

Dr. Hezekiah B. Hankal

May 10, 1826 – June 20, 1903

His Life, His Family, His Legacy

By Donald Shaffer, M.A., Ph.D.

Dedicated to the memory of my esteemed friend
Mary Henderson Alexander
in honor of her tireless efforts at searching out and memorializing the lives and labors of
African Americans in northeast Tennessee

[Green letters] = boxed text or separate, shaded page (buff or pale color background?)

CONTENTS

[Page numbers will have to be adjusted as a final step.]

Timeline	2
Introduction	4
The Making of the Man: 1826 - 1865	6
Birth and Childhood	6
Earlier Adult Years	9
Lawsuits	10
Bequests, Transactions, and More Litigation	13
The Man and His Accomplishments: 1865 – 1903	15
Evangelizing and Church Planting	16
Teaching	20
Practicing Medicine and Speaking German	21
Involvement in Politics	24
Church Growth	24
Colored School Progress	25
Final Years	27
The Man's Roots: 1625 - 1826	28
The Measure of the Man	32
Appendix A: James C. M. Hankal	32
Appendix B: Lawsuit over a Heifer	33
Appendix C: Lawsuit over a Mare and Its Colt	34
Appendix D: Legal and Financial Matters, 1860s	35
Appendix E: Lane Memorial Christian Church	36
Appendix F: Maria(h) Netherland Hankal's Ancestors	42
Appendix G: Family of Hezekiah and Maria Hankal	43
Appendix H: Hankal Ancestors	44
Appendix I: Hale Ancestors	47
Appendix J: Slaves	52
Sources	55
Acknowledgements	57
Index [yet to be created]	57?

TIMELINE

1826 (1825?), May 10	Hezekiah B. Hankal is born, a free person.
ca. 1842? 1844?	Hezekiah, age 16 or 18, leaves home (forced out? by community gossip?)
1846 – 1848	<i>Mexican-American War.</i>
1848, August 27	Maria(h) Netherland is born into slavery.
1849	<i>California gold rush begins.</i>
1850	<i>Congress enacts the Fugitive Slave Law.</i>
1850s?	Hezekiah B. Hankal learns practice of medicine by apprenticeship to a practicing physician?
1852	Beginning of legal strife between Hezekiah Hankal and his uncle (his half-brother?) James C. M. Hankal. Continues off and on until 1867.
1857, March	<i>U. S. Supreme Court's Dred Scott decision.</i>
1860	<i>Abraham Lincoln elected president. South Carolina secedes from the Union.</i>
1861	<i>Six other Deep South states secede and form Confederate States of America. Fort Sumter falls. Four more states secede, including Tennessee.</i>
ca. 1860 – 1866	Hezekiah Hankal sometimes preaches for Boones Creek Church of Christ.
1863, January 1	<i>Pres. Lincoln issues Emancipation Proclamation.</i>
1865, April 9	<i>Gen. Lee surrenders to Gen. Grant at Appomattox, Virginia. Other Confederate armies surrender within a few weeks, ending the Civil War.</i>
1865, April 14	<i>Pres. Lincoln assassinated.</i>
1865, December	<i>Thirteenth Amendment officially abolishes slavery in the United States.</i>
1866, February	Boones Creek Church of Christ ordains Hesikier Hinkel [sic] as a minister.
1866 – 1869	East Tennessee and Western Virginia Co-operation of Churches of Christ employs Hezekiah Hankal to evangelize his fellow African Americans and organize his converts into churches.
1866	Hankal establishes Mt. Gilboa Church of Christ near Washington College Academy and Bethel Church of Christ in Jonesborough.
1866? 1867? 1868?	Hankal establishes College Avenue Church of Christ, Bristol, Tennessee.
1867, October 17	Hezekiah B. Hankal marries Maria(h) Netherland, Rogersville, Tennessee.
1867 – 1877	<i>Federal Reconstruction of the states that had seceded from the Union.</i>
1868	Hezekiah and Maria Hankal settle in Johnson City, Tennessee.
1868 (1869?)	First child of Hezekiah and Maria Hankal is born: Nancy Elizabeth “Nannie.”
ca. 1868 – 1874	Dr. Hankal teaches “freedmen” in one-room log school in Johnson City while practicing medicine.
1869	<i>Transcontinental railroad completed.</i>
1869, June 5	H .B. Hankal buys a lot in Johnson City from Henry Johnson, the city’s founder.
1869 (1868?)	Dr. Hankal establishes Colored Church of Christ (now West Main Street Christian Church) in Johnson City.

1870, June 25	Second child is born: Mary Alice.
1873	<i>Financial panic: economic depression until 1879.</i>
1873, October 23	Daughter Sarah Margaret “Maggie” is born.
1873, July and August	Cholera epidemic: Dr. Hankal loses fewer patients than the city’s White physicians. Result: His practice grows and includes both Black and White patients. He stops teaching school in about 1874.
c. 1874	Daughter Josephine Ellen “Ella” is born.
1870s & 1880s?	Dr. Hankal serves as the Colored member of the Washington County board of school commissioners, responsible for overseeing the personnel and facilities of the Colored (segregated) schools in the county.
1877	<i>End of Federal Reconstruction of the states that had seceded from the Union: Pres. Rutherford B. Hayes withdraws all Federal troops from the South.</i>
1877, November 21	Daughter Julia Nelson Hankal is born.
1879	Daughter Anna Pauline is born.
1881, January (or June 13?)	Daughter Freddie Charlotte (“Fred”) is born.
1882, October 23	Daughter Estelle/Estella A. (“Stell”) is born.
1880s & 1890s	Dr. Hankal becomes increasingly involved in Johnson City civic affairs, advocating for improvements in city’s provisions for schooling for its Colored population.
1884, March 15	H. B. Hankal runs unsuccessfully for one of 3 positions as a commissioner for Johnson City taxing district, placing 4th among 6 candidates.
1886, August 10	Daughter Are(a)tha (“Bennie”) is born.
1887, March 23	H. B. Hankal is elected to Johnson City Board of Aldermen, one of 7 elected for the ensuing year.
1888, January 31	Only son, Jordan H. Hankal, dies, evidently as a boy. His exact birth date in the 1880s not known.
1888, October 22	“Colored Christian Church” buys a lot on W. Main St.
1889	Colored Christian Church erects a building there to serve as church and school, replacing the one-room log school for 2 years.
1891 – 1893	Colored school conducted in buildings of Thankful Baptist Church.
1893	<i>Stock market panic: severe depression until 1897.</i>
1893, August to November	Johnson City erects two-story brick building, corner of Myrtle Ave. and Elm St., for its Colored school.
1893, November	New Colored school opens there, later named Langston High School.
1895, October 10	Daughter Nancy Elizabeth (“Nannie”) J. Hankal Welch dies.
1898	<i>Spanish-American War.</i>
1903, June 20	Dr. Hankal dies.
1940, November 30	Mariah Netherland Hankal dies, age 92.

[Photo of Dr. Hankal]
 [under it: signature of “Hezekiah Hankal”
 from p. 1 of Sept. 1, 1857 Circuit Court document]

Introduction

Who was Dr. Hezekiah B. Hankal? He was a Renaissance man. In a variety of ways he strove to better the lives of his fellow African Americans in northeast Tennessee in the later decades of the nineteenth century. He led a remarkable life, as a medical doctor, an educator, and an ordained minister of the Gospel. Yet, even though he was a civic leader of some prominence in Johnson City and Washington County during those decades and played a pivotal role in leading the local Black community back then, his city and county largely forgot him for most of the twentieth century.

Perhaps this should not surprise us. For most of our history the majority culture largely overlooked and ignored the lives and achievements of Black Americans, individually and en masse, as if to imply that Whites are the only people who really matter. Consciously or unconsciously, our practice has had the effect of demeaning the contributions of Blacks to the making of our country, implicitly viewing their role in the American story as not worth bothering with. Then, increasingly toward the end of the twentieth century, many Americans and American institutions undertook to make amends for this neglect by bringing long overdue public recognition to the contributions of African American individuals who had distinguished themselves and of categories of Black Americans collectively, such as various types of Black laborers.

This widespread effort continues to this day. It may explain a local reawakening to Hezekiah Hankal’s contributions to the development of northeast Tennessee society, leading to increased attention to his achievements in the public arena. In particular, reports about aspects of his work began to appear from time to time in the *Johnson City Press*. His work also receives a bit of attention in Ray Stahl’s 1983 book *Greater Johnson City, A Pictorial History*, in the *History of Washington County Tennessee 1988*, and in the 2001 *History of Washington County Tennessee*. In 2014 Washington County and Johnson City deemed it fitting to name their health department building on Princeton Road in his honor.

Even so, to this day the very name of this remarkable man is not widely recognized in his own community. And most people who do recognize his name know only a few basics about his labors and his contributions to his city and county. Hardly anyone seems to know anything about his life – about what molded him into the man he became. This book is an attempt to elucidate as much of that as can be retrieved from rather limited surviving records. As such, it aims to make its modest contribution to documenting the long neglected record of the role which African Americans have played in the making of their country.

A broad outline of Dr. Hankal’s accomplishments would have to include the following: In the late 1860s Hezekiah Hankal founded at least four Colored churches in the area and served as pastor of one of them for the rest of his life. In those same years and into the early 1870s he taught African Americans in a log schoolhouse atop a hill just outside the new village that became Johnson City. Over the following years he regularly collaborated with others in persuading his city and county to keep improving their provisions for schooling their Colored population, in the days of segregated schools. Ultimately he was one of the leaders in establishing what became Langston High School. He practiced medicine for at least the last three decades of the nineteenth century, the first Black physician in the young city and the only one for most of the remainder of that century. He treated both Black and White patients. A respected civic leader in Johnson City by the 1880s, he became active in local politics. At least once, in 1887, he was elected an alderman, the equivalent then of a member of the city council. (Records of the elections of other years around that time have not survived.) And he did it all against the racial restrictions of the post-Civil-War South.

Readers need to be prepared to encounter various spellings of two family names and of a few other names in the story of Hezekiah B. Hankal. If we find this annoying, we need to be aware that more than one spelling of various first and last names sometimes occur even in the same contemporary document, from the hand of the same writer. The reason for the uncertainties is surely the relatively high percentage of people in earlier times who were illiterate or only semi-literate. Many people knew how to pronounce their family name (even if sloppily) but not how to spell it, or they were uncertain how to spell it. The inconsistencies that are sometimes encountered in the spelling of a name within the same document suggest that the writer recording that document was uncertain, or else was careless in matters of spelling. Thus the following variants of the name **Hankal** occur in the United States and in Germany, some of them in records of Hezekiah himself and of his family: Hankal, Hankel, Hankle, Hänkel, Henkel, Henckel, Hinkel, Hinkle, and Hincle. Dr. Hankal and his family and their White relatives settled on the spelling **Hankal**. Various spellings of **Hale**, the name of one line of Dr. Hankal's maternal ancestors, also occur in records of that family: Hale, Haile, Hail, and Heale. Dr. Hankal's White relatives in Washington County eventually settled on the spelling **Hale**.

Readers also need to bear in mind the difficulties of ferreting out information about the life and work of a nineteenth century American like Hezekiah Hankal. The gravest difficulty in recovering his story, not to mention information about his family and his forebears, is how limited the available evidence is. Added to that are inevitable uncertainties about the reliability of some of it. Our sources of information are somewhat meager, and all too often what has survived is incomplete or defective in some crucial particulars. A researcher is challenged by this shortage of material to work with. Surviving records of families and organizations and even of governments tend to be spotty and even sparse for that century, especially before the Civil War. Records about African Americans, especially, and records made by them, tend to be partial or lacking altogether – even records of those who were free, to say nothing of the vast majority who were enslaved. (It goes without saying that this is even more true of detailed records of Native Americans.)

That said, my research has been enriched along the way by help from a number of people. This is reflected in my use of “we” instead of “I” in a number of places. In a list of “Acknowledgements” I name people who have given me major assistance or have helped me locate some of the most difficult information to track down.

Among the reasons for the relative dearth of evidence for the story of Hezekiah Hankal and the people in his life, surely, is, once again, the comparatively high rate of illiteracy that prevailed during so much of the nineteenth century. Many of the inhabitants of northeast Tennessee, regardless of their race, could not read or write. Starting in 1850 the decennial U.S. census forms provided spaces to indicate whether each person enumerated could do so. For a fair number of people it's indicated that they could not. (Perhaps an even larger number could not. It appears that census takers did not always bother to mark these columns, or perhaps even think to ask.) Additional evidence turns up repeatedly in deeds and other official documents, where instead of some of the needed signatures we often find an “X” between a person's first and last name with the word “her” or “his” above the “X” and the word “mark” below it. “His or her mark” is clear evidence that those persons could not sign their names – or no longer could, for example if their eyesight was failing. The authenticity of those signatures depended, then, on the testimony of others who could and did sign their names, attesting that they knew the illiterate person to be the person she or he claimed to be.

Indications of both these kinds occur in records of both Black and White Hankals even after the Civil War, leading to the conclusion, as we shall see, that Hezekiah Hankal's wife (who was biracial) and his mother and grandmother (who were White) were apparently illiterate. His children, on the other hand, were literate, and he himself was not only literate but was sufficiently well versed in all the basic school subjects to be granted a state teacher's certificate. Plus he had mastered the skills qualifying him to practice medicine, by the mid-nineteenth century standards of the profession.

In the end, researchers must work within the constraints of how seriously limited the evidence is, because there simply is no other way to visualize the life of a person like Hezekiah Hankal. Dr. Hankal's story is important. Telling it, though, requires a fair measure of conjecture at certain points and some occasional imaginative reconstruction of a situation or a detail. So this account will frequently use wordings to signal uncertainty or speculation. It is to be hoped that further research might yet bring to light more information to fill in some of the blanks here and potentially to correct any mistaken assumptions, particularly about situations and individuals on the periphery of Dr. Hankal's story.

The Making of the Man: 1826 - 1865

Not a great deal is known about Hezekiah Hankal before the end of the Civil War. Yet the first four decades of his life, his less public years, merit serious attention because they were the setting of the experiences and influences that molded his character. Hence it is crucial to examine everything that can be discovered about him during his relatively obscure early years.

Birth and Childhood

Already at the outset things are murky: **Hezekiah Hankal** was **born** in rural Washington County, Tennessee, but when? And where? And who were his parents?

Even though the gravestone of Dr. H. B. Hankal in Johnson City's West Lawn Cemetery indicates that he was born May 10, 1825, and even though the state historical marker about Dr. Hezekiah B. Hankal on West Market Street in Johnson City and the sketch of his life and work displayed in the Dr. Hezekiah B. Hankal Health Department building that's named for him agree with that year, the correct date is probably May 10, 1826. Some other sources also give the year as 1825, and in a 1969 letter his youngest daughter, Areatha, wrote "about 1825."¹ But other sources say 1826, and the indications of his age in the earliest censuses in which he appears favor that year.²

As to who Hezekiah's parents were, there are real complications. His daughter Areatha wrote that "he was born into a Dutch family of Hankals Nancy and James," but she put a question mark after "James."³ And James can't be right. Nancy Hankal was never married to a James Hankal. We've found no record that she ever married, nor any other surname for her than Hankal. She did have a brother named James C. M. Hankal (see **Appendix A**), but this man was not Hezekiah's father. He was only 9 or 10 years old when Hezekiah was born.⁴ Areatha said further that Hezekiah's mother "never admitted he was any other than Dutch (Hankal)."⁵ By this she meant he was of German descent (*Deutsch* ancestry). Nancy was obviously insisting that Hezekiah was White. She herself was nothing but White. Yet for most of his life, Hezekiah was regarded by most of the people who knew him as Colored or Mulatto or Black. Areatha mentions "his swarthy color."⁶ So his father, whoever he was, must have had some African ancestry.

It's difficult to escape the impression that Hezekiah's father was an unknown man, slave or free, who was probably bi-racial – part African American – and who might have been merely passing through but more probably lived somewhere in the general area. We have no way of knowing whether this man's relationship with Hezekiah's mother was consensual or coerced.

