their only recreation was occasional walks around the grounds when detailed for cleaning up the camp. Since Trigg had resigned from service with the United States, he and others like him were kept longer than normal. The Federals released Trigg after he took the oath of allegiance on June 20, 1865 and provided him with transportation as far as Baltimore.¹

Trigg was now at a turning point in his life. Coming fresh out of prison, he faced a country that had just lived through a horrible civil war — and he had participated for all four years for the side that had lost. The countryside, especially Virginia, lay devastated. Trigg had no occupation now, and, thinking of nothing else to do, he did what he knew all about — sail. Alexander Macomb Mason,² an old classmate of his, was released the same day as Trigg from Johnson's Island and made the same decision. Trigg most likely traveled with Mason to Baltimore, for he knew that Mason had subsequently gotten work on a steamer that ran between Baltimore and Savannah. Trigg went with the bark *Adelaide* that was departing from Baltimore in two weeks for Rio de Janeiro. The cargo was flour and they were to bring back coffee; the whole trip was to last about three months. Since he had some time until his ship departed, he made his way as best he could to Richmond, and then traveled to Abingdon to visit his family, presumably by train or horseback, and stayed for about a week. In his memoirs, he referred to visiting his family as “see my

¹“Records Relating to Confederate Naval and Marine Personnel,” Roll 4 “Hospital and Prison Records of Naval and Marine Personnel S-Z,” Microcopy No. 260, National Archives, Washington, D.C.; Boatner, 439; Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 17-19.

²Mason, from Washington, D.C., and Trigg had many opportunities to meet. Mason was a classmate of Trigg's at the Academy, served in the Virginia Navy, was present at Drewry's Bluff in 1862, sent abroad from 1863-64, captured at Saylor's Creek and imprisoned on Johnson's Island. He was released on the same day as Trigg. Office of Naval Records and Library, Register of Officers of the Confederate States Navy, 128.

people,” which points again to his large network of friends and family. He stated: “When I started back to Baltimore, going horseback from Abingdon to Christiansburg, I found the country all desolated by the result of the War, nobody doing anything nor having settled occupation or plans. . . .”¹

¹Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 19.

CHAPTER THREE
HIS ADVENTURES IN SOUTH AMERICA

*In the cause of Right engaged,
Wrongs injurious to redress,
Honor's war we strongly waged,
But the heavens deny'd success:
Ruin's wheel has driven o'er us,
Not a hope that dare attend,
The wide world is all before us—
But a world without a friend!*
Robert Burns, Strathallan's Lament

Trigg made the trip on the *Adelaide* to Rio de Janeiro and back, apparently without incident. Not long after the crew disembarked in Baltimore, Trigg, again at a loss at what to do, “was accosted by” his old Academy friend and war buddy Edmund G. Read on Baltimore Street.¹ He “was an enterprising fellow and hailed me with delight and told me that he had been engaged by the Chilian [*sic*] Government. . . .” Chile was at war with Spain and had hired Read to find others to help him mine the Chilean ports against the Spanish ships. He asked Trigg to come along. Read needed an engineer, and so Trigg recommended Elias Guy Hall, who had served as one on the *Chattahoochee* with him. Trigg also suggested that they get his classmate Alexander M. Mason, who was in Baltimore. Mason agreed to come and sent Read to see Captain William T. Glacell to learn about the construction and management of torpedoes. Trigg stated in his memoirs that he had no experience with torpedoes. It is unclear why. In

¹Ibid.

fact, he does not mention in his memoirs his involvement with Kennon's group during the war. Was he ashamed of this experience, since it was considered playing 'dirty'?¹

We were promised free transportation to Chili [sic] and a deposit of \$500.00 in gold in case we wished to return, and a salary of \$80.00 per month. This in my then condition was a bonanza, in fact I would have been ready to have gone anywhere for it.²

Chile had officially declared war on Spain September 24, 1865. What provoked Chile had a lot to do with Spain's involvement with Chile's neighbor Peru and Latin America in general. Spain had still not recognized Peru's independence and had sent a delegation there to treat with the Peruvians and collect money. Peru had refused to bargain unless Spain recognized it as a sovereign state. In retaliation, Spain had taken the Chincha Islands, a large source of revenue for Peru in the form of guano, in April 1864. After this action, Spain had negotiated a treaty with Peru, most likely because of the united front posed by South America and the United States that Spain faced. The Vivanco-Pareja Treaty was signed in January 1865. Immediately, the people of Peru had reacted against their government for signing a treaty with Spain that was conciliatory in nature. Rebellions started in February, and by November, Col. Mariano Ignacio Prado had overthrown the government of Juan Antonio Pezet.³

Meanwhile, Chile had seen aggressive Spain's stance as indicative of its attitude to the Latin American countries and as a threat to their sovereignty. A fleet had sailed down to Chile, and Spain had refused to recognize certain contracts and on September 17, 1865, had demanded a twenty-one gun

¹Ibid., 19-20.

²Ibid., 20.

³Luis Galdames, A History of Chile (Chapel Hill, N.C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1941), 306-308; Frederick B. Pike, The Modern History of Peru (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1967), 115; Pike, The Modern History of Peru, 115-16.

salute. Chile had then declared war on Spain, made alliances with Peru, Bolivia and Equador, and had sent out agents to the United States and Europe to search for ships and weapons.¹

Back in the United States, the adventurous party of ex-Confederate sailors met in New York on the appointed day. There they met with Don Benjamin Vicuña Mackenna, the Chilean agent, and he invited them to join him and his friends for breakfast at Delmonico's.² Trigg began a journal that day and his first entry reads:

On 11th December 1865 embarked on board the steamer Atlantic bound from New York to Aspinwall. At 12 O'clock cast off the line and steamed out of dock and fired two guns, and bade adieu to the crowd upon the wharf. About 3 P.M. cleared Sandy Hook and then we were fairly at sea. Nothing of interest occurred during the passage. The passengers, with the exception of a very few went through the usual routine of sea sickness, &c with great credit to themselves.³

The crew arrived in the small town of Aspinwall,⁴ located on Manzanillo Island off the coast of Panama in the Atlantic Ocean, on December 19, 1865, where they transferred their baggage to a train bound for the city of Panama, which was about four hours away. They idly spent several days in Panama before leaving for Chile.⁵ Trigg continued:

20th. . . . This evening took a buggy ride with Read, Mason & Cilly — I drove and am happy to state that nobody was hurt upon our side. The enemy sustained considerable damage in the person of a Pack mule which I ran into upon the road.

21st Took another buggy ride this afternoon with Mason, Hall & Cilly. Went several miles back of the city. There are some lovely views hereabouts, and the country is beautiful. It seems as though this would be a pleasant country to live in if a man only had his family with him.

¹Galdames, 306-308.

²Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 20.

³Daniel Trigg, [The Journal of Daniel Trigg While In South America], December 11, 1865 - September 12, 1866, MsS, Mr. and Mrs. Edwin McKeon Trigg Personal Collection, Mobile, Al.

⁴Founded in 1850, Aspinwall is known today as Colon. It is at the entrance into the Panama Canal.

⁵Trigg, [The Journal of Daniel Trigg].

Several of us amused ourselves today playing 'Roulette.'

I was banker and scorched old Mason. . . .

22nd. Passed the day very pleasantly sleeping, playing billiards and Eucre. Won Reads coat at billiards. . . .

23rd Hot as blue blazes. This town is filled with buzzards; the only scavengers about the city. I notice that the natives of the country almost invariably present a neat, clean appearance as regards dress, although they seem to live in filth. They are not so profuse in their dress as the ladies of our country as theirs consists only of a loose rapper or chemise which displays their charms to great perfection. Took a buggy ride with Read[,] Hall & Mason. About 11 OClock had a desperate encounter with a 'Bat.' Nobody hurt upon our side.

24th Same routine cards billiards, &c. Went to Mass at midnight A novel sight. All the senioritas in the place turned out in their Sunday best. Some of them very pretty (Octoroons¹). . . .²

On Christmas day, the party boarded a boat around eleven in the morning that brought them to the steamer *Chile*, then lying off the island of Taboga in the Gulf of Panama. The trip lasted only a few hours, and that evening the *Chile* departed for South America. They crossed the equator three days later and caught sight of the Ecuadorian shore from their boat. They amused themselves during the trip by playing various games, and apparently Trigg was good at 'vingt et une' (Twenty-One)— he even won the silver buttons off Eytinge by playing this game. "I'm making him pay his war debt," Trigg remarked in his journal. They spent New Years at sea and arrived at the port of Callao, Peru, on the second of January.³

3rd. Went on shore this morning & took the train for Lima [Peru], where I arrived in about half an hour afterwards, and put up at Morins Hotel in a room with Mason and Read. Hotel first class. Table d'Hote splendid. This Hotel fronts on a plaza, upon the other side of which is the Presidents mansion. A few months since, I understand there was a desperate battle in this Plaza (between the revolutionists and the party then in power) in which there were about seven hundred killed.⁴

¹One-eighth black, a child of a quadroon (one-fourth black) and a white.

²Trigg, [The Journal of Daniel Trigg].

³Ibid.

⁴This was when Col. Mariano Ignacio Prado ousted the Pezet regime in November of 1865. David P. Werlich, Peru: A Short History, (Carbondale, Ill.: Southern Illinois University Press, 1978), 91.

4th Went out this morning to see the Alamada (public walk of the City) It is the most beautiful place of the kind I ever saw. Lima is one of the most splendid places I ever saw. I think I should like to live there. The women are beautiful, but unfortunately go veiled in such a manner as to make it impossible to get a view of them, unless you approach them ‘bout[?] on’.¹

Told to board the steamer *Lautaro* lying in the harbor of Callao, the party left Lima on the evening of the fifth. Upon their arrival in Callao, they hired a boatman to row them out to *Lautaro*, which they had trouble finding:²

5th. . . . You should have seen old Mason and I sneaking around the harbor of Callao in a small boat, trying to find the vessel. The boatmen had told us that they knew where she lay but we soon found out that they knew nothing about it. Neither of us able to speak a word of Spanish. The night pitchy dark. I feared once that we would swear.³

They finally found the vessel and “went on board perfect strangers, not knowing where she was bound or when we would get there.” They were shown their bunks. The captain was Patrick Lynch of the Chilean Navy, who spoke English very well and “was indeed a most courteous and admirable gentleman.”⁴

Lautaro left the harbor that night, and Trigg slept peacefully until noises from the engine room jarred him awake; next he heard a crash. Trigg ran up to the deck to see what was happening and saw that the Peruvian warship *Union* and the *Lautaro* had collided somehow, and nearby lay the *America*, another Peruvian warship. No serious damage resulted, however. The *Union* and its sister ship, the *America*, had been built in France for the Confederacy but later sold to the Peruvian government. That evening Trigg remarked in his journal: “Here we are all on board this ship totally in the dark. Not one of our party have

¹Trigg, [The Journal of Daniel Trigg].

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 20.

the slightest idea where we are bound to, or anything about what we are going to do. They've got me blind folded for once, but I'll be wide awake at the next turn, I'll bet."¹

Trigg occupied his days on board reading, sleeping, eating with Captain Lynch, and trying to learn Spanish, as they cruised down the scenic coast of Peru and then Chile.²

10th [January]. Finished my book (Very Hard Cash) Wish I had some of it. Must now pitch some in to Spanish again. . . . About 8 O'clock saw a light on our port bow, quite close aboard. Hoisted our mast head light but soon observed that she doused her glim. Consequently took in all our lights & gave her a wide berth.

11th My only occupation now is sleeping & studying. Amused myself this morning trying to get one of the passengers to challenge another, by whom he had been insulted — used every inducement in my power but d—l the fight could I get up. . . .

12th. Made the Port of Paltal and entered for coal. P.T. is a small Chilian mining town. Houses small miserable affairs, many of them of rags. A new style to me altogether. At the declaration of war between C & Spain all of the miners left to fight. (Dont blame them for doing anything to get in a civilized part of the world). Whilst laying in the harbor a steamer came in with about two hundred miners on board. There are whole mountains hereabouts that appear to be almost of pure copper.³

The party continued for some days in this manner and stopped at small ports from time to time to get coal for fuel. Their destination was Valparaiso, Chile, but the captain decided to put in at Pichalanque, fifty miles north, for fear of running into a Spanish warship at Papudo. Shortly before reaching Pichalanque, they ran into trouble. Trigg came on deck one morning and found the captain staring down the hatchway into the engine room. Trigg went over and saw a man's head sticking out above water working intently on the ship's bottom. Trigg learned from Captain Lynch that a plate had come loose and that they were trying to fix it. His prognosis on doing so, however, was not good. They were about fifteen miles from Pichalanque, however, and believed they would make it before the ship sank. They reached Blight harbor just as the water reached the fire in the engine room and they were able to get off the ship before she sank in deep water. When they got to shore, they found food at a nearby

¹Trigg, [The Journal of Daniel Trigg].

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

house, and Trigg's party secured horses, pack mules and a guide for the ride over the mountains to Santiago. The members of this party were Trigg, Read, Hall, Mason, a Chilean agent named Cilley, and an English gun founder whom Cilley had hired to make guns and cannons.¹ In his memoirs Trigg related this ride and their teasing of the Englishman, showing that Trigg still had his prankster tendencies.

This individual was a pretty timid creature and seemed to have a horror of being lost on the way. We amused ourselves and passed away the time by riding far ahead of him and listening to his wails as he thought he was left behind. This we continued from time to time until some of the party intervened, more merciful than the others, and put an end to the fun.²

By the time they stopped for lunch, Trigg had a splitting headache and could not eat anything. He decided to rest upon a rug in a corner of the eatery. "In less than a minute I think there could have been no less than a million fleas upon me, the most ravenous wretches I ever saw. 'Goodbye to sleep.'"³ While there, he took a sip of *anisido*, a type of brandy, as a palliative for his headache. The party started off again, "always at a run," this time with several bottles of the local brandy. As they rode their horses over the mountains, Read kept suggesting he have some more since it seemed to help his headache.⁴ "Very soon the pain had subsided and I began to feel as though the world were too little for me. Loved everybody & believe I told everything I ever knew. But R[e]ad managed to keep me in the rear of the crowd until it wore off. Reached [La] Ligua at about 3 A.M. . . ."⁵ They found a hotel, woke the landlord, and found places to sleep wherever they could.

¹Ibid.; Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 21.

²Ibid.

³Trigg, [The Journal of Daniel Trigg].

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid.

I saw a bed, or rather a frame with a hide stretched on it, as they have it in that country, upon which I at once dropped down in an exhausted condition and by the time I struck it I think I must have been asleep. The next thing I knew was far into the next day when I awoke in the full light of a Southern sun.¹

They woke up and ate breakfast and awaited the stage coach that Cilley had hired. They then traveled across the mountains to the railroad that ran between Callao and Santiago. The road that ran around the eight-thousand-foot-tall mountain impressed Trigg. He found it “very much better than any we had been used to in [the United States].”²

They galloped the whole way through the mountains until they reached the railroad station in La Calera. There, they boarded the train and rode on to Santiago, enjoying the beautiful scenery whizzing by. “Oh that I had the power to describe the magnificent scenery along this road. I am sure that nothing in the world can surpass it in grandeur.”³ Trigg arrived to find Santiago one of the most beautiful cities he had ever seen. They put up for the night in a comfortable hotel. The next morning, the party left for Valparaiso by train when they learned that the man they were to do business with, the minister of war, was waiting there. They met with him and the commanding general the next morning, and they discussed plans to alleviate the Spanish blockade. Trigg and his friends agreed to make torpedoes, and the government put every facility at their disposal. They had another meeting with the same officials several days later in Santiago, but this time without the interpreter.

He then asked if we spoke French — ‘Oui’ — So he called in a Col of Artillery who was passing who said he could speak it. Then we commenced but d—l the bit could we understand each other. So we mumbled away at each other until someone came in who spoke English when all was set right.⁴

¹Ibid., 21-22.

²Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 22.

³Trigg, [The Journal of Daniel Trigg].

⁴Ibid.

Hall, the engineer, was to direct and oversee the production of the torpedoes. “We procured a boat, crude and insufficient to be sure but the best we could get, which we concluded to fit out as a torpedo boat and clad her with iron. In this we were engaged for some weeks. . . .”¹ Their assigned target was the *Numancia*, a Spanish ironclad in their fleet.²

In his journal at this time, he made a very revealing statement about his ease in life and showed himself to be, again, a typical Virginian of his caste:

8th [February 1866] Read left this morning for Valparaiso, & glad I am that he is gone for I dont think I’ve looked into a book since he’s been up here. I sometimes wonder how the d—l it happened that I manage to get along so well in the world. I never worked any in my life, worth speaking of and yet it seems that I’ve always had enough to get what ever I have wanted. Here I am now sitting down at my ease & although I cant state the reason for the remark just here, I will say that within in a few weeks I have a good chance to make my fortune — (or perhaps instead get my head blown off) — How I wonder what they would think of me at home if they only knew the reason for my being in Chili.³

Trigg stated in his memoirs that he often regretted that he did not settle permanently in Chile and take advantage of the opportunities for advancement. “I was young and to a degree frivolous and I think perhaps let golden chances pass.”⁴

Spain, meanwhile, had decided to give up the warfare, but ordered Adm. Mendez Nuñez, commander of the Spanish fleet, to bombard Valparaiso, Chile, and Callao, Peru, as punishment for what Spain saw as insults. Valparaiso was the first stop for Admiral Nuñez. The fleet arrived on February 15,

¹Ibid.; Idem, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 22.

²Trigg, [The Journal of Daniel Trigg].

³Ibid.

⁴Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 22-23.

1866, with the intent to bombard the defenseless town.¹ Meanwhile, Trigg and his party had worked hard for months and had completed the torpedo boats:

We . . . announced ourselves ready to make a movement and attempt the destruction of one of the Spanish vessels, which was lying off the harbor of Valparaiso, but we were deterred and prevented by the Government owing to diplomatic reasons of which we knew nothing.²

What happened was that in March, a “considerable effort” was made to bring about peace diplomatically. The American minister Kilpatrick and Commodore Rodgers of the U.S. Navy pushed for this peace. While these negotiations dragged on, Trigg and the rest of the party grew restless. Some expressed an interest to go back home. Others had heard about opportunities available in Peru, which had declared war on Spain in January 1866. The party decided to end their engagement with Chile and join Peru. At this time, Chilean officials offered Trigg a commission as lieutenant in their navy, but he declined because he was afraid he might have to give up his U.S. citizenship. The party ventured to Peru and began negotiations for a large contract to construct torpedo boats at Callao and to mine their harbor with torpedoes.³

When the diplomatic efforts failed to elicit the sought-after peace in Chile, Nuñez carried out his threat to bombard Valparaiso on March 31, 1866. The attack lasted for 3 1/2 hours. On April 14, Nuñez lifted the blockade, and the Spanish fleet steamed for Callao, Peru. When word reached Peru that the Spanish were coming, the contract negotiations sped up, and the Peruvians hired Trigg and his party to place torpedoes in the harbor only days prior to the Spanish arrival. The men managed to find an electric battery and wire to blow up their torpedoes before the Spanish arrived on the twenty-seventh and

¹Galdames, 309; Clements R. Markham, A History of Peru, (New York, N.Y.: Greenwood Press, Publishers, 1892; reprint, 1968), 361.

²Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 23.

³Anson Uriel Hancock, A History of Chile, (New York, N.Y.: AMS Press, 1893; reprint, 1971), 246; Pike, 116; Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 23; Idem, [The Journal of Daniel Trigg].

declared a blockade. That morning Trigg and Read placed and anchored their torpedoes. They had forty barrels with forty pounds of powder inside, plus a weight to sink them, connected to each other by insulated wire. The end was connected to the electric battery on shore. If a ship passed over the line, it would swing the cask alongside and cause it to explode. Since they had to work the electric battery, they found themselves in Callao Harbor at the time of the Spanish bombardment. Several ships did cross the line and exploded some of the torpedoes, but not to much effect, “though it is believed by most of the foreign officers that their moral effect did a great deal to keep them at a proper distance.”¹

The Spanish vessel, *Numancia*, fired the first shot on May 2, 1866. “Then commenced the action in gallant style.”² The Spanish ships then began bombarding the shore with broadsides. Unfortunately for the defenders, the beach consisted of shingle rock that turned into lethal shrapnel “by the bucket full” when a shell exploded on it. A Peruvian officer had asked Trigg to come to the battery he commanded and promised Trigg that he could work the thirteen-inch Blakely English gun located in the battery. Once his work was through with the torpedoes, Trigg went to his friend’s battery; but when he arrived, his friend had been wounded and carried off. Trigg was in a dangerous position and observed that the men handling the guns were inexperienced but excited. He decided that he better keep out of their way and so leaned back on a sand parapet and watched the defenders.³

About that time I saw a shell coming from one of the vessels and the men all lay down. I fortunately did so too and about that time a shell struck, I believe a center shot, where I was leaning on the sand bag passed over me and ricocheted off. If I had been leaning where I had been formerly I would have been torn to pieces. I saw that my services there would not

¹Markham, 361-362; Hancock, 246; Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 23; Idem, [The Journal of Daniel Trigg]. Quote from his journal.

²Trigg, [The Journal of Daniel Trigg].

³Markham, 361-362; Werlich, 91; Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 23-24.

be availing for anything apparently useless and considering that I had saved my reputation I walked out of the battery and back to a place less exposed to watch the battle.¹

The bombardment ceased, and the losses were as follows: the Spanish lost 194 killed and wounded, while Peru lost a staggering 2,000 killed and wounded. The Spanish fleet retired to the island of San Lorenzo after the battle, where they remained until May 9, 1866, essentially ending all hostilities between the two countries. Apparently, the man who had contracted for the torpedo boats was eager to do something to save his reputation, and maybe his contract, because until then, he had done nothing. So, he approached Trigg and asked him if he would go out with him to try to blow up some of the Spanish vessels lying off San Lorenzo. "I was not as considerate of grave questions then as I am now and very foolishly consented to do so. . . ."² Trigg's stipulation was that Read command the boat and the contractor handle the torpedo. They used a Cushing torpedo like the one Lieut. William Barker Cushing used to blow up the Confederate ironclad *Albatross* during the Civil War. They set out one night to accomplish their mission.³

We got into the immediate vicinity of the Spanish fleet and thereupon it being up to him to handle his torpedo and get it into position for explosion the tackling by which it was to be rigged out became entangled in some way, or he claimed it to be, and was unable to extricate it. We were in no comfortable position as we were liable at any time to be discovered by the Guard boat of the [Spanish] fleet or fired upon by one of the ships and thereupon after a short consultation, very short, we concluded to put about and go back to the wharf, which we did.⁴

That night Trigg walked to Lima, Peru, seven miles away, and stayed there for several days. On May 14, 1866, his friend Mason left for the States, and so Read and he were the sole remainders of the

¹Ibid., 24-25.

²Markham, 363; Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 25.

³Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 25.

⁴Ibid.

group that had left New York almost six months before.¹ While there, Trigg received this invitation from the government of Peru:

Certainly having had his fill of adventure, Trigg yearned to return home and settle down. With this goal in mind, he left the Callao harbor by steamer and headed to Panama and then to Aspinwall, leaving probably in early June. His friend Read, however, stayed behind in Lima. Trigg soon found himself stranded in Aspinwall completely broke and not knowing a soul. Unable to afford the cost of passage on a ship, he was desperate. His only recourse — working on a ship to gain passage — was unpleasant to him, but necessary.²

23rd [June]. 'Panama.' Isthmus — Aspinwall — Howard House, By Mr. S. H. Smith or any other man, If I aint in a box now, no man ever was. Busted 2000 miles from home, and don't know any body. Stiff upper lip old boy now or never. If Madame Fortune dont deal me a better hand I'll lose my game certain. It goes against my grain like thunder to have to ship, but it looks like that now, or else starving. Take the first; thank you! . . . D—n that Peruvian Government. They got us into this fix. Most likely Read will be along by the next steamer, about the 29th. If he does and I'm here still, we'll be all right. Griffin left by the steamer last night. Well I must go out and look around now. More Anon.

24th. Knocked around all day yesterday without succeeding in doing any thing. In the evening late went around on the wharfs and looked at the different vessels. All that I saw had their officers, but found one that wanted one man, a Nova Scotia Brigantine, going to Havanna in ballast. Thought I'd wait until today and if I could do no better would ship in her, and trust to luck in H—. Went to bed feeling blue enough, but tried not think too much about it & take things easy. Got up this morning to make another trial. Went on board another 'Brig' but found her chock ablock — blues yet. Came back to the Hotel and amused myself for several hours looking at the negroes, it being one of their feast days. Most of them were running around each with a bucket of water & would douce about every darkey they met, men women & children. Saw about a dozen fights, which raised my spirits considerably. The fun over, began to get blue again, and about that time seeing the Capt of the N. Scotia Brig coming along told him I'd like to ship with him. Told me he had just shipped a man that morning, (blues still) but [he] had heard another Capt say that he wanted a second mate. (spirits jumped 40°) Bolted off to see said Capt, determined if any one got ahead of me, he must be quick, for I lost the mateship of a fine vessel in Callao by being an hour too late. Capt told me to come aboard his vessel at 4 P.M. & he would see about it. Went on board & he gave me the position. I am now second mate of the Boston Brigantine 'Randolph,' at Aspinwall discharging coal. Thence bound to Swan Island to take in a cargo of Guano for Boston.

¹Ibid.; Idem, [The Journal of Daniel Trigg].

²Trigg, [The Journal of Daniel Trigg]; Idem, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 25-26.

(Signed) D.T. late of the U.S.N. later of the C.S.N. — latest of the Chilian Navy I go on board tonight and must write to my dear Ma & sister, whom I hope to see very soon. How I long for it.¹

Captain Percy of Vermont commanded the *Randolph*, and Trigg took a quick liking to him. The ship set out that evening for Swan Island in the Caribbean Sea (between Honduras and Cuba) and, after several days at sea, reached its destination and dropped anchor at the beautiful island. At the time of the ship's arrival, about twenty-five men, who were employed by a New York firm, worked the island for its guano. There was only one other boat in the harbor, the schooner *Mabel* from Baltimore commanded by Captain Young.² The beautiful scenery that surrounded Trigg, however, did nothing to convince him that he had made the right career choice: "Don't believe in this thing of buffeting salt water for a living and shall quit the first good chance that offers on shore."³

Unfortunately, during the *Randolph*'s voyage to the island, one of the men on board came down with a very deadly fever. "I was about the only man on board who could handle the medicine chest and the little dispensary that goes with it and I administered to him the best way I could out of my ignorance and in a few days he died," Trigg related.⁴ They buried the man on the beach of Swan Island. One by one, the crew came down with the same fever and all looked lost, when a Dr. Martin arrived, who had been with General W.H.F. Lee during the Civil War. "He came on board and arrangements were made to take the men on shore and put them in a house which the authorities of the mines proposed to knock up

¹Trigg, [The Journal of Daniel Trigg].

