

Harrison County poll books for the election of May 23, 1861, which came to light in the fall of 1985<sup>1</sup> are important in understanding the events which led to the formation of the State of West Virginia in 1863.

Because all votes were spoken aloud and recorded by an election official beside the name of the voter, a researcher can find how people active in politics and business voted and how people in both rural areas and towns voted on the Ordinance of Secession.

The fourth Thursday in May was the time set by law for the regular election to choose members of the Virginia Assembly and of the U. S. House of Representatives. Tacked onto the ballot on May 23, 1861, was a vote on "Amendment to the Constitution of Virginia" and it is this vote that the newly discovered poll books reveal for nine precincts in Harrison County.

Dissatisfaction with the Richmond government had existed in the Northwestern counties since 1829, when a convention to rewrite the Constitution of Virginia produced a document which gave the Tidewater counties voter apportionment far beyond their white population and thus control of the legislature even though the western portion of the state had a greater number of voting citizens. During the 1850's the Virginia Northwest was largely Unionist while much of the Tidewater was Secessionist. In 1860 when knowledge of the proposed secession of the Cotton States first reached Northwest Virginia, citizens expressed disapproval in mass meetings on November 12 in Preston County; on January 1, 1861, in Wood County; and on January 5, 1861, in Ohio County.<sup>2</sup> One January 7, 1861, members of the Virginia Assembly from the Northwest were in Richmond in their seats at a special session of the legislature called by Virginia Governor Letcher. The legislators authorized a state convention of 152 members to be chosen in the counties on February 4, 1861. Delegates to the convention would convene in Richmond on February 13, 1861<sup>3</sup>

At issue at the convention was whether Virginia would withdraw the powers she had given the federal government seventy-three years earlier. "In her ordinance ratifying the Constitution of the United States in 1788, Virginia had reserved the right to resume the powers therein delegated whensoever the same should be perverted to the injury of her people."<sup>4</sup> After his call for troops on April 15, 1861, secessionists insisted that President Lincoln contemplated Federal coercion of a state. April 17, 1861, the convention passed an ordinance of secession 88 to 55 with 42 of the negative votes from the western part of the state which gave only 22 votes for secession.<sup>5</sup> The ordinance could not go into effect unless approved as an amendment to the state constitution by the citizens of Virginia in a vote during the regular election on May 23, 1861. Yet on April 23 General Lee took command of confederate forces; on April 25 the Virginia convention ratified the constitution of the confederate states; and on April 27, 1861, the convention invited President Jefferson Davis to make Richmond his capital.<sup>6</sup>

Unionists in sympathy and fearful for the safety of the people "[secession] would place Ohio County in the position of a border frontier,"<sup>7</sup> 437 men from twenty-seven counties in the extreme northwest portion of Virginia<sup>8</sup> met in Wheeling May 13-15, 1861. They defeated the proposal made by Clarksburger John S. Carlile to form immediately a state separate from Virginia. They voted to return home to work for the defeat of the ordinance of secession amendment at the election on May 23. They asked that men elected to state and federal legislative bodies on May 23 join other delegates at a convention to be held in Wheeling on June 11, 1861.

Even though Union sentiment and dissatisfaction with the Richmond government were strong, actual separation from the mother state was unthinkable to many citizens of the Northwest. The people had known law under the Virginia Constitution much longer than they had known law under the U.S. Constitution: "Lifelong neighbors became mortal enemies. Families were divided — father against son, and brother against brother — for in 1861 a man had to turn to his own conscience for direction. There was no other guide."<sup>9</sup>

Those who voted for the amendment fell largely into three categories. Some thought loyalty to state took precedence over loyalty to a federal government. A former Unionist in the Tidewater expressed himself in these words: "Our state is threatened with invasion and we must repel it as best we can."<sup>10</sup> "The Courthouse Boys", those who held county office, often stayed loyal to the Virginia government. The low class—many of whom did not vote — usually was secessionist.