Hezekiah's mother, most probably, was **Nancy Hankal**.⁷ But here again we encounter a problem. Nancy's widowed mother, **Margaret "Peggy" Hale Hankal**, in her will (January 8, 1861), treats Hezekiah as her son, equal to her 5 children. In reality, though, Margaret was probably his grandmother. After all, she was about 43 years old in 1826, when he was born, whereas Nancy was about 23 or 24 then, if she was born in 1802, or not quite 18 or 19 yet if she was born in 1807.⁸ And if Margaret was indeed his mother, it's difficult to imagine circumstances under which a man of part

African ancestry would have fathered a child by her at her age, after she had borne her husband **Herman Hankal** 5 or 6 White children. (Five who survived, at any rate.) And 1826 was 8 or 9 years after the youngest of those five was born.

However, from Hezekiah's presence in Margaret's household in the 1840 and 1850 censuses it would appear that she was the one who brought him up, more than Nancy.⁹ From a few such clues one gains the impression that Margaret may have been especially protective of Hezekiah from the time he was born – more so, it seems, than Nancy was, though Margaret may have been protecting Nancy too as best she could under the circumstances. Margaret seems to emerge from the shadows as clearly a mother figure to Hezekiah. She must have been a major influence in molding him into the remarkable man that he became.

Any possibility that Hezekiah was the child of Herman Hankal by Margaret, with no African ancestry, is excluded by his consistent classification as Negro or Black or Mulatto in records from 1866 on, as well as by the fact, as we shall see, that the Churches of Christ recognized him as one of their Colored preachers and employed him from 1866 until 1869 to evangelize his fellow African Americans and organize them into churches. Further evidence from Hezekiah himself is his obvious acceptance of this racial classification. Moreover, there is good reason to believe that Herman Hankal had died more than 5 years before Hezekiah was born.

As to where Hezekiah Hankal was born, his daughter Areatha wrote “in or near Free Hill Tenn.”¹⁰ and this has been widely believed. But that tradition is probably wrong. More likely, he was born where Nancy Hankal and Margaret Hale Hankal lived at the time of the 1830 census, on the 120-acre farm that Margaret's father had deeded to her in 1820.¹¹ Her farm was roughly 3 miles north of Jonesborough in the 14th Civil District, not too far from the headwaters of Boones Creek,¹² within the area bounded by Tavern Hill Rd., Hairetown Rd., and Bugaboo Springs Rd. It was rather isolated from public roads, hidden behind a ridge – Archer Ridge – from Hairetown Rd.¹³

[Photo: Part of Margaret Hale Hankal's farm today] (Do **NOT** print the following: from Tavern Hill Road)

It's clear that **Hezekiah Hankal was never a slave**. His family never viewed him as a slave but consistently as their own son, a free person, and evidently as White. He does not appear in the Slave Schedule of any census; he always appears in censuses as a member of the Hankal family. Moreover, none of the decennial U.S. census records shows either Margaret Hankal or Nancy Hankal as owning any slaves, and we can find no evidence that they ever did.¹⁴ Rather, the censuses of 1830 through 1860 indicate that Margaret and Nancy owned no slaves, at least during any of the decennial years when the censuses were taken. While that doesn't prove that they never owned any slaves, it suggests a presumption that they never did. In other words, it's probably safe to assume that they didn't acquire and then relinquish any slaves during years between censuses either.

If Hezekiah was indeed the illegitimate child of Margaret, or more likely of her daughter Nancy, Margaret's isolated farm and secluded house might have held an unplanned advantage for them. It would have been an ideal location for Margaret to shelter both Hezekiah and Nancy from exposure to public scorn, especially for the first few years, by virtue of its rather well hidden location, away from public roads and behind that ridge from Hairetown Road, the most heavily traveled road in its vicinity. It appears that Margaret took Hezekiah into her home very early in his life, quite possibly with the objective of shielding and protecting the somewhat darker skinned boy from possible community gossip, and maybe also to try to cover Nancy's embarrassment at having borne a child out of wedlock by a partly African American man.

The 1830 census gives us the next glimpse we get of Hezekiah Hankal, when he was a little boy.¹⁵ At least he has to be hiding in that census somewhere. And the possibilities really are very limited. That census lists **Margaret Hincle** [*sic*] with 1 male child under 5 years old in her household, 1 male between 10 and 14 years old, 1 female between 15 and 19, and 1 female between 40 and 49 years old, all free White persons. No mention of Herman Hankal, so he must surely have died before 1830.¹⁶

Between 40 and 49 is the right age for Margaret, who was born about 1783. If she was Hezekiah's mother, she would have been 42 or 43 years old when he was born. The male child younger than 5 could be **Hezekiah**.

In the 1830 census, the household of **Nancy Hincle** is the last one enumerated before Margaret's household. So these two households were clearly quite close together, possibly next door to each other.¹⁷ (Robert Hankal thinks that both houses may have been on the same farm.¹⁸ If so, one can imagine that the older house was probably a log cabin, while the newer house may have been a frame dwelling.) In this census Nancy's household includes 2 males under 5 years old, 1 female under 5, and 2 females between 20 and 29, all free White persons. Between 20 and 29 is the right age for Nancy, whether she was born in 1802 or in 1807. The other adult female might be Nancy's sister Elizabeth, who was born in 1810. Either of the two boys younger than 5 could be **Hezekiah**. No husband is listed, so was Hezekiah indeed born out of wedlock? As already mentioned, Nancy seems never to have married. The only surname we find in records of her is one or another variant of Hankle. If she was Hezekiah's mother, she would have been about 23 when he was born, or maybe only 18 – if 1826 is the right year for his birth – since he was born before her 19th or her 24th birthday.

Only White children are listed in Margaret's and Nancy's households in the 1830 census. There are no marks on their two lines in the columns for enumerating Free Colored Persons – nothing to indicate that any Colored person was living in their houses. So little **Hezekiah** must have been counted as White.¹⁹ This census notes a total of 3 White males “Under five years of age” in these two households, and no White male “Of five and under ten.” Hezekiah almost has to be one of those 3 who were younger than 5, because no White male “Of five and under ten” is noted in either household here in 1830, and he surely couldn't have been older than 10 that year. And if he was under the age of 5 in 1830, he must have been **4**, and hence **born in 1826** rather than **1825**, the year inscribed on his gravestone.

The 1840 census lists **Nancy Hinkle** [*sic*], free White, between 30 and 39 years old.²⁰ Apparently she is no longer living as close to Margaret, since her entry in this census (p. 19) is nowhere near the entry for Margaret (p. 37). No male of Hezekiah's age is living in Nancy's house.²¹ He would have been 14 or 15 that year. The 1840 census lists **Margaret Hincle** [*sic*], free White, between 50 and 59 years old, with 1 free Colored male “10 & under 24” living in her home.²² This must surely be **Hezekiah**.²³

Hezekiah's presence in Margaret's household in 1840 probably favors an assumption that he was the little boy living with her 10 years earlier, rather than one of the two little boys living with Nancy then. A presumption of continuity seems to be justified here. His undisputed presence in Margaret's home in the 1840 and 1850 censuses, along with her preferential treatment of him in her 1861 will, where she twice (indeed, thrice) refers to him as her son, suggests that it was Margaret, rather than Nancy, who actually raised him. Margaret seems to have treated him as her son all his life, even though he was more probably Nancy's son.

Margaret would have been over 40 when he was born, whereas Nancy was in her early 20s. (Less probably in her later teens.) If Hezekiah was indeed the illegitimate son of Nancy by an unknown Black man, maybe Margaret decided to claim the boy as her own and rear him on her farm in the hope that that could minimize the embarrassment both to him and to Nancy. Margaret was at least married, or more probably a widow, and in 1830 she still had 2 other children in her home, her son James C. M. and her daughter Margaret. Back in 1826 she would probably still have had even one more child at home, her daughter Elizabeth, who was about 16 then. Once again, one gains the impression from the situation reflected in the 1840 and 1850 censuses and from Margaret's treatment of Hezekiah in her will that she was especially protective of him all his life. Clearly she was not ashamed of him. She seems to have given him lots of love and encouragement. His continued presence in her home in those two censuses and her classifying him as her son in her will reinforce the impression that she was the real mother figure in his life who played a major role in making him the exemplary man that he became.

Sometime around 1842 or 1844, when Hezekiah was about 16 or 18 years old, he seems “to have left or been forced out of the home by community gossip.” Specifically, “due to his swarthy color his paternity was questioned.”²⁴ Evidently tongues began to wag in that farming community because his skin was at least noticeably darker than that of the rest of the Hankal family. A different tradition says he was sent away to school around the time of his 14th birthday, never to return to the family.²⁵ Despite minor disagreement as to his age when he went away, both reasons for his leaving home might be true, but he did return to the family. Although there’s no record of Hezekiah’s activities or where he lived, and possibly attended school, during the next few years, he was back living at Margaret’s place again in the 1850 census. Indeed, he was back by 1848, as evidenced by a detail in sworn testimony in a document in the court records of a lawsuit filed by Hezekiah.²⁶ And as for his 14th birthday, he was still living with Margaret in the 1840 census, the year he turned 14 (or 15). As to his color, one can’t help wondering: Had no one gossiped about his swarthy color or questioned his paternity until he was in his mid-teens? That seems odd. Or had people gossiped, but the issue hadn’t come to a head until Hezekiah was 14 years old or so? Or was this only part of the story?

A few indications from the first 40 years of Hezekiah Hankal’s life seem to support an assumption that his skin color was light enough that it was sometimes assumed that he was not “Colored” but White, simply with a somewhat tawny or dusky complexion. And his skin does not appear to be particularly dark in the only known photograph of him, though that’s impossible to judge. But it must have been at least dark enough to arouse suspicions in the minds of some people, and his daughter did characterize it as “swarthy.” Nor does he appear in that picture to have had any facial features that would easily identify him as having any Black African ancestry, though what we can see of his hair there might suggest that he did. And his hair type might have been clearer in person than in this picture.

Earlier Adult Years

Beginning in 1850 the U.S. censuses list all members of each household by name.

Nancy Hinkle, born in Tennessee, is 45 (though she was probably 46 or 47, unless she was only 41 or 42).²⁷ It is noted, probably correctly, that she cannot read and write, though the 1860 census will fail to note that about her. It would seem surprising if she could not and her mother, Margaret, could. But whether Margaret could is doubtful. We find more indications over the years that she could not than that she could. Quite probably both Margaret and Herman Hankal were illiterate, whereas both James C. M. Hankal and Hezekiah B. Hankal clearly were literate.

In 1849 Nancy Hinkel had been listed as a member of Boones Creek Church of Christ, now Boones Creek Christian Church. Although there was more than one Nancy Hinkel/Hankal in the area in the mid-nineteenth century, this Nancy was probably the one who was the mother of Hezekiah Hankal.

The 1850 census lists **Margaret Hankle** [*sic*], born in Maryland, 67 years old, and records that she owns real estate valued at \$800.²⁸ The only person living with Margaret is still **Hesekuah** (the handwritten letters are difficult to make out), age 24, born in Tennessee, occupation “Labor.” Might this mean he was a farm hand? That’s pretty much what he was, having grown up on a farm. The census taker did not note the color of anyone on this page of the 1850 census. Are we to assume that s/he took all the people on this page to be White? Maybe so.²⁹ If Hezekiah was still only **24** on Nov. 27, 1850, the date the enumerator gathered the information on this page, that’s more than 7 months after his birthday and seems to point to **1826** as the year of his birth.

Living next door to Margaret is Elizabeth Hankle, age 40, a daughter of Margaret, a younger sister of Nancy. The census taker noted that she could not read or write but made no such note for Margaret or Hezekiah on the lines immediately above Elizabeth’s. It’s probably safe to assume that Hezekiah could read and write by age 24, but it would be surprising if Margaret could, in view of other

indications in the records that she could not. Did the enumerator simply forget to ask this question at their house?³⁰

One wonders how Hezekiah Hankal, growing up in the home of his illiterate grandmother and perhaps around his illiterate mother, became so well educated for a person of his time. We have no way of knowing and can only speculate. Perhaps his unlettered mother and grandmother favored and encouraged book-learning. Perhaps he taught himself, partly or entirely, Abraham Lincoln style, by reading books on his own – maybe including borrowed books. Perhaps he acquired some learning from, or under the influence of, neighboring families. Possibly Silas and Jeriel Archer encouraged him or were models and, in effect, functioned as challenges for him to acquire learning. They appear to have been friends of Hezekiah, perhaps from boyhood, and to have lived close to where he grew up. Both those men supported him later in some lawsuits. (Regarding Silas and Jeriel Archer, see **Appendices B and C.**) Or perhaps he acquired some learning from one of the teachers who sometimes taught the children of an area in return for payment from their parents, in cash or in kind. Perhaps he was indeed a student at some school away from this area for a couple of years in his youth, as one family tradition holds. And quite possibly he benefitted from a combination of more than one of these paths to learning.

Quite a lot might have happened in **Hezekiah's** adult life during the 1850s, when he was about 24 to 34. Most significantly, might he have learned the practice of medicine during the 1850s, here or away, when he was in his twenties or early thirties? But not by graduating from a medical school. There were few of those yet in the South before the Civil War, and none for Blacks.³¹ So how? By apprenticeship to a practicing physician? Or from “doctoring books”? Or a combination of both?

A good possibility is that Hankal became a physician by apprenticeship to Dr. Richard Humphreys, one of the early physicians in Washington County –

“Doct. Rich^d Humphreys”

– who’s named in 5 documents in the records of Washington County Circuit Court pertaining to a lawsuit involving Hezekiah Hankal, beginning with a little document dated 24 Oct. 1857.³² Richard Humphreys, born in Virginia, whose age in 1850 was 57, was a physician of record in Washington County in the censuses of 1850, 1860, and 1870. Hezekiah Hankal knew him well enough to rely on his support in one of his two lawsuits.³³ Quite possibly they were friends, leaving us to wonder whether Dr. Humphreys was the physician under whom Hezekiah Hankal apprenticed.

Incidentally, Dr. Humphreys’ sworn deposition in support of Hankal’s lawsuit includes remarks that seem to mean that Hezekiah was still living at Margaret’s place “Sometime in 1855 or 56”; at least that’s where Dr. Humphreys met him:

... I went to the house of Margaret Hankal for the purpose of paying said Heziah [*sic*] Hankal for the cow and paid him \$12 for her in the presence of Margaret Hankal, and the said Margaret never put up any claim to the cow to me or in my presence, nor did she have any thing to do with the money for the cow while I was present.³⁴

Lawsuits

In 1852 a decade and a half of legal strife commenced between Hezekiah Hankal and his half-brother or, more probably, his uncle, James C. M. Hankal. And therewith began a tangled and convoluted period in Hezekiah’s life. During this period he was involved in one lawsuit over ownership of a certain brown mare and her new colt and, concurrently during part of that time, in a different lawsuit over ownership of a certain dark red heifer.

A little scrap of paper in the records of the Washington County Judicial Court provides only a minimal record of what appears to be the inception of the dispute over the mare. Dated simply 1852 it says “Hezakiah [*sic*] Hankal in Account with Jas. C. M. Hankal to the Season [seizing?] of one Mare \$2.00,” with “Judgment” written diagonally across it.

What was this all about? It's not at all clear. Was James charging Hezekiah with stealing this one mare from him? And suing him for \$2.00 damages for this? And did James now have his mare back, or did Hezekiah still have it? The fate of the mare is not documented in this minimal record. Another question is how this dispute might have arisen. One possibility is that the conflicting claims were based on an honest misunderstanding. One can imagine possible circumstances under which each man might genuinely have believed that he was the rightful owner of the beast in question, depending on where it was being kept and exactly where Hezekiah was living in 1852.³⁵

The following year, a puzzling little warrant dated August 5, 1853 might shed a bit of light on this conundrum. It summons Hezekiah Hankle [*sic*] to appear before A. C. Collins, Justice of the Peace, to answer a complaint of J. C. M. Hankle "in a plea of Debt on account."³⁶ Nothing is mentioned about the basis of this legal dispute, but the 1852 scrap of paper accompanies this warrant. So this was probably about the mare. In any case, it does appear that James was the first to go to court and initiate the legal disputes between these two men, rather than trying to settle the matter amicably with Hezekiah. (Or had he given up on settling it amicably?)

A much more extensive and somewhat clearer record survives of the **two lawsuits** involving Hezekiah Hankal in 1857 and 1858, and the disputes seem to have dragged on into 1860. In the first one, Hezekiah sued, not James, but his own grandmother Margaret over ownership of the dark red heifer with a white streak along her back, calf of a black cow. In the second one he sued both Margaret and James C. M. Hankle over ownership of the brown mare and her new colt. This suit may have involved the same mare as the puzzling 1853 dispute. Hezekiah seems to have initiated the second lawsuit very soon after the first and to have pursued both suits simultaneously for well over a year, maybe a few years.