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴[Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 26.

for the occasion.”¹ The rest of the men were also sent to the shore, and only the captain and Trigg remained on the ship to perform the necessary duties, with a man from the shore to cook for them.²

One evening, July 12, 1866, Trigg retired to his bunk on board the ship and heard a boat come up alongside the *Randolph* and someone boarding her. He heard Captain Percy bring the visitor down to the cabin next to Trigg’s bunk. When Trigg heard the visitor’s voice, he was convinced that it was an acquaintance of his named Young, the one-time secondmate of the bark *Clifton* as it lay in the harbor of Rio de Janeiro when Trigg was there on the bark *Adelaide*.³ They had often met after work, talked, and became acquainted. Trigg called out from his bunk and asked the visitor if he had ever sailed on the *Clifton*. This naturally surprised Captain Young, this being an isolated spot in the world that saw maybe three ships a year. Young asked who he was, and when Trigg told him, he remembered him.⁴ Trigg continued in his journal:

18th [July]. Here I have been upon shore since the evening of the 14th. Down with the fever. . . . I dont know what would have become of us all had we not been fortunate enough to get a good doctor upon the Island to attend us. . . . [Dr. Martin’s] attention to us has been unceasing, and no doubt more than one of the ship’s Company would have been left upon Swan Island had it not been for his skill and kindness. He knew Frank Robertson.⁵ Well this is a dull sort of life certainly. Nothing to do from morning till night but lie in bed and sleep and read until one is tired to death. Within the few days I’ve been getting well I think I’ve read a thousand and one love stories as there are a number of weekly papers upon the Island. How I wish that it would so happen when I get back that I could return home and settle down to some business so that I could be near those that I care for. If I could only

¹Ibid., 26-27.

²Ibid.; Idem, [The Journal of Daniel Trigg].

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., 27.; Idem, [The Journal of Daniel Trigg].

⁵Francis "Frank" Smith Robertson, son of Gov. Wyndham Robertson and Mary Frances Trigg Smith, was Daniel's second cousin. Frank had signed on to the "Washington Mounted Rifles," Company D, First Regiment, Virginia Volunteer Cavalry as a private. Later, he was lieutenant of Company I, 48th Virginia Infantry. Summers, History of Southwest Virginia, 867-68, 878.

have an opportunity of setting down in business on shore good bye to the sea forever say
I!¹

His friend, Captain Young, left on his ship, *Mabel*, not long after Trigg had come down with the fever. He had visited the morning after Trigg became sick and had brought him to shore for care. He had then left a few days later, and Trigg never saw him again. Trigg must have looked as if he were past all cure, however — when Young reached Baltimore, he told some of Trigg's friends that he was dead, exactly described the death scene and which boat Trigg was on, and so forth. Undoubtedly, the hardship Trigg experienced in the past month, and his near brush with death, caused him to reflect more seriously on his life and the strange twists it had taken.² Trigg continues in his journal:

20th [July]. One year ago I was getting on to Baltimore to join the 'Adelaide.' I begin to think it would have been better if I had never left at all. Who would then have thought I would have been upon Swan Island with fever. Doubt if I have an acquaintance who knew there was such a place in the world. "There is a destiny which shapes our ends, rough hew them as we may." If I only had something good to read I think I could make out quite well without growling, but alas I have nothing but a lot of trashy novels. I am beginning to get quite strong again. Took a walk over to the quarters this morning.

22nd Sunday. Have now been ashore a week and am becoming quite strong again. How I would like to be at home today. I believe that one year ago this day I was in 'Lynchburg.' I took a trip up to the 'diggings' yesterday afternoon. Why is it that Sunday even upon this lone Island has that inexpressible calm about it, not possessed by any other day of the week. Even the birds seem to feel that it is a day of rest, and their voices have a low sweet sound as though they too respect this day above all others. I took a walk in the woods this morning. How I was reminded of 'auld lang syne,' when I was a boy and used to wander out upon Sunday evenings.

23d Came across a black snake this morning whilst taking a walk. The first I've seen upon the Island. There is a 'varmint' very plentiful in this neighborhood called by the Natives a 'Guano.' It resembles a lizard, with a very long tail. They are sometimes as long as six or seven feet. Make excellent soup. (it is said). They are to be seen upon most any of the dead trees. I shot one the other day. [Most likely referring to an iguana.]

26th Went in bathing this morning before breakfast. This is my last night ashore upon this Island. The Dr tells me I can go on board Tomorrow. Amused myself today reading, patching my pants and picking up coral upon the beach.

Sunday August 12th. A bright pleasant day. Lot of fellows from the Island came on board to see us. The Capt still upon shore sick. We now have most of our cargo in and expect to finish loading by Wednesday night if the weather continues favorable. A full

¹Trigg, [The Journal of Daniel Trigg].

²Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 27.

rigged Brig passed within sight this morning bound to the Nd. A few days since a bark passed close enough for us to send a boat off and get a lot of N. Y. papers containing nothing interesting. I wonder where old Read is today. I've just found a letter in this book that I wrote him from Santiago.¹ How things have changed in a few short months. I believe that I would rather see him than most any other fellow living. The last thing he said to me was to go on to Texas and he would follow soon. If the Trifling wretch does go there he'll be sold as to finding me! Though I had fully intended going there when we parted — and may do so yet. I think that if we only could meet that we'd have food for a months laughter. When I think of what we've been through 'Oh ye gods;' but never let it leak out at home.

15th Finished taking in cargo today. Cleared up decks and washed down. I suppose that we'll leave this lovely spot tomorrow if nothing happens in the mean time to prevent it. Heavy rain squalls during the day.²

In this last passage, Trigg reveals, as well, the contrast of the real life of a romantic adventurer to that of polite society back home — his reluctance to let their adventures “leak out at home.” Though the life of the romantic adventurer was idealized in this society, very few ever went out and experienced it head on, and with complete trust, like Trigg. He experienced the reality of this kind of life — perhaps a bit too much — but enough to induce him to settle into a more ‘proper’ profession, fully content in his choice.

Twenty-three-year-old Trigg and the rest of the crew finally recuperated on Swan Island, during which time they “feasted royally upon turtle steaks and soup.”³ They left the island with a full cargo and with her crew shipshape. They set sail for Boston, encountered a few mishaps on the way, of course, and finally reached the states some time in September of 1866, nearly a year's absence for Trigg. The captain asked Trigg to stay on the ship with him, however, until he discharged his cargo at Weymouth, Massachusetts. Trigg agreed.⁴

¹This letter is no longer in the book.

²Trigg, [The Journal of Daniel Trigg].

³Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 28.

⁴Ibid.; Idem, [The Journal of Daniel Trigg].

Whilst lying here imagine my surprise upon one day receiving a telegram from New Port from [Robert C.] Foute, my old companion and friend, announcing that he was to be married at New Port at once and asking me to come on and be one of his attendants. You can imagine from my condition as it was then what a figure I would have cut in New Port society about that time.¹

Again, the meeting of the two spheres, adventure and polite society — the world of whispering fans, rustling skirts and calling cards. Neither was ready to face the reality of the other at this moment. Trigg's friend Foute was marrying the woman he had fallen in love with when Trigg, Foute and the others were all in France together during the Civil War. Her name was Mary Stewart deKantzow, and she was the niece of Mrs. Diana Bullitt Kearny, with whom Trigg had become good friends.² Trigg could not go to Foute's wedding, but the following letter, written sloppily, is still in the back of his journal. Whether or not he recopied it and sent it on to Foute is unknown.

Brig Randolph
Weymouth Mass.
19th Sept 1866

My darling Christy³

Your 'Tel' was received only a few minutes since. It was brought to me from Boston on the 'Skipper.' We left that enchanted place several days since, and are now discharging. Oh you wretch why didn't you let me know sooner, so that I could have been on hand. But maybe you think 'Taint[?] none of my funeral' so I've no right to cry.

I ain't got no yarns to tell you. Oh no. Left old Edmund⁴ in Lima (busted), last June. Heard of him the other day, has made a raise. Oh. I forgot to congratulate you. You know though well enough that I mean it, if it is not expressed. Christy when I read your Tel — I was stunned. Thought something must have fallen from aloft (a nautical phrase) & struck me. Couldn't realize it at the moment. Oh ye gods. Don't I look like going to a wedding now.

I'm going to quit going to sea. Tired of it. Dog's life. — Cunningham.

How the d— I did you find out that I was aboard this bullahoo. Is old Hen at the Castle. G d knows when I'll get clear of this ship in a few days though I hope —

¹Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 28.

²Alexander, 15.

³May be "Chester" instead of "Christy". Chester was Foute's middle name.

⁴Edmund Gaines Read.

Write immediately
 To thine Ever
 Dan

Love to Mrs. deFoute.

	Daniel Trigg
	Care of G.S. Emery & Co.
Capt. [154 State St.
Pressey [Boston ¹

This letter reveals the close friendship Trigg and Foute shared, plus Trigg's humor in referring to Foute's bride-to-be, Miss deKantzow, as Mrs. deFoute. After his work with the ship was through, Trigg was again at a loss for what to do. He decided to travel to New York and there ran into Mrs. Diana Bullitt Kearny and her daughters fresh from Foute's wedding. They were heading to Virginia, and since Trigg had decided to return home, they traveled together. "I came on home and there Judge John A. Campbell, my lifelong friend and Uncle, and one of the noblest men I ever knew, proposed that I should study law with him and go to his home at Hall's Bottom [near Abingdon]."²

¹Daniel Trigg, Weymouth, Massachusetts, to Robert Chester Foute, LS, 19 September 1866. Located in the back of [The Journal of Daniel Trigg]. Note: Letter written sloppily in pencil.

²Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 28.

CHAPTER FOUR
AFTER WARFARE

*John Anderson my jo, John,
When we were first acquent;
Your locks were like the raven,
Your bony brow was brent;
But now your brow is beld, John,
Your locks are like the snaw;
But blessings on your frosty pow,
John Anderson my Jo.*

*John Anderson my jo, John,
We clamb the hill the gither;
And mony a canty day, John,
We've had wi' ane anither:
Now we maun totter down, John,
and hand in hand we'll go;
And sleep the gither at the foot,
John Anderson my Jo.*
Robert Burns, John Anderson my Jo

Having returned to a Virginia desolated from the war, Trigg decided to become a lawyer; it was not a difficult one to make. His experiences in South America had taught him a valuable lesson in life. He longed for a stable life. Also, from a poem he had written most likely during the Christmas of 1866, it seems that his choice was a cynical, though practical, one — it was a way to make money.¹

9 Would you like to dress fine
Drink good brandy & wine
You had best be a lawyer I think

¹Daniel Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Poem], D, [1866?], stanzas nine through twelve. Located in the back of [The Journal of Daniel Trigg]. For a full transcription of his poem, see Appendix One, p. 172.

For last week at the court
 It was reall good sport
 To see them all dress fine & drink

10 Why some had new hats
 Others have new cravats
 And shoes shining like patent leather
 Each had a new suit
 And a new hat to boot
 In spite of the cold, sleety weather

11 If the judges came yearly
 It will cost them quite dearly
 To keep up with all that I saw
 I'll declare on my soul
 I will quit Mr. Coal
 & am going to take to the law

12 We know it is time
 With me as with you
 That the war'd laid our purses all level
 So pull out your quarter
 You know that you ought to
 give a dollar – at least
 to

The devil¹

The choice was also a logical one; he had many role models in his family to take his cue from, including his cousin Judge John A. Campbell, whom he affectionately called 'Uncle.' His decision was also a typical one to make during this time: after the horrible instability and experiences of the Civil War, Americans understandably yearned for stability and order. After his years in the Civil War and his interlude as an adventurer in South America, Trigg wanted desperately to settle down, as he stated and intimated so often in his journal. So, become a lawyer it was.

The path that Trigg decided to lead is very revealing in another sense. What does it say about a man who led the 'great adventure' in South America, who has seen a bit of the world from France to Peru, and whose eyes beheld new structures, ideas, and people, but still married the girl back home? His other comrades met women during their travels whom they later married, like R. C. Foute. In fact, it was

¹Ibid.

not unusual for men and boys during the Civil War — exposed for the first time, for many of them, to new people and places — to meet women where they were stationed and later marry them. Trigg's friend Read apparently never gave up the adventuresome life; he ventured to Iowa after he returned from South America and then went to Yeddo, Japan, in 1869 looking for torpedo work. The fact that Trigg returned to his home town and married a girl from a prominent family in that area shows either the deep commitment to family and community that he was now willing to give, or the deep love he felt for his new wife. Either way, he made the commitment.¹

For the sake of comparison, another southwestern Virginia attorney, Confederate soldier, and postwar politician, General James A. Walker, will be studied briefly in this paper. Eleven years Trigg's senior, General Walker nevertheless serves as a useful barometer when one looks at Trigg's actions. In addition, the two men knew each other and were members of the same political party for a long time. General Walker initially practiced law in Newbern, Pulaski County, Virginia, roughly 160 miles northeast of Abingdon, but moved to nearby Wytheville in 1879.

It will be seen also that Trigg still kept his sense of humor as evidenced by the incidents that made it into public record. Newspapers loved to chronicle such stories. This was just one case:

MISTOOK FRANK BARR FOR A SHOWMAN

Last Saturday afternoon when one of the omnibus men about Hotel Otey mistook Frank Barr, of Abingdon, for the advance agent for a traveling show, one could have 'knocked him down with a feather.' He declared in language most positive, and not quite fit for publication, that he was not a showman, but as he was traveling with Dan Trigg and Dave Bailey, the mistake was probably pardonable on the part of the porter, as by their waggery and humor they could be classed as a whole circus. — *Southwest Virginia Enterprise*.²

¹Edmund G. Read, Yeddo, Japan, to Capt. Robert Dabney Minor, LS, 26 December 1869, Mss1 M6663a 295, Minor Family Papers 1657-1942, VHS.

²*Abingdon Weekly Virginian*, 28 February 1901, University of Virginia Library, hereinafter, UVA.

Like most aspiring lawyers of his day, Trigg studied faithfully from Sir William Blackstone's influential work *Commentaries on the Law of England*, while he stayed with Judge Campbell at his home in Hall's Bottom, south of Abingdon.¹ This must have been an ideal spot for Trigg to devote his time to studies, for apparently Hall's Bottom was one of the most beautiful areas in the southwest part of Virginia. Also he could not have lacked for company in this retreat in the woods; besides his 'uncle' and his uncle's family, the families of Trigg's other Campbell cousins had also settled there. Another thing that made this site ideal for the study of law was that Judge Campbell's father, Edward Campbell,² had been a highly educated and distinguished lawyer in his day, and the Campbell progeny had inherited his large law library.³

This apprenticeship with Judge Campbell was typical for lawyers in his day; one did not need to go to law school to qualify for the bar. Usually they read and studied in the office of a local attorney. General Walker did the same thing; he studied under John B. Baldwin of Staunton, but he also, unlike Trigg, matriculated in the law class at the University of Virginia. Trigg, however, lacked the money to do this. This did not stop Trigg from acquiring a self-made education. His natural intelligence and ambition drove him to become an avid reader, and with time he had acquired a large library of books. He brought these same qualities to his law career and loved to research and study his cases. His retention of knowledge gained was very good, and so his contemporaries claimed that "in his addresses [at the bar], strong and apt expressions often flashed like jewels from [Trigg's] well stored mind."⁴

¹Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 28. Judge Campbell was really the first cousin of Trigg's father, but he always called him and his wife uncle and aunt.

²Edward Campbell had married Rhoda Trigg, making him Daniel Trigg's great uncle.

³Lewis Preston Summers, "Heart of the Holston Country," The Historical Society of Washington County, Virginia, No. 9, April 1943, pp. 130-31.

⁴Willie Walker Caldwell, Stonewall Jim: A Biography of General James A. Walker, C.S.A. (Elliston, Va.: Northcross House, Publishers, 1990), 12; Law Order Book L, WCC, p. 530.

Trigg's hard work at Hall's Bottom paid off in 1867 when a position opened up for him in Clarendon, Monroe County, Arkansas. He became deputy clerk under Parker C. Ewing, got his license to practice law, and was appointed county attorney on January 7, 1868, a position for which he earned five hundred dollars a year paid quarterly in county script.¹

At some point during his short stay in Arkansas, he was the prosecutor for an 'open and shut' case involving one man stealing a gun and shooting another. The case taught him a good lesson, but it also serves to illustrate his humor and personality. Being inexperienced, Trigg neglected to establish the scene of the crime and the county and state in which it took place. Col. Simon P. Hughes, the defense attorney, took advantage of this oversight and demanded that his client be discharged, which the court did. Naturally, Trigg became exasperated, stood up and excitedly addressed the courtroom as follows: "Your Honor, let us glance for a moment at the evidence of Reps Cheney. Reps says that the pistol was stolen from the mantel of the house on the Wells place, and if the Wells place isn't in the county of Monroe and State of Arkansas, where the hell is it?"²

Arkansas proved to be a good training ground for a young lawyer like Trigg — a demoralized South surely reflected itself in the types of cases Trigg handled as county attorney.³ Trigg commented on the situation as he saw it in the South: "The country was then in a state of disruption almost to anarchy, carpet bagism was rampant and in the saddle. Military Government was in vogue in the Southern states, there was a premium on scalawagism and everything was in a state of social and political chaos." So Trigg worked in Arkansas for several years and learned quite a bit about his profession. In January of 1869, Trigg presumably could not run for county attorney, and he received a proposition from a

¹Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 28; Monroe County Court, Record Book D, page 373, Monroe County, Arkansas, Courthouse.

²From a clipping from a Clarendon, Arkansas newspaper, undated, about the wedding of Nannie Trigg to Franklin Bache. The article mentions this story. George Harris Sargeant Personal Collection, Norfolk, Va.

³Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 28.

prominent lawyer and newly appointed circuit court judge in southwest Virginia, John Warfield Johnston, to become his law partner in Abingdon. This suited Trigg, since he had already proposed marriage to Judge Johnston's daughter Louisa — indeed, this was most likely the reason for his proffering the law partnership. Trigg commented: “The fact is this is the pole that I had been in search of and around which I had been vibrating from different parts of the world for many years. . . .”¹

So, Trigg left Arkansas in January 1869, returned to Abingdon, and entered into his partnership with Judge Johnston that was to last for years. Judge Johnston had a very large and influential practice in that part of the state. Trigg's opinion of him was that “he was indeed one of the most profound and learned lawyers I have ever come in contact with and one of the best men, highest ideals and transactions that I have ever known. . . . He was in no sense an orator but for clearness of statement and exact comprehension of the facts of a case and the Law applicable thereto I have never seen his superior.”²

Trigg and Judge Johnston thus began their legal partnership, working together on many important cases. Not ten months later, Johnston was elected U.S. senator, serving in this capacity until 1883.³ No doubt Johnston's duties left Trigg with more responsibilities while Congress was in session. He began to be trusted by others early on, as well: on September 28, 1870, the Washington County Court assigned Trigg to act in the place of the Commonwealth's Attorney Beverly R. Johnston in the case against Moses Freeman for grand larceny. Later that year, the court appointed him as commissioner in chancery for the County Court and so he was also commissioner of accounts. In 1872, Trigg and Senator Johnston set up their offices in a small building they had erected, which became known as the Johnston & Trigg Law Office. It is located on Court Street in Abingdon, across the street from the courthouse, and currently owned by the local historical society.⁴

¹Ibid., 28-29.

²Ibid., 29.

³Summers, History of Southwest Virginia, 765.

General Walker also formed a law partnership with an older and more established lawyer upon his return from the war. “A quiet, hard working man, Mr. [John B.] Baskerville was glad to leave the more aggressive end of the practice to his junior partner, and together they made a strong team.”¹ General Walker’s role in this team was to ride the circuit, while Mr. Baskerville did the office work. The courts of Carroll, Montgomery, and Wythe were General Walker’s usual destinations.² Perhaps Trigg and Johnston had the same arrangement.

Trigg’s marital partnership with Johnston’s daughter Louisa Bowen Johnston began on January 9, 1872, after a long, Victorian engagement of three years. The long engagement might also be attributed to the need for Trigg to feel more financially capable of supporting a family. The wedding took place at Eggleston, the Johnston home. Trigg’s family was Episcopalian, but Louisa’s family was Catholic. Though it appears that Trigg never converted, their wedding was a Catholic one, performed by Father William Sylvan. Also, Trigg and Louisa reared their children as Catholics. This presumably attests to the significant influence that Louisa and her family had over their children.³

Marriage at any time is a challenge; during this era, it was a feat. Trigg and Louisa now faced the situation of starting a family in a South that was frantically trying to come to terms with its involvement in, and the consequences of, the Civil War. To add to this, the 1870s and 1890s would be times of severe economic depression for the country, the effect of which Trigg and Louisa felt. Both of them came from families that had enjoyed a higher standard of living before the war than the average citizen. Though it does not seem that Trigg and Louisa lost their social status in the community, they

⁴Minute Book 18, September 28, 1870, p. 439, December 3, 1870, p. 501, WCC; Nanci C. King, *Places In Time, Volume One, Abingdon, Virginia 1778-1880* (Abingdon, Va.: Abingdon Printing Services, 1989), 58.

¹Caldwell, 155-56.

²Ibid., 161.

³Marriage Certificate for Daniel Trigg and Louisa Johnston, 9 January 1872, page 282, line 6, Commonwealth of Virginia, Department of Health, Division of Vital Records, Richmond, Va. Certified

certainly had to stretch each penny. To solve this problem, they became creative in making and saving money. Much of this was

due to Louisa's efforts. What helped them the most, however, was the network of kith and kin that they both had in Abingdon, which provided Trigg with clients and gave the couple a resource of relatives on whom they could draw support, physical and mental, when times were rough.

To understand fully Trigg's career, a backdrop needs to be painted. A discussion of different aspects of his family and community life will help in establishing this context.

Family Life

“Go to Housekeeping”

A common expression in the nineteenth century, ‘going to housekeeping’ was considered one of the milestones in life. The event marked the occasion when a young couple could live on their own, in their own house. Family and friends celebrated by giving the happy couple presents that they would need to ‘set up house’. Trigg and Louisa first lived with her parents at Eggleston and, for a time, in a hotel, but by the end of their first year of marriage, they were anticipating their move to the house Trigg's mother used to live in. The prospect of setting up their own house excited them both, though Louisa worried about finding a cook.¹ By February 11, 1873, they were finally ready and officially ‘went to housekeeping’. It was a big family occasion and excited all their cousins and other kin to give them things they would need to start them on their new life, for example, sets of china, flour, chickens, beef,

copy in possession of writer; W. R. Chitwood, M.D., Death & Marriage Notices From *The South-West Virginia Enterprise* April 17, 1870-December 28, 1881 (Wytheville, Va.: Kegley Books, 1984), 147.

¹Louisa J. Trigg to John F. McMullen, LS, 9 December 1872, McMullen Family Papers, Special Collections Department, Duke University Library, Durham, North Carolina. Repository hereinafter cited as McM, Duke University. Note: They have the letter filed under the year 1873.

and cutlery.¹ Their new surroundings, however, did not impress Louisa's mother. She thought them "humble and rather shabby . . . the forlornest miserable old trap of a house you ever saw. . .," but Trigg and Louisa seemed very pleased with their new place and busied themselves buying furniture at sales or entertaining their relatives or Trigg's colleagues with teas or dinners.² Not only did Louisa find a cook, a woman named Kizzie, but she also hired a woman named Eliza, who helped her with the housework and nursed little Nannie, their first child, who had been born in September. Both women helped Louisa wash the baby. Trigg and Louisa moved into the house too late in the winter, however, to secure enough coal, so they were rather cold until spring could come with its warm weather. For water, they walked over to their neighbor, John Barr, and drew from his well. Louisa also set out a rain barrel to catch water "for minor purposes."³ She stated that this was their greatest consideration living where they did.⁴

Trigg and Louisa lived in this house for several years, until they moved in late August of 1875 to the John W. Love House. This move was expedient, as their growing family needed the extra space, and it was also located behind Trigg's law office. They remodeled the house, added extra rooms, and made this their home for fifteen years. This house served their needs until 1891, when Trigg and Louisa bought Altamont, a house and farm that was located several miles east of Abingdon.⁵

¹Louisa J. Trigg to Lavalette J. McMullen, LS, 2 March [1873], McM, Duke University.

²Ibid.; Nicketti F. Johnston to Lavalette J. McMullen, LS, 16 February [1873], McM, Duke University. Note: They have Nicketti's letter filed under the year 1872.

³Louisa J. Trigg to Lavalette J. McMullen, LS, 2 March 1873, McM, Duke University.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Deed of Sale from John W. Johnston and Nicketti Johnston to Daniel and Louisa Trigg, 24 August 1875, Deed Book 32, p. 64, WCC.

Whatever their home, Trigg loved to entertain visitors. He also liked to sing songs with the family, and often the whole family would join in with him. One of his favorite songs was the hymn “There is a Fountain,” a powerful song of redemption and love.¹

Hard Times

Trigg and Louisa began their life together during a national depression, which never lifted in some areas of the South. Their life was an exercise in reconciling a familiar lifestyle with a much smaller income. At first, their attempt at this exercise did not go so well — they quickly fell into a debt of as much as \$3,000, presumably from buying on credit. By 1879, they had their spending under control and began “practising [sic] the strictest economy” for at least three years, buying nothing on credit except butter and meat, payable monthly.² Their motto became “pay or do without,” and it seemed to work.³ By 1882, they had paid off about \$1,300 of the debt. Until it could be paid off, however, the debt weighed on them and prevented them from leaving Abingdon, a move that they desperately wanted to make. It was a difficult situation — they could not move until they had paid off their debt, but they presumably wanted to move in order to better their fortunes. It did not take long for them to want to move out of Abingdon, for as early as 1881 Louisa’s mother mentioned in a letter that they “still talk of going away.”⁴ Places that interested them through the years were Lynchburg, Richmond and even Chile! They were intent on the latter move in 1886, perhaps to teach English at one of Chile’s National Military Colleges, since Trigg already knew Spanish from his days there when a young man. “With the telegraph & steam no place is

¹“Obsequies of Mr. Daniel Trigg,” *Abingdon Virginian*, from “Undated, Miscellaneous Clippings,” Bartlett S. Johnston Papers, UNC.