Those who voted against the amendment for years had thought the Richmond government insensitive to the needs of its western counties; they saw no hope that the state government ever would see the mountain counties as important to the state. Many Unionists were businessmen who dealt with institutions in Baltimore and considered their future tied to the North and the East.

Rutherford B. Hayes described what he saw when he later arrived in Harrison County with the U.S. Army: "The Secessionists in this region are the wealthy and educated, who do nothing openly, and the vagabonds, criminals, and ignorant barbarians of the country; while the Union men are the middle classes — law-and-order, well-behaved folks."<sup>11</sup>

In a letter written on May 2, 1861, a Clarksburg native describes the atmosphere in the town three weeks before the vote on the amendment which authorized secession: "If you were in Virginia now and could see how utterly desolate everything and everybody looks, you would wish and pray that Maryland remains in the Union, bad as the present Administration is. Every kind of business is suspended and the professional man, the artisan, mechanic, laborer, and even the Divines have been idle loafers in the streets of the town with nothing to talk about but War. It is not merely a dissolution of government or the breaking up of political bodies but a great overthrow of all political, religious, and social institutions that we now witness. Men meet with solemn faces and ask one another 'What shall we do?' 'I am ruined.' The Convention (at Richmond) has usurped powers not delegated to it and without the consent of the people. Everybody is armed here; my revolver has been my constant companion for the last two weeks. If Virginia unfurls the banner of resistance (without sufficient cause) I never will fight under that banner — I owe a paramount allegiance to the whole Union, a subordinate one to my own State."<sup>12</sup>

Since the first federal forces did not arrive in Clarksburg until May 30, 1861,<sup>13</sup> the May 23 election gives a sample view of thinking in Harrison County before the arrival of occupying federal forces. Records of nine polling places were found. The nine records are representative of a wide area. The Clarksburg poll book registers votes of those living at the geographic center of the county and the county seat; the Romine's Mills, Swisher's Mills (near Lost Creek), and West Milford poll books register the vote in the southern section of the county; Shinnston and Lumberport poll books show the votes in the northern part of the county; Bridgeport, the east; Sardis, the northwest; and Lynch's (a hamlet called Maken near the present Jarvisville Exit on Route 50), the western part of Harrison County.

Historians agree that the reports of votes cast at elections 1861-1863 in Western Virginia are unreliable. Henry Haymond reports that a total of 694 citizens in Harrison County on May 23, 1861, voted for the amendment which authorized secession and that a total of 1691 citizens voted against the amendment.<sup>14</sup> A count of the names in the nine extant poll books gives the following total vote:

	For the Amendment	Against the Amendment	
Bridgeport	65	81	
Clarksburg	79	505	
Lumberport	12	274	
Lynch's	156	2	
Romine's Mills	184	10	
Sardis	21	125	
Shinnston	208	15	
Swisher's Mills	125	0	
West Milford	<u>172</u>	<u>19</u>	
Total:	1022	1031	15

Of the eleven men<sup>16</sup> from Harrison County who had attended the May 13-15 meeting in Wheeling, the names of seven are listed in the extant poll books as voting against the amendment authorizing secession: John J. Davis, Dr. Wm. Dunkin, Waldo P. Goff, James Lynch, Wm. E. Lyon, Thomas L. Moore, B. F. Shuttlesworth. One representative from the county to the First Wheeling Convention May 13-15, S. S. Fleming, voted for the amendment authorizing secession. One cannot conclude that the others from Harrison County in Wheeling May 13-15 did not vote because not all poll books of the precincts in the county are extant; yet John S. Carlile, who resided in Clarksburg, is not listed as having cast a vote at the Clarksburg polling site. Felix S. Sturm, who attended the Wheeling meeting May 13-15, signed the poll book as a commissioner for the election in Shinnston. He is not listed as a voter at the polling place. Lot Bowen, a delegate from Harrison County to Wheeling, is not listed among the voters.