These and the puzzling little lawsuit of 1853 are the only lawsuits in the records of Washington County before 1861 that involve Hezekiah, and the suit over the cow does not name James. Yet in her 1861 will, Margaret will say that there have been 2 lawsuits between Hezekiah and James over her "property." So either she's referring to these two lawsuits and must have felt that Hezekiah was basically suing James, rather than her, even over the cow, or else she's counting the 1852 dispute between James and Hezekiah over a mare as a lawsuit and feels no need to mention Hezekiah's suit against her in her will.

The county's records of these two lawsuits are confusing and appear not to be complete, so it is difficult to disentangle exactly what they were about and how they proceeded. However, as we shall see, soon after Hezekiah filed his lawsuit against Margaret over the heifer (June 29, 1857), on July 6, 1857 Margaret granted Power of Attorney for her affairs to her son James. That action might provide some measure of clarity. Then on September 1, 1857 Hezekiah filed his lawsuit against James C. M. Hankle and Margaret Hankle over the brown mare and her sucking colt.

At a minimum, the dates of these three lawsuits are further evidence that Hezekiah had indeed returned to his family and was living in Washington County again during the decade of the 1850s.

Appendix B is an attempt to sort through the details of the **legal proceedings over the heifer**. The essence of the case is as follows:

On June 29, 1857 (or earlier?) Silas Archer, "next friend" to **Hezekiah Hankal/Hankle** (the document uses both spellings) "of colour" (so in effect in Hezekiah's behalf), sues **Margaret Hankle/Hankal** (both spellings) for taking said dark red heifer, valued at \$7, from Hezekiah and placing it "in the care of Abner Hankle."³⁷ Abner Hankal may have been a nephew of Margaret.³⁸

That Hezekiah would sue his grandmother who had sheltered and raised him comes as a shock. It had seemed that they'd had such a good and wholesome relationship ever since he was born. Suddenly it appears that maybe that relationship had soured and become strained. It would seem especially strange, too, for Hezekiah to sue Margaret if indeed he was still living in her house, or even, perhaps, in another house on her farm, in 1857. But perhaps someone advised Hezekiah, rightly or wrongly, that the best

way to accomplish what he needed to accomplish was to go through the legal formality of suing his grandmother, since the animal in dispute had been on her property.

Might it be that the real object of Hezekiah's suit was not Margaret but **James C. M. Hankal**? That might explain why Margaret, in her 1861 will, will mention two lawsuits between Hezekiah and James and say nothing of a lawsuit by Hezekiah against herself. Be that as it may, by July 27 James C. M. Hankal did become involved in the case himself, although he's not named as a defendant. But he now joins Margaret in binding himself and her to pay Silas Archer \$300 if they lose their case to Hezekiah in Circuit Court.

After the end of 1857 Silas Archer is not mentioned in the further records of this case. From then on the plaintiff is simply Hezekiah Hankal. Evidently it was no longer considered necessary to note that he was "of colour." Perhaps it had been decided that it was permissible for free Colored persons to pursue their cases in their own right – unless perchance some people considered Hezekiah a White person. If that's even conceivable, it seems like a long shot. But from this point on the court's records don't bother to label him "of colour" or to require a "next friend" to act for him.

Was this case never decided? There appears to be no surviving record of its final resolution in Washington County Circuit Court.

As mentioned, very early in the prosecution of this case, on July 6, 1857, Margaret Hankal [*sic*] granted her son Jas. C. M. Hankle [*sic*] **Power of Attorney** over her affairs, empowering him to act for her in the management of her affairs and property.³⁹ She specifically empowered him to rent out her farm or to sell it if necessary in order to have sufficient funds to support her in her old age.⁴⁰

Is this a picture of Margaret growing senile and being easily confused? By this time she was about 74 years old. Was she perhaps feeling bewildered by Hezekiah's lawsuit against her over the dark red cow, and hence wishing her son James to take over management of the legal contest and indeed of all her affairs? Or did James exert some pressure on his mother to take this step, possibly out of growing concern about her welfare and her mental condition? Was he perhaps even eager to do battle with Hezekiah in court, possibly even to cheat Hezekiah out of a couple of animals that were really Hezekiah's property? Or did he and Hezekiah simply have an honest misunderstanding over whose property these beasts were?

Hezekiah Hankle filed **his other suit**, over ownership of a brown mare and her new colt, just over two months after he filed the first one, and he proceeded to pursue both lawsuits concurrently. **Appendix C** is an attempt to sort through the details of the **legal proceedings over these two animals**. The essence of the case is as follows:

On September 1, 1857 Hezekiah Hankle sued James C. M. Hankle and Margaret Hankle in Circuit Court for unjustly detaining his brown mare and her sucking colt, each worth \$115.⁴¹ In the records of this case, the plaintiff is always Hezekiah Hankle, never Silas Archer, although Silas Archer and Jeriel D. Archer join Hezekiah in a couple of actions of replevin.⁴² But there is no mention of a "next friend" and it's never noted that Hezekiah is "of colour."

Is this the same mare that was in dispute between Hezekiah and James already in 1852? If so, she was only about a year old back then, unless this estimate of her age is off. It looks as if James and Hezekiah had been at odds with each other for quite some time by 1857, to the point of going to law against each other. And might it be that Margaret had given Hezekiah this brown mare as a one-year-old colt back then to raise as his own? And now it has a new colt of its own, also Hezekiah's property.

We don't know whether this brown mare was the only horse Hezekiah had or not. If she was his only horse, he surely needed her for transportation, as much as we today need a car. For that matter, we don't know whether the dark red heifer was Hezekiah's only cow after he sold its mother to Dr. Humphreys – the black cow with the stripe down its back that he had once bought from Richard Deakins. He may have had other livestock. On the other hand, he may not have needed more than one cow.

Records of further actions on this case continue through June 28, 1858. After that date no record of further action survives until April 1860, when the Circuit Court heard a reiteration of Hezekiah's complaint against Margaret and James in which he appears to be demanding \$500 in damages from them. Appended to this complaint is a note filed April 6, 1860 in which the defendants plead not guilty to the charges and assert that in the upcoming trial they will show that the mare in question was Margaret's property.

But after that there seem to be no further records of this case – no record of that anticipated trial or of its outcome. Was the case perhaps settled out of court? Did Hezekiah possibly retain ownership of the mare and colt in the end? (He said in his April 1860 complaint that Margaret and James “took” the beasts and “detain[ed] the same until replevied” and again “took” and – this time clearly past tense – “detained” them. That would seem to indicate that he had gotten his animals back when he replevied them.) And did he or did he not win damages of \$500 from James and Margaret?

Be that as it may, these two or three lawsuits are the only ones that Margaret Hankal could possibly be referring to in her 1861 will, which she there says were between James and Hezekiah, not between her and Hezekiah, however we are to understand that. The unknown outcome of all this legal wrangling only leaves us with more unanswered questions about the three principals involved.⁴³

Bequests, Transactions, and More Litigation

We have not been able to find **Hezekiah Hankal** anywhere in the 1860 census, so we have no idea where he was living then. Maybe not in this area, maybe not even in Tennessee. (Possibly somewhere in neighboring Virginia?) But he was probably still in Washington County the whole time, because he was living here through the lawsuits that he was involved in from 1852 through 1866 and he was allegedly preaching for the Boones Creek Church of Christ during and even before the Civil War. Maybe the census takers simply missed him.

The 1860 census lists **Margaret Hankle** [*sic*], age 70 (probably should be 77, conforming to her age 67 in the 1850 census), born in Maryland, living in (Swinney's? [=Sweeny's? Swanay's?]) District of Washington County.⁴⁴ Living with her is Thomas F. Buckingham, 39, a farmer, and his wife Susannah, 33, and their 6 children, ranging in age from 5 to 13, plus Elizabeth Buckingham, 16, possibly a niece. Margaret was related to this family: Her mother's maiden name was Buckingham.

It appears that these Buckinghams were living on Margaret's farm, because no real estate value is listed for Thomas (only the value of his “Personal Estate,” \$181), whereas Margaret's real estate is valued at \$1560. That was almost double her real estate value in 1850. Probably Thomas and his family were looking after Margaret in her old age and doing the work of keeping up her farm, and maybe also paying rent to support her, pursuant to the provisions of her 1857 Power of Attorney granted to her son James.

Nancy Hankle, 53, a “Day laborer,” is living with the family of James P. Hankle, 29, in “Boon's Creek District.”⁴⁵ Apparently this James Hankle was her son. If Nancy was really 53, that would favor 1808 as the year of her birth, rather than 1803 or 1807. But is 1808 simply someone's estimate by figuring backward from her age as given in this census, which might or might not be correct?⁴⁶

On January 8, 1861, **Margaret Haile Hankal** made out **her will** and signed it with “her mark.”⁴⁷ It was filed in 1861 but not probated and recorded at the courthouse until 1865 – after she died, of course. In it she lists **Hezekiah** as one of her sons.

Her will notes that there have been two lawsuits about her property, even before she died, between her son James C. M. Hankal and her (grand)son **Hezekiah Hankal**, whom she calls her son twice in her will. In a way, thrice, since she refers to both “sons” by name and then says again “both sons above named.” She says that they have incurred heavy costs over these lawsuits. Now she directs

that they be repaid for those costs out of her funds. Interestingly, she does not will any of her landed property to either of them. As we've noted, the subject of those lawsuits was not her landed property but livestock.

Then she directs that her remaining money, after payment of her debts and her funeral expenses, be divided equally among her 6 children. These would be Jephtha Hankal, Nancy Hankal, Elizabeth Hankal, James C. M. Hankal, young Margaret Hankal (her daughter), and Hezekiah Hankal. Her will, however, hints at a problem with finding her son Jephtha: It specifies that if he cannot be found within three years after her death, his portion of her estate (=her money) is to be divided among the other five.⁴⁸ Even though Margaret treats Hezekiah as her son in her will, equal to her other sons and daughters, more probably, as we've noted, he was her grandson and they were actually his aunts and uncles. We will see indications that this may have led to friction and perhaps even resentment on the part of James.

Margaret wills a number of specific items, including clothing and bedding, to each of her daughters and to Hezekiah. She specifically wills her posted walnut bedstead and her armchair and a small chest to Hezekiah. She does not will any specific thing to James.

She directs that her property left by her father be divided between daughters Nancy and Elizabeth. What her father had left her long ago – in 1820, as we shall see later – was her landed property. This would be her farm of some 120 acres and would have included her house and other buildings. (In our copy of her will, from the courthouse, someone has scratched out “father” and written “husband” over it, though one can still make out traces of “father” underneath “husband.” But Margaret had been given possession of her farm by her father, Meshach Haile, not by her husband, Herman Hankal.)

Finally, she directs that all of her property which she has not previously mentioned be sold by her executor and that the proceeds be divided among her heirs. This provision would not have included her landed property.⁴⁹

Curiously, Margaret's will leaves nothing to her son James C. M. Hankal except his one-fifth of her remaining money. Was this her intention or an oversight on her part? Yet James ended up functioning as executor of her will, though that had not been her intention. When her will was probated, the county court appointed James to serve as its Administrator pro tem because the executor Margaret had named, R. S. Ferguson, had since moved out of state.⁵⁰ Possibly Margaret had deliberately chosen not to name James as her executor because he might be prejudiced and not fair and impartial, having been involved in those two lawsuits with Hezekiah.

A few more legal and financial matters involving Margaret and James followed in the 1860s. These are detailed in **Appendix D**. They leave us with yet more puzzles.

At some point between 1862 and 1864, during the Civil War, **Margaret Hale Hankal** died. One possible clue might point to a time early in 1864,⁵¹ but she may have died earlier than that. In her will, probated in 1865, she had asked to be buried in the “Buffalo Ridge Church yard” near her father and mother. This is the historic Buffalo Ridge Cemetery beside the original location of historic Buffalo Ridge Baptist Church, approximately 2 miles south-southeast of the present Buffalo Ridge Baptist Church on a straight line. Possibly **Herman Hankal** is also buried there, or maybe he's buried in the historic cemetery of Knob Creek Church of the Brethren or in some other cemetery. In any case, all of these are unmarked graves.

[Photos: stone historical marker for Buffalo Ridge Baptist Church]

[its old building, with gravestones visible] –

(*Hist. of Wash. Co. 1988*, p. 69, or a better copy in archives of that church?)

Finally, there was one more piece of litigation to round out the 15 years of legal strife between Hezekiah and James: On November 22, 1866 a warrant was issued summoning J. C. M. Hankal, Ex[ecutor] of Margaret Hankal, Deceased, to appear before a Justice of the Peace to answer Hezekiah B. Hankal “in a civil action.”⁵² According to a note on the back, this warrant was executed January 7, 1867

and returned for trial January 11, 1867 before J. F. Grisham, who was a Justice of the Peace. Another note on the back, also January 11, 1867, says “Judgment for Plaintiff \$60.95” by Grisham. Thus, Grisham ruled that James had to pay Hezekiah \$60.95.

No further record was found to elucidate what this civil action was about. But in view of the January 11, 1867 date and the \$60.95 amount, compared to the March 29, 1867 settlement of a fairly similar amount, \$64.50, to each of Margaret’s five heirs, one wonders whether this lawsuit by Hezekiah might have prodded James to get on with settling Margaret’s estate and thus may have led to that March 29 settlement. Maybe it forced James to finalize the distribution of Margaret’s remaining funds equally among the five heirs, including Hezekiah. Hezekiah might have been forcing James to grant him the one-fifth share that he had coming to him by the terms of Margaret’s will.

It’s difficult to escape the impression that James disliked Hezekiah, maybe even resented him, and did not regard Hezekiah as his equal, at least by the time that they were adults. Might this have been because James knew that Hezekiah was not, like him, a son of Margaret, but rather her grandson, and thus not a co-equal heir? Or because he knew that Hezekiah was illegitimate? Or because Hezekiah was Colored? One also seems to sense that Margaret kept doing her best to treat each of her children, plus Hezekiah, fairly and to keep the peace between James and Hezekiah.

By 1867, Hezekiah’s formative years were well behind him. His life was becoming increasingly public by the 1860s. He was involved in ministry and teaching and the practice of medicine and was on his way to becoming widely recognized and respected in Washington County, particularly in Jonesborough and Johnson City. Generally speaking, more and clearer records of him survive from about 1865 on. His character had been formed through the experiences of his first 39 years. The groundwork had been laid during that more obscure half of his life for his endeavors and achievements in its more public second half.

The Man and His Family His Work and His Accomplishments: 1865 - 1903

The life and activities of Hezekiah B. Hankal really come into focus for us primarily from 1865 on, when he was already about 39 years old. That’s the first, and only, year that he’s listed as a member of Boones Creek Church of Christ, today’s Boones Creek Christian Church.⁵³ However, the traditions of that church indicate that he preached for them, at least some of the time, during and even before the Civil War.⁵⁴ That would mean he preached at this church, either at times or maybe even regularly, even before his 1866 ordination to the ministry.

[2 photos of 1855 building of Boones Creek Church of Christ (Christian Church)
in which Hezekiah Hankal was ordained to the Christian ministry] –

[1. on the left: façade (clearer picture): Archives of Appalachia, Clifford A. Maxwell Photographs, Accession # 297, Box 8,
Shelf # 2C-8-4, Folder “Structures – General,” #3, photo #14]

[2. on the right: whole building (less clear) – NOT the partial view in *Hist. of Wash. Co. 1988*, p. 75,
BUT the full view (clearest copy available) in archives of that church (or with Boones Creek Historical Trust?)
(also in my Hankal file, probably not the clearest copy)]

Before Emancipation it had been the custom of churches to include slaves and free Blacks in their membership and to worship together, although they were normally seated in a separate area. In the words of one historian,

Prior to the war, the Negro, free or slave, attended church services along with the whites. The slaves were members of the churches of their masters. They were seated in a segregated section of the church building, however; generally, in the rear but sometimes in a gallery, built for their special use, or in a wing of the building.⁵⁵

This was the practice of the Boones Creek Church of Christ.⁵⁶ But after the slaves were freed, racial segregation became the practice, and the major denominations helped their Black members form their own separate churches.⁵⁷ It is said that the Boones Creek Church of Christ dropped all people “of colour” from its membership rolls in 1865⁵⁸ and, like many churches, encouraged and even helped them to form churches of their own. Hezekiah Hankal was to become a leader in that effort.