²Louisa J. Trigg to Lavalette J. McMullen, LS, 22 October 1882, McM, Duke University.

³Nicketti Floyd Johnston to Lavalette Johnston McMullen, LS, 21 January 1882, McM, Duke University.

⁴Nicketti Floyd Johnston to Lavalette Johnston McMullen, LS, 18 September 1881, McM, Duke University.

far these days & I think it would be advantagous [sic] to the children to go about into the world. I would like it.”¹ These schemes, however, went unrealized.

In comparison, General Walker had returned to his law practice after the war and was soon making a comfortable income. This, however, may have been because he had had a head start on Trigg. He had started practicing law before the war and had bought a house, which was almost paid for by the time he returned from fighting.² General Walker was often times paid for his services with goods, however. Cash was hard to come by.

From the letters written by the Triggs, it appears that by 1890 they were on solid ground, as evidenced by their purchase of Altamont. In addition to the purchase cost, the house needed extensive renovations. Trigg also built a new stable and cow house, and they increased their population of farm animals. The accounts in letters regarding their move to Altamont and their renovation and decoration of it speak of a family more comfortable economically. By then, Trigg was established in his career and “big cases” seemed to be the norm instead of the exception. Income from his cases, however, was erratic. His fees for a single case could be \$1,200, but he might not be able to collect it for years from his client; the presiding judge might be sick and miss several court sessions, thereby pushing Trigg’s cases back; or his big cases might not come up before the court adjourned for the year, and so they would have to wait until the following year for settlement. Doubtless this made budgeting difficult.

Louisa’s financial contributions, besides the obvious role as household manager, were many. One of the ways that she brought in extra money was by taking in boarders during the summer months. This became possible when they moved into the Love house, and Louisa lost no time in arranging for boarders during the first summer in their new house. This practice seems to have been consistent, for it is

¹Louisa J. Trigg to John W. Johnston, LS, 18 February 1886, John W. Johnston Family Papers, Special Collections Department, Duke University Library, Durham, North Carolina. Repository hereinafter cited as JWJ, Duke University.

²Caldwell, 139.

mentioned in letters throughout Louisa's life, even when they moved to Altamont. The necessity was certainly there, as Louisa reveals in a letter to her brother-in-law:

As we will have ice & a good supply of bacon I think it would be a good idea, it would help us so much these hard times. So if nothing unforeseen prevents I will try & get some boarders [summer of 1876]. With this view I wish you would look around & see what could be done for us in the way of dinner china. We would have to get something for the house & among others some dinner dishes. Do they ever sell as much as a whole set at action [*sic*]. I would not mind a few pieces being gone. I am very much interested in this scheme, for times are hard.¹

At some point, their parish priest, Father William Sylvan, boarded with them. During the summer of 1882, Louisa took on a Catholic family from New Orleans, numbering ten in all, and kept quite busy attending to them.²

Selling milk became another source of income for the family. During the spring of 1875, Louisa bought a cow for thirty-five dollars with her own money and so went into the dairy business in Abingdon — she sold a gallon of milk each day to the hotel, and when court was in session, she sold two gallons at twenty-five cents a gallon. When they moved to Altamont, they purchased many more cows. Also, Louisa and her sister Letty became adept in china painting and even sold some to a store in Richmond. Their success prompted them to seek a broader market for them.³ Louisa wrote to her brother-in-law in Maryland:

Letty & I have some plaques we want to sell. I sent a pair of opaque porcelain to Richmond & got eleven dollars for them, painted with flowers. The man said they were worth more, but Richmond was dull sale for such things, however I was perfectly delighted at that price, would have been with less. I have five more of ten inch porcelain plaques, Letty has one & two composition, that she painted with Mr. Mathews a Richmond Artist. The next time you go to Baltimore will you see how they could be disposed of. I suppose there must be some place where such things are disposed of on commission.⁴

¹Louisa J. Trigg to John F. McMullen, LS, 31 January 1876, McM, Duke University.

²Edythe Lang, "Villa Maria Academy of the Visitation," (Abingdon, Va.: Abingdon Graphics Inc., 1978), 3; Nicketti F. Johnston to John F. McMullen, LS, 14 July 1882, McM, Duke University.

³Louisa J. Trigg to Lavalette J. McMullen, LS, 3 May 1875, McM, Duke University.

Soon Trigg and Louisa set up their own kiln, and Trigg kept his eyes open for china painting books for Louisa whenever he visited other cities. The freedom of earning her own money must have been liberating for Louisa. She wrote to her sister Lavalette that after she paid off a couple of her debts with her new income, she wanted to “fix up a little” and buy things for the house. “Whatever I do get here after except my plainest every day things I am going to get fine.”¹ Living in Abingdon, however, meant that Trigg and Louisa would have to send money to relatives living in cities and ask them to purchase what they wanted, or send the money by a relative who was visiting a city. Their letters, therefore, are a great source for discerning their spending habits, tastes and furnishings.

Outside their family sphere, fellow citizens coped with the situation in varied ways, some of them overcoming psychological blocks — this from a letter in 1887 that Louisa wrote to her niece:

Aunt Rachel sold her bob tailed cow this spring so the “fear of enemies is removed & the times have be come peaceful” It certainly makes a vast difference in our living, instead of rice & hominy all through the summer as usual we have nice fresh vegetables.¹

One family, distant cousins of Trigg’s, illustrates the hardships that some families faced due to the economic times and how family ties could make the difference. Walter Branch’s family had a hard time in Abingdon and had gotten so poor that they had hardly anything to eat and no clothes except what people had given them. Some of their cousins had moved out to Oregon and subsequently invited the Branch family to join them, assuring them that they could make a living there. Before this family could join the swelling ranks of others seeking better fortunes in the ‘Wild West,’ they had to have the money to make this arduous journey. Therefore, the near and distant relatives in Abingdon banded together to raise a subscription to enable the Branch family to move, and some were very generous. The contrasts in lifestyle that existed between the Branch family and the other kin point out the economic and social

⁴Louisa J. Trigg to John F. McMullen, LS, 17 January 1884, McM, Duke University.

¹Louisa J. Trigg to Lavalette J. McMullen, LS, 3 May 1875, McM, Duke University.

disparities that existed — Trigg had been wanting to buy a punch bowl and Louisa wrote to a sister, “Poor Trigg had to borrow his part [of the subscription] & so cant get his punch bowl. [The Branchs] are going in an emigrants car, it will take 8 days & nights. I certainly feel sorry for them with those children & one of them a poor little idiotic dwarf.”²

“Confinement”

An old expression for childbirth, ‘confinement’ was a routine occurrence but not a routine experience for a nineteenth-century woman. Death of the mother, or child, or both, was a real fear each time a woman’s period of confinement began. However, the average mother gave birth to a large number of children during her lifetime. Throughout the years, Trigg’s and Louisa’s family continued to grow. Two of Louisa’s sisters, Sally Johnston Lee and Lavalette Johnston McMullen, were having children at the same time. This provided a ripe situation for the families to tease each other in a rather harmless competition about their respective children: Nannie Trigg as a baby had hardly any hair compared to her cousin Mary McMullen of the same age, and so forth. In a letter to Lavalette in 1875, Louisa said, “My John can sit alone & has been doing it for some time, he is very pretty[,] smart and affectionate. Henry Lee [Louisa’s brother-in-law] says he is not near as fine a child as John F [Lavalette’s son born just after John Trigg]. Dan will never forgive him for it & calls John now ‘the boy that plays second fiddle.’”³

However, as time wore on, Louisa’s pregnancies became more difficult, and the survival rate of her newborns dropped severely. In all, she had nine documented children, of which six survived their first years of life. It seems from their letters, however, that another, unnamed baby was born around 1885 but did not survive for very long. In addition, Louisa’s pregnancies never lasted the full term — 7 1/2 months

¹Louisa J. Trigg to Mary F. McMullen, LS, 25 July 1887, McM, Duke University.

²Louisa J. Trigg to Lavalette J. McMullen, LS, 30 April 1889, McM, Duke University.

³Louisa J. Trigg to Lavalette J. McMullen, LS, 3 May 1875, McM, Duke University. Henry Carter Lee was the husband of Louisa’s sister, Sally Buchanan Johnston. Henry was the son of Ann Maria Mason and Sydney Smith Lee, Gen. Robert E. Lee’s older brother.

seemed to be her limit. Her doctors told her that she did not have the physical strength to go the full term. Often she hired a nursemaid to take care of her newborns and nurse them.

The ones who did survive were relatively healthy for nineteenth-century children. Like other children of their time, they battled croup, scarlet fever, mumps, whooping cough and other childhood diseases. Sometimes these diseases came as a wave through the small town and claimed several small victims at a time. The whole family, though, had “faith in the waters,” and from time to time they would travel to various springs for relief of their ailments, mainly to Mongles’, eight miles north of Abingdon.

Trigg and Louisa’s first experience with the death of a child illustrates how harrowing and draining these episodes of illness can be for a family living in a remote area. Soon after Louisa gave birth to her fourth child, Nicketti Floyd, on January 27, 1879, tragedy followed. A very violent spell of whooping cough came through Abingdon and claimed some young children in the town, including the Triggs’ newborn, two-month-old Nicketti, who died on March 5, the first of their children to die. As is the irony of life, this all happened after Louisa’s mother left Abingdon and went to Baltimore to be with Louisa’s sister Lavalette during her confinement. She gave birth to a son on the seventeenth of March. “Mother writes me that the new baby¹ is a perfect beauty. I long to see him. Kiss him for me & tell him how welcome he is. I would like to give him a good hug myself. I could feel for the minute as if I had my own little baby back again,” Louisa wrote her sister in April.²

The same week the new cousin was born, Trigg and Louisa’s oldest child Nannie also caught whooping cough, and this time her illness seemed more serious than several winters before when she gave them a scare by coming down with croup and scarlet fever simultaneously. A week passed for the

¹Joseph Benjamin McMullen, Lavalette and John F. McMullen’s fifth child.

²Family Bible Record of Daniel Trigg of Abingdon, Washington Co., Va. The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments: Translated out of the Original Tongues, and with the Former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised, (Philadelphia, Pa.: Alexander Tower, 1833), current owner unknown. Photocopy of original in possession of writer; Louisa J. Trigg to Lavalette J. McMullen, LS, 18 April 1879, McM, Duke University.

distraught family, and then on the night of the twenty-fourth, when it looked as if Nannie was near death, Trigg telegraphed Dr. George Ben Johnston, Louisa's brother who practiced medicine in Richmond, to come and take over from the local doctor. Word reached the Trigg's that Dr. Johnston would be able to reach Abingdon the next evening. The next day, the twenty-fifth, proved to be a roller coaster ride. "I was hopeless [sic] about her, but. . .the Sisters commenced a novena¹ to Our Lady of Lourdes & I gave her some water & Sally said a thousand Hail Marys. She grew better and has steadily improved ever since. I had thought in the morning that she would not last until Ben [Dr. Johnston] could reach her."² To add to this, their son Daniel came down with measles in April.³

The following letter, written to Louisa's mother just before the death of Louisa's father, is a good illustration of the Triggs' life with their children:

Monday [7 January 1889?]

Dearest Mother —

I was so uneasy to hear Father was sick but suppose he must be better or maybe even well as none of you have written since.

Yesterday was Miriams⁴ [ninth] birthday, she had a grand time. I had saved the cake Fr. Murray gave me for her & we had a turkey[.] I gave her my little gold sleeve buttons with "L" on them & she was as happy as a green, has donned the buttons already. Ann Eliza⁵ left for Texas yesterday morning. Dr. Fields came up to see his Mother Mrs. Witten & took seven back with him, paid their expenses & offered them good wages. Three voters gone to Dans delight. Little Jim White is very ill, the kin gathered in last night to see Jim die & the doctors stayed with him all night, this morning he is a little better. Only took sick Friday. Was at school Thursday. The colored man at Tom Whites is sick also & Friday when Dr [George E.] Wiley went to see him Tom remarked that Jim had just gone to bed & he

¹In the Roman Catholic Church, a novena is technically a nine-days devotion. Casually, a novena, or "flying" novena is a prayer said for something special.

²Louisa J. Trigg to Lavalette J. McMullen, LS, 18 April 1879, McM, Duke University.

³Ibid. Letitia Floyd Johnston to Nicketti F. Johnston, LS, 25 March 1879, JWJ, Duke University.

⁴Miriam Hartford Trigg, their fifth child, born 6 January 1880.

⁵Ann Eliza Hickman Campbell, wife of Frank S. Campbell, who is the son of Edward Campbell and Rhoda Trigg. Frank is the first cousin of Trigg's father.

would like the Dr to see him, as soon as the Dr saw him he asked for a consulting physician & they have been working over him ever since[.] Most of the time he is delirious in fact all the time. I cant find out what is the matter. I am much troubled about him. Daniels health is better, he has a good appetite most of the time & looks more like himself. I have Arthur Crafts wife cooking she is middle aged & very agreeable a sister of Adam Simmons[,] Maria & her daughters assured me she was a “perfect lady.”

Little Dan¹ has a chicken craze[,] his great ambition now is to make a pair of gages² for my rooster out of boot hooks & carries a pair in his pocket for that purpose. Says the advantage is that when “our rooster spins the other it will hold him fast for ours to whip & he will never get loose until death comes to release him.” I wish you would ask Coralie³ what I am to ask for her dress. I want to send it out as soon as I find out. [My nursemaid] Jinnie has left. Her milk was beginning to fail she said, but Ann Eliza said her kin said my rooms were too open for her baby. The baby⁴ is doing very well however if it only continues.

When will Joe⁵ get out? I am getting quite impatient to see him — today is his day to go to Washington. So I suppose I may expect him some time soon.

Mr. Greenway⁶ had a very bad spell a night or two ago & has not been quite so well since.

I had to give the tin[?] water set to Ben[,]⁷ when the box was unpacked he said he would give his “dolls & everything he had & the big clock & the secretary & some of the pictures” for it so I had to give it to him & it is his & Evelyns⁸ dearest treasure.

With love to all —

Your devoted child

L. J. Trigg—⁹

The children all attended school, although they went to different ones. Nannie, and later Miriam, attended Villa Maria Academy of the Visitation, a local convent school founded by Louisa’s father in

¹Daniel Trigg, their third child, born 4 May 1877.

²Artificial “claws” for the battling roosters.

³Coralie Henry Johnston, Louisa’s youngest sister.

⁴Their ninth child, Anna Munford Trigg, born 21 October 1888 and died 5 January 1890.

⁵Most likely refers to her brother, Joseph Beverly Johnston.

⁶May refer to James C. Greenway, Louisa’s brother-in-law, wife of Nannie Byrd Trigg. He died 30 April 1890 at 65 years of age.

⁷George Ben Johnston Trigg, their seventh child, born 19 March 1884.

⁸Evelyn Byrd Trigg, their sixth child, born 20 January 1882.

⁹Louisa J. Trigg to Nicketti F. Johnston, LS, [7 January 1889?], JWJ, Duke University. Note:

1867. Nannie later attended art school in New York City, and Miriam went to a school in Richmond. Their second child, John Warfield Johnston Trigg, got his early education alternately between the Abingdon Male Academy, where his father was the president of the board of trustees, and Cave City Public School. Then in the early 1890s, he attended Rock Hill College in Maryland. Their son Daniel's education seems to have been more erratic. He was apparently a sickly child, and Louisa was reluctant to send him to school. For a while, whenever his health would permit and Father Murray, their priest, was in town, Daniel went to him for instruction. Later, in 1888, Daniel was finally allowed to attend Cave City Public School —

“[Daniel] is delighted can make letters & figures right well we did not want to send him but he begged & pestered so that we let him go with John. . . .”¹ Daniel later studied in his father's law office, but then pursued medicine. Evelyn attended Villa Maria with her sister Nannie, and Ben went to the public school, presumably Cave City Public School, and later in the late 90s to the Abingdon Male Academy.

The topic of this section, ‘Confinement,’ can also serve as a metaphor for women in late Victorian society. Louisa not only had to deal with bearing and rearing children and the stress of keeping house, even with her servants, she also had to subscribe to the strictures that society had set for her in this Victorian era. She had been a lively, tomboyish child who now had to conform. In the first years of their marriage, her mother claimed in a letter to another of her daughters that Louisa is “the most equible [sic] tempered woman you will meet with in a days journey, you would hardly know her for the stormy petrel she used to be. . . .”² However, that summer Louisa complained to the same sister about her own awful disposition, as she saw it, and her relationship with Trigg's mother: “Today nothing is the matter except my own dreadful temper. . . . Ma [Trigg's mother] came yesterday to stay a while, & Lava I am so mean I stay mad all the time & cant help it. Now she is a good Mother in law after her way, but it is just a

this letter is in the “no dates” folder.

¹Louisa J. Trigg to Lavalette J. McMullen, LS, 7 March 1888, McM, Duke University.

²Nicketti F. Johnston to Lavalette J. McMullen, LS, 24 May 1873, McM, Duke University.

never ending fault finding with the servants until I am almost beside myself — some day I'll take to the woods — burn this letter up.”¹

Perhaps this strict role she had to play caused a psychosomatic reaction — she always seemed to be ailing, but her most common and long-lasting illness was neuralgia,² or ‘jerking spells’, and at times sciatica.³ As further evidence, she always felt better when she visited her relatives in other towns, or even

when she went across town and spent a day with her sister-in-law Pocahontas R. Trigg, wife of Connally Trigg, on their farm Somerset; perhaps the lifting of the mantle of responsibility or the change of environment was beneficial to her. Sometimes these jerking spells were so severe they would incapacitate her for several weeks. In 1885, she began taking nitro muriatic acid for relief, and it seemed to help for a while. Perhaps this was the reason that at various times many of their children lived with other members of the family, evidence again of the value of a tight family network. Their oldest child, Nannie Greenway Trigg, lived most of the time with Trigg’s sister, Nannie Trigg Greenway, and her husband James. Miriam became an “adopted child” of Mrs. John A. Campbell, and when Louisa’s parents were still living in Abingdon, half of the children would sometimes stay out there during the summer months.⁴

Louisa’s illness was very frustrating for one who was always involved in everything and so active. “Now I deplore my feebleness that makes me almost helpless when I might other wise accomplish so much. But I am not hopeless yet. My heart will have to be cold before I am, for as long as it beats hope is there,” revealed Louisa in a letter to her father in 1886.⁵ In another letter to her sister Lavalette,

¹Louisa J. Trigg to Lavalette J. McMullen, LS, 5 July 1873, McM, Duke University.

²A paroxysmal pain along the nerve.

³A chronic neuralgic pain in the hip.

⁴Louisa J. Trigg to Lavalette J. McMullen, LS, 28 February 1885, McM, Duke University.

⁵Louisa J. Trigg to John W. Johnston, LS, 18 February 1886, JWJ, Duke University.

she lamented, “I am sick all the time, it is as much as I can do to drag myself about the house & that even with the help of lying down half the time. I do not know what on earth ails me — I tremble like a leaf nearly all the time. . . . Sister sent up for me & Dan to eat dinner with her we went & the visit made me dreadfully sick I took dizzy when I got home & commenced throwing up & continued it for twenty four hours.”¹ Her attacks became terribly consistent by the mid to late 1880s, sometimes coming like clockwork every two weeks. Combined with her difficult pregnancies, they sometimes drove her to despair, and even to morbid thoughts of her own death. One of her worst attacks came in 1892, after they had moved into Altamont: she had neuralgia of the stomach that also affected her head and back. Her mother wrote, “she says she never felt such suffering in all her experience of pain, last night she had another spell, . . . bad enough to scare Dan well, she is in bed today, & suffering from the effects of morphine. . . .”²

Louisa’s suffering culminated in 1895 when she became worse in January. They hired a Miss Forman, a graduate of Johns Hopkins Hospital, to try to treat her severe illness, but her skillful, personal treatment did not seem to make Louisa better. Then, suddenly, their daughter Miriam, like her aunt of the same name, died while still a young girl. She had become abruptly ill on the second of October 1895, and the family summoned Dr. George Ben Johnston, Louisa’s brother living in Richmond, to attend to her. She grew worse and died on October 4, 1895, at the age of fifteen, before Dr. Johnston could arrive. It was a tragic loss. Trigg wrote in the family bible, “my precious lovely child fell asleep.”³

This loss must have been the final blow to Louisa — she had already lost three children before they could talk, now she lost one that had grown to a teenager. Louisa still suffered from her illness, and so in November she went to her brother Dr. Johnston in Richmond. She stayed there for a month under

¹Louisa J. Trigg to Lavalette J. McMullen, LS, 12 April 1889, McM, Duke University.

²Nicketti F. Johnston to Lavalette J. McMullen, LS, 11 August 1892, McM, Duke University.

³“Death of Miss Miriam Trigg,” Abingdon Virginian, 4 October 1895, p.3; Abingdon Virginian, 18 January 1895, 25 January 1895, 11 October 1895, p.3, VHS; James Knox Trigg, Trigg History, 660.

his care, hoping to be cured. She died, however, in Richmond on December 16, 1895. "Mrs. Trigg was held in loving esteem by all the people. She gave an unostentatious and generous charity to every appeal that was made to her for help," stated a local newspaper. ¹

His Children Mature

A much more pleasant turn of events occurred for the family two years later in 1897. Nannie, it seems, had been courting a young Philadelphian for at least two years. Then, on December 14, 1897, Nannie married her beau, twenty-eight-year-old Benjamin Franklin Bache, son of Charles M. H. M. and Henrietta Ellicott Bache. It is interesting that Franklin's uncle attended the U.S. Naval Academy at the same time as Trigg and stayed with the Union, and that Daniel Carroll, the classmate of Trigg's who died at Chaffin's Bluff while Trigg ministered him, was a first cousin of Franklin's mother. The wedding was a beautiful, elegant, afternoon affair at Altamont. After the 3:00 P.M. wedding, there was a reception, and then the newlyweds were off on their honeymoon in a private car on the eastbound train for Philadelphia. This was also a happy reunion for Trigg. His old roommate from Annapolis, Silas W. Terry, who had joined the U.S. Navy during the Civil War, had come out to Abingdon for the wedding to "testify his friendship for his old room-mate at Annapolis. . . ." ²

Though this was a happy occasion, it marked the beginning of the exodus of Trigg's children from Abingdon. One of the next to leave was his first son John; he moved to California in early 1897. Another to leave, though only for the time being, was Evelyn. She went to Richmond sometime around 1899, presumably to further her studies. She apparently lived with her grandmother Johnston, for Mrs. Johnston writes: "Evelyn is well, is cheerful & content, but gets very homesick now and then, she works

¹"Death of Mrs. Daniel Trigg," *Abingdon Virginian*, 20 December 1895, p.3, VHS.

²Marriage Book 1, WCC, p. 56. This source says December 15. Benjamin Franklin Bache was a direct descendant of Benjamin Franklin; James Knox Trigg, *Trigg History*, 673. Quote from a newspaper

hard & has improved in every way since she came. I never saw a more industrious, persevering and conscientious [sic] child than she is. Dan has been very prompt to meet her expenses. . . .”¹ At about this same time, Daniel, who had been studying law in Trigg’s law office, decided to pursue the study of medicine. With this in mind, he entered the Medical College of Virginia and graduated from there in 1903.

With all of his children leaving the nest, Trigg was certainly getting lonely. In 1899, he wrote to his mother-in-law, Mrs. Johnston, and asked her to come for a visit: “He is urgent for Coralie & myself to come out early this spring, & wrote as tho he rather expected you to go out & take the house for summer boarders. . . . I feel sorry for Dan. . . .”² Trigg did get his visit though, but it was not until September, it seems. His mother-in-law, his sister-in-law Lavalette, and some of her children, as well as a friend of the Johnston family, Margaret Ann “Daisy” O’Donoghue, came out to Altamont for a visit that appears to have lasted for almost two months; it coincided, however, with several cases that Trigg was representing, and so he did not see them much during the day. At nights, however, they gathered around a small table and talked, and Lavalette wrote that the weather was beautiful and that “Daisy is seldom in the house, she walks about the place or sits on the porch, and every day gets a drive.” Trigg hunted the birds in the area with his setter and his nephew Dysart, for they ate some for supper one night.³

It was on this visit, apparently, that Trigg met Daisy for the first time and proposed marriage to her, for fifty-six-year-old Trigg surprised everyone in the family by marrying thirty-year-old Margaret Ann “Daisy” O’Donoghue only months after this visit. She was a first generation Irish woman, born in New York, and they married on Christmas Day, 1899. What caused Trigg, the quintessential nineteenth-century family man, to marry this woman and thereby court gossip and disaster? Was it the years of

clipping, George Harris Sargeant Personal Collection, Norfolk, Va.

¹Nicketti Floyd Johnston to Lavalette J. McMullen, LS, 16 March 1899, McM, Duke University.

²Ibid.

³Lavalette J. McMullen to son, LS, 4 October 1899, McM, Duke University; Lavalette J. McMullen to son, LS, 26 October 1899, McM, Duke University.

loneliness that weighed on him and begged to be alleviated? Or was it the old romantic adventurer buried within that enabled him — enticed him — to flout convention and spontaneously marry a woman twenty-six years his junior and a Northerner to boot?¹

Apparently, Daisy's stepchildren did not like her. This fact proved to have unhappy results. Trigg, who loved family, ended up seeing his own family move away from him. As soon as each one could leave Abingdon, he or she did. By the first decade of the new century, the only two children left living at home were Evelyn and Ben. It may not have been all Daisy's fault, for times had changed and career opportunities for Trigg's children were somewhat limited in Abingdon; one had to be either a lawyer or a small-town doctor. Abingdon was too small to hold the interests of young people in a century of new ideas and new opportunities. Daisy did prevent at least one of his children from ever visiting Abingdon again, however, while she still lived there. This surely affected Trigg.²

It seems, however, that the family members from Trigg's generation approved of the marriage, though it did take them completely by surprise. Lavalette, a sister of Louisa, Trigg's first wife, wrote: "[Clara, Daisy's sister] said Daisy was very happy and contented. I think Clara is as much astonished over the engagement as we are."³ The wedding was to take place at the home of Louisa's sister in Maryland, but then Trigg's brother invited them to be married at his house, and then another friend insisted on his house as the site. Therefore, Trigg and Daisy decided to have a closed wedding, with no guests, at the parsonage, to avoid offending anyone with the choice of the marriage site.⁴

¹Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 30.