Joseph Johnson, former governor of the State of Virginia, voted for the amendment and soon after exercising his franchise left his home in Bridgeport to live with relatives in Missouri during the war years.<sup>17</sup> Many other loyal Virginians did not vote on the issue.<sup>18</sup> Burton Despard, who was baited in 1861-62 by the occupying federal forces and Unionist citizens as a secessionist, voted against the amendment. An examination of the poll books shows that members of the same family often took opposite stands on the amendment issue. Whether a voter lived in town or in the country had little effect on voting. Sardis is as rural as the precincts in the southern portion of the county. Yet Sardis defeated the amendment 125 to 21 and West Milford, Swisher's Mills and Romine's Mills passed it 481 to 29.

The opinions of leading citizens may have been the telling influence affecting the vote. In Bridgeport, where the total count of votes was closest, Joseph Johnson, the town tavern keeper, and the town storekeeper all voted for the amendment; Dr. William Dunkin, the town physician voted against the amendment. William E. Lyon, who was in Wheeling May 13-15 and who lived in the Lumberport-Sardis section of the county, could have managed the defeat of the amendment in the area north and northwest. Shinnston, which lies near Lumberport, could have followed Solomon S. Fleming, a delegate to Wheeling convention who voted for the amendment. John J. Davis, Waldo P. Goff, and John S. Carlile, all in Wheeling May 13-15, may have swayed the vote in a direction to defeat the amendment soundly (505-79) in Clarksburg. Yet Waldo P. Goff's brother-in-law Luther Haymond voted for the amendment and John J. Davis' brother joined the Army of the Confederacy.<sup>19</sup>

#### A Selection of Names of Voters Harrison County Election of May 23, 1861

##### Bridgeport

David Slocum, J.P.  
Elias Lawson, officer  
J. P. Stout, G. W. Sandusky, G. T. Ross, W. C. Fitzhugh, Robert Minor, commissioners  
N. E. Heflin, writer

For Amendment	65	Against Amendment	81
Geo. W. Cofman	J. B. Martin	L. Bartlett	Elias Lawson
A. B. Cropp	Wm. Martin	Wm. H. Benedum	Jas. McDaniel
John W. Coffman	John W. Rector	V. P. Chapin	T. L. Moore
J. R. Helmick	B. Stout	L. Corpingney	E. Morgan
Geo. Higinbotham	Jas. P. Stout	Wm. Dunkin	J. D. Ross
Joseph Johnson	J. W. Wilkinson	Rop Faris	G. W. Sandusky
Wm. Kesler	G. W. Wilkinson	W. L. Faris	A. J. Smith
L. W. G. Lang		G. T. Faris	John R. Stout
Jos. J. Lang		T. B. Fitzhugh	Jonathan Stout
C. Lawson		Wm. C. Fitzhugh	David Teter
		George W. Frum	J. W. Teter
		John Goodwin	A. Webb
		Wm. Goodwin	David Webb
		G. G. Lang	

Romine's Mills

Stewart Little, J.P.  
 E. F. Lowther, officer  
 C. D. Norman, Wm. W. Young, S. L. Carpenter, commissioners  
 James M. Eib, writer

	For Amendment 184	
S. G. Arnold	S. Peck	
W. Batton, Jr.	C. W. Post	
T. B. Bond	A. Queen	
A. D. Coplin	D. Queen	
Joseph Davis	Rezin Queen	
J. M. Eib	Jas. A. Romine	
O. F. Hall	Jacob Romine	
E. S. Hickman	J. M. Shuttleworth	
D. Lewis	Geo. E. Windon	
James Lewis	J. A. Young	
Stewart Little		
J. R. Norman		
H. Peck		