Still, it’s surprising that this Boones Creek church listed Hezekiah Hankal as a member in 1865, and without any notation that he was “of colour,” which it had consistently done with its Colored members, slave or free, before that time. Yet Hezekiah was not dropped! He was counted as a member in 1865! Is this an indication that the people of that church did not view him as Colored? (There seems to have been some ambiguity about his racial status for the first 40 years of his life.) Or did the members of this church make an exception of him because they had depended on him to do some supply preaching for them or perhaps even to serve as their interim pastor during the disruptions of the turbulent war years in Upper East Tennessee? However, in her 1969 letter, mentioned at the outset here, the Hankals’ youngest daughter, like all members of her family, shows that she considers herself and her father a “Negro.”⁵⁹ That clearly reflects the Hankals’ situation after 1866.

Then in February of 1866 the Boones Creek Church of Christ **ordained** Hezekiah Hankal **to the Christian ministry** – possibly Sunday, February 11, but most probably Saturday, February 17. (The number of the date in February is defective in the church’s handwritten record.)⁶⁰

[Image: ordination of “hesi kier Hinkel” to the ministry – entry in old record of Boones Creek Church of Christ]

Evangelizing and Church Planting

Emancipation became effective in Upper East Tennessee by 1864, once the Union Army was in firm control of the region. Such a sweeping legal and social change as emancipation of the slaves is what led to the end of the previous practice of Black and White joint membership and worship in the same churches. This in turn led to those efforts by some White churches to help their Black members establish their own churches. As part of those efforts, the East Tennessee and Western Virginia Co-operation of Churches of Christ (later: Christian Churches), their annual assembly in this region, employed Hezekiah Hankal from September 1866 to September 1869 to evangelize his fellow African Americans and organize them into churches.⁶¹

It appears that, for Christian Churches, the Boones Creek church was the primary impetus behind this effort in Upper East Tennessee, even furnishing many of the Black members, as they moved to area cities, and supplying Hezekiah Hankal to evangelize Colored people. Quite possibly that church had ordained Hankal expressly for this type of task, to undertake precisely this mission. He proved to be a very successful Black evangelist. He baptized some 400 people in his first year of evangelizing, 1866-1867.⁶²

[Janice Huse’s painting of Dr. Hankal baptizing a man – if she’ll permit]

Hezekiah Hankal’s labors as a traveling Colored evangelist of this Church of Christ “Co-operation” seem to have continued for the 3 years from September 1866 to September 1869, judging from contemporary accounts. Possibly even 4 years, if the record of the September 1869 annual meeting intends to imply that they continued until September 1870. But this seems unlikely. In 1869, however, an additional Colored preacher, T. R. Bailes or Bayless, is mentioned as also involved in this work, and one contemporary account may be implying that another Colored preacher, A. Rankin, was also

involved.⁶³ In discussing Negro evangelism by Disciples of Christ (i.e. by Christian Churches) in postbellum Tennessee, Herman A. Norton, in his book *Tennessee Christians*, gives two reasonably accurate summations of the information in those contemporary reports of Hezekiah Hankal's work:

The program of evangelism was far more successful in East Tennessee. There the East Tennessee and Virginia Co-operation employed Hezekiah Hankel, in 1866, to work among the Negroes in the region. Ordained by the Boone's Creek congregation in February 1866, Hankel, a Negro, in his first year preached over three hundred times and had over four hundred converts. The program was continued for a number of years and one person in each congregation was responsible for securing funds to support it.⁶⁴

And at the 1867 Co-operation meeting the delegates

... heard an address by Hezekiah Hankel, who in laboring among the Negroes in the district, had preached "300 times and won 400 converts" during that year. Enthusiastically, the delegates voted to employ "2 white and 1 colored evangelists [*sic*] for the coming year."⁶⁵

As for the program being "continued for a number of years," it certainly was continued into the next year at least, 1868, and evidently at least 1 year after that, 1869, judging from those contemporary accounts. The reports of the Co-operation's 1869 meeting give no solid clue whether its Colored evangelists were still establishing churches for Negroes by September of that year or on into 1870. But a couple of indications seem to suggest that its vigorous Black church planting effort came to an end about this time. One report mentions the need to solve a problem of insufficient funds to support this work. And there is no record of this effort producing any additional Black Christian Churches after about 1869. Hezekiah Hankal may already have begun to limit his work as the Co-operation's Colored evangelist to just Johnson City, or mainly to Johnson City, about the time he settled there in 1868.

Indeed, the Co-operation may still have been employing Hankal for this work for another year or so intentionally with the more limited goal now of organizing a Colored church in Johnson City. Possibly he also continued to travel from time to time from Johnson City to the congregations he had founded (in Bristol and Jonesborough and Mt. Gilboa) to keep leading and encouraging the brothers and sisters in those places. Possibly he still received some pay from the Co-operation to do this. By 1868 he could have reached all of those locations quite easily by train on the 11-year-old East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad, today's Norfolk Southern.

In any case, though, as a result of his evangelistic endeavors Dr. Hankal is known to have founded four Black churches during these years. Evidently already in 1866 he established three of these: **Mt. Gilboa Church of Christ** in the general area of Washington College Academy, the Colored Christian Church/Church of Christ in Jonesborough (today's **Bethel Christian Church** there), and the church in Bristol, Tennessee which became College Avenue Church of Christ there (later East Main Street Church of Christ or **College Avenue Christian Church**).⁶⁶ Bethel Church in Jonesborough was formed around a nucleus of Colored people who had been members of Boones Creek Church of Christ. Maybe this was also true of Mt. Gilboa Church.

The **Mt. Gilboa Church** turned out to be Dr. Hankal's only rural congregation, and it remained rural until it disbanded after World War II. But it moved to different locations 3 times and changed names each time. It became Slaty Grove Church, then Gravel Hill Church, and finally **Lane Memorial Christian Church**, which some people called the Washington College Christian Church. Details of its shifting locations and names, as well as a few memories of its life as a congregation, are presented in **Appendix E** here. They are of special interest in that they give us a bit of insight into some aspects of the life of a rural Black church, something largely unreported in the history of Black churches in the United States.⁶⁷ What's known to us of its story is not entirely limited to relocations and real estate transactions, though much of it is that. But we gain some insight too into how vibrant the lives and struggles of the people of a rural Black church could be. Of particular interest is the fondly remembered annual May Meeting held at its campus in its later decades, discussed in **Appendix E**.

[\[Photos of Lane Memorial Christian Church:\]](#)

[exterior, preferably without the added entryway]
 [if possible: interior with old lights attached to the walls]

Members of Jonesborough's **Bethel Christian Church** have preserved a tradition that Dr. Hankal built their first building for them, a log house of worship. This seems open to question, however.⁶⁸ After acquiring and then selling a few tiny parcels of land, the church settled on property at 303 Depot Street, which then served as the home of Bethel Christian Church from 1922 until 2004 – if not already from about 1888 on: Church tradition holds that its log cabin meetinghouse had stood near the highest point of the church's parking lot there, its southeast corner. That would assume that it stood well back from Depot Street on that narrow strip of land which the church first acquired there in 1888, which ended up as the eastern edge of the larger property that it later bought there.⁶⁹ So the church must have worshiped in its log building there from roughly 1888 till 1913.

After 1913, this congregation no longer worshiped in its log building. The county had just ceased using the Warner Institute building on East Main Street as Jonesborough's Colored school, and the Colored Church of Christ began to worship in that building.⁷⁰ It continued to until 1922, when it completed a fine frame building at 303 Depot Street, where Second Avenue intersects it, during the ministry of Dr. W. A. Scott, Ph.D. That building is now the home of a different church, Bethel having built a new brick church farther west on Depot Street in 2004.

[2 photos of Bethel Christian Church: old building and new building]

Likewise in 1866 Dr. Hankal began the church in Bristol, Tennessee, which became **College Avenue Church of Christ** there (later East Main Street Church of Christ or College Avenue Christian Church).⁷¹ Not surprisingly, the group held services in homes at first, probably for more than 10 years. Then in 1878 they built their first church on the corner of what was to become Oakland Drive and Edgemont Avenue, now Martin Luther King Junior Boulevard. Several years later the congregation split, with one group forming Hood Memorial A.M.E. Zion Church and the other group continuing as the Church of Christ. Samuel A. Russell served as the latter church's pastor for a few years in the first decade of the twentieth century. In 1909, under his leadership, it built a substantial frame building at the corner of College Avenue and Alabama Street. This structure was damaged by fire in 1959. But it was rebuilt, and the congregation continued to meet in it until 1963, when the Bristol Tennessee Housing Authority purchased the property for urban renewal. The church now acquired property on East State Street and built a fine brick edifice there in 1965. Its cornerstone bears the date Nov. 1, 1965 and the name East State Street Church of Christ, but before long the congregation reverted to its earlier name, College Avenue Christian Church.

[2 photos of College Avenue Church of Christ: old frame building & new brick building]

[old one is in my file on this church; might Williams family have a better copy?]

Last of all, after Dr. Hankal settled in the new little town of Johnson City in 1868, he started the Colored Church of Christ there, today's **West Main Street Christian Church**, apparently in 1869,⁷² and continued to serve as its pastor until his death in 1903. Conceivably, this congregation may have met in the Hankals' home on West Market Street for part of its early years. But for most of its early years, until 1889, it is said to have rotated leading union services with the Colored Baptists and Methodists in a one-room log building on the east side of Buffalo Street on Roan (or Rome) Hill in Johnson City which also served as the town's Colored school in those years.⁷³ (The Colored Baptists were to become the city's Thankful Baptist Church, while the Colored Methodists would become St. Paul A.M.E. Zion Church.)

It has been speculated that Dr. Hankal also established **Hasson Street Christian Church** in Rogersville, but this is doubtful. It can neither be proven nor disproven. No evidence seems to exist to support it.⁷⁴ Regrettably, this church has no record or memory of when or by whom it was founded.⁷⁵ Still, Dr. Hankal did have a few known connections with Rogersville in the 1860s, and he might have lived there for a while back then. So it is conceivable that he might have started a congregation in Rogersville in the 1860s and that it had a tenuous existence through the 1870s and 1880s, until we pick up clear signs of its existence in the 1890s.⁷⁶

Early Contribution to Milligan College

One little snippet of information about Hezekiah Hankal at this point in his life, discovered by Clinton J. Holloway and brought to the author's attention by him, may perhaps reveal quite a lot about his attitudes on education and race:

Wilson G. Barker was an ordained minister of the Churches of Christ. During the war he had been a Confederate Colonel. By 1866 he was in the process of organizing the Buffalo Male and Female Institute, which would later become Milligan College. In June of 1867 he began canvassing funds to erect a brick building for the newly chartered school.

H. B. Hankal pledged \$5 to this fund drive.⁷⁷ That was a larger sum then than it is now, and Dr. Hankal was by no means a wealthy man, especially at this early point in his career. Moreover, he surely knew that no Colored students would be admitted to the new school. (And indeed none would be for many decades.) Yet Dr. Hankal was generous enough to contribute what he could to the effort. He must have regarded the mission of this new school as a worthy undertaking in spite of the exclusion of Black students from it. It seemed noteworthy to Mr. Holloway "that Dr. Hankal would commit financially to a school which he would have known that his race would not be permitted to attend" back in that era.⁷⁸

[Photo: Mariah Netherland Hankal, "excerpted from the (second?) group photo on p." 23?]

It was during these years of evangelistic and church-planting labors, when **Hezekiah Hankal** was already about 41 years old, that he **married Maria Netherland** on October 17, 1867 in her hometown, Rogersville, Tennessee.⁷⁹ (Her name is sometimes spelled Mariah.) He was about 22 years older than Maria: She was just 19 years old. She'd been born a slave August 27, 1848, presumably in Rogersville, a daughter of biracial slaves Jordan and Jane (Lynn) Netherland. She came from a family that had its own interesting history and could boast some impressive accomplishments. This family was connected with the historic Netherland Inn in Kingsport, Tennessee before the family moved to Rogersville. **Appendix F** tells the story of Maria's parents and grandparents.

[Photo: Jordan and Jane (Lynn) Netherland (my copy, or better: Netherland Inn's copy)]

It is not known how Hezekiah Hankal came to know Maria Netherland. Might he have lived in Rogersville for a while? Or might he only have visited that city for some reason? Might he have preached and baptized converts there? We can only guess. Travel to Rogersville from the Jonesborough area in 1867 was still time-consuming and not easy. There was no railroad between Johnson City and Kingsport until about 1890, so in 1867 at least that part of the journey, or any journey to Rogersville from the railroad in Greeneville, had to be on horseback or by horse and buggy.

Hezekiah and Maria Hankal had a large family. Nine daughters were born to them between 1868 and 1886. Tragically, their only son did not survive childhood. **Appendix G** relates details about their family.

Hezekiah and Maria Hankal settled in Johnson City in 1868.⁸⁰ The city was just over 10 years old then and still a small village, not having grown much during the war years. But recently freed slaves were beginning to move into it in considerable numbers, as well as into some of the other cities in the area, which were older. They moved into the towns to find employment – for example in the growing industries and in the building trades. Building construction was a particularly good source of jobs for Black people in Johnson City then, since the new city began to grow rather rapidly after the Civil War, especially in the 1870s and 1880s, and it needed many construction workers.⁸¹

Then on October 29, 1868 Hezekiah Hankal "of Johnson City" conducted the wedding of his brother-in-law, Nelson Netherland, and Margaret Johnson in the home of Margaret's mother in Rogersville, Tennessee.⁸² Nelson was a brother of Hankal's wife Mariah Netherland Hankal. This item confirms the fact that Hankal was already a resident "of Johnson City" in 1868, even though he did not buy property there until the following year.

But in 1869 he did. On June 5, 1869 H. B. Hankal bought a lot on “a Main Street” in Johnson City from Henry Johnson, the founder of Johnson City, for \$300.⁸³ That lot is now number 220 W. Market Street, currently a rather derelict site. There Hankal built his two-story brick house,⁸⁴ now long gone. It was demolished sometime after 1945. Sometime after Dr. Hankal died in 1903 and before 1920, Montgomery Street was cut through the Hankals’ lot on an angle.⁸⁵

[Image: 1869 deed from Henry Johnson to H. B. Hankal]

(probably not necessary to include the two items appended to it at its end)

Teaching

Laws in some slave states (though not in Tennessee) had prohibited teaching slaves to read and write. And extra-legal punishments were sometimes visited on slaves and Free Negroes for teaching slaves those skills – even mutilations (commonly of the final link or phalanx of an index finger) and lynchings and brutal, sometimes fatal whippings. Occasionally even on White Abolitionists. Yet some White people had taught their slaves anyway.⁸⁶

But when freedom came, most Black people in the South, whether they’d been enslaved or not, were still illiterate – as were many White people. And most Black Southerners were very eager to learn, including adults, seeing this as their best hope of improving their lot in life. Hezekiah Hankal had never been a slave, and he was clearly rather well educated before 1865. Indeed, he had even learned to practice medicine. So he began to teach “freedmen” the basics of school learning.

At least some of the time between about 1868 and 1874, Hankal taught his fellow African Americans in a one-room log school on the east side of Buffalo Street on Roan (or Rome) Hill in Johnson City.⁸⁷ He seems to have been the third person who taught school to Colored students there.⁸⁸ At that time this location was well outside town. It was nearly three quarters of a mile south of Henry Johnson’s new village, uphill all the way. Even so, Johnson City public schools for “Coloreds” got their humble beginnings in that little log schoolhouse on Roan Hill – although the city’s Colored schools were county schools at first, until the city created its own school system in 1888.