²Evelyn, apparently, would never visit Abingdon, though she dearly missed her mountain home and her father. Related to me by her granddaughter, Elizabeth Francis, summer of 1991, Norfolk, Va. 1900 U. S. Census, Washington County, Va., sheet 13, enumeration district 105, house no. 233, National Archives Microfilm T-623, Roll 1731.

³Lavalette J. McMullen to Mary McMullen, LS, 5 December 1899, McM, Duke University.

⁴Letitia McMullen to Mary McMullen, LS, 11 December 1899, McM, Duke University; John F. McMullen to Mary McMullen, LS, 12 December 1899, McM, Duke University.

Meanwhile, Trigg's children continued to mature. His eldest son John moved from California to Midland, Sebastian County, Arkansas, near where Trigg's daughter Nannie and her new husband lived in Fort Smith. Franklin was the secretary and treasurer for the Denman Coal Company in Burma, Arkansas. John may have worked as a cashier for Franklin's coal company at this time, because in the 1910 U.S. Census his occupation is noted as cashier in the coal office. Then, without telling anyone, John married eighteen-year-old Annie Dunn, of Missouri, on February 26, 1906. Nannie and Franklin telephoned the new couple to come and visit them at their place, and the sister was won over. By now, Nannie and Franklin had had four children: Franklin Bache, Jr., Daniel Trigg Bache, Charles Bache and Louisa Johnston Bache. In 1908, they had their fifth and last child, Henrietta Ellicott Bache. John and his new wife, Annie, lost no time starting their family, and Louisa Johnston Trigg was born that year.¹

After Trigg's son Daniel received his medical degree, he established his practice in Johnson City, Tennessee, and married widower Mrs. Helen Hancock Dillinger on October 28, 1908. Helen, a native of Texas, was about twenty-five years old when they married. She brought two children with her from her previous marriage: Richard, age four; and Dorothy, age three.²

Robert Morton Hughes, a lawyer in Norfolk, was a cousin of the Trigg family and became good friends with Trigg's daughter Evelyn. He introduced Evelyn to his friend George Harris Sargeant of Norfolk, Virginia, known familiarly as "Cuss." The match worked and on September 15, 1908, they

¹Abingdon Weekly Virginian, 15 April 1897, "Southwest Virginia Newspapers," UVA, Reel 4; 1910 U. S. Census, Sebastian County, Ar., enumeration district 140, family no. 86, dwelling no. 85, National Archives Microfilm T-624, Roll 65; John W. J. Trigg to Nicketti F. Johnston, LS, 27 February 1906, JWJ, Duke University — Franklin's position on letterhead; Nannie T. Bache to Nicketti F. Johnston, LS, [28 February 1906], JWJ, Duke University; Bible of Daniel Trigg, The Holy Bible.

²Dr. Daniel Trigg, "Dr. Daniel Trigg 1808-1853: A Sketch," Ms, George Harris Sargeant Personal Collection, Norfolk, Va.; Bible of Daniel Trigg, The Holy Bible; 1910 U. S. Census, Washington County, Tn. (Johnson City), enumeration district 201, dwelling no. 405, National Archives Microfilm T-624, Roll 1524.

married.¹ On July 14, 1909, this couple had their first child, Daniel Trigg Sargeant, and Robert Hughes was delighted with the new baby:

The baby is a fine one so far as I am any judge. It is the only baby under the thinking age that I have ever taken any interest in. But I am right on the job with this one! It is to be baptized Daniel Trigg Sargeant. . . E[velyn] is the happiest thing you ever saw, and of course Cuss is a perfect idiot of a father. He likes to be around on the streets where he meets people to say something to him about the son. I have always had my own ideas about the raising of children and I propose to carry some of them into effect by virtue of having a finger in the pie with little Cuss.²

The last of the children to go was Trigg's youngest son Ben. He had attended Mount St. Mary's in Baltimore and the University of Virginia. Now he was living in Mobile, Alabama, working as secretary to the president of the Mobile & Ohio Railroad. There he met his future wife, Fidelis Isabel McKeon, but they did not marry until after Trigg's death.³

Now that Trigg's personal life has been outlined, his public life can be examined.

Politics

The era in which Trigg and General Walker lived and worked was one of short-fused politics. The convulsions wrought on society by the Civil War left a wound that was slow to heal; its consequences are still felt today. In their time, however, the effects were more immediate and emotional, since every adult had been involved in the war in some manner. These effects were also more heightened in the South than anywhere else — their land was the land that had been used for most of the battles, and

¹Bible of Daniel Trigg, The Holy Bible.

²Robert M. Hughes to "Aunt Estelle," LS, 19 July 1909, George Harris Sargeant Personal Collection, Norfolk, Va.

³They were married on January 10, 1911, two years after Trigg's death.

their people were the ones who had been the losers. The effect devastated the general populace physically, emotionally, and economically.

In many areas of the South, politics acted as the all-purpose outlet. Emotions ran high in political campaigns and at election time — violence was not unusual, and newspaper editors and local politicians seemed to be particular targets. By this time, however, the *code duello*, a relic of the Old Order, had gradually given way to the phenomenon of ‘shooting-on-sight’. This new custom did not bypass Abingdon and neither did heated politics.¹

Trigg’s participation in the dangerous sphere of politics developed slowly; initially, he involved himself vicariously through his father-in-law and law partner, Senator Johnston.² Trigg also began to involve himself in his community by taking on various civic duties — he was made county superintendent in 1872; he was made a member of the Board of Trustees of the Abingdon Male Academy in 1875 (from 1878 until his death, he served as its president); and, as early as 1874, was elected to the Abingdon town council, which office he apparently held at other times. But before he could expand his political options, Trigg had to have his disabilities removed.³

Pres. Andrew Johnson proved not to be very tough on the South, as most had feared he would. He granted amnesty to those who had participated in “the rebellion” as long as they took an oath to the U.S. Constitution, but high ranking Confederate officers, persons who resigned from the U.S. Army or Navy to join the Confederacy, or who had been educated at U.S. military or naval academies, and others

¹C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South 1877 - 1913* (Louisiana State University Press and The Littlefield Fund for Southern History, The University of Texas, 1987), 160.

²For letters written between them discussing Sen. Johnston’s re-election, see Appendix One, p. 168.

³*Abingdon Virginian*, 4 October 1872, UVA, Reel 3; Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 30; John Frederick Dorman, *The Prestons of Smithfield and Greenfield in Virginia: Descendants of John and Elizabeth (Patton) Preston Through Five Generations* (Louisville, Ky.: General Printing Co., 1982), 300-1; *History of Virginia*, (Chicago: The American Historical Society, 1924), 6:647; Summers, *History of Southwest Virginia*, 884; “Abstracts of Votes 1870-1899” Drawer, WCC.

in particular circumstances, were excepted. However, a petition to the president might gain the petitioner clemency. General Lee set an example by applying to the president in June of 1865, and General Walker followed suit in July. They were among the 15,000 Southerners who applied to the president by 1866.¹ Here is a stanza from Trigg's poem written most likely during the Christmas of 1866, which expresses the thoughts shared by most white Southerners:

If the Yankees are hateful
 We've come[?] to be grateful
 And loud praises resound from each mouth
 For old Andy stands fast
 And is true to the last
 To the down trodden men of the South²

Section Three of the Fourteenth Amendment, ratified on July 9, 1868, now made the process to have one's disabilities removed more difficult. The clause denied anyone the right to hold national and state office who had taken the oath to the U.S. Constitution and subsequently fought for the Confederacy. Disqualified persons now had to receive a two-thirds majority vote in Congress to remove their disabilities.

In Trigg's case, this difficulty was soon rectified. The Forty-Third Congress, First Session, passed U. S. Senate Bill No. 130 on December 9, 1873. This shortly worded bill removed the disabilities of Trigg and three others, which they incurred for participating "in the rebellion." Senator Johnston had entered it into the Senate for consideration.³ On the back of the original, which Trigg's grandson-in-law, Henry Stuart Newbold Castle, possesses, the following was written:

¹Long, 691; Eric Foner, A Short History of Reconstruction 1863-1877 (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1990), 82-89; Caldwell, 147.

²Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Poem].

³U. S. Congress, Senate, A Bill to Remove the Disabilities of Thomas S. Bocock, E.J. Harvie, and Daniel Trigg, of Virginia: and John H. Reagan, of Texas, S. 130, 43rd Cong., 1st sess., 1873, TD [photocopy], H. Stuart N. Castle Personal Collection, Santa Fe, NM.

My Dear Dan,

I have just got this bill through the Senate.

Love to all

Yours truly

John W. Johnston.¹

It is another example of family connections furthering Trigg's career. Now he could participate in politics,

though at the end of his life he avowed that he stayed away from all but local politics.² This was not true.

It was politics surely that led to the altercation between Daniel Trigg, his brother Connally, Joseph

Trigg Campbell,³ and George Victor Litchfield, current mayor of Abingdon,⁴ on one side, and John Calhoun Summers, Henry S. Preston, and Abram Fulkerson, all lawyers, on the other, on May 22, 1874, the year that Trigg ran for the Abingdon Town Council and Victor Litchfield was running for reelection as mayor against John G. Clark. The election was only six days away. Members of the Grand Jury found that John C. Summers "in and upon one Daniel Trigg an Assault did make and him the said Daniel Trigg

¹Ibid.

²Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 30.

³Son of Edward Campbell and Rhoda Trigg. Rhoda was Trigg's great aunt. Joseph was an older attorney in Abingdon, qualifying in 1849, and had served as commonwealth's attorney.

⁴Victor and his brother Connally, sons of George V. Litchfield, Sr., were good friends of Trigg and Louisa. In fact, they had grown up at "Panacella" the old home built by Peter Johnston, Louisa's great, grandfather. Lewis Thomson Cosby, "Remembrances of Abingdon," The Historical Society of

did then and there unlawfully beat wound & ill treat and other wrongs to him then and there did to the great damage of him the said Daniel Trigg” and found the same thing against Trigg and Connally. Witnesses called by the Grand Jury were John A. Campbell (Trigg’s ‘uncle’ who was also running for election to the town council) and Lewis Thomson Cosby, local attorney. Trigg, Mr. Campbell, Mr. Litchfield, Mr. Summers, Mr. Preston, and Mr. Fulkerson were indebted to the Commonwealth for five hundred dollars, which would not be collected if none of them attacked the other for six months. However, the Trigg brothers and Mr. Summers were fined ten dollars for contempt of court. It seems that the fight was mainly between Trigg and Mr. Summers. Trigg ended up winning his seat, but Mr. Litchfield lost to Mr. Clark. At this time, Mr. Fulkerson was in the middle of serving his second term in the Virginia House of Delegates and was an outspoken opponent of the recently passed Funding Bill.¹

The Funders and the Readjusters

Three years later, Trigg tested the political waters in 1877 for the first time when he ran against Mr. Fulkerson for the State Senate. During this period in Virginia politics, the issue of readjustment of Virginia’s war debt raged. The Readjuster movement, as it came to be known, was a reaction to the ‘Funders’ of the Conservative Party in power in Virginia. The Funders secured passage of the Funding Act in 1871, a legacy of Gov. Gilbert C. Walker’s administration. This act set up an unrealistic schedule to pay back the state’s bondholders. Based on an overly optimistic estimate of state income, this schedule essentially tied the Funder’s hands behind their backs; they had to run a government on a very tight budget and often could not pay its due to public schools and other institutions, because the state never earned enough to pay even the basic costs of governing itself. The Funders felt that the issue was a matter

Washington County, Virginia, Series II, No. 9 (July 1971), 28-29.

¹Box 773, Law Causes Ended October 1874, WCC; Law Orders Book F, p. 272, 277, WCC; Drawer “Abstract of Votes 1870-1899,” WCC; Leonard, 515, 519; William C. Pendleton, Political History of Appalachian Virginia (Dayton, Va.: The Shenandoah Press, 1927), 315.

of Virginia's honor to pay back what it owed. Also, later Funders were under the impression that the act was irreversible — that they were forced to live with it because of the actions of an earlier legislature. By 1877, the issue came to the fore in the elections of that year, and by 1879, the Readjusters had effectually ousted the Funders in the struggle for control of the Democratic Party in Virginia. The uncontested leader of this new party was William Mahone, the self-made railroad magnate who had lost his railroads in the struggle for control of the region. In 1881, the Virginia State Legislature elected Mr. Mahone to the U.S. Senate, and by then, his party had become a machine and he its boss. Senator Johnston was an outspoken Funder, which inevitably cost him his senatorial seat in 1883.¹ Johnston wrote: "I advocated [in a speech circulated in the U.S. and England] the debt paying side of the question and insisted that the state was bound in law and morals to pay the debt in full or settle at a lower rate on terms acceptable to the creditor."²

Trigg's race against Fulkerson took place just when this debate raged — 1877. General Walker's biographer writes about this time:

Debate became acrimonious, invective and arraignment flew about, church congregations split and neighbors ceased to speak to each other, until the debt question threatened to cause a state feud in neighborhoods more disastrous to social amenity and community cooperation than the strain induced by the sorrows and deprivations of war.³

Fulkerson was a zealous follower of Mahone at this time and he tried to paint Trigg as a Funder. The local papers followed the debate closely. The *Abingdon Standard*, an organ of the Conservative Party, naturally threw their support behind Trigg and gave much exposure to his views on the subject. Trigg's platform was of the regular Conservative stripe of the time, with these exceptions: he was willing to find

¹Jack P. Maddex, Jr., *The Virginia Conservatives 1867-1879* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1970), 95-99, 218-232, 256; Woodward, 96-98; Sen. John W. Johnston, [The Johnston, Preston, Floyd and Bowen Families], TMs [photocopy], Angela Trigg Personal Collection, Atlanta, Ga., 40.

²Johnston, 40.

³Caldwell, 171.

an ‘honorable’ compromise with the bondholders to scale down the debt; he believed the railroad companies should be taxed; and he supported the public school system and opposed the practice of withholding its appropriations to fund government operations. Otherwise his stance followed the party line — he stressed his belief that the government’s expenses could be heavily reduced, otherwise known as ‘retrenchment’; and he supported the outcomes of his party’s conventions. On the stump he stated repeatedly that he opposed the Funding Bill and would never have supported it had he been in office at the time and gave one example after another of government excess with very exact figures. He also pointed out that Fulkerson helped to give away the state’s six million dollar interest in its railroads, a valuable asset which Virginia now no longer had.¹ A correspondent with the *The (Abingdon) Standard* from Lynchburg had this to say about Trigg: “[He is] one of the most promising young men I know in your county, and should he be elected will honor my old county as well as our dear old mother Virginia.”²

The debate continued, but Trigg narrowly lost the election on November 8 — Fulkerson received 1,174 votes and Trigg received 1,131. Abingdon’s returns were heavily in Trigg’s favor, and he also carried Glade Springs, Friendship, Frame School House, Worleys and Fleenors. The Ninth District where Trigg lived, however, was a stronghold of the Readjuster movement in the state. So, like the term ‘Liberal’ in our time, ‘Funder’ was a dirty word politically, and once labeled as such, it was hard for Trigg to shed it.³

At this campaign, the Conservative Party nominated General Walker for lieutenant governor on the ticket with F.W.M. Holliday for governor, which won by a clear majority.⁴

¹Pendleton, 320; *The (Abingdon) Standard* October 18, 25, 1877, November 1, 1877, UVA, Reel 1. For an abstract of a letter Daniel wrote to *The (Abingdon) Standard* which outlines his views, see Appendix One, p.172.

²*The (Abingdon) Standard* 1 November 1877, UVA.

³“Abstracts of Votes 1870-1899” Drawer, WCC.

This backing of the Conservative party by Trigg fits in with the need for stability he surely felt after his return from South America. The party represented the *status quo* to Trigg, so it was safer to fall in line with the conservative party. His views sometimes differed from the party line, and his exceptions came from either genuine conviction or a need to walk a thin tightrope in this heavily Readjuster region. Also, his subsequent success in politics was perhaps owed in part to the prominence and respect his family enjoyed, evidence again of the importance of this network in his career and of the fact that deferential politics was alive and well in this region of the New South. This was especially so after the entrenchment of the Democratic party machine in Virginia politics.

In 1880, Trigg again became actively involved in politics and was elected a delegate to the Democratic National Convention in Cincinnati that nominated Gen. Winfield Scott Hancock for president.¹ He greatly enjoyed the convention, and it apparently fired him up, for his mother-in-law comments in a letter after he returned: “Dan Trigg is rabid on the subject of politics. . . .”² That fall, his brother Connally, also a lawyer, ran as a Conservative against Trigg’s old Readjuster rival, Col. Abram Fulkerson, for the seat in the U.S. Congress. They battled it out on the stump, and the papers carried every lively detail of their speeches. Fulkerson tried to discount Connally by referring to him as a mere boy and ridiculed his educational background, since the timing of Connally’s birth forced his education to be interrupted by the Civil War. Fulkerson accused him of being reared by an old-line Whig, referring to their cousin, Judge John A. Campbell, the same one who had helped Trigg. Though Connally put up a good fight and was well known as a fiery orator, he lost to Fulkerson. Connally received 7,621 votes and Fulkerson received 8,096, with roughly 4,000 other votes going to the Republican and Independent candidates.³

⁴Caldwell, 171.

¹Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 30; Dorman, 301; History of Virginia, 6:647.

²Nicketti F. Johnston to Lavalette J. McMullen, LS, 28 July 1880, McM, Duke University.

³The (Abingdon) Standard, 30 September 1880, 28 October 1880, UVA, Reel 1; Summers,

Dueling

Politics caused Trigg to lose his temper again. At some point, Trigg was one of the editors of the *Abingdon Standard*, an organ of the Democratic party founded in 1876.¹ On September 29, 1881, there appeared the following reprint in the *Abingdon Virginian*, a stout supporter of the Readjuster movement: “‘He who comforts the wind of the shorn lamb.’ — *Standard*, 29 instant. ‘The ‘wind’ this week of the *Standard* is no doubt ‘comforting’ to the ‘shorn lambs’ of the Bourbon-Funder fold; for it is filled with lies. It should ‘temper’ its ‘sheet’ with a gentle gale of truth.’ — *Bristol Reporter*.”² This infuriated Trigg, and so he accordingly challenged the publisher of the *Virginian*, Judge George W. Ward, Jr.,³ to a duel. Here again, Trigg reacted in a manner typical of his upbringing.

The day and place agreed upon was Thursday, October 6, at the Cowan farm in Bristol, Tennessee, just south of the Virginia-Tennessee border. At noon on the appointed day, Judge Ward and his second, William T. Mitchell, arrived at the Nickels House hotel and checked in. A few minutes later, Trigg arrived with his second, Capt. Connally T. Litchfield,⁴ and some other Abingdon men. Both parties requested writing paper, no doubt to make out their wills. Meanwhile, word spread around the hotel that a duel was to take place between the two. The mayor of Bristol soon received a telegram from Abingdon apprising him of the situation and asking him to arrest both parties. The mayor immediately ordered two officers to watch the hotel, bring in Judge Ward and Trigg, and hold them until a warrant could be issued. Just as the officers arrived, they saw Judge Ward and Mr. Mitchell emerge from the back of the hotel and

History of Southwest Virginia, 762.

¹Summers, History of Southwest Virginia, 590.

²“The Field of Honor. A Hostile Meeting Near Bristol,” Bristol News, 11 October 1881, p. 3, E. W. King Library, King College, Bristol, Tn., repository hereinafter cited as EWK.

³Ward was a lawyer by profession and had just been elected Judge of the County Court in 1880. Summers, History of Southwest Virginia, 773.

head for their buggy nearby. The officers caught up with them and arrested Judge Ward, letting Mr. Mitchell go. Meanwhile, Trigg and his party escaped from the hotel and proceeded to the dueling ground. Many citizens of Bristol, who had heard of the proposed duel, also set out for the site, not wanting to miss out on the excitement. Mr. Mitchell soon arrived and informed Captain Litchfield that the authorities were after them and that they had already arrested Judge Ward. Though Judge Ward and Trigg were planning on dueling which might have ended up with one of them dead, honor or some other code must have motivated Mr. Mitchell to warn Trigg's second about the authorities. Trigg and his party quickly sent their carriages back onto the main road to Virginia, while they crossed the fields on foot to the Virginia line. These efforts to escape the law were fruitless, however, for waiting there to greet them on the Virginia side was the deputy sheriff of Washington County, Virginia, John B. Keller. Sheriff Keller arrested the entire party and ordered them to appear the next day before Judge John A. Campbell, Trigg's cousin and mentor. Sheriff Keller also arrested Judge Ward and ordered him to appear before Judge Campbell.¹ No reference has been found, however, on the disposition of this case in the Washington County courthouse.

This was not the end of the troubles for Judge Ward; he had several more brushes with other duellers in the following years and must have had a full-fledged duel not long after his aborted duel with Trigg, for Trigg added Judge Ward's name to a bill while Trigg was in the state legislature in 1883 that would remove Judge Ward's disabilities for violation of the dueling law.² Trouble arose again September 27, 1885, when Judge Ward got into a fight with Daniel Trigg Campbell, local attorney and Trigg's second cousin, William White and N. Graham White. Apparently, each side claimed the other had

⁴Victor's brother.

¹"The Field of Honor. A Hostile Meeting Near Bristol," *Bristol News*, 11 October 1881, p. 3. EWK; V. N. (Bud) Phillips, *Bristol: Tennessee/Virginia A History — 1852-1900* (Johnson City, Tn.: Over The Mountain Press, 1992), 172.

²Journal of the House of Delegates of the State of Virginia for the Session 1883-4 (Richmond, Va.: R. F. Walker, 1883), proceedings of December 13th.

initiated the assault; indeed in a plea filed by Trigg, Campbell's attorney, he claimed that Judge Ward had shot at him and so he had acted in self defense. Trigg filed at least two pleas for Campbell, who was being sued by Judge Ward. Mr. Campbell was found not guilty of a felony but was found guilty of a misdemeanor and fined fifty dollars. William White, however, was found guilty of assault and charged \$375. The fight most likely occurred while Judge Ward was serving as commonwealth attorney, and the case was occurring while Judge Ward was serving again as judge of the County Court.¹

Campbell's and Judge Ward's animosity never abated apparently, for Louisa wrote to her mother of an incident in 1891: "Dan Campbell & Milt White² had pistols last night waiting at the Court House door to kill Ward, but John White³ & Dan [Trigg] succeeded in carrying them off. Dan says it came near being a battle. Bob Cummings & a young man named Brown had pistols too & they were going to fight for Ward."⁴ These later incidents, however, were different in that they were not duels, but demonstrated the new 'shoot-on-sight' philosophy — the replacement for the 'honorable method' of doing away with someone. Things had reached such a state in Abingdon and the South in general many people carried guns. It is also interesting that the initiators of these later shootings were from a younger generation than Judge Ward and Trigg. These younger citizens were of a generation that had grown up during the Civil War; the antebellum South was foreign to them. They were creatures of a new era with different ideals, wants and codes. Trigg's brother Connally, as commonwealth's attorney, tried in 1884 to stop the habit of carrying pistols around town "which is too common with both men and boys," commented a local paper, *The Abingdon Weekly Virginian*.⁵

¹Drawer 829, "Law Causes Ended May 1889, October 1889, WCC; Summers, History of Southwest Virginia, 595, 596.

²Milton White, another local attorney. Summers, History of Southwest Virginia, 837.

³May refer to John Greenway White, son of William Y. C. White and Margaret Jane Greenway, a cousin of Trigg's.

⁴Louisa J. Trigg to Nicketti F. Johnston, LS, 4 November 1891, JWJ, Duke University.

By 1882, the Readjuster movement had changed in character. Out of necessity, the Conservative Party had co-opted many of its ideas, and Mr. Mahone and his men were now solid Republicans in all but name — their party was termed the Coalition Party. The elections in 1882 distinctly broke the ‘Solid South’ long held by the Conservative Party. The Conservative Party fought back during the 1883 canvass for the state legislative elections and adopted a platform that denied that the Funders controlled the Conservative Party and looked to choose leaders that would be both ‘popular and efficient.’ In addition, the party organizers chose to hold the state convention in the solidly white and Readjuster Valley town of Staunton, instead of Richmond, the usual choice. In March, the Federal courts sustained the Readjuster debt settlement and so provided an opportunity for the Conservative Party to embrace the decision. Anti-Mahone Readjusters, dissatisfied with his shift to the Republicans, now came to the convention. The party was reorganized and formally changed its name to the Democratic Party. Trigg again joined the canvass and sought a seat for the House of Delegates.¹

Serves in the Virginia House of Delegates

When the Danville Riot occurred the weekend right before elections, it served as a catalyst for white voters who feared black power — they turned out in record numbers and the Democrats won nearly two-thirds of the state legislature.² Trigg’s opponents this time were Jonas S. Kelly, J. H. Wood and J. S. Browning. Mr. Kelly and Trigg easily won with 2,534 votes and 2,630 votes respectively, and they set out for Richmond less than a month after their election; the House of Delegates was called to order on

⁵The Abingdon Weekly Virginian, 6 March 1884, UVA, Reel 3.

¹Charles Chilton Pearson, Ph.D., The Readjuster Movement in Virginia (Gloucester, Mass.: Yale University Press, 1969), 160-163.

²*Ibid.*, 163-164.

December 5.¹ At times, the political rivalry in the House could get rather tense. Also, this session seemed plagued with more than its normal share of filibustering. The Coalition Party was now in the minority, and they used every trick in the book to stall passage of bills submitted by the Democrats. When nominations for register of the land office came up early in the session, R.G. Banks, an outspoken Coalition Party member, nominated the incumbent and alluded to the fact that he was a Democratic-Readjuster. Trigg immediately spoke up and asked how Mr. Banks could call the nominee a Democrat. The debate continued:

Mr. Banks said “Mahone, Riddleberger and Wise were all Democratic-Readjusters.”
Mr. Trigg: “Do Democratic-Readjusters go into Republican caucuses?”²

On the same day, delegates debated the contested election cases from Rockingham County. One of the members moved to delay the decision and print the evidence.

Mr. Trigg opposed, saying if as much delay occurred in getting the printing done as the committee had experienced already it would be the end of the session before the evidence could be printed. There was no need of it. The decision of the case rested upon the gross violations of law at Conrad’s precinct — violations that no man of any party with a particle of honesty could tolerate.³

Later, political rivalries flared again, this time over the public school issue, in which Trigg again engaged Banks in debate:

Mr. Banks said that his party (Coalition) found the schools languishing and built them up.
Mr. Trigg asked Mr. Banks where he got his information from.
Mr. Banks said not from the Bourbon party, “One more year of the Funder doctor would have found the schools dead.”
Mr. W.G. Mustard [Coalitionist] asked Mr. Trigg what had become of the \$100,000 diverted from the schools.