Against Amendment 10

S. L. Carpenter  
 E. F. Lowther  
 E. J. Stewart  
 W. D. Wilson

Sardis

Madison Stier, J.P.  
 James M. Lyon, officer  
 W. R. Alexander, J. P. Ash, commissioners  
 Josiah P. Smith, writer

	For Amendment 21
John W. Dawson	
J. B. Davisson	
David Harbert	
Lemuel Hurst	
Elisha Smallwood	
Samuel T. Strother	
J. W. Swiger	
Thomas Williams	

	Against Amendment 125
C. H. Ash	J. M. Lyon
Peter Ash	Thos. P. Nuzum
J. Cunningham	Wm. Plant
Thomas Drummond	David Rogers
Jordan Fittro	Jonathan Rogers
John Gain	T. J. Showalter
Quincy Gifford	Madison Stier
Lemuel Hagerty	Thos. Strother
B. F. Harbert	John C. Swiger
C. H. Husted	S. Swiger

Shinnston

C. Ross, J. P.  
 B. Tyson Harmer, officer  
 Jacob H. Fortney, Felix S. Sturm, John M. Fortney, commissioners  
 Benjamin F. Lowe, writer

	For Amendment 208
Daniel Conaway	Jacob Nay
Anthony Coon	Wm. H. Nay
W. B. Davis	Milton Pigott
Richard Everson	Daniel Riblett
Washington Everson	Benjamin A. Reeder
S. S. Fleming	Abraham Righter
Caleb Flowers	David M. Shinn
Jesse Flowers	Joshua N. Shinn
Zodoch Griffith	Samuel Shinn
Granville G. Hall	Solomon Shinn
B. T. Harmer	Able W. Shinn
Thomas Harbert	John Short
Eli Hawker	Samuel Short
Charles McIntyre	Jacob Swiger
H. Daniel Martin	Henry Swiger
Wm. Martin	Harrison Tetrick
Levi C. Martin	Osias Tetrick
Andy G. Moore	Aaron Vincent
David P. Morris	D. J. Wamsley

	Against Amendment 15
Elisha Conway	
Geo. W. Fortney	
John A. Ogden	
S. J. Ogden	
Abraham Righter	
Wm. S. Robinson	
Alpheus W. Shinn	
Seth Shinn	
Samuel Southern	

Swisher's Mills

J. H. Curry, J. P.  
 J. N. Holden, officer  
 William Blake, H. Young, A. Mearns, commissioners  
 D. F. Swisher, writer

	For Amendment 125
David Bassel	R. Lewis
L. V. Blake	Levy McWhorter
Marzdon Bond	B. Romine
S. Cookman	T. B. Roy
Wm. Davis	Samuel Sheets
John Dawson	T. D. Swisher
John Lewis	M. T. VanHorn

Against Amendment 0

## Clarksburg

A. Werninger, J. P.  
 James Monroe, officer  
 William Criss, Jas. W. Harris, J. B. Wright, commissioners  
 Jas. M. Mines, E. M. Turner, writers

### For Amendment 79

J. R. Adams	Warren L. Lurty
W. P. Allen	Jas. McCally
Wm. A. Barnett	Turner Mills
Henry Bassel	A. J. Monroe
Aaron Criss	James Monroe
Nimrod Dent	James M. Queen
Jefferson Fletcher	Isaac F. Randolph
John Garrett	Wm. A. Robinson
Lee Haymond	Jas. F. Romine
Luther Haymond	A. Smith, Jr.
Sidney Haymond	Samuel M. Sommers
Alexander Holden	Wm. S. Sumner
L. D. Holden	John M. Thorne
James Y. Horner	J. M. Wilkinson
J. N. Hudkins	