First Schoolhouses

The one-room log schoolhouse on Roan Hill stood approximately at what is today 1301/1303 Buffalo St., on its northeast side at or near the highest point.⁸⁹ It was a one-room log cabin out in the country back in those days. It was built on three quarters of an acre of land which Peter Range had sold on Sept. 6, 1849⁹⁰ to “the common School Commissioners” of what was then School District No. 57. He sold it “for the dual purpose of school and church.”⁹¹ Range sold this plot for \$10. Possibly that was merely a nominal price back then. Range may have been virtually donating the land to the county.⁹²

The one-room log cabin was first used by White people as a school and church during and right after the Civil War if not sooner – though presumably these White people brought their slaves to church with them and allowed free Negroes to join them in worship, the widespread pattern before Emancipation. Evidently Johnson City Presbyterians worshiped there during and right after the Civil War, before they organized First Presbyterian Church in 1869.⁹³

From the early 1860s,⁹⁴ or “about 1864,”⁹⁵ the building housed a school for White students. Evidently this “school” was the Science Hill Literary and Debating Society, which had been organized a bit earlier in Oak Grove, a small community about 7½ miles northwest of Johnson’s Depot. That Society soon became the Science Hill Seminary or Academy⁹⁶ and would later morph into Johnson City’s Science Hill High School. But the White school ceased to use the log cabin on Roan Hill in 1866 upon moving to a new building on what had been the Brush Creek Campground of the Methodist Church,⁹⁷ which was closer to Henry Johnson’s new village. It was constructed of hewn logs and later weatherboarded. This building stood on the north side of what is now West Watauga Avenue in the 300 block, near where the Masonic Temple now stands.⁹⁸ Whereas the log schoolhouse on Roan Hill was nearly three quarters of a

mile south of the village and uphill all the way, this location was only about four tenths of a mile from the village and involved no significant climb at all.

Now that the White school had vacated the log cabin on Roan Hill, that building came to be used as a Colored school and interdenominational Black church, either in 1866 or soon after, and it continued to be until 1889. By the later 1800s a well established Colored burial ground had developed adjacent to the meetinghouse/schoolhouse.⁹⁹

It's quite possible that Dr. Hankal also taught freedmen elsewhere in Washington County, maybe even in various locations, in the immediate postwar years, before he settled in Johnson City in 1868. He may have taught them in what were called "subscription schools," which antedated the county free schools.¹⁰⁰ In the subscription school system, parents simply paid a teacher a certain amount per child each month, and the teacher taught wherever he or she could – often in homes, sometimes in churches or other available space. Such arrangements had existed among some White people in the area probably since the late 1700s.¹⁰¹ Indeed, something of the sort had existed even centuries before that, with people who could afford it employing private tutors for their children. Obviously some people of Color in this area had similarly begun to pay a teacher a "subscription" after freedom came.¹⁰² It is known that the earliest phases of education for many Colored people across the South took place after the war in such available spaces as a church, a farm building, or an upstairs room above a local store.¹⁰³

On October 6, 1873 a teaching certificate was issued to **H. B. Hankal**, based on his scores on an examination covering numerous teaching subjects. This certified him to teach in the public schools of Washington County for one year. It's his only known teacher certification, and it may well be his only one. Quite possibly 1873 was the first year that Tennessee issued teaching certificates, since the state and its counties were only then successfully organizing a public school system, after earlier failures to devise an adequate system for funding public schools.¹⁰⁴ And Dr. Hankal stopped teaching school in 1874, as we shall see.

[Image: H. B. Hankal's teaching certificate]

However, perhaps as early as 1874 Dr. Hankal began to serve as the Colored member of the 5-member Washington County board of school commissioners in the early years of the public school system (the County Free Schools).¹⁰⁵ And he may have served the cause of education for Colored people in this way until as late as 1893, or at least into the later 1880s, though evidently only during certain years. The Colored member of the board was responsible for overseeing the facilities and personnel for teaching Colored students in the various little segregated schools scattered around the county in that era.¹⁰⁶ In those early years of struggle, this included such basic matters as improving the heating and snugness (weatherproofing) of the usually substandard Colored school buildings, finding qualified people to teach in them, providing each school with a safe water supply and a decent outhouse, and securing all kinds of necessary teaching materials, from books to chalk.

Practicing Medicine and Speaking German

By 1870 **H. B. Hankal** is listed in the census as mulatto, age 45, and as a **physician** in Johnson City.¹⁰⁷ His real estate was valued at \$300 and his personal estate at \$500. The \$300 must be the price he had paid, or was paying, Henry Johnson for his city lot. So his total worth in 1870 was \$800 even before his medical practice grew and he stopped teaching in 1874.

Listed with him in the same household are **Maria**, age 22, "Keeping house"; Nancy E., age 2; and Alice Netherland, age 12, "Athome" (=At home); all mulatto. Alice Netherland was a younger sister of Maria. Her age, 12, would indicate that she was born about 1858. Dr. Hankal's age, 45 in 1870, favors 1825 rather than 1826 as his birth year, but more probably he was actually 44 in 1870, consistent with his age in the earliest censuses in which he appears.¹⁰⁸

The census taker noted that Alice had attended school within that year and that Maria could not write but did not note that she could not read. This seems odd – and surprising, since her father, Jordan Netherland, could read and write and two of her sisters became schoolteachers. It does appear, though, that Maria could not read or write, even though that is not noted for her in the 1880 census, because it is so noted for her in the 1900 census and because she signed deeds and a promissory note with “her mark” (an X) in the 1920s.¹⁰⁹

Dr. Hankal will continue to practice medicine here for the last three decades of the nineteenth century. In the early years (around 1869-1874) he did so only after teaching school¹¹⁰ and on Saturdays, according to his daughter Areatha:

“...on week ends he rode in to a little community known as Cherokee ... where many of his boyhood friends had moved, these people (All Dutch) became the Nucleus of his practice, they were patients and friends until he died.”¹¹¹

Most of Dr. Hankal’s patients were Black people at this early point in his medical career, but Areatha’s statement makes it clear that some of his patients even then were White people who’d been his friends since childhood. And evidently he spoke “Dutch” with them. Areatha says her father “did not speak English until he was quite a boy and as children we were fascinated to hear him and some of his old friends speak Dutch.”¹¹²

“Dutch” here would not mean Holland Dutch (Netherlandic) but German (*Deutsch*), as it does in the term Pennsylvania Dutch. Or it might have been some dialect of German. There’s no evidence that Holland Dutch people settled in Washington County or adjacent counties in any significant numbers at any time, whereas German-speaking Brethren and German-speaking Lutherans did.

Numerous Brethren families in certain parts of Washington County continued to speak German at home in earlier times and to conduct their worship services in German well into the nineteenth century. Two Lutheran congregations in Washington County likewise continued to conduct their services in German for some time – Immanuel Lutheran Church (the “Old Dutch Meeting House”) about 1½ miles northwest of Lamar School¹¹³ and Luther Zion Church on today’s U.S. 11-E at Kyker Road – but German-speaking settlements near both of them were far south and southwest of the parts of the county where any Hankals lived.

Brethren (“Tunkers” or “Dunkers” or “Dunkards,” meaning immersers or immersionists) lived in several parts of the county. Like the Lutherans, their denomination had begun in Germany, where it was founded by Alexander Mack in 1708. Many of the Brethren long continued to speak German in the U.S. and conducted their worship services in both German and English. Knob Creek Church of the Brethren, on the edge of what would become Johnson City, Tennessee, continued to hold services in both German and English well into the 1800s. The Hankal family had at least some connections with that church and may have belonged to it at one time. Groups of followers of Alexander Mack, German Baptist Brethren, had emigrated from Germany and the Netherlands between 1719 and the 1730s and settled in Germantown, Pennsylvania, subsequently spreading widely from there. These Brethren, today’s Church of the Brethren, are part of the Anabaptist stream of the Protestant Reformation. (Mennonites are another part of the Anabaptist stream, and they too settled in Germantown and spread widely from there, but not into Upper East Tennessee.)

So Hezekiah Hankal was bilingual. But that he spoke no English at all until he was a big boy is very hard to believe, since his mother and grandmother, who raised him, were basically Anglophone. Whether they also understood and spoke German is not known but seems doubtful. Hezekiah’s grandfather, Herman Hankal, might have understood and spoken German. His ancestors had come from Germany. Even though he was orphaned as a baby, Hankal relatives might have taken him and his siblings in and raised them,¹¹⁴ and these Hankal kinfolk may have spoken German at home. If they were not still Lutherans, as the first Henckels in America were, possibly they had come to associate with Brethren at some point precisely because of their shared use of German. Or conceivably Herman might have come under the influence of Brethren on his own somewhere and at some time, possibly

worshipping with them in German. However, Herman Hankal disappears from our records before 1824, indeed, probably no later than 1820. So in all probability he was dead before Hezekiah was born.

Hence, how Hezekiah may have come to speak and understand German from childhood can only be guessed. Somehow he must have grown up near families that spoke German regularly. He must have had boyhood friends, and their parents, in the general vicinity of where he grew up who customarily spoke German at home, and he must have picked up that language from his association with them. These might have been Church of the Brethren people that he spent time with and maybe went to church with, at least some of the time. That seems to suggest a likely connection with Knob Creek Church of the Brethren and possibly a neighborhood not too far from that church. Yet the farm on which he grew up is a long way from that church, and it is not known whether any Germanophone Brethren families lived near Margaret Hankal's farm.¹¹⁵

The "Cherokee" community where Hezekiah's friends lived was probably southwest of Johnson City. It might have been the German-speaking community centered around the already mentioned "Old Dutch Meeting House" (Immanuel Lutheran Church) about 1½ miles northwest of Lamar School. More probably it was either the Big Cherokee community north of Lamar School around historic Cherokee Baptist Church or the Little Cherokee community east of there along Little Cherokee Creek. But perhaps the best guess is the tiny community called **Garbers** (which had its own rural post office until 1917)¹¹⁶ a bit farther downstream on Little Cherokee Creek, just east of Lamar School along State Route 67, because Garber is a Church of the Brethren name in Washington County. Samuel Garber was one of the founding members of the Knob Creek Church of the Brethren, the leader who preached in English for that church in its early days, when Michael Krouse preached in German for them.¹¹⁷ So probably some German-speaking boyhood friends of Hezekiah who were Brethren had later moved to that neighborhood, among them some named Garber,¹¹⁸ giving their name to that community – even though no Church of the Brethren was ever formed in that part of the county.

Areatha says her father "rode" there. Again and again, we must think our way back into his world. Obviously back in those days he "rode" on horseback to visit his patients and old friends down in "Cherokee," at least before the 1890s. If her father had taken a carriage there, she would presumably have said he "drove" there. But by the time Areatha was old enough to remember her father's visits down there, change had come to Garbers, so by then Dr. Hankal probably "rode" the train there. There was once a branch of the Southern Railway from Johnson City out Antioch Road southwest past Big Cherokee and Lamar/Garbers and on across the Nolichucky River to Embreeville, built primarily to serve the blast furnace there and the iron mines above Embreeville in Bumpass Cove.¹¹⁹ That railroad reached Garbers in 1891, and trains came there twice a week in the 1890s.¹²⁰

In July and August of **1873** an **epidemic** of **Asiatic cholera** swept through the Washington County area,¹²¹ and "patients were dying" of the disease.¹²² But in Johnson City **Dr. Hezekiah B. Hankal** was losing fewer patients¹²³ than the little town's White physicians.¹²⁴ As a result of Dr. Hankal's success, they consulted with him on his treatment methods and came to accept him as a physician.¹²⁵ A further consequence of his success in keeping his patients alive through that cholera epidemic was that Dr. Hankal gained more White patients. His practice grew to the point that after 1874 he no longer needed to teach school in order to support his family.¹²⁶ His medical practice now became his full-time employment.

The 1880 census lists **H. B. Hankle**, mulatto, age 52 (surely wrong for 54), as a **physician** in Johnson City.¹²⁷ Listed with him in the same household are **Mariah** [*sic*], 32, "Keeping House"; and daughters Maime (?) J. (handwriting hard to read; must be wrong for Nancy/Nannie E., the eldest daughter, as in 1870), 12, "At School"; Mary A., 9; Sarah (?) M. (extra faint and hard to read), 7; Ellen, 6; Julia N., 4; Anna P., 1; all mulatto.¹²⁸ **Nancy Hankle**, presumably Hezekiah's mother, was no longer living in 1880. It's not certain when she died, but there is some reason to suspect that she had died in 1877 or 1880.

Involvement in Politics

By 1884 H. B. Hankal was beginning to become active in local politics. On March 15 of that year he ran unsuccessfully in an election for 3 Commissioners for the Johnson City taxing district. He came close, though, to winning one of the positions. He received 51 votes, placing fourth among 6 candidates for the three positions.¹²⁹ Through the 1880s and 1890s he became increasingly involved in civic affairs in Johnson City, working particularly to promote advances in the city's provisions for schooling its Colored population. He was active locally in the Republican Party and worked in support of the temperance movement. He became friends with such politicians as Congressman Walter P. Brownlow and Governor Alfred Taylor.¹³⁰ One Johnson Citizen also remembered in later years that Dr. Hankal "sat on quite a number of juries" during these last decades of his life.¹³¹

Then in 1887 H. B. Hankal ran for a position on the Johnson City Board of Aldermen – and won. Of the 18 candidates that year, he was one of 7 who were elected on March 23, 1887 as aldermen for the ensuing year.¹³² He obviously commanded the respect of many of the city's White citizens, because his victory would not have been possible if he had not garnered votes of White citizens as well as Black. Indeed, in that era probably not many of the city's Black citizens were able to vote. And for Hankal it was a signal achievement, occurring fully 10 years after the effective end of the Reconstruction era. Because by then, during the age of Jim Crow laws, Blacks were no longer being elected to public offices in the South as they had been during Reconstruction.

It is not known whether Hankal served as an alderman any other years. Evidently no records of the Johnson City elections of 1888, 1889, 1890, and 1891 have survived.¹³³ Hence, it is conceivable that he may have been elected as an alderman again after that one year, but in the absence of any record of whether he did or didn't, it's impossible to know. He had not run in the year prior to 1887, since his name does not appear in the record of the election of 1886.¹³⁴ But he did run in 1892, although unsuccessfully. Still, the fact that he did run that year would seem to suggest that he may well have run for the office in at least some of those intervening years, possibly in all of them, and that he might have been a Johnson City alderman more than just that one year.

Church Growth

On June 17, 1886 Dr. Hankal's church, the "Christian Church Colored" (today's West Main Street Christian Church), bought "a lot," one-eighth of an acre, "in Johnson City on the west side of Brush Creek" from J. H. Mongle for \$50.¹³⁵ Dr. Mongle was the Hankals' family doctor. The deed to this property seems to point to a location somewhere on the west edge of the city as it then was.¹³⁶ It names four trustees of the church,¹³⁷ clear evidence that the Johnson City Colored Christian Church was well organized and had trustees at least as early as 1886, before it had a building of its own. Probably long before that, since there is good reason to believe that it existed in some form from 1869 on, though it may not have "organized" formally until the 1870s or earlier 1880s. But apparently a faithful group of "members" met for worship and preaching with some regularity from 1869 on under Dr. Hankal's leadership.

The church must have sold this parcel of land at some later date without building anything on it. Maybe for a good reason: It was probably not at all close to any area where African Americans lived, a crucial consideration in a time when most city-dwelling Blacks still walked to their church and school and place of work. Quite likely the church sold it two years later when it acquired its present property on West Main Street closer to the center of the city, in one of the areas where a concentration of Black citizens lived.

The “Colored Christian Church of Johnson City” took that next step on October 22, 1888. It bought a smaller lot on West Main Street for \$100.¹³⁸ This property, now 246 W. Main St., was located less than 2 blocks from the Hankals’ house on W. Market Street. Though the lot was smaller, surely its advantage was that it was closer to the center of the city, as the city then was, and thus within easier walking distance for most of the members of the church.¹³⁹

Now at last the Colored Christian Church proceeded to erect a building on that lot, completing the structure and moving to it, presumably from the log schoolhouse on Roan Hill, by October 1889.¹⁴⁰ The building is said to have been financed by Dr. Hankal. It’s obvious, as we will see, that he planned it to serve as both a church and a school. As such, it is both the oldest church building and the oldest school building still standing in Johnson City. Despite its outward appearance today, it’s basically a frame building; it was not bricked up until 1955. Soon after it was built, we are told, attendance at this church ran between 50 and 75 every Sunday.¹⁴¹

[Very underexposed photo of Sunday School kids in front of frame building of W. Main St. Church]

[Photo of group in front of entrance to its building, including Mariah Netherland Hankal]

[Color photo of bricked up church today]

Colored School Progress

Even though Dr. Hankal no longer taught school after 1874, schooling of Colored children in the little log schoolhouse on Roan Hill continued. A number of different people taught there between the late 1860s and the late 1880s. The names of several of them are known, and there may have been others.