¹“Abstracts of Votes 1870-1899” Drawer, WCC; Journal of the House of Delegates 1883-84.

²The Richmond Dispatch, 19 December 1883, supplement, p. 1.

³Ibid.

Mr. Trigg replied that a resolution from his side of the House was to put that money back — every cent of it.

Mr. Barton said, “Don’t ask us for money you stole. You can answer your own question better.”¹

On the House side, Funder Democrat William A. Anderson submitted a resolution that “any expectation that any settlement of the debt, upon any other basis, will ever be made or tolerated by the people of Virginia, is absolutely illusory and hopeless,” which became House Bill No. 13. It was voted and approved on December 15, Trigg voting for it, so the Democrats had lost no time in living up to their new platform. In addition, Democratic members sought to enact more social and economic legislation typical of Readjusters during this session, and Trigg’s submissions were in line with this new trend.²

Trigg served on the Committee of Privileges and Elections, Committee of Courts of Justice, and Committee of Immigration. Trigg lost no time getting bills started; he submitted his first ones on the second day of the session. From then until the session ended on March 19, 1884, Trigg submitted twenty-two bills, of which thirteen passed the House, one resolution, and five petitions. These ranged from local issues like incorporating the town of Abingdon, or providing for the relief of a local citizen, to House Bill No. 400, or “Trigg’s Bill,” imposing a condition upon all grants, amendments, renewals, or extensions of charters of incorporations. This last bill prevented any new companies from receiving a charter from the state or being incorporated and stipulated that those already granted may not be renewed, extended or amended unless they paid the taxes and dues that were due the State of Virginia in real currency, not in coupons. These coupons were issued to the state bondholders in compensation for their interest due payments as part of the Funding Bill. These coupons were also made tax receivable, and so many bondholders paid with coupons instead of money. This meant that there was not enough money available

¹The Richmond Dispatch, 9 January 1884, p. 1.

²Pearson, 165-166; Journal of the House of Delegates 1883-84.

to issue to the state schools their allotment. This bill, then, was an attempt to undo some of the harm caused by the passage of the Funding Bill. The governor signed “Trigg’s Bill” on February 25.¹

The single resolution which Trigg submitted dealt with the public school issue. In it, he instructed the committee on finance to determine how much money the treasury could give to the school system to restore the money taken previously from the school fund. So, when House Bill No. 113, which increased the quarterly payments to the school fund, was passed by the House, Trigg was instructed to bring it to the Senate.²

It appears from the bills, resolutions and petitions that Trigg submitted that some of his main concerns were health, schools, and local issues. In fact, fifty-nine percent of the bills Trigg submitted were local. Two other bills submitted were to establish boards of health and regulate the appointments of health officers and to empower cities and towns to declare quarantine. Both were referred to the proper committees, but never passed. Another main concern was railroads. He supported railroad commissions and seemed to set himself up as a watch dog of the railroad companies. Often, when the issue of railroad privileges came up, Trigg opposed them. “The bill authorizing the Norfolk and Western Extension Company to subscribe to the stock of other companies and granting it certain privileges was vigorously opposed by Mr. Trigg, of Washington County,” reported the *Richmond Daily Dispatch*.³ The debate continued the next day, and Trigg was joined by J.C. Gibson, William A. Anderson, and Coalitionist Duff Green (railroads was an issue that did not necessarily follow party lines). The issue was resolved when Anderson proposed an amendment which effectively crippled the force of the bill.⁴ Later, when counties were called one by one to submit a local or private bill, the delegate from Botetourt County submitted a railroad bill. Trigg objected:

¹Journal of the House of Delegates 1883-84.

²Ibid.

³*Richmond Daily Dispatch*, 29 January 1884, p. 2.

Mr. Trigg rose to the point of order, which was stated to be that the bill was not a private or local one.

The chair sustained the point of order.

Mr. Anderson, of Rockbridge, arose to say that the bill ought to be considered. It was to incorporate a railroad company.

Mr. Gibson: "Do the railroads run this house?"¹

However, the bill was considered by universal consent, but not without a few amendments tacked on, one of which was Trigg's. This was the beginning of House Bill No. 400, or "Trigg's Bill." His amendment forced the company to pay its taxes in money rather than coupons.² As the *Richmond Dispatch* reported, "Mr. Trigg declared that he intended to offer this amendment to every charter presented for action before the House."³

When Senate Bill No. 468 to establish a lunatic asylum in southwest Virginia came before the House on March 15, it was read twice and put on the calendar for final vote, Trigg having motioned to suspend the rule that required it to be referred to a committee. It passed on March 17, and the asylum was eventually established in Marion, Virginia. This was another instance of the new Democratic platform.⁴

Trigg let his humor show through in the proceedings, which were diligently reported in the *Richmond Dispatch*. When leave of absences were being granted to several delegates towards the end of the session, an opportunity for partisan humor arose — the most outspoken Coalitionist, Duff Green, took the opportunity and rose and asked for a leave of absence from March 3 until April 1. This brought laughter from the other delegates and the

. . . vote was put by the Chair, and a hearty 'Aye' resounded from all sides of the House. This was greeted with loud laughter. A number of members approached Mr. Green, shook him by the hand, and bade him good-bye.

⁴*Richmond Dispatch*, 30 January 1884, p. 1.

¹*Richmond Dispatch*, 17 February 1884, p. 1.

²Journal of the House of Delegates 1883-84.

³*Richmond Dispatch*, 17 February 1884, p.1, Virginia State Library and Archives, Richmond.

⁴Journal of the House of Delegates 1883-84.

Mr. Trigg moved that the chair be vacated for five minutes in order to allow members to bid the member from Stafford good bye. (Laughter and applause.)

Mr. Gibson moved that the thanks of the House be unanimously. . . .¹

When Trigg and Mr. Kelly returned to Abingdon, a local paper commented, “Hons. Daniel Trigg and Jonas S. Kelly have returned with countenances reflecting, a consciousness of duty well done.”²

Not too soon after serving as the area’s representative in the House of Delegates, Trigg became the victim of at least one overt lie circulated by the Republican Party concerning his record. Mudslinging is not a new phenomenon. Since records exist that detail every bill he introduced, it is known to be a lie, but the following excerpt from the local paper will be reprinted to give the flavor of the times and the environment in which Trigg battled.

A LIE NAILED

Editor of Virginian:

We understand that some Republicans of this county, are circulating a report that one of our Representatives, Daniel Trigg, has introduced a bill in the Legislature to disfranchise every voter in Virginia who is not a freeholder. This is a MANUFACTURED LIE and the author an INFAMOUS liar. Don’t be deceived Democrats you may expect to hear many more of the same kind. All such are intended only as blinds to drive you into the Republican party.

A DEMOCRAT³

Trigg and the Democratic Party

Trigg continued to work for his party — he served as an alternate to the Richmond Democratic Convention that summer, and he took to the stump the following fall. He had numerous speaking engagements around the county and spoke on current issues. Trigg and Judge Francis Beattie Hutton

¹Richmond Dispatch, 2 March 1884, p.1, Virginia State Library and Archives, Richmond.

²Abingdon Weekly Virginian, 27 March 1884, UVA, Reel 3.

³Ibid., 28 August 1884.

spoke at Maxwell's on September 20, and Trigg and A.M. Dickenson of Glade Spring spoke at Liberty Hall on October 18, just to name a few engagements. Trigg also spoke in support of his brother Connally, who was again running for a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives. This time Connally's opponent was David F. Bailey, and Connally won with 2,568 votes as opposed to Bailey's 1,974 votes.¹

Trigg stayed active in local politics and appeared at local Democratic Conventions from time to time. Some of his friends urged him to run for commonwealth attorney in 1886, though it appears he did not. On September 15, 1887, the Washington County Democratic Convention met in Abingdon and Trigg was appointed temporary chairman until the group was formally organized. At this meeting, they endorsed the national and state Democratic platform. Next, they called for nominations for Democratic candidates for the Virginia House of Delegates.²

Hon. Daniel Trigg then moved that nominations be made, and that the two persons receiving the highest number of votes be declared the nominees. This motion was carried. Mr. Trigg then, in a brief but earnest speech, put in nomination Capt. Jno. Roberts, who was loudly cheered.³

Trigg was then nominated by Major James Fields, but Trigg asked that his name be withdrawn because "business matters of importance required his attention at home and rendered it impossible for him to accept. . . ."⁴

Trigg was appointed one of the canvassers for his district in 1888. Also a Cleveland, Thurman and Buchanan Club was formed at the courthouse in Abingdon and Trigg was elected president. His law

¹Abingdon Weekly Virginian, 18 September 1884, 16 October 1884, UVA; Abstracts of Votes 1870-1899" Drawer, WCC.

²The Abingdon Weekly Virginian, 2 September 1886, UVA; The (Abingdon) Standard, 21 September 1887, UVA.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

career, which required him to travel to various sections of the state, enabled him to network among colleagues, thereby building his visibility and his political career.¹

It was at this time that General Walker began to drift away from the Democratic Party. The party had promised him the nomination for attorney general in the gubernatorial campaign of 1885 because he declined the nomination for governor in favor of Fitzhugh Lee. He felt that he had been deceived when this did not happen. He was not one to abide by machine politics. This is a markedly different reaction from Trigg's. He stayed a party man to the day he died, but his party tested his devotion in 1889.²

By 1889, Trigg's possible nomination for attorney general excited the people in his area of Virginia; he decided to run in February. It appears that his work for the party had gained him supporters and coupled with his personality, made him an appealing candidate. His work and success at the bar also made him known across the state, and especially in the southwestern portion and Richmond. "Few men from Southwest Virginia have been known in Eastern Virginia, and especially in Richmond, as widely and intimately as he was. No man from any part of the state was more generally and warmly loved," commented a Richmond paper at the time of his death. His wife said in a letter that a "good many" thought he could be nominated for governor if he wanted to run, but Trigg did not want the office. "[Trigg] says the canvas & term would break him up, & that he can make money at the other."³ Louisa, of course, was very confident of his nomination for attorney-general. "I believe Dan will have not any trouble getting the nomination for attorney general — indeed, facts seem to point to him for Gov. & all seem to think he could get the nomination, but he dont want that — he is so queer."⁴ Being nominated for attorney general, however, was a tricky business, for whoever got the nomination for governor at the convention predetermined who would be picked for lieutenant governor and attorney general. This was

¹The Abingdon Weekly Virginian, 6 September 1888, UVA, Reel 3.

²Caldwell, 173.

³Louisa J. Trigg to John F. McMullen, LS, 21 February 1889, McM, Duke University.

because the party desired a well-rounded ticket that had a chance of winning the election. Consequently, they tried to pick people that represented different areas of the state. From June until the convention in Richmond on August 14, the local papers in southwest Virginia carried article after article extolling Trigg's qualifications and printing reports from other sections of the state that supported "Our Dan," as the local papers had begun to term him. Here are some samples:

With "our Dan" as Attorney-General, the state would save thousands of dollars. He is a thorough [sic] lawyer himself, and would not need expensive assistance in every important case.¹

A private letter from Dickenson county informs us that "Our Dan" has many friends out there. That is the case in every county. A gentleman like Hon. Daniel Trigg will always make friends and we predict that the next Democratic State Convention will nominate him for Attorney-General.²

We join with the Abingdon Virginian in its endorsement of Dan Trigg for attorney-general. He is, in truth, a sturdy Democrat and a fearless defender of the right; his nomination will do more to make solid the Democracy of the "Old Ninth District" than that of any other man in the State. He possesses all of the attributes for the office which his friends desire to give him. His aggressive courage and manly honesty and candor makes him a most able exponent of Democracy. — Wytheville Enterprise.³

In mid-July, the citizens of the county met at the courthouse to elect delegates to the Democratic State Convention. "The delegates were instructed to cast their votes for Hon. Daniel Trigg, for Attorney-General, and from the applause which greeted the motion, we are sure that the instruction will be adheared [sic] to with pleasure and pride. Hon. Daniel Trigg is the man the Southwest Democracy want," reported the *Abingdon Standard*.¹ Milton White, Jr., the chairman for this delegation, almost lost their credentials, however, on the trip to Richmond. He had left his suitcase that contained all the delegations'

⁴Louisa J. Trigg to Lavalette J. McMullen, LS, 30 April 1889, McM, Duke University.

¹Abingdon Standard, 26 July 1889, UVA, Reel 1.

²Ibid., 2 August 1889, UVA, Reel 1.

³Ibid., 9 August 1889, UVA, Reel 1.

credentials on a train car in Lynchburg, and some people in Richmond doubted they would recover it in time. Apparently, they must have, for their votes are recorded, and most of the delegates voted for Charles Triplett O’Ferrall for governor. The *Richmond Dispatch* mentioned Trigg as one of the names circulated for nomination for attorney general and cited him as one of the prominent politicians spotted at the Exchange Hotel.²

Trigg’s name, however, was never put forth, due, apparently, to the need for a balanced ticket. His supporters were more upset about it than he was. A reporter from the *Richmond Dispatch* cornered Trigg afterwards to see how he felt about it and inquire if the Ninth District might bolt. The resulting story is an interesting reflection on his character and his loyalty to the Democratic Party:

“By the way, Mr. Trigg,” said the newsseeker carelessly, “you are from Washington county, aren’t you?”

“Yes.”

“And you were a candidate for the nomination as Attorney-General?”

“Yes.”

“I hear that the Ninth district is very much dissatisfied at the turn affairs have taken in turning you down as a candidate?”

“Well, I had some very zealous, earnest, and faithful supporters in the Southwest delegation; enough, in fact, to flatter the vanity of any aspirant to political honors. There has been some little dissatisfaction expressed among my more immediate friends at the result, which they foresaw and tried to guard against. I have no supporters except Democrats — men who would work for the success of the Democratic party under any and all circumstances. Any disaffection that may have been expressed was entirely owing to zeal in my behalf and will in no degree affect the interests of the party in the Ninth district.”

. . . “You have always taken an active part in behalf of the Democratic party: what do you propose to do in this canvass?”

“I propose,” said Mr. Trigg, “to accord to the State Democratic ticket my unqualified support. I have so expressed myself to Major [Hoge] Tyler and to such other friends as have approached me on the subject. I have no qualifications; I am entirely at the service of the Democratic party, and neither my friends nor myself, so far as I have any voice in the matter, have any other hope or desire than for its success. My services are at the disposal of the party authorities, either in my congressional district or elsewhere.

“Any assertion that I or my section are sore over the result is a misrepresentation, and this I will demonstrate if called upon.”³

¹Ibid., 26 July 1889, UVA, Reel 1.

²The Richmond Dispatch, 13 August 1889, Virginia State Library and Archives, Richmond, p.1.

³Ibid., 17 August 1889, Virginia State Library and Archives, Richmond.

Trigg stuck to his promise — that fall he canvassed heavily for the Democratic ticket, speaking to voters around the district and at various Democratic clubs in the area.¹ One of these clubs was a newly formed Campaign Club at its first meeting: “Hon. Daniel Trigg was in a speaking humor and for about 20 minutes made the fur fly. To several Republicans who were present, it was a bitter pill but some of them afterwards admitted that the speakers had truthfully portrayed Boss Billy in his true colors,” referring to Gen. William Mahone, the King of the Readjuster Party. He also spoke to voters at Cherry Flats, along with Judge Francis Beattie Hutton and John J. Stuart, again to a new Democratic Club at Stony Point with Judge Hutton, and again to the Waterman’s Democratic Club, all in the same week.²

Virginia papers were again talking about him in 1890, this time as a possibility for appointment to the Virginia Supreme Court bench, but nothing came of it. When Grover Cleveland ran again for president in 1892, a reporter in Abingdon asked each Democrat lawyer whom he supported. Trigg’s response showed that he supported Cleveland mainly because of his tariff policy and his support of the gold standard. This bolsters the previous assessments of his political opinions, showing that he was not a ‘Radical Democrat’; he supported reform, but in all, he was conservative.³ His other reasons for supporting Cleveland were, “because his administration has rendered the ‘bloody shirt’ as odious as the black flag, and because he restored the Union by admitting the South into full fellowship in the affairs of the country.”⁴ During this election period, many of his friends wanted him to run for a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives, but apparently he declined to have his name put up as a candidate. However, in 1895, Trigg did run again for the Virginia House of Delegates, but lost to Andrew F. Rambo and

¹Abingdon Standard, 25 October 1889, UVA, Reel 1.

²Ibid., 18 October 1889, UVA, Reel 1.

³Louisa J. Trigg to Lavalette J. McMullen, LS, 7 August 1890, McM, Duke University; Abingdon Weekly Virginian, 5 February 1992.

⁴Abingdon Weekly Virginian, 5 February 1892, UVA, Reel 4.

Joseph M. Butt. But the sudden death of his daughter Miriam that summer, the severe illness of his wife during that year, and her fatal turn for the worse late in the year were hard blows to Trigg and were surely reflected in his campaign effort. At this time, he was also the chairman of the Democratic Committee of Washington

County, Virginia.¹

In 1894, the Democratic party machine was shaken when one of their own, General Walker, ran for Congress as a Republican and won. This was the outcome of Walker's drift away from the Democratic Party. His separation from the party had begun in 1885 when they failed to nominate him as attorney general, and the separation was completed in 1892 when Cleveland was nominated for president. Walker had become an ardent protectionist and was opposed to Cleveland's policy of free trade. When the Democratic Party succeeded in passing the Walton Election Law in 1893-94, Walker saw this as a cunning move to further entrench the Democratic Party machine in Virginia; he did not abide by party machine politics. There was still a vestige of the Republican party in the Ninth District and they allowed him to run on his own platform. When he won, it shook the Democratic party machine. Partisan Democrats apparently vowed not to let this happen again and from then on he was the target of newspaper attacks and hateful remarks from old friends. Matters did not improve when General Walker was reelected a second time.²

The Walker Trial

When General Walker ran a third time for Congress in 1898, he was defeated by the Democratic candidate, Judge William F. Rhea. Claiming gross election fraud, Walker began to collect evidence. This

¹Ibid., 6 May 1892, UVA, Reel 4; "Abstracts of Votes 1870-1899" Drawer, WCC; Abingdon Virginian, 20 September 1895, UVA, Reel 4.

naturally made the Democrats even more antagonistic. When the contest case neared, Walker received word from several people that there was a plot against his life if he showed up in Bristol to give his deposition. He went anyway.

While General Walker was taking the depositions, the counsel for Judge Rhea provoked Walker and lunged at him with a knife. Walker shot him with his borrowed derringer. Immediately after, two shots were fired from the vicinity of Judge Rhea's group that hit Walker in the chest and shoulder.

Walker's assault on Rhea's counsel came to trial on July 3, 1899. The Commonwealth was represented by Bristol's Commonwealth Attorney John S. Ashworth, and Bristol lawyer John H. Winston, Jr., Judge Thomas Curtin, and Lindell, Virginia, lawyer Peter Johnston Davenport. Walker was defended by Col. Abram Fulkerson, Capt. James Harvey Wood, Daniel Trigg, Bristol lawyer David Flourney Bailey, John E. Burson and Thomas Lee Moore. Wood was also a prominent Democrat, along with Trigg, and Fulkerson, Wood, Trigg and Bailey were all Confederate veterans and offered their services to Walker for free, Trigg apparently being the leading counsel.¹

Trigg's decision to offer his services to Walker, who was considered a bolter by the leaders of the Democratic party machine, speaks volumes about his character. His support of Walker showed that he valued friendship, honesty, justice and integrity far more than he valued the Democratic Party. Trigg's and Captain Wood's support of Walker was a powerful statement to Judge Rhea's followers.

Often, the counsel for defense tried to admit evidence into the court that the provocation of Walker was planned in order to assassinate him. The judge being a partisan Democrat and a friend of Judge Rhea's would not allow it. Finally, the defense called John E. Burson to the stand. He testified that the man who provoked Walker had talked with Burson before the shooting and had told him that he would provoke Walker as part of a plot to get him killed. When the jury was sent to deliberate, it only took them twenty-five minutes to return with a verdict of not guilty.²

²Caldwell, 173, 192-94, 197.

¹Pendleton, 411.

The crowd at the trial pressed on Walker to congratulate him. The outpouring of sympathy and good will prompted Trigg to say, "I would rather have such manifestations of friendship and esteem as is being shown General Walker tonight than to have a seat in Congress."¹

Law

During all this political activity, Trigg also worked hard on law cases all over the southwest Virginia area and farther. The local papers dutifully chronicled his comings and goings to U.S., circuit and county courts in Marion, Bristol, Independence, Harrisonburg, Richmond, Washington, D.C., and as far away as Parkersburg, West Virginia. County court sessions were held monthly in Abingdon, and the circuit and U.S. district courts were held twice a year in Abingdon.² His contemporaries had this to say about him as a lawyer:

His honesty and integrity were conspicuous traits of character; he was loyal to his clients and faithful to every trust imposed upon him. His nature was impulsive and generous. . . . He fought his legal battles with ardour, and always with honor. He dealt with his adversary as a foeman who commanded his best effort. He was very resourceful in court; a quick mind, keen wit, fine humor, and love of combat made him a dangerous antagonist. He loved the victories at the bar and was devoted to his profession and the highest ideals for which the profession stands.³

His generosity could be seen in his constant support of aspiring young lawyers, many of whom got their first start in law at his office.⁴

²Ibid., 412-414; Caldwell, 248-49.

¹Caldwell, 249.

²Summers, History of Southwest Virginia, 593, 599, 602.

³"Bristol Bar Pays Tribute to the Late Daniel Trigg," The Bristol Herald Courier, 28 November 1909, p. 2, EWK.

⁴Ibid.

To get an idea of Trigg's typical case load, the period 1889-1892 was selected and all his cases settled during that time in Washington County and circuit courts in Abingdon were examined. It appears, that he usually acted as a prosecuting attorney and worked alone. The attorneys he did team up with during this time were his brother Connally, A.M. Dickenson of Glade Spring, John C. Blair, Daniel Trigg Campbell, J. Irby Hurt, Frank T. Barr of Abingdon, Peter Johnston Davenport of Lindell, Lewis Thomson Cosby and Francis Beattie Hutton. Most of his cases during this time were debt cases; of the twenty-four cases found, three were dismissed and the rest he won — these were most likely his bread and butter. He appears to have been the attorney for Trigg, Fugate and Company (a lumber company composed of his brother Thomas Preston Trigg, his brother-in-law James C. Greenway, and Henley Fugate), for he represented at least four cases for them. Five times he represented clients in suits against the Norfolk and Western Railroad, of which he won only two. These suits ranged from damages clients incurred while riding the train or in working for the company. His role as watchdog of the railroads while in the House appears to have carried over into his law practice. The other cases he prosecuted were two damage suits and a slander suit.¹

Trigg defended clients much less during this period — he had a total of eight. Two of these were cases against the mayor and the town council and Trigg won both.² Another case in which he and his brother Connally and young attorney Peter Johnston Davenport were involved, was the murder trial of

¹Washington County Law Order Book H, WCC, pp. 286, 312-313, 324, 326, 327, 364, 365, 374-75, 380, 395, 401, 403, 404, 407, 425, 456, 478, 490; Washington County Law Order Book I, WCC, pp. 19, 26; Drawer 20 "Law Causes Ended May, June September 1888," WCC; Drawer 828 "Law Causes Ended January and May 1889," WCC; Drawer 829 "Law Causes Ended May 1889, October 1889," WCC; Drawer 830 "Law Causes Ended January 1890", WCC; Drawer 831 "Law Causes Ended January 1890, May 1890," WCC; Drawer 834 "Law Causes Ended January 1892," WCC.

²Washington County Law Book I, WCC, pp. 68, 72, 77, 80, 145, 173; Washington County Law Order Book H, WCC, p. 389; Drawer 832 "Law Causes Ended September 1890, January 1891," WCC; Drawer 828 "Law Causes Ended January and May 1889," WCC.

Ancil Snodgrass for the murder of J.B. Troupe. Mr. Snodgrass was arraigned on November 30, 1889, and he plead not guilty.¹

After the evidence was in Mr. Davenport opened the argument in an eloquent speech, in which he reviewed the testimony and closed with an earnest appeal for his client. He was followed by Hons. Daniel and Connally Trigg, each of whom did all in their power to save the youthful criminal, claiming that the killing was the result of an accident, and not a deliberate murder as several of the witnesses attempted to prove. Col. Summers made just such a speech as a good Commonwealth's Attorney should.²

The jury found the defendant guilty, however, and he was sentenced to one year in prison. The defense asked for a new trial, which was granted and on December 24, Mr. Snodgrass was found guilty of involuntary manslaughter and sentenced to fifteen days in jail.³

Sometimes having one's cases followed in the papers by acquaintances was a disadvantage to a person; Trigg's niece chronicled this humorous incident: "Uncle Dan has also a very pretty little oak desk, a Davenport, the man wanted uncle Dan to buy it and bothered him so that at last he said that if he won a big case he would take the desk, so the store Keeper watched the news papers, and yesterday in the middle of the day the desk arrived without word of warning to anyone."¹

Commonwealth vs. John A.P. Baker

On May 3, 1891, a warrant was issued for the arrest of Dr. John A.P. Baker, one of two physicians in the small town of Montgomery's Switch, in Washington County, Virginia; he was charged with the murder of his wife, Susan, and the attempted poisoning of Mr. Wyndham Gilmer. Another

¹Washington County Minute Book No. 28, WCC, pp. 136, 141.

²Abingdon Standard, 6 December 1889.

³Washington County Minute Book No. 28, WCC, pp. 136, 141, 143, 156-57.

warrant was issued for the arrest of Mrs. Margaret Cecil Gilmer for the attempted poisoning of Mr. Wyndham Gilmer, her husband.

This news shocked the citizens of Montgomery's Switch and the rest of Washington County — it was common gossip that Dr. Baker and Mrs. Gilmer were having an affair, but that he had allegedly killed his wife by arsenic poisoning when she was seven months pregnant had never been suspected! It became the most sensational trial in the county. Trigg and his brother Connally were lawyers for this case, but on opposing sides.