### Against Amendment 505

Stephen Allen	Cyrus Haymond
J. M. Bowcock	David T. Hewes
Thos. Brannon	John Hursey
Jas. M. Carr	J. W. Hickman
James Clifford	John Irwin
A. I. Cork	T. F. Lang
John Corpening	Chas. Lewis
Wm. Criss	Lloyd Lowndes
Alexander Custer	Peter Lynch
James C. Custer	Hiram Lynch
John J. Davis	Jas. Lynch
Rezin Davis	Nathaniel Maxwell
A. P. Davisson	John Mills
David Davisson	J. Y. Moore
Burton Despard	C. E. Peck
Truman Elliott	Barnett Pugh
Madison Fittro	A. W. Pritchard
Nathan Goff	W. G. Reynolds
Waldo P. Goff	John Robinson
A. W. Gore	Chas. Rule
Tillman Gore	Gottlieb Schutte
Elmore Hart	Jas. Sehon
Wm. A. Harrison	Lemuel E. Sheets
Rufus Haymond	T. S. Spates
	Notley Shuttleworth
	B. F. Shuttleworth
	E. L. Stealey
	Geo. I. Stealey
	Isaac B. Taylor
	Cyrus Vance

## Lumberport

Wm. E. Lyon, J.P.  
 A. W. Robinson, officer  
 Geo. P. Harter, Thos. Robinson, Samuel Boggess, Robert Cunningham, commissioners  
 Wm. Harbert, writer

### For Amendment 12

A. H. Boggess  
 Wm. W. Boggess  
 L. D. Dolbeare  
 B. D. Fortney  
 A. J. Garrett  
 F. M. Hornor  
 A. P. Sturm

### Against Amendment 274

John B. Allen	Wm. H. Lucas
Thos. Allen	Samuel Lyon
Zenas M. Ash	Wm. E. Lyon
Ezekial Ashcraft	John McCarty
Austin Bartlett	John McIntyre
Thomas Bartlett	Isaiah McIntyre
David Boggess	John W. Malsby
Robert Boggess	John F. Martin
Wm. S. Boggess	Tichard Moore
John Coffman	Wm. Nay
Henry Coffman	Nathan Ogden
John Conaway	Geo. L. Pigott
Christopher Cunningham	Elam F. Pigott
Walter Cunningham	Dan'l A. Riblett
John B. Denham	Jefferson M. Robey
Burton Drummond	John Robinson
Hiram J. Fortney	F. A. Robinson
Jacob D. Fortney	Chas. A. Robinson
Isaiah Harbert	John Robinson
John M. Harbert	Marcena J. Rogers
Seth S. Harbert	Ludwell L. Rogers
F. Y. Hornor	Jacob Swiger
Basil Lucas	

## Lynch's

John W. Young, J. P.  
 Isaac Ramsey, officer  
 Jas. E. Stonestreet, Jesse J. Young, Samuel Good, commissioners  
 Jesse W. Flowers, Sam'l Stonestreet, writers

### For Amendment 156

G. W. Coffman	D. F. Randolph
M. L. Coplin	Richard R. Ritter
Wm. Dakon	T. A. Rumble
Josiah Davisson	Richard Shahan
Silas Fittro	Richard Stonestreet
Jacob B. Fox	Samuel Stonestreet
John Hurst	J. E. Towles
John P. Lynch	Henry Traugh
Isaac Marsh	Allen Varner
Geo. Maulsby	Thos. P. Williams
B. Peppers	John W. Young

### Against Amendment 2

Jesse Law  
 John A. Williams

West Milford

E. W. Patton, J. P.  
 J. W. Monroe, officer  
 H. I. Lynch, J. Highland, Jacob Pritchard, commissioners  
 J. D. Thornberry, writer

For Amendment 172

J. Burnside	Jesse McKonkey
J. P. Chevront	J. D. Maxwell
John Gasten	A. L. Patton
Joseph Gusman	A. Post
G. G. Highland	Geo. W. Pritchard
Samuel Hoff	Levi Romine
P. Holden	James Summerville
Robert Jackson	Thomas Thornhill
W. F. Law	J. VanHorn
D. Lowther	John A. VanHorn
John Lowther	Pharus Washburn
John P. Lynch	A. D. West
T. W. Lynch	J. B. West
Arnold Maddox	Levi Wilcox