Teachers at the log school on Roan Hill

The names of these people who taught in the log school on Roan Hill between the later 1860s and the late 1880s are remembered:

George Perkins, 1866? 1867?

Thomas Harrison, 1867? 1868?

Hezekiah B. Hankal, 1868? 1869? – 1874

William H. Richards, 1877 – 1878¹⁴²

possibly Hattie Conyers and Lizzie Dalton¹⁴³

A. B. Dalton

Alice Netherland, a sister of Maria Netherland Hankal who was in her twenties by 1878

(She was 12 in the 1870 census, living with Dr. and Mrs. Hankal.)

Luvenia (“Lou Viney”) or Malvina Netherland, another sister of Maria Netherland Hankal

(Luvenia was obviously named after her paternal grandmother, the Netherlands’ slave Luvenia.)¹⁴⁴

S. J. Spurgeon,¹⁴⁵ from ____? till spring 1887

C. C. Fitzgerald,¹⁴⁶ fall 1887 to spring 1888

Then in 1888 began a steady series of advances, through struggle, in the provisions of Johnson City for the education of its Colored population – advances that were to culminate in the city’s first construction of a building to accommodate its Colored students in 1893, the year after it built its first two school buildings for White students.¹⁴⁷ These were 6 years of painful progress by fits and starts. **Dr. H. B. Hankal** continued to be a community leader, along with Alfred Hyder and Daniel Reeves, in championing steady improvements in the city’s school for Colored students.

But the primary champion who spearheaded these efforts, and continued to beyond 1893, was an unsung hero of Johnson City Black history, **William Wolfe**, often referred to as Professor Wolfe, a professional educator, a graduate of Lincoln University in Pennsylvania.¹⁴⁸ Professor Wolfe came to

Johnson City in 1888 to teach the Colored school in the one-room log building on Roan Hill. Over the next 19 years, until he resigned in 1907 to accept a position on the faculty of his alma mater in Pennsylvania, he was the leader who devised and executed plans for surmounting one obstacle after another and for achieving significant advances in the accommodations, staff, teaching materials, and graded organization of the city's school for Colored students.¹⁴⁹

[Can we get a photo of Prof. William Wolfe from Lincoln University in Pennsylvania?]

We will never know to what extent, if any, Dr. Hankal may have been instrumental in discovering William Wolfe and attracting him to Johnson City. But Professor Wolfe proved to be the ideal person to lead this steady progress in the city's provision for the educational needs of its Black citizens. He was the right man for the occasion.

It was also in 1888, apparently, that Johnson City elected its first Board of Education and organized city schools for the first time.¹⁵⁰ At this point the Colored school ceased to be a county school and came under the sole management of the city's Board of Education.¹⁵¹ And the Wolfe-Hankal advances began almost at once. Already in 1889 the Colored school moved from the log schoolhouse on Roan Hill to the newly completed building of the Colored Christian Church, with William Wolfe as Principal Teacher and Mrs. Helen Ford as Assistant Teacher.¹⁵²

But before long the space in the new church/school building was already proving inadequate. So the very next school year, 1890-1891, William Wolfe, as Principal Teacher, conducted the high school level in the adjacent home of a Mrs. Carson,¹⁵³ while Helen Ford and Nelson Fitzgerald, as Assistant Teachers, continued to teach the primary and intermediate classes in Dr. Hankal's church.¹⁵⁴ It seems that Professor W. S. Lee was also added to the faculty by 1890¹⁵⁵ or sometime before 1893. (High school did not yet include grades all the way up through grade 12 then.)

Use of space in a private home for classes was obviously less than satisfactory, so a search for better accommodations continued. The solution for the next school year, 1891-1892, was to move the Colored school to the two buildings of Thankful Baptist Church on Water Street. One of those was the new frame building of this church.¹⁵⁶ The other was its original log building, still standing there at that time.¹⁵⁷ And still the space was too cramped for the city's growing school-age Colored population. So the following year, 1892-1893, the Colored school used both buildings of the Baptist Church and also the Colored Odd Fellows Hall across Water Street from them. Yet even these facilities were much too crowded.¹⁵⁸

The need for a truly adequate facility to accommodate the city's Colored school had become urgent. Consequently, by the early 1890s, working with the Board of Education, Professor Wolfe and Dr. Hankal were "responsible for starting the drive for a building program to house the increasing black population."¹⁵⁹ Their efforts culminated in the establishment of **Langston High School in 1893**. Between late August and late November of that year Johnson City erected a new two-story brick building expressly for its Colored school on the corner of Myrtle Avenue and Elm Street.¹⁶⁰ Students and teachers had still spent the first part of the 1893-1894 school year in the same cramped quarters on both sides of Water Street. But the school was able to occupy its new building by late November of 1893, evidently on the Monday after Thanksgiving that year, November 27.¹⁶¹ It would come to be named Langston Normal School, later Langston High School.

[Color photo of oldest part of Langston School building]

(from Mildred Koszuch collection in the Archives of Appalachia; I have an excellent copy in my Langston file)

The school now included grades 1 through 11. High school went only through 11th grade then in Tennessee. The 12th grade was not added to Langston until 1922. Teachers now were Professor William Wolfe, Professor W. S. Lee, Helen Ford, and Hattie Wolfe, Professor Wolfe's wife.¹⁶² Professor Wolfe was Langston's first principal, serving in that capacity from 1893 to 1907.¹⁶³ He also served as a trustee and an elder in Bethesda Presbyterian Church here, a Colored church,¹⁶⁴ while Dr. Hankal continued to pastor the Colored Christian Church (West Main Street Christian Church).

On May 21, 1897 the first class graduated from Langston High School. There were only 2 graduates: E. Vol. Fitzgerald and **Julia N. Hankal**, one of the Hankals' daughters. These were the first

two Langston students who “finished the course of eleven grades then prescribed by the City Board of Education.”¹⁶⁵ Later, Julia would teach English at Langston for a number of years, including English literature.¹⁶⁶

[Photos of Julia N. Hankal, horizontally left to right (*best available copies*):]
 [at high school graduation, 1897 (*maybe courtesy of Georgia Gillespie?*)]
 [on Langston faculty, 1914 (*1988 Hist. of Wash. Co.*, p. 108, or maybe courtesy of Georgia Gillespie?)]
 [late in life (*from her obituary in J. C. Press*)]

Final Years

No information about Dr. and Mrs. Hankal and their family is obtainable from the 1890 census. Records of that census, so we are told, were destroyed in a fire in the Department of Commerce Building in Washington, D.C. Nor have any records of Dr. Hankal’s activities after the early 1890s come to light. We can assume that he continued to be active in civic affairs, in his medical practice, and in pastoring his church as long as his health allowed. After 1896 he was in his seventies. It’s not known whether he played any role in the creation of West Lawn Cemetery, Johnson City’s historic African American cemetery, in 1902, the year before he died. Perhaps not. His name does not appear in the deed for the purchase of the first piece of property for that cemetery.¹⁶⁷

The census of 1900 gives us our last glimpse of the Hankal family in Hezekiah’s lifetime.¹⁶⁸ This time the census includes each person’s birth month and year. It lists **Hezkia (?) Hankal**, black, 75, born May 1825 (probably wrong for age 74, born in 1826). He’s a physician, living on West Market Street¹⁶⁹ in Johnson City. He owns his home free and clear. He has been married 33 years to **Mariah** [*sic*], black, 51,¹⁷⁰ born August 1848. She cannot read or write. She’s the mother of 10 children, 8 of them still living. (The oldest daughter, Nancy Elizabeth, and the only son, Jordan, had already died.) Four of their children are still residing in the home, all daughters: Julia, 23, born November 1876; Freddie, 19, born January 1881; Stella, 17, born October 1882; and Bennie [that is, Areatha], 13, born August 1886. Also living with Dr. and Mrs. Hankal now are 2 grandsons: Jordan Spurgeon, 12, born June 1887; and Hezekiah Law, 1, born December 1898 (1899?). All of these people are “black.” Jordan Spurgeon was the son of their daughter Mary Alice and her husband Sam Spurgeon. Hezekiah Law was the son of their daughter Anna Pauline and her husband John H. Law. Neither of these couples is listed as living in this home. It’s noted that Stella, Bennie, and Jordan are “At School.”

The racial makeup of the Hankals’ neighborhood reflected in the 1900 census is interesting. Their home, at what is now 220 W. Market Street, was fairly close to the growing center of the city by then. Bearing their location in mind, it’s interesting that all the families on the north side of W. Market Street (apparently to the west of the Hankals) were White, as was the family on the other side of their house (apparently to their east). But the next families in that direction were Black. This neighborhood was still residential in 1900, not yet commercial. But this meager bit of evidence would seem to suggest that the Hankals’ neighborhood was not a Black area then. If anything, it seems to suggest that they lived on the edge of a White area, with a Black area a bit to their east, between them and the city’s commercial center. So the Hankals had apparently lived there amid White neighbors, or in a racially mixed neighborhood, for about 30 years by the turn of the twentieth century.

Dr. Hezekiah B. Hankal died on June 20, 1903. He was possibly 78 years old, but more probably 77. He was buried at virtually the highest spot in West Lawn Cemetery, Johnson City’s new Colored cemetery, which had only been founded the previous year.

A few postmortems are worth noting. In 1906 the Hankal family home burned. Dr. Hankal’s desk and medical bags and medical records were destroyed.¹⁷¹ Some things that might have been

valuable evidence for us – documents, records, mementos of an eventful life – may have perished in this fire. Obviously, though, the house was not completely destroyed. The damage must have been repaired, because family members continued to live in that house until 1946.¹⁷²

Through the decades following Dr. Hankal's death, a succession of ministers, as one would expect, served West Main Street Christian Church, including some who were very well educated and were particularly effective leaders, such as J. N. Ervin and W. A. Scott, Ph.D.

Through it all, **Mariah Netherland Hankal** remained a respected force and stabilizing influence in the life of that church, coming to be viewed as its leading figure. It is remembered that she organized its Christian Woman's Board of Missions, which later morphed into its Christian Women's Fellowship.¹⁷³ In October of 1929, when the Stock Market crash plunged the nation into the Great Depression, a called meeting in Mother Hankal's home organized the church's Official Board of Relief. Years later, in a paper eulogizing the work of that Board, a member of the church wrote that Mrs. Hankal was "known as the Mother of the West Main St. Christian Church."¹⁷⁴ Long after her passing, another member recalled that every Sunday Mother Hankal used to sit on a short pew positioned on an angle near the heating stove, near the east wall of the church, and no one else ever sat on that bench.¹⁷⁵

[Color photo of "Mother Hankal's pew" by her great-grandson, James Hezekiah. Law]

(in my file for W. Main St. Christian Church)

Mariah Netherland Hankal died on November 30, 1940, at age 92. She was about 22 years younger than her husband, and she outlived him by more than 3½ decades.

And a final note about two of the Hankals' daughters to whom we owe a good bit of what we know about Dr. Hankal and his family: Julia N. Hankal died on June 30, 1963 in St. Louis, Missouri, at age 85.¹⁷⁶ Areatha ("Bennie") Hankal Bush died on May 8, 1981 in East St. Louis, St. Clair County, Illinois, at age 94. Areatha was the youngest and last surviving child of Dr. and Mrs. Hankal.

The Man's Roots: 1625 - 1826

[Janice Huse's painted portrait of Dr. Hankal – if she'll permit]

What remains to be considered is Hezekiah Hankal's ancestry and any clues it might provide to help us understand things we know about him. But these clues are few.

A word of caution is in order here: It is well known that information from family histories in general tends to be of uncertain reliability, and the sources of so much of it give no documentation to authenticate their assertions. Only when we reach the last three generations before Hezekiah Hankal himself do we seem to be on somewhat firmer ground, with what we know or deem probable about his great-grandparents, **Meshack/Meshach Haile/Hale** and **Mary Carroll Buckingham Haile/Hale**, his maternal grandparents, **Herman Hankal** and especially **Margaret Ha(i)le Hankal**, and his mother, **Nancy Hankal**. For the members of those three generations we are even able to learn some things about their affairs with certainty. A few of those things impinge on the earlier stages of Hezekiah Hankal's life, such as where he was born and grew up.

Our knowledge of Hezekiah Hankal's family tree is limited to his maternal ancestors. That is, if his father was indeed an unknown man, we can know nothing of Hezekiah's paternal line of descent. Nothing of the European component of his father's ancestry. Nothing of which countries or parts of Europe those of his father's ancestors came from. Likewise nothing of the African component of his father's ancestry. No names. No places. No dates. Nothing about what part or parts of Africa those ancestors came from or when or how they came to America. This is so deeply regrettable – and so unfair – since his African ancestors are no less important than his maternal European ancestors and since the peoples and cultures of Africa are so fascinating and diverse. But we can know nothing about those

ancestors of Hezekiah Hankal. Like the vast majority of sons and daughters of Africa who came to the New World as victims of the horrors of the Atlantic slave trade, his ancestors probably came from the western parts of the African continent. But even those parts cover a wide range of areas and cultures. Those involuntary immigrants probably came at various times, unless Hezekiah had only one ancestor from Africa. But nothing more precise than this can be said.

Even on the maternal side of Hezekiah's ancestry, we must face the reality that the accuracy of family histories and genealogies is notoriously uneven and that supporting documentation is often of uncertain value or, most commonly, is absent altogether. Still, within those constraints we think we can trace Hezekiah's Hankal and Hale forebears back several generations with a fair degree of specificity, if not with a high degree of confidence in the accuracy of the details. If Nancy Hankal was Hezekiah's mother, we can trace Hezekiah's **Hankal**/Hinkle/Henkel/Hänkel ancestors back 6 generations to Germany. We can trace Hezekiah's **Hale**/Haile/Hail/Heale ancestors back a bit farther, for a total of 7 generations, to England.¹⁷⁷ **Appendix H** is an attempt to trace the long line of Hezekiah's Hankal ancestry as far back as we can. **Appendix I** is an attempt to trace the slightly longer line of his Hale ancestry as far back as possible. At some points this involves sorting through the confusion of disagreements among the genealogies of these families that other people have produced. Hence, the results of this attempt to tell the Hale and Hankal family stories are presented here with something less than complete confidence in the accuracy of these reconstructions, especially at a couple of disputed points in the Hale line.

But beyond the genealogies in those two appendices we pick up the family story in the generation of Hezekiah's great-grandparents. **Meshack Ha(i)le** was born in Saint Paul Protestant Episcopal Church Parish, Baltimore, Maryland, either in 1738 or more probably sometime around 1740 or after. He married **Mary Carroll Buckingham** in Maryland in 1784. She was born in Maryland in 1753. Meshack and Mary Haile moved from Baltimore to Washington County, Tennessee, evidently around 1800. At least some of their children came with them or soon joined them.

Since Meshack Haile's great-grandson Hezekiah Hankal had some African ancestry but was never a slave, a pertinent question is whether Meshack Haile ever owned any **slaves**. And what about other relatives of his? And what about his own grandmother and mother? What might have been the attitude of these Hales toward **slavery** and toward people of color? In the absence of any clear indications, we can't know what their attitudes were, of course. We can't read their minds. But might we be able to hazard a guess or two based on the few bits of information available to us? **Appendix J** examines what little information we have turned up in this regard.

It's said that Meshack Haile was an early member of historic Buffalo Ridge Baptist Church.¹⁷⁸ This Meshack Haile could have been either of two men by this name who were cousins. Or maybe both of them were early members there. Contemporary records suggest that there may even have been three or more men named Meshach Hale in Washington County in the early 1800s, as discussed in **Appendix I**. The cousin was in Washington County by the late 1770s, so he might have been a founding member of that church. But Hezekiah's great-grandfather Meshach Hale could not have been a founding member because it was founded about 1779 and he didn't arrive in Tennessee until about 1800. Meshach and Mary (Carroll Buckingham) Haile probably were members there, though. They're buried in the churchyard there, as their daughter Margaret Hale Hankal notes in her will. Their graves are among the many unmarked graves in that cemetery. Maybe the other Meshach is also buried in that historic churchyard, especially if he was a founding member.

By 1821 two men named Mashack Hale were living in northwest Washington County.¹⁷⁹ If these men were already living in the northwest corner of the county in the 1770s or even by the 1790s, might they have belonged to Buffalo Ridge Baptist Church? And might they have been the above two Meshach Hales? Or might either of them have been one of those two? All this is discussed in **Appendix I**.