According to the testimony of Mrs. Gilmer, the prosecution's first witness, Dr. Baker was her family's physician for years before they started having an affair. The alliance began sometime in 1886 on one of his house calls. Apparently, he had let his feelings be known to her for a little while before she reciprocated. They corresponded with letters sent secretly by servants, or left in a secret place near her home, and so forth. He talked about making her his "little wife" and was upset when he found out that his wife was pregnant again. His letters to Mrs. Gilmer he signed "S.H." for sweetheart, and she signed them "L.W." for "Little Wife", or "L One" for "Little One".²

According to Mrs. Gilmer's testimony, he poisoned his wife with arsenic when she was seven months pregnant, and she died on September 25, 1889. After this was accomplished, Dr. Baker wanted Mrs. Gilmer to kill her husband by poisoning him. At least once they went to the Hotel Fairmont in Bristol; they were spotted there together on January 15, 1890. Dr. Baker also gave Mrs. Gilmer several pieces of jewelry during their affair.³

The affair began to sour by the fall of 1890, because Mrs. Gilmer apparently refused to poison her husband as Dr. Baker wished. Mrs. Gilmer testified that he grew cold towards her and threatened to forsake her if she failed to do his will; he begged on his knees once, again threatened to forsake her, and

¹Mary F. McMullen to John F. McMullen, LS, 24 July 1891, McM, Duke University.

²Drawer "Commonwealth vs. J.A.P. Baker," WCC.

³Ibid.

then “he said if I didn’t do it he would blow my brains out that if I wasn’t his I never should be any body
elses.”¹

Dr. Baker allegedly justified all this to her by saying that it was morally right because they were
“congenial spirits” and so were meant to be together. On one of their secret trysts he gave her a bottle of
hydrocyanic acid and another of arsenic; this was in October of 1890, the last month that they were also
“criminally intimate.” According to Mrs. Gilmer’s testimony, he then allegedly said “what a small thing
it was to do to make me his forever, and said just look how I came out - said that there was never the
least suspicion against him.” She testified that she immediately poured out its contents. Apparently, Dr.
Baker said that if she could not administer the deadly poison, then she could give him another poison that
would make him sick and then he could come as his physician and finish the job himself. Subsequently,
Mr. Gilmer did become sick, but it was unclear from the testimony whether he got sick because of her.
However, Dr. Baker was the physician and Mr. Gilmer did get suspiciously worse, but Mr. Gilmer’s
brother was a doctor and arrived in time to save him.²

So in the fall of 1890, the affair ended, and no one suspected a thing until Dr. Baker sold his
farm a little while later. The new owners found a stack of letters on April 4, 1891, hidden away on the
property; these were the letters that Mrs. Gilmer had secretly written to the doctor, although he had asked
her to destroy his letters during their correspondence and had told her he had done the same with hers.
The new owners of the farm turned them over to J. Axley Gilmer, a first cousin of Wyndham Gilmer.
They were next shown to Wyndham’s brothers, Dr. Scott Gilmer and Arnold P. Gilmer. Arnold then
turned them over to Col. Summers, the commonwealth’s attorney, on the first of May and the warrant
issued two days later.³

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

After his arrest, someone turned in another letter that was found in Baker's tobacco barn. The indictments were made at court held May 7, 1891, and then a warrant was also issued for the arrest of Margaret Gilmer. She was arraigned the next day and plead not guilty. The defense and prosecuting teams for the main trial of the murder of Mrs. Baker consisted of many prominent local attorneys and firms. The defense included F. S. Blair, John E. Burson, Connally F. Trigg, and the firm White and Buchanan. The members of the prosecuting team included Commonwealth Attorney Francis Beattie Hutton, Benjamin F. Wysor, David Flourney Bailey and Daniel Trigg.¹ The judge presiding over the trial was Judge George W. Ward, Jr., well known in this paper for his duels.²

After delays caused by attempts to quash the indictment, negotiations regarding bail (which was refused), and continuances asked for by the prosecuting team, the jury was not selected until July 28.³ At the term in June, Trigg made a speech at some point when the prosecution asked for another continuance, and the following, found amongst family papers of Trigg's descendants, which sounds like a speech, may have been it:

David was a friend to Uriah Jno. A. P. Baker was the friend of Wyndham Gilmer David saw with a lustful eye the beautiful Bethsheba and as he saw determined to gratify his lust, just as this Baker saw the ewe lamb of Wyndham Gilmer and coveted her. The doom which David pronounced upon his own fateful passion, when his sin was portrayed to him by the prophet Nathan, in a parable, was that the man who had done this thing shall surely die. But God forgave him. May God forgive you, John A. P. Baker, for as Nathan said unto David thou art the man that has done this wicked thing You have put the husband of this woman to death. You have robbed him of all he held dear in life. You have murdered him as surely as David murdered Uriah when he commanded that he should be put in the forefront of the battle to be killed. And if perchance in the providence of an all wise creator, he should live to see four score years. He will still look back on this sorrow you brought upon him and to his fireside.

¹Both Hutton and Bailey, counsels for the plaintiff, had been Assistant United States Attorneys for the Western District of Virginia before this trial.

²Drawer "Commonwealth vs. J.A.P. Baker," WCC; Washington County Minute Book No. 28, WCC, pp. 435, 436-37.

³Washington County Minute Book No. 28, WCC, pp. 443, 444, 449, 452, 473, 475-76, 492.

On the 13th day of December 1878 Wyndham Gilmer married Margaret Cecil and brought her to his country home. She became the idol of his affections the mistress of household and the Mother of his children.

That she was giving accomplished and fascinating [?] goes without saying among those who have seen and known her. He might have hoped and doubtless did that she had come to bless and brighten his pathway through years and that as hand in hand they went down the hill of life peace happiness and virtue would crown their rest[?] at the foot. Such were his hopes such his dreams and anticipations so soon alas to be blurred and blighted by the fell presence of his quondam [sic] friend.¹

The trial got under way and the first witness for the prosecution was Margaret Gilmer. Her testimony apparently lasted until July 31, when the second through eleventh witnesses were examined. These witnesses testified about finding the letters written between the two.² Mr. Trigg's visiting niece wrote the following in a letter:

Just now, however it [Abingdon] is in a state of unusual excitement owing to the great "Baker" trial which is going on now, Court opened last Monday, Uncle Dan and Mr. Connelly are both in the Baker case only they are on different sides. I am glad of one thing, and that is, if they hang Dr. Baker I will not be in Abingdon when it happens.³

The court adjourned and reconvened on Monday, August 3. Of the thirty-some-odd witnesses, the prosecution called up the hotel clerk who saw the couple at his hotel together on January 15, 1890, and another witness who also saw them at the hotel. The prosecution also called on Wyndham Gilmer and Charles A. Pobst, a jeweler who sold Baker the gifts that he gave Mrs. Gilmer.⁴

On August 4, W. T. Baldwin, the undertaker, was on the witness stand and Daniel Trigg was examining him. Mr. Trigg asked if the body of Mrs. Baker had been exhumed and the defense counsel objected "to any evidence being given upon the part of the commonwealth concerning the exhumation of Mrs. Baker, it having been done without proper process of law and without notice to the prisoner or his

¹Original notes of Mr. Trigg's of the Baker-Gilmer trial, George Harris Sargeant Personal Collection, Norfolk, Va.

²Drawer "Commonwealth vs. J.A.P. Baker," WCC.

³Mary Floyd McMullen to John McMullen, LS, 29 July 1891, McM, Duke University.

⁴Drawer "Commonwealth vs. J.A.P. Baker," WCC.

counsel. Mr. Daniel Trigg, said he did not propose to discuss moot questions that may never come up in this case. [‘]I thought we were in the midst of the most serious realities, and I am not going to fight imaginary questions that may never arise.[‘] Mr. James L. White for the defendant said, that when the question was asked if this leads up to the introduction of the expert testimony, the attorney for the commonwealth said it did, and if that was the case considerable evidence would have to be excluded.” The court overruled motion and allowed evidence of post mortem. A little further in the court record, Mr. Trigg asked if the witness knew Dr. Baker’s son and did the son know of the exhuming. Defendant objected that that did not count as notification to Dr. Baker, which was overruled.¹

Mr. Trigg would interrupt his witness when the witness started to volunteer information. For example:

Q. You told Mr. Buchanan [counsel for defendant] that you were approached to do that?
 A. Yes sir, but Col. Summers . . . (witness interrupted)
 Q. You told Mr. Buchanan that you were approached to make this exhumation?
 A. Yes sir.²

It got heated between the two counsels during this testimony. The following was struck from the record:

Mr. Blair:-

I want to ask Mr. Baldwin, this preliminary question, If after the body was disinterred and removed some 20 feet to the west of the grave, and if the people were excluded?

Mr. Wysor: - The irregularities make no difference.

Daniel Trigg: - There is only one doubt that can arise as to the admissibility of of [sic] this testimony, and that is its bearing on this case. If it shed no light here, then it cannot be admitted as evidence. It is like a key to a lock that turns and opens the door to the hidden secret, and here is the key, the Surgeons knife, that went in and unlocked that secret, that is known some where.

Mr. Blair: - Your honor has very properly said that no evidence is relevant if it is illegal.³

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

The prosecution rested on August 5 after calling over thirty witnesses. The defense rested its case on August 7, and then the prosecution recalled witnesses. The jury went into deliberation on August 13 and returned a verdict on August 14. They found him guilty of murder in the first degree, as charged. The defense attorneys moved to set aside the verdict and grant a new trial, which the court overruled. On August 15, the judge granted Dr. Baker leave to file affidavits to support another motion for a new trial on the grounds of after discovered evidence. The commonwealth attorney motioned for time to gather affidavits. On August 17, the motion was continued, and August 18 the court refused to grant a new trial. The court ordered that Baker “be hanged by the neck until he be dead” on Friday, November 27, 1891, between 10:00 A.M. and 2:00 P.M.¹

Mr. Trigg’s wife wrote the following on 4 November 1891:

The fool killer is badly needed in Norfolk. Dr. Baker has had three boxes from there, one with fruits, another with china silk curtains, the third with an elegant pan of blankets. I hav’nt heard whether he has put his curtains up yet, but suppose he has eaten his fruit & sleeps under his blankets.²

However, on October 26, 1891, the court received an order from the circuit court that awarded a writ of error to Baker and found that there was “error in the judgment of said County Court.” The circuit court reversed and annulled the judgment and set aside the verdict of the jury and remanded the case to the county court for a new trial. Delays occurred again in the start of the trial, and on January 26 the selection of jurors began. Meanwhile, the commonwealth attorney had dropped the charges against Margaret Gilmer. Illness of a witness, and the process of getting jurors from Botetourt County six counties and about 150 miles away, postponed the trial until February 22, 1892, when the new jurors were sworn in. The testimony began the next day and continued until March 7, when the jurors went into

¹Washington County Minute Book No. 28, WCC, pp. 493-502; Washington County Minute Book No. 29, WCC, pp. 1-4.

²Louisa Bowen Johnston to Nicketti Floyd Johnston, LS, 4 November 1891, JWJ, Duke University.

deliberation and returned the same day with the verdict of not guilty. The next day, the commonwealth attorney said that he would not prosecute their case against Dr. Baker for the poisoning Wyndham Gilmer.¹

The Abingdon Weekly Virginian ran a large article on the outcome of the second trial and reported the following about the lawyer brothers: "Hon. C. F. Trigg made a big reputation in the Baker-Gilmer trial. If all reports are true, he eclipsed everything on the defense and out-Heroded the prosecution. Heretofore Dan has been considered the brightest of the two, but public opinion has given the laurels to his humble brother, in this case."²

The Douglas Land Company

Probably Trigg's biggest client was the Douglas Land Company of Virginia, whose president was William P. Douglas and vice-president was Douglas Robinson, Jr., both of New York. Mr. Robinson's wife was Corinne Roosevelt, sister of Elliott Roosevelt and Theodore Roosevelt. Elliott was the father of future first lady Eleanor Roosevelt. The Douglas family owned vast tracts of land in Southwest Virginia, which they wanted to begin developing in the late 1880s. They hired Trigg to be the company's lawyer.

"Yesterday, two gentlemen from New York took dinner and supper here, one of them, Mr. Robinson, is very sick owns a great deal of land around here and employs uncle Dan as his lawyer,"³

¹Washington County Minute Book No. 29, WCC, pp. 38-39, 42, 56, 70, 87, 88, 90-91, 100-102, 105-125.

²Abingdon Weekly Virginian, 18 March 1892, UVA, Reel 4.

³Mary F. McMullen to Lavalette J. McMullen, LS, 20 August 1888, McM, Duke University.

wrote a visiting niece of Trigg's. At some point around this time, Trigg went to Richmond to get a bill passed through the state legislature incorporating the Douglas Land Company.¹

In 1892, thirty-two-year-old Elliott Roosevelt became more involved in the Douglas Land Company when he moved to Abingdon. Ostensibly, the move was to enable him to manage the Douglas lands, but really it was to recuperate for he was an alcoholic. Roosevelt boarded at a house on Main Street owned by Mary Campbell, widow of Judge John A. Campbell. The citizens of Abingdon loved Roosevelt, and he soon became very popular. One of the things that made him so popular was that he would give five-dollar gold pieces for little services like shining his shoes or tending his horse.²

The gentle folk of Abingdon, particularly the ladies of the young social set, at first were not a little flustered by the advent of this attractive young New York society man in their midst. They were just a little afraid of him, and more than a little sorry for him, thinking that he must be frightfully bored with life in their stuffy town. They decided to invite him to a reception, a very stiff and formal and altogether proper affair. He came. The stiffness thawed out, the formality disappeared and the reception became one of the jolliest of their usual easy and natural parties. From then on he was simply one of the crowd, except that he was the life of every party and his presence in any gathering was a guaranty of a jolly good time for everybody.³

Roosevelt was a frequent visitor to Somerset where Connally (Trigg's brother) and Pocahontas Trigg lived, as well as at Altamont where Trigg and his family lived.⁴ "The older residents of Abingdon remember his handsome horse, called 'Mohawk,' [roaming the Altamont estate]."⁵ Roosevelt loved to

¹Summers, History of Southwest Virginia, 692-693; Nicketti F. Johnston to Lavalette J. McMullen, LS, 7 March 1890, McM, Duke University.

²King, Places In Time, Volume One, 31; Pocahontas Mitchell, interview by Angela Trigg, Abingdon, Virginia, 3 May 1991. Pocahontas Mitchell's mother was a servant of Connally and Pocahontas Trigg, Daniel's brother and sister-in-law; Pocahontas grew up in their household. Her grandfather was the overseer of Connally's plantation "Somerset."

³Goodridge Wilson, "When A Roosevelt Found Health In Virginia Hills," Richmond Times-Dispatch, 24 February 1935, sec V, p.10.

⁴Ibid.; "History of Altamont," (Meadowview, Va.: Altamont Society), 1.

tell stories of his children and other family members, including his brother Teddy. Consequently, Trigg's children got to know his daughter Eleanor through him and so naturally wrote letters to her.¹ Miriam wrote the following to Eleanor:

Abingdon Oct 10./92

My dear Eleanor —

I have heard your Father speak of you so often, I feel as if I knew you and hope ere long that will be the case. I send you a little Birthday gift which I hope you will wear for my sake, because I am so fond of your Father who I think is the best one in the world except my own. Wishing you many happy returns,

I am affectionately, your friend

Miriam H. Trigg²

Roosevelt was dining at Trigg's house, when he received word that his wife Anna had died on December 7, 1892.³ He was several miles from Abingdon and quickly "driving over the muddy road to town, he packed a bag hastily and flagged the night train to New York."⁴

Roosevelt returned to Abingdon after this tragedy and apparently intended to make it his permanent home. However, the death of his wife and the subsequent death of his son Elliott, Jr. combined to take a toll on his health. He left Abingdon in 1894, still keeping his rooms at Mrs. Campbell's, and traveled to New York for a visit. While there, he died suddenly in a hospital in August.⁵

⁵"Historical Houses of Washington County, Virginia," The Historical Society of Washington County, Virginia. Series II, No. 6, (Spring 1968), 21-22.

¹Joseph P. Lash, Eleanor and Franklin (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1971), 43.

²Miriam H. Trigg to Eleanor Roosevelt, LS, 10 October 1892, Eleanor Roosevelt Collection, Box No. 3, Folder R-Z, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York.

³Lash, 44.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Goodridge Wilson, "Roosevelts in Virginia," Ms, Eleanor Roosevelt Collection, Box No. 3, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York, pp. 1, 13; Wilson, "When A Roosevelt Found

Trigg's Final Years

With all his children gone after the turn of the century, Trigg was certainly lonely — he missed them. Their infrequent visits, with grandchildren in tow, were rare treats in which he delighted. Trigg was steeped in the history of his family and knew many stories, which he certainly related to his children and new grandchildren. Therefore, his children urged him to write down his knowledge, afraid of its loss. This undoubtedly spurred him on to write his memoirs. He never did get a chance to write down what stories he knew about the family, however.

Concurrent with the southern Cult of the Confederacy, Trigg participated during his final years in various commemorations of the Confederacy. During the first part of October 1905, Trigg was the speaker at a ceremony that awarded crosses of honor to Confederate veterans, an event presumably sponsored by the United Daughters of the Confederacy. This may have been when Trigg received his. His speech was sentimental, picturesque, flowery, and patriotic, (very Late Victorian in style) calculated to stir the emotions of the veterans in the audience and honor them. It was also in step with the rhetoric of the era; it

glorified the deeds of the veterans.¹ It is ironic that early in his speech, he stated:

We do not come here to vindicate or repine; much less to reproach. We are satisfied with what we did; and the genius of history will work it out, to the satisfaction of those who seek the truth, and in patience we await the verdict, never fearing that the blush of shame may tinge the cheek of our descendants, when by this iron cross they are called to avow that their ancestors, too bore an honorable part in the conflict of arms, the greatest that ever shook this hemisphere, or ever will; . . .²

Health In Virginia Hills,” 10.

¹Daniel Trigg, Speech given at a ceremony that awarded Confederate Crosses of Honor [circa 9 October 1905], Abingdon, Virginia, TD, Trigg-Floyd Papers, John Cook Wyllie Library, Clinch Valley College, Wise, Virginia, repository hereinafter JCWL; J.H. Fulton, Wytheville, Virginia, to Daniel Trigg, Abingdon, Virginia, TLS, 16 October 1905, Trigg-Floyd Papers, JCWL.

Trigg was a better orator than prophet, unfortunately, for in today's climate of political correctness a descendant must struggle hard not to be embarrassed and to be proud of their ancestor's deeds without being labeled as a racist. The bulk of his speech praised the veterans in the audience for their hard work and endurance in rebuilding the South after the devastation of the Civil War.¹

Comrades! You are sentinels on the outposts of constitutional government. You have regenerated the south, and made it what it is, the most potent factor in the governmental problem of these United States! Your course since the war has built up the country, fostered industries, opened the avenues of trade, drawn to the aid of this section the capital of the country and of the commercial world.²

It was a very "New-Southy" speech. A week later, Trigg received a letter from a fellow attorney who had read his speech in the paper and thanked him for his "admirable speech . . . its sentiment and spirit suited me exactly, and its diction I pronounce very fine."³

Others must have liked his oratory, for he was part of the six-man committee in charge of erecting a monument to Confederate soldiers in front of the courthouse in Abingdon on June 3, 1908. The other members were all judges and lawyers. Whereas the first speech looked to the future and praised their hard work in the postwar south, three years later a good portion of his speech at the monument unveiling was spent on arguing the doctrines and principles of secession.¹

In another speech that he most likely gave in 1909, apparently to the Wythe Gray Chapter in Wytheville at their awarding of the Confederate Cross of Honor, Trigg was a different person. This was

²Daniel Trigg, Speech given at a ceremony that awarded Confederate Crosses of Honor [circa 9 October 1905], Abingdon, Virginia, TD, Trigg-Floyd Papers, JCWL.

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³J.H. Fulton, Wytheville, Virginia, to Daniel Trigg, Abingdon, Virginia, TLS, 16 October 1905, Trigg-Floyd Papers, JCWL.

his longest speech by far, and the most rambling in its arguments. His age and ill health must have been taking its toll. It was a big contrast to his first speech that was full of patriotic snippets and was well composed. This speech seemed to come from an individual who has seen the sentiments change around him, and has already seen the results of the rewriting of history by the victors. It seemed to be a justification and a vindication of the principles for which they fought; their constitutional right to secede from the Union. Page after page of his speech is filled with quotations from Northerners that buffered his argument that the right of secession was viable in 1861. He sounds bitter and sarcastic.²

They [the southern military leaders] accorded to us that we fought bravely. Of course, the silent white headstones in the National Cemeteries attest that, if it needs attestation; but from rebels, we have been dignified or somewhat into sectional patriots; ignorant and misguided; who fought for what they deemed to be right. Poor dupes that we were. Jefferson Davis, Alexander H. Stephens, [and many others] of the highest officers in the old army and navy, the very choice and flower of the service, throwing up their commissions in the face of a government whose strength they knew; to take service with their states because their duty pointed them there. To whom was our allegiance due, if not to the states that gave us birth? I would rather be called a rebel a thousand times to any government that persistently violated my rights of citizenship than to be complimented with the appellation of a misguided patriot, with too little sense to comprehend the principles of the government he lies under. . . . There is no authoritative appeal for determining the political differences between the north and the south except to the constitution itself. Our misfortune is, that to our conquerors has been given over the writing of our history; and it will take our generations long and hard study to eradicate the errors of false representation that have been drilled into the youth of the country since the war.¹

A couple of years before he died in 1909, his health began to decline. Perhaps that is what prompted him to move to the city limits of Abingdon. In the beginning of 1903 he and his family were boarding with Mrs. John A. Campbell on Main Street. In those days of horse and buggy, the ride from Altamont into Abingdon could be rough, especially in the winter months. In April 1908, Trigg purchased from the Findlay heirs the old Daniel Lynch House located on the corner of Main and Tanner streets.

¹Daniel Trigg, Speech given at unveiling of the Monument to the Confederate Soldiers, 3 June 1908, Abingdon, Virginia, TD, Trigg-Floyd Papers, JCWL; Invitation to attend the unveiling of the Monument to the Confederate States, 3 June 1908, Abingdon, Virginia, D, Trigg-Floyd Papers, JCWL.

²Daniel Trigg, Speech given at a ceremony that awarded Confederate Crosses of Honor [circa 1909?], Wytheville, Virginia, TD, Trigg-Floyd Papers, JCWL.

When Mrs. Campbell died sometime in 1908, Trigg and his family inherited some of her effects, but several suits were filed, presumably by creditors. Trigg was awarded her house at the end of September 1909, in which he lived. By this year, his health declined dramatically, and that summer it was clear to his friends that he suffered from a serious illness. He was diagnosed with gall stone trouble and an operation was called for, which he planned to have performed in early November.²

Naturally this became a time for deep reflection on his life and all he had lived through. He had tried to track down his pistol and sword, which he had surrendered at Sayler's Creek to a man named Abercrombie, but he never saw them again.

Long after the War I endeavored to trace Abercrombie and it was with the result that he was irresponsible and with the likelihood that he had disposed of both the sword and pistol to meet some irresponsible desire. I never expect to hear from them again though they may have fallen into the hands of some generous Federal soldier who would have, upon proper identification, restored them to me or some member of the family.³

To this end, Trigg wrote several letters to Bartlett S. Johnston, a fellow comrade in the Kennon expedition to mine the Virginia waters and a member of Trigg's group that dragged the howitzer through Manchester days before their surrender at Sayler's Creek. Mr. Johnston lived in Baltimore, where Abercrombie was from, and so Trigg corresponded with him and asked him to help track them down. Here is some of the letters, written during the last summer of his life:

May 4, 1909

In looking over some old letters today I came across one from you and it revived in me old recollections, such as some times lie dormant for a time and smolder but may ere be fanned into flame. I often think of the olden time and ere and anon you appear on deck and

¹Ibid.

²Will Book E, WCC, pp. 54-57; Deed dated 26 October 1909, WCC; Deed dated 22 April 1908, WCC; Abingdon Weekly Virginian, 2 January 1903; "Obsequies of Mr. Daniel Trigg," Abingdon Virginian, from "Undated, Miscellaneous Clippings," Bartlett S. Johnston Papers, UNC.

³Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 15-16.

I see you as you appeared so many years ago on board the *Virginia*, on our travels to the Potomac, our pull across the mire to the mouth of the Wicomoco, and our weary march to Sailors Creek. It is indeed true that "We have claimed the hill together. . .[repeats a stanza of John Anderson, My Joe]"

I was sixty-six years old the other day. I was then twenty two. I feel as bouyant and young in some respects now as then.

Do you recollect when surrendered I gave my sword and pistol to an officer who was from Baltimore, a Captain Abercrombie. I heard that for some time he had a position about the Custom House in Balto. My recollection is I cut my name on the stock of the pistol, which had belonged to a brother of mine who was killed at the battle of Fraziers farm in the Seven days fight. Could you possibly find out this man and learn whether there is a possible chance of recovery. You perhaps recollect that my sword was a C.S. Navy sword made in England, Side catch at the hilt and shark skin hilt. I'd give anything to recover these, Especially the pistol. The man to whom I surrendered purported to be on Gen. Keifers staff, but perhaps he was only temporarily so. I remember his name to be Abercrombie, and in reading the War Records Keifers report of the battle of Sailors Creek found mention of the Name.

Did I send you a copy of a speech I made at the unveiling of the Confed monument about a year ago. If not you can have a copy by notifying me.

My children are all gone from home married Except one boy who is in business at Mobile, Alabama. My eldest Son and daughter [live] in and near Fort Lewis Arkansas & second son a doctor in Tennessee. Six grandchildren are the joy of my life though I seldom see them.¹

Abingdon
May 8th 1909

My dear Bart,

Your letter to hand. I remembered that the name of the man I surrendered to was named Abercrombie. He is mentioned in the report of Gen'l Warren Keifer, of the battle at Sailors Creek. War Records Series 1. Vol XLVI. p. 999 as Capt William H. Abercrombie who ____ with us was acting Aide de Campe. He belonged to the 6th Maryland Regt. This much I find from the report. I heard that he or his family lived in Balto. Also heard that he had run [?] office about the Custom House. Also heard that he had probably left his family some time since. You doubtless surrendered to the same man, for I remember he was on horseback. He promised to preserve my pistol for me as I told him I valued it on account of associations. He may also have the sword. Which you would likely recognize if you should see it. It is only a chance that I might ____ these valued relics for which I would now give anything I possess. I was glad to hear from you again. And wish you would come and see me. You may pass here sometime on your way to or from the South. If you ever do, you are made out of poor stuff and have lost your training if you don't stop and see me. I have a notion to send you my photo just to show you how I have held my own. With love to you and yours I am

Your friend sincerely,
Daniel Trigg²

¹Daniel Trigg to Bartlett S. Johnston, LS, 4 May 1909, # 3791 Bartlett S. Johnston Papers, UNC.