Against Amendment 19

D. Carder	
A. Carder	
Caleb Chevront	
J. E. Highland	
D. H. Law	
J. C. Morris	
Noah Stout	20

Delegates to the May convention in Wheeling had passed a resolution which stated in part: "That in the event of the ordinance of secession being ratified by a vote, we recommend to the people of the counties here represented to appoint on the 4th day of June 1861 delegates to a general convention to meet on the 11th of that month 1861. . .each county to appoint a number of representatives to said convention equal to double the number to which it will be entitled in the next House of Delegates. . .to the next General Assembly of Virginia. . .to be entitled to seats in said Convention as members thereof."<sup>21</sup> Harrison County voters elected on May 23, 1861, John J. Davis and John Vance to the House of Delegates of Virginia. There is no record of who appointed delegates double the number of state legislators entitled to a county as stipulated in the resolution. The Harrison County appointees were Lot Bowen, John S. Carlile, S. S. Fleming, B. F. Shuttleworth.<sup>22</sup>

The action of the delegates from Harrison County during the formation of West Virginia June 1861- June 1863 reflects the close vote in the county on the Virginia Ordinance of Secession May 23, 1861. One historian shortly after the cessation of hostilities in 1865 accused John S. Carlile of turning Secessionist between the close of the first Wheeling convention on May 15 and the opening of the second Wheeling convention on June 11.<sup>23</sup> Lot Bowen resigned from the second Wheeling convention as soon as the committee of credentials had accepted him.<sup>24</sup>

John J. Davis wanted to resign as elected delegate to the House of Delegates of Virginia and member of the second Wheeling convention: "The position I occupy here [Wheeling] is not an enviable one. I am for conservative, loyal, constitutional action but I am very much afraid the majority of those in the convention are revolutionists. I would not have come here at all but for the earnest solicitations of the Union men in my county. If measures are adopted I cannot approve, I will withdraw from the convention and go home and resign as a delegate-elect to the Virginia Legislature."<sup>25</sup>

John Vance stayed on as a member of the legislature of the Restored Government of Virginia until 1863 when he resigned:

Wheeling, Virginia  
 February 2, 1863

During the active and bitter contest which followed the passage of the Ordinance of Secession, I acted with the friends of the Union in what I supposed was an effort to preserve it. When the war was upon us, I still adhered to the Federal course and supported the Administration in its efforts to suppress the rebellion under the solemn declaration of the President and Congress that the war should be prosecuted alone for the restoration and for their domestic institutions undisturbed, and not for the purpose of conquest or subjugation.

Under such promises a large and powerful army was placed in the field, when suddenly the President and Congress changed their policy to one of conquest, subjugation, the destruction of the rights of sovereign states, and the total abolition of one of their domestic institutions, in direct violence of pledges solemnly given. Such a policy I have always opposed and being now satisfied that it will be adhered to and is endorsed by the executive authorized of the reorganized government and by a majority of the numbers of your body, I can no longer, without doing violence to my own sense of justice and right, give even an implied assent to such a policy and such odious doctrine by remaining a member of your body.

The policy now pursued can never, in my humble judgment, restore to the Union a single state and can only be productive of evil bloodshed, destruction, and desolation. All my instincts and teachings preclude the possibility of my endorsing such folly and weakness as rule the hour, threatening the destruction of our liberties.

I was anxious to resign when your body was last called together but upon the urgent solicitation of many conservative friends I was induced to return; the object of my returning having been accomplished, the necessity of remaining no longer exists. I therefore respectfully tender my resignation.