The original location of Buffalo Ridge Baptist Church, and still the location of its historic cemetery, is about 2 miles south of the present building of that church in Gray in the northern part of

Washington County. Any Hale homesteads in the northwest part of the county would have been quite some distance from that spot – a good 10 miles or so (and more than that in road miles) – if that might be a consideration in contemplating this connection with that church for either Meshach. Watauga village, where the earlier Meshach Haile acquired his first land, is about the same distance from that church in the opposite direction. It's in present-day Carter County but just across the line from the eastern part of today's Washington County. On the other hand, the "plantation" of George Haile, older brother of Hezekiah's great-grandfather Meshach Hale, located near Free Hill, was only about 2½ miles from Buffalo Ridge Church (though nearly 4 miles by road). And we've noted that this later Meshach might have acquired property close to his brother George's claim there.

Margaret "Peggy" Ha(i)le Hankal, Hezekiah's grandmother, the eldest child of Meshach and Mary, was born about 1783 in Saint Paul Protestant Episcopal Church Parish, Baltimore, Maryland. So she was about 17 in 1800, the only one of their children older than 15 then. She did not immediately move to Tennessee with the family. Instead, she married **Herman Hankal**, Hezekiah's grandfather, March 12 or 17, 1801 in Baltimore. But she and her new husband must have joined her family in Tennessee before long, because their oldest daughter, **Nancy Hankal**, who was most probably Hezekiah's mother, was born to them in Washington County, Tennessee, possibly as early as 1802 and probably not much if any later than 1807.¹⁸⁰

Herman Hankal was born around 1775, or possibly as early as 1764. It is not known how he and Margaret may have met or how Herman had come to be in Baltimore. They seem to have moved to Washington County, Tennessee within a year after their marriage, around 1801 or 1802.¹⁸¹ Not a surprising move: Margaret's parents and their family had already settled in Tennessee around 1800, and other Haile/Hale relatives had been living in Washington County more than 20 years before that. The attraction of better prospects of life on the frontier was surely what drew all those Hales to Tennessee, including in the end this young couple. It's easy to imagine, though, that Margaret and Herman must have gotten their start here rather humbly, probably working for Margaret's parents on the family farm of Meshach Haile at first.

Family of Herman and Margaret Hankal

The wide spacings between the births of some of the children of Margaret and Herman might suggest the possibility of miscarriages or still births or infant deaths.

- Son Jeptha [*sic*] Hankal, born about 1801. (This year is a guess from the census.) That was the year his parents were married. Believed to be the oldest child of Margaret and Herman, though not everyone agrees.¹⁸² If he was the oldest, he was probably born in Baltimore, Maryland, though he might have been born in Washington County, Tennessee.
- Daughter **Nancy Hankal**, born sometime between 1802 and 1807¹⁸³ in Washington County, Tennessee, their second child. A person named Nancy Hankal who may have been the one who was the probable mother of Hezekiah Hankal died in 1877.
- Daughter Elizabeth Hankal, born in 1810. She died in 1880.¹⁸⁴
- (Possible son Benjamin Hankal, born 1816. He might have died before 1830, or maybe in the later 1830s or the early 1840s, but that is pure speculation based on the fact that he's buried in Krouse Cemetery, where his sister-in-law Susannah Bowman Krouse Hankal had buried her first husband, Solomon Krouse, in 1834 before she married Benjamin's brother James C. M. Hankal in 1836. See Appendix H and its endnotes.)
- Son **James C. M. Hankal**, born June 4, 1817 in the Boones Creek community of Washington County. Thus he was not quite 9 years old when Hezekiah was born. However, his gravestone gives 1816 as his birth year. (If that is correct, it must be either that he and Benjamin were twins, if he had a brother named Benjamin, or that one of them was born early in 1816 and the other near the end of that year.) James married Susanna Bowman Krouse in 1836. He died in 1892.

- Daughter Margaret Hankal (same name as her mother), born about 1813 or else May 12, 1818.¹⁸⁵ She married Peter Collins December 6, 1838.¹⁸⁶ She died May 9, 1888.

A few indications suggest that **Herman Hankal** probably died not too long after he fathered his last child, young Margaret, or within the next couple of years. Assuming she was born in 1818, sometime between 1817 and 1820 seems most likely for his death.¹⁸⁷ He must have been buried in an unmarked grave, perhaps in the historic Buffalo Ridge Cemetery or perhaps in the historic cemetery of Knob Creek Church of the Brethren, the only Brethren Church in the county before the 1840s.

[Photo: sign identifying historic Buffalo Ridge Baptist Cemetery]

An 1820 Indenture or Deed, not registered at the courthouse until June 24, 1823, is important to our story. By this indenture **Meshech Hale** [*sic*] deeded approximately 120 acres of land to his daughter **Margret Hinkle** [*sic*].¹⁸⁸ This acreage is the property already mentioned roughly 3 miles north of Jonesborough behind Archer Ridge from Hairetown Road. Margaret's farm there is the most probable location of the birth of Hezekiah Hankal.

[Photo: the 1820 Deed (Indenture) from Meshech Hale to Margret Hinkle]

[or, if too large, the first half of it?]

Might this action of Meshech Hale be a hint that Herman Hankal was no longer living by 1820? Might his passing be Meshech's reason for deeding this land to Margaret? Maybe he wanted to give his daughter the security of owning a farm after her husband had died, leaving her a young widow with children – his grandchildren. Maybe he sensed that he himself might not be living much longer. Maybe it was his hope that the produce or income from this farm would support his daughter and grandchildren. One wonders whether Margaret, and maybe also her husband Herman before he died, had already been living on this parcel of land before 1820. Possibly they had been paying Meshech rent for it and/or been working it for him.

Meshech Hale was still living in the spring of 1823. That year he acknowledged in the April session of court that his 1820 Indenture or Deed to Margaret was his act.¹⁸⁹ He signed this acknowledgement with "his mark," which indicates either that he was illiterate or that he was in failing health and could no longer write his name. Probably illiterate; possibly also in failing health.

Meshack Hale died in Washington County, Tennessee. He must have died sometime between April 1823 and January 1824, almost certainly in 1823.¹⁹⁰ In a January 20, 1824 deed ("Indenture") he's referred to as "Mesheck [*sic*] Hale, Deceas^d" four times.¹⁹¹ So he had died before that date. And probably not just shortly before it, since this is in effect a Quit Claim Deed to some of his land which his heirs had inherited from him. Everything involved in that sort of transaction takes a little time, including the heirs reaching agreement on what to do about the ambiguous status of this piece of the decedent's land and getting legal advice about that, not to mention the funeral and burial arrangements.¹⁹² So possibly Meshack died not too long after April 1823. He may well have already been in failing health then.¹⁹³

Among Mesheck's heirs named in that deed, "Margrett Hinkle" is named four times, using her married name "Hinkle." Nowhere does it name **Herman Hinkle/Hankal**, whereas it does name each of Meshack's other sons-in-law along with their wives.¹⁹⁴ This omission seems significant. It appears to be clear evidence that Herman Hankal was no longer living in January of 1824, at the very latest.¹⁹⁵ That was well over a year – or two – before Hezekiah was born. More probably Herman Hankal died at least 5 or 6 years before Hezekiah was born, since we have seen reasons to believe that Herman had died sometime between 1817 and 1820.

So **Meshach Hale** died in Washington County, Tennessee, almost certainly in 1823. He was buried in the historic churchyard of Buffalo Ridge Baptist Church, in an unmarked grave. **Mary Carroll Buckingham Hale** was also buried in an unmarked grave in that cemetery. She apparently died in 1850 or later in Washington County, Tennessee, if she was the same person as the Mary Hale of the 1830 and 1840 and 1850 censuses.¹⁹⁶

With the passing of Herman Hankal and Meshach Hale, with Margaret Hale Hankal secure in possession of her own farm, and with her daughter Nancy living on that farm and already somewhere around 20 years old, the stage was set for the entrance of Hezekiah B. Hankal into this world two or three years after Meshach's passing and perhaps a good five years after Herman's passing. And then after decades of a simple life in relative obscurity, Hezekiah Hankal gradually became the civic and religious and educational leader that his community knew him as. By his signal achievements against the odds, he became a fine example for young African Americans to emulate and aspire to in what continued to be, for them, a very difficult age.

The Measure of the Man

It's impressive that, whether Dr. Hezekiah B. Hankal had some African ancestry or not (and surely he did), as a mature adult – after Emancipation, as racial segregation and “Jim Crow” laws set in – he identified himself as a Negro, married an ex-slave, and devoted himself tirelessly to the needs and best interests of area African Americans, whether they were “freedmen” or, like him, had never been slaves. And his own children and the communities of Washington and Sullivan and Hawkins Counties clearly considered him a Negro. He commanded their respect and fulfilled that role with honor.

Areatha Hankal Bush, youngest daughter of Hezekiah and Mariah Hankal, once wrote this simple but heartfelt and admiring tribute to her father in a letter to a friend:

“You can just imagine how a Negro Dr. coming into a small Southern town would have to struggle for acceptance but he made it with dignity and honor.”¹⁹⁷

APPENDIX A

James C. M. Hankal

James C. M. Hankal/Hinkel was a son of Herman and Margaret Hankal, a younger brother of Nancy Hankal. He was born in the Boones Creek community of Washington County June 4, 1817 (or perhaps 1816). So he was not quite 9 (or 10) years old when Hezekiah Hankal was born. In 1843 a James Hinkel is listed as a member of Boones Creek Church of Christ (today's Boones Creek Christian Church). This was probably James C. M. Hankal. He was 26 (or 27) then.

In 1836, on January 9 (or possibly September 1 – sources disagree), when he was about 19 (or 20), he married Susannah Bowman Krouse(e), age 32, a widow, a descendant of Joseph Bowman, one of the founders of Knob Creek Church of the Brethren. She was born in 1804 in Washington County. She had married Solomon Krouse August 21, 1820 when she was only 15 or 16. Solomon was a grandson of Michael Krouse/Krause, another of the founders of Knob Creek Church of the Brethren. Solomon and Susannah had 4 children before he died. Then she and James had 6 children – 4 sons and 2 daughters. She died April 15, 1876 and was buried in Krouse Cemetery beside Solomon. Later, when James died in 1892, he was buried there too.

James' marriage to Susannah suggests that by 1836 the Hankal family probably had already had “some association with the Church of the Brethern [*sic*] and a German ancestry [*sic*], and the fact that

people of common ethnic origin [*sic*] assimilated in regions of the U. S. where others of that group had established themselves. Also, it was not un-common [*sic*] in those days [especially in the more sparsely populated rural areas] for a man, looking to improve his lot, to marry a widow who had cash and property.”¹⁹⁸

In the 1850s and 1860s Hezekiah Hankal was involved in several lawsuits against James C. M. Hankal. On October 23, 1850 James Hinkel is again listed as a member of Boones Creek Church of Christ. This is probably James C. M. Hankal, whose age then was about 33. It was probably not his son, James M. B. Hankal, who was only about 7 years old then. On September 1, 1878 James Hinkel Sr. was elected minister of Knob Creek Church of the Brethren.¹⁹⁹ This was presumably James C. M. Hankal, widowed 2½ years earlier, not his son James M. B. Hankal.

APPENDIX B

Lawsuit over a Heifer

There seems to be no surviving record of the initial filing of this lawsuit unless the following June 29, 1857 replevin warrant is it, nor any surviving record of the final disposition of the case, after one or more appeals.²⁰⁰ The earliest extant record of it is this replevin warrant from Silas Archer and Hezekiah Hankal binding them to pay Margaret Hankle \$20 if they lose their case in court. (In it, the wording “a suit on a replevin warrant this day taken out from before me,” R. S. Ferguson, Justice of the Peace, sounds as if maybe this is the very first step in Hezekiah’s lawsuit over this heifer.)

An accompanying summons of Margaret Hankle to appear before a Justice of the Peace to answer this complaint orders the sheriff or any constable to take this property from her or Abner Hankle and deliver it to Silas Archer. Ferguson noted on the back that he gave judgment “that the plaintiff is entitled to the property in dispute and the defendant be taxed with the cost of suit,” July 27, 1857. Ferguson notes further there, on July 27, that “The defendant prays an appeal from the Judgment above and James C M Hankle enters as security for all costs and the appeal is granted.”

Now **James C. M. Hankal** becomes involved in the case, even though he’s not named as a defendant. That same day, July 27, 1857, Margaret Hankle [*sic*] and James C. M. Hankal [*sic*] bind themselves in a replevin warrant to pay Silas Archer \$300 if they lose their case in Circuit Court, now that they’ve appealed it from Ferguson’s judgment “in favour of Hezekiah Hankal against her.”²⁰¹

Also on July 27, 1857 another Justice of the Peace (J? Bowers) summons Elizabeth Hankal (a daughter of Margaret) and Abner Hankal (who may have been a nephew of Margaret) to give evidence in favor of Margaret before Ferguson.

On October 24, 1857 testimony is requested from three witnesses on behalf of “Silas Archer next friend [*sic*] of Hezkia Hankle [*sic*].” One of them is “Doct. Rich^d Humphreys.”

On November 2, 1857 “Silas Archer next friend to Hezekiah Hankal of colour” serves notice on “Mrs. Margaret Hankal” that he intends to take depositions from Samuel Davault [*sic*] in Illinois and from Richard Deakins in St. Joseph [Missouri] which he intends to introduce as evidence in a trial in Circuit Court in Jonesborough in December, inviting her to attend and cross-examine if she chooses.

In a December 17, 1857 deposition, Richard H. Deakins gives testimony under oath in the courthouse in St. Joseph, Buchanan County, Missouri, in support of Silas Archer and Hezekiah Hankal, swearing that in the fall of 1848 he sold Hezekiah Hankal “a black cow with a Stripe on her back” and that Hankal paid him for that cow, that Margaret Hankel didn’t pay him anything for that cow, and that he never sold a cow to her.

On December 28, 1857 Hezekiah Hankal, plaintiff (no mention of a “next friend” this time), requests a continuance of his suit because the depositions he needs from Missouri and Illinois have not yet reached him and because his witness Richard Humphreys is currently in Virginia and will not return until after the court’s December term.

After the end of 1857 Silas Archer is not mentioned in the records of this case. From then on the plaintiff is simply Hezekiah Hankal. Evidently he could now sue in his own behalf, with no need for a “next friend” to act legally in his behalf.

On May 17, 1858 “Hezekiah Hankle makes oath that Richard Humphreys is a material witness in the suit named within and that he is about to leave the State and prays that his deposition may be taken.”

On May 20, 1858 Hezekiah Hankal notifies Margaret Hankal that he will take the deposition of Richard Humphreys on June 5, which he intends to read as evidence in the upcoming suit in Circuit Court, and she may attend and cross-examine if she thinks proper.

In a June 5, 1858 deposition in his own handwriting, (Dr.) Richard Humphreys swears under oath that he bought a black cow, about 10 or 12 years old, from Hezekiah Hankal sometime in 1855 or 1856, going to the house of Margaret Hankal and paying Hezekiah \$12 for the cow in the presence of Margaret, who “never put up any claim to the cow to me or in my presence, nor did she have any thing to do with the money for the cow while I was present.” To the best of Humphreys’ recollection, Margaret said “the cow was such a good cow for milk, and that the Heifer was the only last remaining one of that stock and was a calf [of] said cow. I understood her to say that the black cow and the heifer were the property of Hezekiah Hankal and the yellow cow was her own and would not sell her.” And he further states “that the above named heifer is the same cow in dispute between Hezekiah Hankal and Margaret Hankal.”

In spite of affirmations by Ferguson, Justice of the Peace, that this deposition is genuine, in Humphreys’ handwriting, and “sworn on the Holy Evangelists” [the Gospels] to be the whole truth and nothing but the truth, Margaret’s attorneys, Maxwell & Milligan, appended a note to it, taking exception to it for want of a proper caption and certificate.

In a June 10, 1858 deposition, Samuel Devault gives testimony under oath before a justice of the peace in Macoupin County, Illinois, in support of Hezekiah Hankal, swearing that he knows that Hezekiah Hankle bought a cow from Richard Deakins in 1848 and paid for that cow and that he knows that the cow now in dispute is a calf of that cow; further, that Margaret Hankle told him that the calf belonged to Hezekiah and she had nothing to do with it; and he knows that Hezekiah raised the calf in dispute himself.