²Daniel Trigg to Bartlett S. Johnston, LS, 8 May 1909, Bartlett S. Johnston Papers, UNC.

A couple of months later, to Trigg's great satisfaction, Bart Johnston visited him in Abingdon, showing that he had indeed not lost his training.¹ Trigg's son Ben wrote a letter to Mr. Johnston afterwards: "I am so glad you came to us and saw him for I know it was a great pleasure to him. That night he said 'Ben did you meet my boy Bart?'"²

From the speech he gave that year in Wytheville, he talks of the aging veteran and how he cherishes his memories from the Civil War. It is no wonder that veterans enjoyed meeting each other in these latter years, for they were finding it ever harder to find people who truly understood what they experienced. That bond between Trigg and Johnston made during the war caused him to be extremely pleased to see him again.

We try to move with head erect shoulders square, quick step and eyes front; but ever and anon we find ourselves abstracted and apparently inattentive, listening perhaps to a call of the past; of looking for some comrade who disappeared silently as we passed along; and wondering what become [sic] of him and whether he was badly hurt. For myself, I revere the things you are here to commemorate, and the older I get the more I venerate them. I love the reminiscences of its hardships, its dangers and its hopes, which we cherish all the more, that they were blasted in the springtime of life, when faith in their triumph was undismayed and it is a consolation now to reflect that we never gave up the ship until she was a complete wreck.³

Around the time of Johnston's visit, however, Trigg suffered a terrible attack as a result of his gall stone trouble on October 17. His heart was also weakened further. He began to regain his strength, and by November 2, 1909, Trigg was able to leave Abingdon for Richmond to see his brother-in-law Dr. George Ben Johnston and submit to his care. It was election day and so, before he left, he went to the

¹Ben Johnston Trigg to Bartlett S. Johnston, LS, c. November 1909, Bartlett S. Johnston Papers, UNC. Beginning of letter missing. Date of visit unknown, but it had to be between May and November, and the tone of this letter seems to indicate a recent visit and was written shortly after Trigg's death.

²Ibid.

³Daniel Trigg, Speech given at a ceremony that awarded Confederate Crosses of Honor [circa 1909?], Wytheville, Virginia, TD, Trigg-Floyd Papers, JCWL.

courthouse and voted the full Democratic ticket.¹ He left “full of hope, expecting to return at a not very distant day.”² When he arrived in Richmond, despite his serious condition, he insisted on going to the court of appeals to argue a case that interested him. He desperately needed the operation, but his condition had so worsened that it was no longer possible for him to undergo the ordeal. Over the next week or so, there would be times when his health seemed to improve, but he grew steadily weaker all the while.³

On the sixteenth of November, he wrote his will but was unable to sign his name, so it was signed “his mark.” On Thursday, November 18, at 7:30 A.M., Trigg died at sixty-six years of age. His body was taken to the house of his brother-in-law, Dr. George Ben Johnston, and from there conveyed by the 9:00 P.M. train to Abingdon, accompanied by Daisy, Dr. Dan Trigg, Evelyn, his brother Preston, and Dr. and Mrs. George Ben Johnston. The pallbearers in Richmond were: Lilburn Trigg Myers,⁴ E. T. D. Myers, Jr.,⁵ William Robertson Trigg, Jr.,⁶ Judge S. B. Witt,⁷ Henry C. Stuart,¹ A. P. Wilmer, Colonel B. O. James,² Major Robert W. Hunter,³ Captain John A. Curtis,⁴ Major Robert H. Wright, Pelham Blackford⁵ and Thomas Bolling, Jr.⁶

¹“Obsequies of Mr. Daniel Trigg,” Abingdon Virginian, from “Undated, Miscellaneous Clippings,” Bartlett S. Johnston Papers, UNC; The Bristol Semi-Weekly Herald, 19 November 1909, p.1, EWK.

²“Obsequies of Mr. Daniel Trigg,” Abingdon Virginian, from “Undated, Miscellaneous Clippings,” Bartlett S. Johnston Papers, UNC.

³Ibid.

⁴Lilburn Trigg Myers, son of Major Edmund T. D. Myers and Frances Colquhoun Trigg. Frances was Trigg’s first cousin.

⁵Lilburn’s brother.

⁶William Robertson Trigg, son of William Robertson Trigg, Sr. and Roberta Nicholls Hanewinckel. The elder William was Trigg’s first cousin.

⁷Served in the Virginia House of Delegates, 1879-80, representing Richmond. Leonard, 530.

Everyone in his immediate family came to Abingdon for the funeral, except for his son John. A delegation of lawyers from the Bristol bar came to the funeral, as well as many aged Confederates and out of town visitors. The funeral was held at St. Thomas' Episcopal Church in Abingdon at noon on the nineteenth, and many could not fit inside. The pallbearers were: James L. White,⁷ Frank Smith Robertson,⁸ Peter Johnston Davenport,⁹ John W. Neal,¹⁰ Findlay Harris,¹¹ Alexander Stuart, Wyndham Bolling Robertson,¹² George Stuart, J. W. Cummings, Robert P. Carson,¹³ Fount Keller, George E.

¹He was a delegate from Russell County to the state constitutional convention of 1901-1902. Leonard, 575.

²Served in the Virginia House of Delegates, 1891-92, representing Goochland County. Leonard, 554.

³Two time member of the Virginia House of Delegates, 1863-65, 1874-75. Leonard, 483, 517.

⁴Was a freshman delegate along with Trigg in the House of Delegates for 1883-84 from Richmond. He served two more times, and was running for his third term at the time of Trigg's death. Leonard, 539, 546, 551, 597.

⁵Pelham Blackford, son of Col. William W. Blackford and Mary Trigg Robertson. Mary was Trigg's second cousin.

⁶"Obsequies of Mr. Daniel Trigg," Abingdon Virginian, from "Undated, Miscellaneous Clippings," Bartlett S. Johnston Papers, UNC.

⁷Most likely referring to James L. White, the son of William Y. C. White and Margaret Jane Greenway. He was a Lieutenant in the Confederate Army and later was a lawyer in Abingdon. He married Catherine Markham Robertson, daughter of Gov. Wyndham Bolling Robertson and Mary Frances Trigg Smith. Catherine was Trigg's second cousin.

⁸Frank Robertson, son of Gov. Wyndham Bolling Robertson and Mary Frances Trigg Smith. Frank was Trigg's second cousin and had been a Lieutenant in the Confederate Army, serving on J.E.B. Stuart's and William H.F. Lee's Staff. See previous footnote.

⁹Lawyer from Lindell, Washington Co., Va.

¹⁰Lawyer.

¹¹Former editor of The (Abingdon) Standard.

¹²Wyndham B. Robertson, Frank S. Robertson's younger brother.

Penn,¹ Preston White Campbell,² Judge Francis Beattie Hutton, Judge Reuben Murrell Page,³ and Judge J. W. McBroom. His black casket, with the Confederate national flag draped across it by his own request, was conveyed from the church to nearby Sinking Spring Cemetery, where he was buried underneath a large pine tree. Also at his request, a Confederate battle flag was folded across his chest.⁴ The *Richmond News Leader* reported:

This state never bred a higher gentleman or a purer patriot than Daniel Trigg, of Abingdon. . . . Few men from Southwest Virginia have been known in Eastern Virginia, and especially in Richmond, as widely and intimately as he was. No man from any part of the state was more generally and warmly loved. For very many people outside his own family and immediate circle his death is a personal bereavement.⁵

The obituary printed in the *Abingdon Virginian* just after his death was in such heavy demand by members of the surrounding community that the paper could not supply enough copies. It was therefore revised and reprinted the following week.⁶ Trigg's will was dated November 16, 1909, and was proved on November 24, 1909:

¹³Former principal of the Abingdon Academy. Summers, *History of Southwest Virginia*, 564.

¹Lawyer, served concurrently with Trigg as a trustee of the Abingdon Academy, and member of the Abingdon Town Council. Summers, *History of Southwest Virginia*, 663, 836, 884.

²Preston White Campbell, son of Dr. Edward McDonald Campbell and Ellen Sheffey White. Preston was Trigg's second cousin.

³Law partners with Abram Fulkerson (Fulkerson & Page). Summers, *History of Southwest Virginia*, 773.

⁴"Obsequies of Mr. Daniel Trigg," *Abingdon Virginian*, from "Undated, Miscellaneous Clippings," Bartlett S. Johnston Papers, UNC; "Death Claims Daniel Trigg," *The Times-Dispatch*, Richmond, Va. 19 November 1909, VHS, p. 2; *Bristol-Herald Courier*, 20 November 1909, EWK, p. 2; *Bristol-Herald Courier*, 26 November 1909, EWK.

⁵An excerpt from the *Richmond News Leader* appearing in the *Bristol-Herald Courier*, 21 November 1909, EWK.

⁶"Obsequies of Mr. Daniel Trigg," *Abingdon Virginian*, from "Undated, Miscellaneous Clippings," Bartlett S. Johnston Papers, UNC.

In the name of God, Amen.

I, Daniel Trigg, of Abingdon, Washington County, Virginia, being of sound and disposing mind, memory and understanding, hereby revoking all wills heretofore made by me do now declare this to be my true last will and testament:

Item I I give and bequeth to my son John W. Johnston Trigg my Confederate Cross of Honor.

Item II All the rest, residue and remainder of my estate, real, personal and mixed, and wheresoever situated I give, bequeth and devise to my beloved wife, Margaret Ann O'Donoghue Trigg, absolutely and in fee simple.

I hereby nominate and appoint my said wife to be the executrix of this my will and request and direct that no security be required of her upon her qualification as such.

Given under my hand this 16th day of November, 1909.

Daniel (his mark) Trigg¹

The witnesses were Dr. George Ben Johnston, Coralie Henry Johnston, and A. Murat Willis.

Apparently, after Trigg's death, Daisy held an auction of all his things. The auctioneer and the people of Abingdon, however, were sympathetic to Trigg's children, so the auctioneer started the bid off for each item at a pittance and if any of the children bid on it, none of the Abingdon citizens bid against them.²

The pistol Trigg surrendered to Abercrombie at Sayler's Creek remarkably returned to the family. Members of the family found it in Franklin Bache's effects upon his death. Mr. Bache was Trigg's son-in-law, so perhaps Trigg's efforts to find the gun paid off and was returned to him after he died and it was kept by Trigg's oldest child, Nannie Greenway Trigg Bache. It was then given to my father, Peter Johnston Trigg, Trigg's great-grandson.

¹Washington Co., Va., Will Book E, WCC, pp. 183-84.

²Elizabeth Francis, interview by Angela Trigg, summer of 1991, Norfolk, Va. This is the story told to her by her grandmother, Evelyn, Trigg's daughter.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

This paper is intended to add to the current body of knowledge available on life in the Confederate Navy and life in postwar Virginia. Daniel Trigg represents one slice in time. His story shows not only what a typical person of his time and place experienced, but also the variety and richness of life at the end of the nineteenth century in Virginia. His story also shows how one person was able to adapt to the rapid changes in the New South.

His experiences with the Confederate Navy reads almost like a typical profile of a young Southern officer in the service of the Southern navy, but one that uniquely bisects Confederate Naval history. He went to the Academy and resigned, as so many other southern midshipmen did, and served on an ironclad, like so many others. But his experiences also included serving on the school ship; serving on a wooden sailing ship; fighting at the Battle of Hampton Roads, probably the most famous of all the Civil War naval battles; augmenting shore batteries; serving abroad; promotion into the Provisional Navy; doing secret service work with torpedoes; and ending up in the only major land battle where sailors fought. All of these are chapters in the history of the Confederate Navy. So his story is like the story of the Confederate Navy through the experiences of one officer.

But his experiences during the Civil War also say something else. His luck helped him survive the Civil War physically, but his humor and his traits that made up being a Romantic Adventurer helped him to survive mentally the horrors he witnessed during the Civil War. Veterans of wars are affected mentally by their experiences and often have difficulty assimilating back into society once the war is over. Vietnam War veterans are a perfect example. The parallel with Vietnam War veterans can be further made, because it was the first time in America's history that American soldiers had fought and

lost since Southern soldiers did so in the Civil War. The effects of fighting for a cause and losing can have a profound effect on one's psyche. He was able to adapt.

So Trigg was able to survive the psychological effects of the Civil War. His next challenge was to adapt to the rapid changes that occurred in the New South. His relatively young age also helped him to adapt to the new society he found after the war. He did not become one of those labeled by Edward L. Ayers, in his book The Promise of the New South, as "old soldier," unable to adapt to the changing times and disconnected from the New South. To the contrary, Trigg became a man of the New South.

It is an interesting exercise to draw parallels with Trigg's story and Ayers' book. The most obvious parallel is politics. Trigg was definitely a "courthouse politician" but in some ways he was not a typical Democrat, according to Ayers. By Ayers' definition, Democrats did not support "initiatives in schools, orphanages, prisons, and asylums," but during Trigg's term in the state legislature (1883-84) he did just that. Trigg also supported regulations on railroad companies, which was not a universal trend until the late 1890s.

However, Trigg as a lawyer was a typical politician during that time.

No group was better able to serve politics than the lawyers who worked in the heart of every county, town, and city. . . . Lawyers dealt with each other at district as well as local courts, developing the sort of acquaintanceships beyond the borders of their counties that few people in the New South enjoyed. Lawyers had more free time than many, made a living out of talking and public speaking, and were anxious to attract public attention. . . . If he did a good job in an important case, or even if he were merely flamboyant and entertaining, a prosecutor could attract an important following among the men who loitered around Southern courthouses.¹

Trigg's career was also typical, according to Ayers, because most Democrats during this time reached their highest political level in their state legislatures. Most returned home after serving one or two sessions, for the inconvenience and expense of holding office kept many legislators from pursuing it as a career. As a result, novices peppered most of the state legislative sessions. Trigg, though, did have some

¹Edward L. Ayers, The Promise of the New South: Life After Reconstruction (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 36.

experiences with the Virginia state legislature before he served, for he was often in Richmond sounding out legislators on behalf of Sen. John W. Johnston during the 1870s. The typical legislative session could jump dramatically from one view point to another depending on isolated powers and the economy. “Some isolated voices called for the state to take better care of schoolchildren, criminals, the insane, the poor, disabled veterans; sometimes it did.” Trigg was one of those “isolated voices.”¹

Ayers makes a passing note of Virginia politics and the funding issue: “Virginia experienced the deepest and most protracted battle over the debt of any state.” This battle was being fought all over the South, but in much lower tones. Gen. Mahone’s success in 1879 in overthrowing the Redeemers gave strength to many other like-minded politicians across the South, and between 1880 and 1884 independent voting reached its highest peak.²

Machine politics was a part of the Democratic Party, especially for Virginia after Mahone’s shake up, as well as the Republican Party. Many complicated, interworking parts made up the party machine on the local, county, state and national levels.

It was by no means clear which level of party was most important. While the national leaders articulated party policy on the tariff and currency, state leaders maneuvered dozens of diverse county leaders into position on gubernatorial and senatorial seats, county leaders controlled access to most political positions, and local leaders turned out the vote. . . . Party loyalty was the basis on which everything else stood. All a party member needed to know, a neophyte learned, was ‘the name of our son-of-a-bitch.’³

By 1895, Trigg was one of these “sons-of-a-bitch” as chairman of the Washington County Democratic Party. Unfortunately, no more evidence of his involvement as chairman has been found which could shed further light on the workings of the Democratic Party machine on the county level in Virginia. It is noteworthy, however, that despite this powerful position on the local level, he chose to side with

¹Ibid., 43, 44.

²Ibid., 46-47.

³Ibid., 35.

Republican Gen. Walker in his highly partisan trial in 1898. It seems that Trigg's principles of honor and personal loyalty were more important than party loyalty and speak highly of Trigg's integrity. It seems from surviving records that this trial marks the extent of Trigg's political career. He dropped out of politics, and later when he wrote his memoirs he stated, "I have never been connected with politics except locally." Had the party machine and its corruptness disgusted him, and made him want to disassociate himself from the party? It certainly appears so.¹

According to Ayers, on the national level in 1892, Democrats across the South began to distance themselves from Grover Cleveland during his run for president because of his insistence on the gold standard. However, Trigg supported him. The Democratic Party was under pressure to adopt the free silver platform from the Farmer's Alliance, but Cleveland's stance on money is precisely why Trigg supported him. This election year the Democrats held firm; they did not switch to the free silver platform until 1894. This was during the time of Trigg's heavy involvement with the Douglas Land Company and its northern business agenda, so perhaps that influenced his opinion. One of his other reasons for supporting Cleveland is revealing: "because he restored the Union by admitting the South into full fellowship in the affairs of the country." Here is a person who has definitely benefited from the reunion, a person of the New South. Trigg was definitely a party man at this time, for another reason for his support was Cleveland's policy of tariff reform. The Democrats in the South had been battling for years to lower the high northern tariffs, and Cleveland promised to do that. Trigg was not wishy-washy in his statement of support; he did not try to appeal to both the town businessmen and the farmers. Of course, he was also not running for office that election year either. Many Democrats had a hard time deciding on which side of the fence to be. The 1892 election year was one of great strife and violence around the South, as the third party threatened the two established party machines.²

¹Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 30.

²Ayers, Promise of the New South, 49, 260-63, 269, 274-75, 285; Abingdon Weekly Virginian, 5 February 1892, UVA, Reel 4.

Trigg's dealings with the Douglas Land Company were also quite typical in the New South. Northern industrialists came south to buy up land and mineral rights for various enterprises, and it was the locals who aided them to find the best land.

It was the natives who knew where the best land, and best price, could be found; natives who could use their relations and their friends to persuade some bastion of the old order to sell his or her mineral rights; natives who showed the visitors from Philadelphia or New York or Chicago (or Roanoke or Atlanta or Birmingham, for that matter) around the area; natives who dealt with the courthouse politicians in town to smooth the way for development.¹

This was precisely Trigg's role as attorney for the Douglas Land Company. He acted as land agent, broker, lawyer, ambassador, and diplomat for the Douglas family for almost a decade, though it does appear that their usual no-nonsense-get-it-done-quick business manner grated against Trigg's easy-going sensibilities. The Douglas Land Company was just one of numerous land development companies trying to cash in on the new boom-town syndrome in the South. The railroad had transformed Big Lick, Virginia, into Roanoke, so why not try the same formula elsewhere? Like so many other ventures across the New South, it failed.²

Connections helped in other ways than in dealings with Northern clients. A theme working through Ayers book is that social connections and choosing to work where one is from often made the difference in success. Being a lawyer in the New South was not a guarantor of success anymore. There were many stories of young, hopeful lawyers starting out a practice in a new town only to fail. Trigg's decision to stay in Abingdon paid off in the end, and by the 1890s and a new recession he was living comfortably. Trigg believed his father-in-law Sen. Johnston made a mistake in settling in Richmond after finishing his congressional duties.³

¹Ayers, Promise of the New South, 117-118.

²Ibid., 60.

³Ibid., 64, 66, 96.

It was however from a material and business standpoint on his part a disastrous move, severing as it did his connection with his former business associates when he could readily have resumed a leading practice in the section of the country where he was known and with which he had been associated all his life.¹

Another thread that runs through Ayers' book is the violence hidden under a very thin layer that erupted time and time again, mainly over politics and fueled by a poor economy. "The New South was a notoriously violent place. . . . Lethal weapons seemed everywhere. Guns as well as life were cheap: . . ." A young man in a southern town considered carrying a gun, a knife and brass knuckles standard attire. This certainly seemed true in Abingdon as well, for the experiences of just one newspaper editor and judge (Judge George W. Ward, Jr.) is enough to symbolize this southern trend. Trigg became involved in several scrapes, even a near-duel, over politics, and his brother tried to outlaw guns in 1884, which had become a habit in the town.²

When the Spanish-American War started in 1898, it became a vehicle for sectional reconciliation. Trigg's oldest son John W. Johnston Trigg tried to enlist in the service but was rejected because of his eyesight. "Those white Southerners who enlisted in the war tended to be those tied closest to the towns and newspapers of the South, virtually identical to their Northern counterparts in age, marital status, occupations, and geographic mobility." This again shows that the Trigg family was a town family.³

The era of sectional reconciliation was also the peak of the cult of the Confederacy. The United Confederate Veterans had organized in 1889, and by 1896 three-fourths of former Confederate counties had UCV camps. "Somewhere between a fourth and a third of all living veterans joined, with men of all classes enlisting in its ranks." Trigg was one of these to join; he filled out an application but it is unfortunately undated. The UCV and the United Daughters of the Confederacy began erecting

¹Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Memoirs], 29.

²Ayers, Promise of the New South, 153-55.

monuments and were soon followed by towns. Earlier monuments had been confined to the cemeteries, but these monuments of the Gilded Age stood proudly in town squares. “The men behind the United Confederate Veterans came from town, from business backgrounds. They were not famous veterans, but rather from the rank and file . . .” These monuments not only symbolized the glory of the past, but the commercialism of the New South.¹

The height of the monument craze was between 1885 and 1912. The 1890 unveiling of the Robert E. Lee statue in Richmond was the biggest of these events, drawing one hundred thousand spectators. Trigg may have been one of these, for in a letter dated May 15, 1890, his wife wrote to her sister, “Dan is talking of going to the unveiling I wish he would.” As shown in the preceding chapter, Trigg was involved in this “cult” and gave a speech at the installation of the monument in Abingdon in 1908. Ayers wrote of one veteran who went to the Confederate reunion during the Tennessee Centennial and his experiences. “[He] also recognized, though, that the camaraderie grew out of the loneliness of the veterans’ lives. The men ‘seemed to have come down from a different age. I think some of the heart muscles which had become flaccid from long disuse had new blood and vitality.’”²

For most of Trigg’s life, though, as stated earlier in the conclusion, he was a man of the New South. He was not a contradiction, or an anachronism, as many other veterans were. He filled his speech in 1905 with New South rhetoric. Trigg, however, did feel this loneliness that Ayers spoke of during his final years and recognized how much he and his fellow comrades had changed from the fresh-faced youths of 1861. Ayers wrote of how these old veterans seemed lost in the New South, unable to adapt. He

³Ibid., 329; James Knox Trigg, *Trigg History*, 673.

¹Ayers, *Promise of the New South*, 334.

²Ibid., 335, 336-37; Louisa B. J. Trigg to Lavalette J. McMullen, LS, 15 May 1890, McM, Duke University.

recounted the irony of one veteran who was killed near his camp reunion in Virginia when an electric car, symbolic of change and the New South, ran over him.¹

One other interesting parallel brought forth in Ayers' book is how often the labor of women saved families from the dangers of debt. Many southern women produced items at home and found markets for them in town, be it eggs, honey, or butter. It was termed their "butter-and-egg money" and it was theirs to spend.

When all else failed, the foresight and care of a mother could save a family from the worst consequences of hard times. . . . The money they earned in this way often made the difference between getting by and getting ahead. . . . Women may well have cherished their butter-and-egg money precisely because it offered them a source of independence hard to find elsewhere.²

This was certainly the case with Trigg's wife Louisa, who had many money-making ventures that certainly helped the family survive. She sold milk when court was in session, took in boarders, and even painted china to sell. She cherished this money she earned and often used it to buy small luxuries for their home.

In light of Ayers' work, it can be seen that Trigg's life was a microcosm of events and experiences happening all over the South at the time. It is the story of one of an individual who lived in a town, and his perspectives and thoughts were informed by this position; but some of his other experiences were common to both farmer and lawyer alike.

¹Ayers, *Promise of the New South*, 337.

²*Ibid.*, 205.

APPENDIX ONE
LETTERS AND WRITINGS

Letters

Letter One

Richmond, 23 Oct. 1875

My dear Dan

I came over from Petersburg to-day & received your letter this evening. Tho' I have been here only a few hours I have been approached about the Texas-Pacific road by several persons.¹ Huntington was one of them.² He remains here till monday partly to talk with me about it. The other is a gentleman who wants my letter to distribute in the Southern States & is going to take a tour through the South to advocate my side of the question. Mr. Frank G. Ruffin³ was another & he told me that I ought to come out with more articles as the people are hard to be interested in anything. He said Scott would have a strong lobby here, headed by Bev Tucker⁴ & that he also thought Bradley Johnson⁵ was trying to get into the legislature in the interest of Tom Scott. There was a letter from this [?] place in the Herald in which the correspondent said that it was conceded I stood no chance for re-election. This letter I believe was written in the interest of some aspirant, as I do not believe the writer had ever heard anything of the sort from any reliable source.

¹This was a controversial issue in Virginia at the time. Railroad magnate Tom Scott, of Pennsylvania, was trying to get support in the South for federal aid to fund his proposed Texas-Pacific Railroad. Johnston was among those, including William Mahone and John W. Daniel, who were trying to show the people of the South that the railroad actually would not benefit them; it was owned by Northerners and would connect mainly with Pennsylvania and Northern owned lines. Those that supported Scott were General John Daniel Imboden and Beverly Tucker. Maddex, 160.

²Most likely Collis P. Huntington, owner of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad. Maddex, 147.

³Frank Gildart Ruffin was a member of the "Readjuster" movement in Virginia headed by William Mahone. Later, though, he turned against the movement. Allen W. Moger, Virginia: Bourbonism to Byrd 1870-1925 (Charlottesville, Va.: The University of Virginia, 1968), 19.

⁴Nathaniel Beverly Tucker.

⁵Bradley T. Johnson; he did end up representing Richmond City and Henrico County in the State Senate that term and the next. Leonard, 523, 527.

If Sheffey¹ is elected to the legislature, he may help or he may injure me seriously. If he will support me, he can be of great service — on the other hand, if he takes [?] a notion to run, it may endanger my [?] election. From what I can learn Walker² will not run, nor will Bocoock³ or Stuart.⁴ Goode may or not run as things turn out.⁵ Withers⁶ told a friend of mine in Petersburg that Goode was the only man I had to fear. And I infer from this remark of Withers, that John W. Daniel who is a warm friend of Withers does not expect to be brought forward.⁷ A united southwest can elect me I think. Nicketti⁸ writes that Ed Bowen & the Bowens are against me, but I do not think Cousin Ed's election very probable & therefore, it will not make much difference.

As you say, what I have done about the Pacific road is before the people and I cannot recall it if I would. It would not be policy to retreat from my position nor am I inclined to do so, if was policy. I thought & I think that I was right & am therefore ready to take the consequences. I intend to fight it out on that line. Nor do I believe that Tom Scott can command influence enough to hurt [?] me for that cause. He or my opponents may make that the pretext for opposing me, but can't beat me on that issue alone. I will see Forbes & learn all I can from him. I met ____ (the Editor of the Dispatch) this evening & he was very polite — came across the street to speak to me. The contest in this city is very bitter & everybody seems to think it will end in fighting. The feeling against Bradley Johnson is very bitter & opponents think they can beat him— & profess to feel sure of beating him in the conservative vote & only fear the Radical vote. On the other hand, Johnson's friends declare he will get a large majority.