John C. Vance <sup>26</sup>

The results of the May 23 election in Harrison County and the actions of the delegates from Harrison County to the Wheeling conventions fit the description of the activities in the conventions which set up the framework for the formation of the State of West Virginia: "The inside history of the convention which framed the ordinance for the state of Kanawha, as it was then called, can never be written. Only the leaders could give an intelligible explanation of the devious course pursued by them. Now that they are all gone, it seems unlikely that any light will ever be thrown upon the questions in doubt. The most astonishing thing is the rapidity with which the members were able to change their minds on propositions of the utmost importance. A delegate would offer a resolution one morning to the effect that the state should be immediately divided; in the afternoon he would have a new set of resolutions ready, the sense of which was that division was unwise and the convention should at once adjourn. There was scarcely a prominent member of the body who pursued an unwavering

course. As a rule the officers of the reorganized government opposed the new state until they found that they would be provided for after the state was divided. In the convention no sectional alignment was maintained. The Panhandle counties were just as likely to be found in opposition to division as the delegates from the counties farther south. In such a confused state of affairs it is impossible to make any generalizations which would hold true for the entire session. It is the fact that the convention did provide for the organization of a new state in the Union, after having given the best reasons for believing that it would do nothing of the kind. What influences and arguments were brought to bear upon the delegates will never be known."<sup>27</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The poll books were found by David Bartlett assigned by Dr. George Parkinson, curator of the West Virginia and Regional Collection of the West Virginia University Library, to collate Harrison County papers. The papers had been stored in the basement of the Harrison County Courthouse until circa 1978, when they were presented to the West Virginia and Regional Collection of the West Virginia University Library.
2. Charles Ambler and Festus Summers, West Virginia the Mountain State, pp. 186-7.
3. George E. Moore, A Banner in the Hills, p. 36.
4. Alexander H. Stephens, A Constitutional View of the Late War Between the States, p. 376.
5. George E. Moore, p. 45.
6. Ibid., pp. 48-9.
7. Ambler and Summers, West Virginia the Mountain State, pp. 186-7.
8. Except for Wayne, Hampshire, Berkeley and Frederick counties, Moore, p. 58.
9. George Moore, pp. 75-6.
10. Alexander Stephens, p. 388.
11. Rutherford B. Hayes, Diary and Letters, pp. 46-7.
12. John J. Davis Papers.
13. Dorothy Davis, History of Harrison County, p. 216.
14. Henry Haymond, History of Harrison County, p. 338.
15. Harrison County Poll Books, election of May 23, 1861.
16. They were John S. Carlile, Thomas L. Moore, John J. Davis, Solomon S. Fleming, Felix S. Sturm, James Lynch, William E. Lyon, Lot Bowen, Dr. William Dunkin, Waldo P. Goff, B. F. Shuttleworth. Granville Davisson Hall, The Rending of Virginia, p. 246.
17. Dorothy Davis, p. 222.
18. Clarksburg members of the Jackson Family and Clarksburg members of the Duncan family did not vote. Harrison County Poll Books, election of May 23, 1861. Eli Marsh, who had been clerk of Harrison County 1838-1852, was so loyal to Virginia that late in 1861 he stayed in Clarksburg six weeks rather than take an oath of allegiance to the Union which the U.S. Army required before Marsh could travel to his home on Milford Road. D. Davis, pp. 237-8. Eli Marsh did not vote May 23, 1861. His neighbors on Sycamore Road voted for the amendment. Harrison County Poll Books, May 23, 1861.
19. Harrison County Poll Books, May 23, 1861, D. Davis, p. 219.
20. The name Abraham Righter is listed with those voting for and those voting against the amendment at the Shinnston polling place. Harrison County Poll Books, May 23, 1861.
21. Granville Davisson Hall, p. 267.
22. Ibid., p. 331.
23. Davis, p. 187.
24. Charles S. Lewis filled the vacancy created by the resignation of Bowen. Davis, pp. 190-91.
25. John J. Davis in a letter June 13, 1861. John J. Davis Papers.
26. John C. Vance Papers.
27. James C. McGregor, The Disruption of Virginia, p. 243.

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