I met with Bolling,⁹ the bolting[?] candidate for the Senate in Petersburg & dined with

¹James W. Sheffey of Smyth County, served in the House of Delegates for that term. Leonard, 523.

²Gen. James A. Walker.

³Thomas Stanley Bocoock was a former Congressman and was one of the leading founders of the Conservative Party in Virginia in 1867. Maddex, 133; Moger, 43; Leonard, xxiv.

⁴Stuart most likely refers to Alexander “Sandy” Hugh Holmes Stuart, a prominent Pre-War Whig from Staunton. He was a former Congressman and secretary of the interior under Pres. Millard Fillmore and was the leader of the new Conservative Party in Virginia in 1867. Leonard, xxvii.

⁵John Goode, Jr. was a U.S. Representative from 1875-1881. Leonard, xxv.

⁶Senator Robert Enoch Withers, elected to the United States Senate for the 1875-1881 term. Maddex, 289; Leonard, xxviii.

⁷John Warwick Daniel. He was a member of the Conservative Party. Later he served in the House of Representatives for the 1885-87 term. Leonard, xxv.

⁸Nicketti Buchanan Floyd Johnston, Senator Johnston’s wife.

⁹George W. Bolling, a leading Conservative party member.

Hinton¹ the nominee. Hinton is a young man, very resolute, bold and active, with warm friends & violent enemies. He is a plain spoken man and speaks out without regard to consequences. He is very self-possessed & a gentleman told me that he saw him have four fights one night at a meeting of the city council, and that between the fights, he would go on with his speech just as coolly as if nothing had happened — He would commence just where he left off, when interrupted by the fight. The night of the speaking in Petersburg, he called a man who was sitting on the steps of the platform from which we spoke, a liar, knave & poltroon. The man sat still said nothing then, but afterwards got up & said he was going to vote for Hinton. Love to all & God bless you all

Yours truly
John W. Johnston²

Letter Two

Exchange Hotel & Ballard House
J.L. Carrington, Proprietor
Richmond, Va., Dec. 15th 1875

My dear Judge,

I don't know how it is that the letters are not received in time. Some fault about the mails from the house — [John W.] Daniel at one time received 69 votes but it was artificial & filibustering. Many of our friends voting for him. So you would have received within a vote or two of it had all our friends been present. I think you will be elected. Coghill³ is managing our interest on the floor now & he Claughton,⁴ Gov. Thomas Turner, Gab[?] Wharton⁵ are all confident. We had a conference last night & estimating your strength by the experience we have gone through with we came to the conclusion you could beat either Goode or Daniel. Gov. [John] Letcher voted for you since his chances are gone I understand he is in favor of you. Daniel's friends are adroit & enthusiastic. Progressive & considerably on the hurrah[?] boy[?] order. I think that we have made no enemies but on the contrary many friends. I talk very freely with some of Goode's leading friends. Each having a full understanding as to how the other stands. Upon the whole I am encouraged. A resolution was carried this morning, requiring all candidates to be placed in nomination &

¹William E. Hinton, Jr., candidate at this time for the State Senate, representing the Petersburg area. Leonard, 523.

²John W. Johnston to Daniel Trigg, 23 October 1875, George Harris Sargeant Papers, Norfolk, Va.

³Robert A. Coghill, representing Amherst and Nelson counties in the House of Delegates for this session, he was a longtime member of the state legislature. Leonard, 521.

⁴Hierome O. Claughton, state senator representing Loudon, Alexandria, Fairfax and Prince William counties for this term. Leonard, 523.

⁵Gabriel C. Wharton, Montgomery County's representative in the previous General Assembly. Leonard, 518.

forbidding renomination after being once dropped. It was certainly developed in a contest between yourself Daniel & Goode that you were strongest the vote standing — You 47 — G 43 — D 41. We take this as a fair estimate of your relative strength as each man was at that time endeavoring to prevent being dropped. Our estimate is that in a single handed contest you can beat either. I write you as I have thought on the subject. Of course circumstances may change matters & you may be defeated. You will however be bound to feel encouraged in knowing that you have the earnest support of such men as those I have named. [James W.] Sheffey is all ass and I think is generally so recognized. He will support you now.

Yours truly

Dan Trigg¹

Letter Three

TO THE VOTERS OF Smyth and Washington Counties.
FELLOW-CITIZENS:

Having announced myself a candidate for the Senate, and finding it impossible to make a thorough canvass, so that the people may know from me in person my views, and finding that I have been misrepresented, doubtless designedly, as to some of the issues to be determined, I take this method of informing you as to my position.

I never was in favor of the Funding Bill, and would have opposed it, had I been in the Legislature. This I have said repeatedly, and yet by certain persons I am misrepresented as being a *funder*.

I deny that the debt is \$61,000,000 as claimed by some of those who desire to humbug you into the belief that the State is Bankrupt. On the contrary, according to the latest statement of the 2nd Auditor, which I have seen, it is as follows, viz:

Principal.....	\$29,350,816.88
Int. to July 1, '77	4,244,951.17

Total	\$33,695,777.55

And this amount, if elected, I would do everything in my power that is honorable and proper to compromise and reduce. My belief has always been that the creditors should and would compromise upon liberal terms, such as would bring the matter within the present ability of the State to pay at the present rate of taxation. I am in favor of a reduction of expenses to within the limits they were before the war, and will oppose extravagance in every department.

I believe the Rail Road should be taxed like other property for county purposes. I would favor this, and to that extent, relieve the tax on property.

I am in favor of the public free school system, and would guard and foster it. I am opposed to the appropriations for schools being taken for other objects. These are my views given in a very general way. If elected, I will endeavor to serve you faithfully and honestly

Very respectfully,

¹Daniel Trigg to John W. Johnston, 15 December 1875, George Harris Sargeant Papers, Norfolk,

DANIEL TRIGG.

October, 1877.¹Trigg's Poem

- 1 The devils to pay
So turn you I pray
From your cake and your fat Christmas Turkey
And draw out your dimes
To pay for the rhymes
And the news thats been brought you by Perkey
- 2 You say you a'int able
Just look at your table
It is groaning with good things I think
While kid in the corner
Like little Jack Horner
Is a bottle of something to drink
- 3 Sad changes have been here
In dear old Virginia
The home of the free no longer – alas!
In silent In bring in [?]
We view our conchtrin[?]
And await the next bills that Congress will pass
- 4 There are sad hearts I know
And tears that will flow
For the vacant chairs left round the hearth
But as Xmas has joys
For the girls & the boys
Let us join in their innocent mirth
- 5 If the Yankees are hateful
We've come[?] to be grateful
And loud praises resound from each mouth
For old Andy stands fast
And is true to the last
To the down trodden men of the South
- 6 There is joy in our town
For the dry goods are down
And you couldnt buy anything lower
Though through cities you'd seek

¹The (Abingdon) Standard, 1 November 1877, UVA.

Them from Stephen & Meek

On down at Jim Grenways¹ old store

- 7 H. G. Bessey & Hurt²
 They are in the alert
 And do sell you your goods cheap and fine
 Sandoe, Lewark³ & Ayres
 And Bob Hickman⁴ down stairs
 Will keep everything nice in their line
- 8 Then Campbell _____[?] store
 With McConnell⁵ next door
 Offer dry goods & groceries new
 While men near & far
 Trade with Lee & with Barr
 And get bargains at Honakers⁶ too
- 9 Would you like to dress fine
 Drink good brandy & wine
 You had best be a lawyer I think
 For last week at the court
 It was reall good sport
 To see them all dress fine & drink
- 10 Why some had new hats
 Others have new cravats
 And shoes shining like patent leather
 Each had a new suit
 And a new hat to boot
 In spite of the cold, sleety weather

¹James C. Greenway, Trigg's brother-in-law, general merchandise. Chataigne's Virginia Business Directory and Gazeteer and Richmond City Directory 1877-78 (n.p.: Chataigne & Gillis, publishers, 1878?), 660.

²H.G. Bessey was an Abingdon merchant, and Hurt is most likely referring to Hurt & Brothers, merchants in Abingdon at the time (Floyd Breckenridge Hurt, Samuel F. Hurt and William W. Hurt). King, Places in Time, Volume Two, Abingdon, Meadowview & Glade Spring, Virginia, (Marion, Va.: Tucker Printing Co., 1994), 102, 109, back cover.

³Most likely David K.H. Lewark. King, Places in Time, Volume Two, p. 91.

⁴R.M. Hickman & Co., Abingdon, drug store. Chataigne's, 660.

⁵D.F. McConnell, Abingdon, confectioner. Chataigne's, 660.

⁶Samuel N. Honaker, Abingdon, general merchandise. Chataigne's, 660.

- 11 If the judges came yearly
It will cost them quite dearly
To keep up with all that I saw
I'll declare on my soul
I will quit Mr. Coal
& am going to take to the law
- 12 We know it is time
With me as with you
That the war'd laid our purses all level
So pull out your quarter
You know that you ought to
give a dollar – at least
to

The devil¹

¹Trigg, [Daniel Trigg's Poem].

APPENDIX TWO

MEMORIALS

Bristol Bar Pays Tribute to the Late Daniel Trigg

At a Meeting Held Saturday Morning Addresses Touching on the Personal Character of the Deceased were Delivered by Messrs. Bailey, Price, Phelgar, Ashworth, Blanchard and Burson — The Resolution Adopted.

The Bristol bar paid a fitting tribute to the memory of the late Daniel Trigg of Abingdon, who died some two weeks ago at a second meeting held for the purpose at the Bristol, Va. court house Saturday morning, and at which Judge Kelly presided.

Brief remarks, including personal reminiscences, touching the life and character of Mr. Trigg were made by Messrs. Bailey, Price, Phelgar, Ashworth, Blanchard and Burson. Col. S.V. Fulkerson moved the passage of the resolutions presented by the committee appointed for that purpose. The following was unanimously adopted:

At a meeting of the bar of Bristol, Va., held on the 19th day of November, 1909, the undersigned committee were directed to prepare a suitable memorial and resolutions on the life and character of Hon. Daniel Trigg, the sad intelligence of whose death has just been announced.

In the passing of the Hon. Daniel Trigg from our midst, the bar of this city, as well as the bar of Washington county, have lost one of their oldest, and in many branches of the practice of the profession, their ablest member, and the county of Washington one of her best citizens.

In his life, his character, his aims and purposes, Mr. Trigg was a splendid type of the best citizenship.

He was born in Abingdon, Va., on the 12th day of March, 1843, and died in Richmond, Va., whither he had gone for treatment on the 18th day of November, 1909. The son of Dr. Daniel Trigg and Anna Munford Tompkins, his progenitors were of best Virginia stock. He received his early education from private tutors, and at Abingdon male academy.

He entered the United States naval academy and was a student there when the civil war began. He resigned and entered the Confederate navy and rose to the rank of lieutenant. After the termination of the war he studied law in the office of Judge John A. Campbell and was admitted to the bar in 1869. He early formed a partnership with Judge John W. Johnston his father-in-law, which continued until the death of the latter. His only other law partnership was with Judge John W. Price. He was elected to represent Washington county in the house of delegates in 1882, and this was the only public office he ever held. He was married first to Miss Louisa Bowen Johnston, a daughter of Judge John W. Johnston, from which union there were five children, three sons and two daughters, Mr. John Trigg, Dr. Daniel Trigg, Mr. George Ben Trigg, Mrs. Nannie Trigg Bache and Mrs. Evelyn Triggs [sic] Sargeant, all of whom survive him.

Some years after that [sic] death of his first wife, he married Miss Daisy O'Donahue, of Washington D. C., who survives him.

Thus briefly we recite the main facts of human interest in a most eventful and useful life. These convey a very poor idea of the real man and his influence in the community.

Mr. Trigg was first a lawyer; he devoted forty years to the practice of his profession, and his professional life was representative of all that was high and commendable. He had great regard for the courts and he believed that they were the surest bulwarks of civil liberty. His honesty and integrity were conspicuous traits of character; he was loyal to his clients and faithful to every trust imposed upon him. His nature was impulsive and generous. This trait was emphasized in his constant and helpful friendship to struggling young lawyers, many of whom made their start in his office. He fought his legal battles with ardour, and always with honor. He dealt with his adversary as a foeman who commanded his best effort. He was very resourceful in court; a quick mind, keen wit, fine humor, and love of combat made him a dangerous antagonist. He loved the victories at the bar and was devoted to his profession and the highest ideals for which the profession stands. Faithful to his friends, steadfast in his beliefs, charitable, patriotic and courageous, he easily won the hearts of his fellowmen.

There were no false notes in his makeup; a kind and considerate father and husband, a good neighbor and true friend has gone to his just reward.

Therefore, be it resolved:

That we, the members of the Bristol, Va., bar, mourn the loss of our colleague and do honor to his memory.

That we request this memorial to be spread upon the records of the corporation court of Bristol, Va.

That a copy be published in the Bristol and Abingdon newspapers and that suitable copies be presented to members of the family of our deceased friend.

D. F. BAILEY,
A. H. BLANCHARD,
JOHN W. PRICE.

Committee.¹

The committee of the Abingdon bar appointed by the Circuit Court presented the following resolutions on the first day of the January term of court:

To the Honorable Francis B. Hutton, Judge of the Circuit Court of Washington County, Virginia.

Your committee appointed at the last term of your Honor's Court to prepare suitable resolutions in regard to the death of Honorable Daniel Trigg offer the following paper in regard thereto:

Daniel Trigg was born at Abingdon, Virginia, on the 12th day of March, 1843, and died at the Johnston-Willis Sanatorium in Richmond, on the 18th of November, 1909. His father, Dr. Daniel Trigg, died at Abingdon when the subject of this paper was ten years of age. His mother was a daughter of Alexander Tompkins, a lawyer of Lynchburg, and after the loss of her husband, moved to the home of her father, and lived there, with her children, for some years, when they returned to Abingdon. Both of his parents belonged to families that were prominent in social and public life, some of each arising to eminence, and the

¹The Bristol Herald Courier, 28 November 1909, EWK.

names of both families are honored ones in Virginia. One of the ancestors of Mrs. Trigg was the famous William Byrd, of Westover, and some of the characteristic features of that strong man were noticeable in Daniel Trigg.

For many years he attended the Abingdon Male Academy, under the excellent instruction and guidance of the Rev. Thomas Brown, a noted teacher in his day, and for several years, he was also under the special tutelage of Mr. Brown in a private class taught at his home. He was appointed to the Naval Academy at Annapolis as a cadet in the year 1859. He remained there until the beginning of the Civil War, when he resigned and returned to his native State, offering his services as a soldier. He enlisted in the Confederate Navy and served therein during the war. He was promoted to a Lieutenancy for gallantry in the naval battle of Hampton Roads. Just before the surrender of General Lee, when the vessels used by the naval force, with which he served, were compelled to be abandoned and destroyed, at the time of the evacuation of Richmond, his command united with the infantry troops, and on the march towards Appomattox, engaged with heavy loss in the battle of Sailor's Creek, where he was captured and held in prison until after the surrender. He then took employment on sailing vessels, and for a year or more, visited many ports of the world. He returned to Abingdon and studied law under his uncle, Judge John A. Campbell. He moved to Arkansas, but the climate did not suit his health and he returned to Virginia and cast his lot in the home of his birth, where he resided until his death. For want of means, he did not obtain full educational advantages, but his natural mental powers, his love for reading and his ambition stimulated his love for literature and stored his mind with knowledge obtained from the best authors. He accumulated a large library of useful and valuable books, some of the histories being rare, and with these books, he lived whenever opportunity afforded. His mind was strong and retentive, and to his profession, he carried the same love for research and study that governed his literary taste. He was one of the best read men of his section. In his addresses, strong and apt expressions often flashed like jewels from his well stored mind.

On January 9th 1872 he was married to Louisa Johnston, daughter of Judge, afterwards Senator, John W. Johnston. She died in the year 1896, leaving five children, and in the year 190 , [sic] he married Margaret Ann O'Donahue, of Washington, D.C. For a number of years he was the law partner of Judge Johnston.

He served his people in the Legislature of Virginia in the session of 188304. He was strongly endorsed by members of the bar and prominent citizens for the position of United States Judgeship.

In his family, he was a loving and devoted husband and father, and though a man of strong character, he was affable and generous, a charming companion in social life, and with his genial disposition, drew around him a large circle of friends, who not only admired and loved him, but were as steadfast as though bound to him by hooks of steel, Many a silent tear, unknown and unseen, was dropped as a tribute to his memory upon information of his death. Few men ever had more influence among his people than Daniel Trigg, and fewer still will leave more lasting impressions of sorrow at death. He served his people in private and public life, always with credit to himself and his constituents. His reputation was not limited to his home or to his section, but his worth and character were known and recognized by the people of his State.

As a tribute of record and affection, we desire to place upon record the following resolutions:

First. That in the death of Daniel Trigg, the community has lost one of its most honorable and conspicuous citizens, whose heart was ever open to the cry of the poor and needy, and in whose life was exhibited those traits of character that drew men to him and exercised upon them an influence for good.

Second. That as a soldier he gave the services of his young life to the cause of his State and was ready to sacrifice the same, if need be, in its behalf.

Third. That as a lawyer, he was an able advocate and zealous defender of his clients' rights, and gave to his clients' cause all his legal ability and force, and the end of a law suit only came with him when the last ditch was reached.

Fourth. That as a husband and father, he was loving and devoted, and was to the members of his family a companion, as well as the one to whom they looked for guidance and aid.

Fifth. That we assure his wife and children of our tenderest sympathy in the great loss that they have sustained, coupled with the further assurance that a recognition of his manly qualities and his virtues is written upon the "Tablets of our hearts and memory."

Jas. L. White,
R.M. Page,
L.T. Cosby,
J.W. McBroom,
D.F. Bailey.

Which after appropriate remarks by James L. White, Judge R.M. Page, R.J. Summers, Judge J.W. McBroom, A.L. Robinson, M.H. Honaker, J.J. Stuart, George E. Penn, P.W. Campbell, P.J. Davenport, L.T. Cosby, L.P. Summers, members of the Bar present, and the Honorable F.B. Hutton, Judge of this Court, were unanimously adopted and ordered to be spread upon the records of this Court, and the Clerk of this Court is requested to transmit copy engross of said resolutions to the family of the deceased, and a copy be furnished the newspapers published in Abingdon, Virginia.¹

Daniel Trigg

(Abingdon Virginian)

In the death of Hon. Daniel Trigg, Abingdon loses one of her most reputable and highly esteemed citizens, the county a notable son and the state one of whom it may well be proud. Mr. Trigg had grown [sic] up and lived with the best interests of his native place always first and with a love for the south and its institutions that never faded or faltered. As a soldier his life was ever ready to be laid down for the principles he loved. In public position his aim and ambition was to perform his duty uprightly and well. In private life he was the soul of honor, was equitable and fair, with a heart full of sympathy and tenderness for the afflicted and the unfortunate. In his profession he occupied an advanced and enviable position, enjoying a notable state-wide reputation. He was a student and reasoner, forming conclusions for himself and had the courage to firmly express and uphold his opinions. His character was unimpeachable and the name he leaves is a noble heritage to those who loved him. Abingdon can ill spare one of his citizenship at any time, but gone — she can point with pride to what he was and with sorrow to her loss, deeply mourning his taking away.

"When our sould shall leave this dwelling,
The glory of one fair and virtuous action
Is above all the ecutcheons on the tomb,
Or silken banners over us."²

¹Law Order Book L, WCC, pp. 523, 529-31.

²Bristol-Herald Courier, 23 November 1909, EWK.

DEATH CLAIMS DANIEL TRIGG
Virginia Lawyer Who Served as Naval Officer
Under Confederate and Chilian Flags

Daniel Trigg, one of the most widely known members of the Virginia bar, died in this city yesterday morning at 7:20. The immediate members of his family were with him when the end came. He had been in poor health for more than a year past, and had recently come to Richmond for medical treatment.

Mr. Trigg was born in Abingdon, Va., on March 13, 1843, and was in the sixty-sixth year of his age. He came of distinguished lineage, both on his father's and mother's side, being the son of Dr. Daniel Trigg, of Abingdon, who married Miss Anna Munford Tompkins, of Lynchburg, a direct descendant of William Byrd, of Westover. Dr. Daniel Trigg was one of the most distinguished physicians of his day in Virginia, and was loved and respected both for his great ability and for his charity. His grandfather fought through the Revolutionary War with distinction, and also served in many battles against the Indians.

In 1858 Mr. Trigg went to the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis at the age of fifteen, and remained there until the Civil War broke out in 1861, when he returned to Virginia and served as a cadet in the Confederate navy. He took part in many naval engagements, notably that in which the Merrimac and Monitor were engaged in Hampton Roads. For his gallantry he was promoted to a lieutenancy, and remained in the Confederate service until the war ended.

He then went into the merchant service, in the coffee trade between Virginia and Brazil. His love of adventure induced him at that time to enlist for service in the Chilian navy in the war between Chili and Peru. He again proved himself a most daring and able naval officer.

When this war ended he returned to Abingdon via New York, in 1867, and studied law in the office of his kinsman, the late Judge John A. Campbell. In 1869 he went to Arkansas to practice law, and remained there until 1873. The climate, however, did not agree with him and he returned to Abingdon, where he formed a partnership in the practice of law with the late United States Senator John W. Johnston, whose daughter, Louisa, he married in 1872. Mrs. Daniel Trigg was a granddaughter of Governor John B. Floyd, and a sister of Dr. George Ben Johnston, of this city.

Since the death of Senator Johnston, Mr. Trigg continued the practice of law by himself. He served in the Virginia State legislature in 1883-1884. He was a staunch Democrat always and rendered valuable service to his party.

As a lawyer, Mr. Trigg was well known throughout the State for his courage, courtesy, integrity and great ability. As a man, he was loved by a very large circle of friends for his loyalty, kindness and devotion to duty. He was a man of wide influence and that influence was always used for good.

In 1899 he married a second time to Miss Margaret Ann O'Donahue, of New York, who survives him. He leaves five children — Mrs. Franklin Bache, of Fort Smith, Ark.; John W. T. Trigg, of Midland, Ark.; Dr. Daniel Trigg, Jr., of Johnson City, Tenn.; Mrs. George Sargeant, of Norfolk, and George Ben Trigg, of Mobile, Ala. He also leaves a brother, Thomas Preston Trigg, of Abingdon. Another brother, Connally F. Trigg, died a few years ago.

Mr. Trigg's body was taken from the home of his brother-in-law, Dr. George Ben Johnston, last night to the train leaving Richmond at 9 o'clock for Abingdon, accompanied by the members of his family and several friends. The following acted as pallbearers: Lilburn T. Myers, E. T. D. Myers, Jr., William R. Trigg, Jr., Judge S. B. Witt, Henry C.

Stuart, A. P. Wilmer, Colonel B. O. James, Major Robert W. Hunter, Captain John A. Curtis, Major Robert H. Wright, Pelham Blackford and Thos. Bolling, Jr.¹

HON. DANIEL TRIGG DIES AFTER BRIEF ILLNESS IN RICHMOND

Funeral of Distinguished Abingdon Lawyer Will Be Held at Noon Today at Abingdon.

Special to The Herald Courier

Abingdon, Va., Nov. 18 — Hon. Daniel Trigg, of Abingdon, one of the most distinguished lawyers and citizens of Southwest Virginia, died at an early hour this morning in the Johnson hospital in Richmond. He left Abingdon the second day of this month for Richmond, where he was in the care of his brother-in-law, Dr. Ben Johnson [sic], the distinguished surgeon.

An operation for gaul [sic] stones was deemed necessary, but his general condition was such that it was not deemed prudent to perform it.

The body will reach here at 8:55 tomorrow (Friday) morning. The funeral will be conducted from the Episcopal church at noon Friday by his pastor, Rev. Mr. Moore, after which the body will be laid to rest in Sinking Spring cemetery.

Mr. Trigg was the son of Dr. Daniel Trigg, and was born in Abingdon on the 10th day of March, 1843. He was educated at the Naval Academy in Annapolis. Throughout the civil war he served with distinction in the Confederate navy. Since 1869 he has been a leading lawyer at the Abingdon bar. He was elected to the legislature in 1882. He took an active part in the trying days following secession. He married Miss Louisa Johnston, daughter of Judge Jno. W. Johnson.[sic] Of that marriage three sons and two daughters were born, all of whom are living. They are Dr. Daniel Trigg, of Johnson City, Tenn., Jno. W. Trigg, of Arkansas, Geo. B. Trigg, of Mobile, Ala., Mrs. Bache, of Fort Worth, Texas, and Mrs. George Sargeant, of Norfolk. After the death of his first wife he married Miss Daisy O'Donohan [sic], of New York.

Mr. Trigg was a most pleasant and affable gentleman and all who knew him loved and admired him. Un to a [sic] few days before leaving for Richmond he was actively engaged in the practice of his profession and it can be said of him that he died in the harness.

BRISTOLIANS TO ATTEND

A large number of people will go to Abingdon at 11 o'clock this morning to attend the funeral, including the most of the members of the bar.

Mr. Trigg was well known in Bristol, having been a frequent visitor here. He had practiced law at the Bristol bar often and was personally known to several hundred people of Bristol, who were shocked Thursday by the news of his death.²

Daniel Trigg

(Richmond News Leader)

This state never bred a higher gentleman or a purer patriot than Daniel Trigg, of Abingdon, who died here yesterday. On a similar scale his action at the beginning of the

¹“Death Claims Daniel Trigg,” The Times-Dispatch, Richmond, Va. 19 November 1909, VHS, p.2.

²The Bristol Semi-Weekly Herald, 19 November 1909, p.1, EWK.

Confederate war was like that of General Lee. He resigned from the United States navy to go out of the union with his state, to share her fortunes to put his service and his life at her disposal. His motives and his principles were the same as those of General Lee. Those motives and principles guided and governed the whole course of his life. Few men from Southwest Virginia have been known in Eastern Virginia, and especially in Richmond, as widely and intimately as he was. No man from any part of the state was more generally and warmly loved. For very many people outside his own family and immediate circle his death is a personal bereavement.¹

¹From the Richmond News Leader appearing in the Bristol-Herald Courier, 21 November 1909, EWK.

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