In spite of an affirmation by John Scott, a duly elected and commissioned Justice of the Peace in Macoupin County, Illinois, that this deposition is genuinely that of Samuel Devault, duly sworn, Margaret’s attorneys, Maxwell & Milligan, appended two notes to it, taking exception to it for want of a proper caption and certificate, and in a note in the side margin, Washington County Clerk J. H. Crawford “sustained” the “Exception.”

After that June 10, 1858 deposition there appears to be no further record of this case. No evidence seems to have survived of how it was finally adjudicated in Washington County Circuit Court.

APPENDIX C

Lawsuit over a Mare and Its Colt

On September 1, 1857 Hezekiah Hankle charged James C. M. Hankle and Margaret Hankle (an “action of Replevin”) with unjustly detaining his brown mare (about 6 years old) and her sucking colt (about 3 or 4 months old), “both [evidently meaning each] worth one Hundred & fifteen Dollars,” maintaining that “the sd. property was not subject to the Seizure or execution to which they have been subjected.”

Accompanying this record is a replevin warrant of the same date binding Hezekiah Hankle and Jeriel D. Archer to Jas. C. M. Hankel and Margaret Hankel for \$230 if Hezekiah loses in court. Since \$230 is twice \$115, this must be the combined value of the two animals.

Another accompanying note, also dated September 1, orders the sheriff to return the mare and colt to Hezekiah and seems to mean that Hezekiah also demands \$500 in damages from James and Margaret. A note on the back records that the animals were delivered to Hezekiah on September 2. So Hezekiah won the first round of this lawsuit: He got his mare and colt back.

Then in a September 10, 1857 writ of replevin, Heseekiah/Hezekiah Hankal and Silas Archer bind themselves to James C. Hankal and Margaret Hankal for \$300 if Hezekiah loses his case. (Later the note says “James C. M. Hankal.”) In Hezekiah’s own signature at the end he spells Hezekiah with a “z.”

On the 4th Monday in October 1857 [=Oct. 26, 1857] Hezekiah asks the sheriff to summon 11 named witnesses in his behalf for his trial the following February, including both Silas Archer and J. D. Archer. This would be Jeriel Archer.²⁰²

A somewhat confusing printed form headed “State of Tennessee – First Judicial Circuit” and filled out (with the things in *italics* here) on the Fourth Monday in February 1858 [=Feb. 22, 1858] by the Circuit Court Clerk, addressed to the Washington County sheriff, says in part: “WE command you That of the Goods and Chattels, Lands and Tenements of *Hezekiah Hankle* ... you cause to be made the sum of *five dollars* & [nothing follows this “&”] which sum *Margaret Hankle* lately in our Circuit Court of law ... recovered against the said *Heseekiah [sic] Hankle* for ... costs of suit in that behalf expended, whereof *he is* convicted and liable ...” This must mean he was required to pay Margaret \$5 for court costs, if that makes any sense. Following this is a breakdown of the fees (\$2.00 + \$1.50 + \$1.50) that totaled \$5.00. (One of those was \$1.50 for A. Hankle for 2 days as a witness.) It’s hard to make sense of some notes on the back. They seem to indicate that \$3.00 of this were received on June 26 and then \$1.50 from (?) Abnar [*sic*] Hankel “by the hand of Hezekiah Hankle” plus 70 cents on June 28, and then something about retaining “my fees” for \$3.50.

Compounding the confusion, the case file contains no record of this lawsuit after that June 28, 1858 note until April 1860, when the following record survives from the April term of Circuit Court:

“Hezekiah Hankle by Attorney complains of Margaret Hankle and Jas. C. M. Hankle who have been duly summoned to Answer the Plff of a plea wherefore they took one Brown Mare & colt & unjustly detain the same until replevied. And thereupon the sd. Plff complains by his Attorney that the sd. Defts on the 10 day of October 1857 ... took a certain brown mare aged about Six years ... & her sucking Colt the property of him of great value to wit of the value of Two Hundred & thirty dollars and unjustly detained the same to his damage five Hundred dollars” Hezekiah must have forgotten the date that the Defendants took his beasts, because October 10, 1857 is later than his first record of that act, which was dated September 1, 1857.

Immediately following the above is this note, in handwriting which is very hard to read: “And the said defats [defendants] by Atty [Attorney] come [came?] & defend -- --- --- plea say that they did not take the said mare as the plf in his declaration hath alleged and is [*sic*] not guilty of said taking and (give?) notice to the pltf that in the trial they will rely upon the fact that the title to said mare and the possession thereof was in the said Margaret Hankle and of this they ----- in (on?) the county.” A note on the back says simply “Filed 6th Apl 1860.”

So did the case not finally come to court until April of 1860 or later? Moreover, this is the last surviving record of it. No record of that anticipated trial or the final disposition of the case has survived.

APPENDIX D

Legal and Financial Matters, 1860s

The county’s court records contain an enigmatic little document, a March 4, 1861 summons of two witnesses, Martha C. Buckingham and Thomas F. Buckingham, in a suit that Margaret Hankle filed against her son James.²⁰³ Margaret initiated this suit just under two months after she made her will, in which she treated her son James as an equal heir to her remaining money but did not leave anything

specific to him and did not designate him as her executor – though in the end, the court appointed him in effect as her executor because the executor she had appointed had moved away. It’s surprising that Margaret would sue James, and we’re left with no clue to what moved her to do so or to what this lawsuit was about, since no further record of it was found. Was it over something she did not like in connection with James and her will? Might she have decided to revoke the Power of Attorney that she had granted him 3½ years earlier? Did James hope the two Buckinghams would testify that Margaret was senile and not of sound mind when she made her will? Was he even contemplating contesting her will, though she was still living? We have no way of knowing.

An 1862 tax assessment records that the 120 acres that Margaret Hankal owned were now valued at \$700. That’s less than half their value in the census 2 years earlier. Had the value plunged because of the depredations of the Civil War in the region, or from conversion to Confederate money? Or might Margaret have owned additional acreage elsewhere for a total of \$1560 in 1860? Probably not. Her real estate was probably simply assessed at half its value for property tax purposes.

However, already early in 1862 that farm no longer belonged to Margaret. A deed dated January 13, 1862 records that James C. M. Hankal, as Attorney in Fact for Margaret Hankal, completed the sale of her farm to William K. Hale on that date for \$1300, upon receipt of Hale’s last payment, having “executed a title bond” to Hale “some time ago.”²⁰⁴ This would seem to imply that Hale had been living on the property for an undetermined number of months before January 13, 1862 and probably that Margaret was no longer living on her farm by then. Maybe she wasn’t capable of living there any more, if she was still alive at this time. She probably was still alive: This deed carries her name at the end, although not “her mark.” But it designates James as her Attorney in Fact, to which responsibility she had appointed him in 1857. It does not designate him as Administrator pro tem, to which the county court would appoint him in 1865 for purposes of executing the terms of her will.

James is here carrying out the terms of his mother’s appointment of him as her Attorney in Fact, specifically her authorization of him to sell her farm if need be. However, this sale seems to violate the terms of Margaret’s will, made only one year earlier, by which her daughters Nancy and Elizabeth were to inherit the (landed) property that her father had left her. Had there been a change of plans since the previous January? This might be another sign that Margaret was still living at the beginning of 1862, if she had now agreed to this sale. Might it also suggest that Nancy and Elizabeth preferred to sell their mother’s farm and receive the money instead? If so, there’s no hint of that in this deed. But a deed to the purchaser of the land would not be an appropriate place to record a separate transaction like that. Still another possibility is that Margaret was persisting in her desire to have Nancy and Elizabeth inherit her land and so was opposed to James’ sale of her farm. Maybe the enigmatic March 4, 1861 lawsuit by Margaret against James was to contest his act of selling her farm, which had begun with William Hale’s payments on it “some time” before completion of that sale on January 13, 1862.

APPENDIX E

Lane Memorial Christian Church The Saga of a Rural Black Church

The church which Dr. Hankal called Mt. Gilboa Church was one of the first two congregations that he founded, already in 1866. It was his only rural church. What follows here is an attempt to piece together surviving records and memories of this church and to work through some uncertainties in the hope of producing a reasonably accurate and coherent story.²⁰⁵

It appears that this congregation may have met at first somewhere south of the railroad along the Washington College Station Road, well northwest of Washington College (today’s Washington College Academy). But this is uncertain. It is known that a few Black families lived beside the railroad right at

Washington College Station, families named Rollins and Gillespie and Fowler, at least, and that a Fields family lived less than half a mile south of there.²⁰⁶

Sometime before 1885, and very probably in the 1870s, this congregation moved to a known location 1.1 miles southeast of Washington College on a straight line, between Washington College Road and West Road.²⁰⁷ It's in the woods a short way down (approximately south-southeast) from the top of Slaty (sometimes Slatey) Hill. It's in the corner (approximately 90°) of two fences, up a steep slope from Washington College Road and high above Onion Creek.²⁰⁸ The church now became known as Slaty Grove Church.²⁰⁹ It owned a plot of land there, a quarter of an acre, in one corner of an approximately 16-acre triangle owned by one of its leaders, George Gillespie, "of color." It never registered its deed to this land at the courthouse, and eventually that deed was lost. But there are clear and precise references to it and to its meetinghouse there in a July 25, 1885 deed by which Mr. Gillespie sold his land, except this quarter acre, to John S. Ford.²¹⁰ That deed was executed to replace Gillespie's deed which had likewise been "lost without being Registered." It conveyed all 16 acres to J. S. Ford "except ¼ of an Acre upon which a colored church now stands." Its boundary description begins "at 4 white oaks on Slatey Hill near the colored church." Obviously the church was retaining title to the quarter acre of land with the church building on it and continued to own that plot after 1885.

So clearly this building already existed by 1885. Probably it had stood for some time before that. It may have been a frame building, but it seems more likely that it would have been a log structure because it was way out in a rural area, up on a hill, which may well have been covered with trees, as it is now. Possibly Dr. Hankal had a hand in building it, just as a tradition of Bethel Christian Church in Jonesborough holds that he built their first meetinghouse, a log structure. The 1885 deed mentions a "lane at Gillespie's house" leaving "ball mountain road" there and a lane running northeast from there serving as Gillespie's property line with Ford – possibly the same lane. (The designation "ball mountain" often represents "Bald Mountain" in the pronunciation of Southern Appalachian speakers, a summit with no trees on top.) But probably one of these was a different lane running due east from Gillespie's house along the approximately 1320 feet of the south line of his triangular plot. Approach to the church's quarter-acre plot on Slaty Hill must have been on foot or horseback about a quarter of a mile uphill via that lane. There are still signs of an old lane in the woods there. Possibly it was also passable by carriage or wagon. No easy access, but perhaps not considered too challenging in a time when most poor people got around primarily on foot anyway, mostly to places not so very far from where they lived.

The presence of a Black church – and cemetery – here from before 1885 and until around World War I suggests that during that time period there must have been several African American families living in the vicinity. By the early twentieth century, a family named Beard and more than one Gillespie family are known to have lived close to this site.

There's no mention in the 1885 deed of a cemetery at the site of this church. But a Colored cemetery did develop there, as attested in a 1919 deed (in private hands; never registered; see below) and as still remembered by White people who lived in that neighborhood around the year 2000. They still recalled Black people sometimes coming there and asking for permission to walk across the field and up the hill to the graveyard, where the graves of their loved ones were, which permission was always granted. Perhaps there were still wooden markers then on some of the graves, though none remain now. One neighbor of the property told me, with an apology, that local White folks used to refer to that little graveyard as "Nigger Cemetery."

Nothing remains today of the church's building there, and barely a trace of its little cemetery: only a few sunken areas over graves. No gravestones, not even fieldstones, at least not any more.

The aforementioned 1919 deed contains several crucial pieces of evidence for this little church. It records the sale by the "Slaty Grove church (colored)" of its quarter-acre lot on Slaty Hill to W. B. Graybeal on September 29, 1919, though it was not signed and notarized until May 23, 1921. Although it uses the words "bargain(ed)" and "sold" and "sell" to describe the transaction, it also characterizes

itself, twice, as a Quit Claim. This deed was never registered at the courthouse. Fortunately, the West family, which now owns the property that includes this little plot, has kept its copy down through the generations, and Bill and Karen West gave me a photocopy. But since it is not available to the general public to examine, and in view of its importance to the story of this rural church, I quote its text here, with underlining added:

This Indenture, made the 29 day of Sept 1919, between C. D. Gillespie the only living Trustee of Slaty Grove church (colored) of Washington county, Tenn. of the first part, and W. B. Graybeal of said county and state of the second part

Witnesseth, that the said party of the first part being the only Trustee living of Slaty Grove church (colored) in the 2nd District of Washington county, Tenn. which church has been abandoned, and the deed made [to] the church Trustees by one George Gillispie (of color) having been lost or misplaced without having been registered, and it being the wish of the remaining members of said church that the property be sold, I, C. D. Gillespie for and in consideration of the sum of (\$10.⁰⁰) Ten dollars to him in hand paid by the said party of the second part, the receipt of which is hereby acknowledged, have bargained, sold, remised, released and Quit Claimed, and do here by [*sic*] bargain, sell, remise, release, and Quit Claim, unto the said party of the second part the following described real estate situated in the 2nd Dist of Washington county adjoining the lands of Hoffman, Beard and the heirs of Mrs Maggie J. Graybeal, it being the lot on slaty hill on which once stood Slaty Grove church (colored) and contains ¼ acre of land and all the estate, right, title and interest of the parties of the first part therein, with the hereditaments and appurtenances, thereto appertaining hereby releasing all claims to Homestead and Dower therein, except [(*inserted between lines:*) the ground where the graves are (*with a note in the left margin: “enterlined [*sic*] before signed”*) and] the privilege [*sic*] to keep up the graves that now exist but no further right to burry [*sic*] on said lot,

To have and to hold the said premises to the said party of the second part, his heirs and assigns forever.

In witness whereof, the parties [*sic*] of the first part have hereunto set his [*sic*] hand and seal this the 23rd day of May 1921 [*signed:*] C. D. Gillespie

[*signed in his own handwriting, spelled here with -e- whereas the document twice spelled it with -i-*].

Besides confirming that “Slaty Grove church (colored)” had owned a quarter-acre lot on Slaty Hill and that the church maintained a burial ground there, this deed attests that there were still some members of that church in 1919 (no indication of how many) and that they wished to sell this property, and that one of their Trustees, C. D. Gillespie, was still living and undertook that action in their behalf. It also makes clear that by 1919 the church building there was no longer standing. It had “been abandoned” by then. Probably George Gillespie was no longer living, and C. D. Gillespie was probably related to him somehow – maybe his brother or his son. Gillespies were members and sometimes leaders of this congregation through the years.

With regard to the little Slaty Grove cemetery there, the church members reserved the right to maintain the existing graves in it but agreed not to add any new burials there. The language “except the ground where the graves are” seems legally ambiguous here. It probably does not mean, though, that the church was retaining actual ownership of the graveyard portion of its lot, or even that the church was somehow retaining the “hereditaments and appurtenances” to it and/or some claims to “Homestead and Dower” in that portion. It probably is merely a redundant claim to the same thing as the following phrase, the privilege of continuing to maintain the graves there.

Even though the Slaty Grove meetinghouse was no longer standing by 1919, it may still have been standing and in use until just a few years before that. There’s reason to believe that the

congregation may have continued to worship in it until about 3 years before 1918 or 1919,²¹¹ so possibly as late as 1915, more than ten years after Dr. Hankal died, and thus for more than 30 years, or maybe for nearly half a century. If the building was still in use that late, though, it may have been in quite poor condition by then and perhaps scarcely usable any more. Its condition may have forced the church to find a better facility.

This might be the reason that the congregation moved, evidently sometime around 1915, to a spot on the south side of Gravel Hill Road a bit east of the junction of Greenway Road.²¹² This is just southeast of Broylesville. This location had the additional advantage of much easier access than the location up on Slaty Hill. It was right beside a public road. A handwritten account by a former member of this church says: "... they moved the church to [a] house in Broylesville. They worshiped [there] until the present church was built ... named Lane Memorial Christian Church."²¹³ That sounds as if the Slaty Grove Church found an existing residence in which it could worship, a temporary solution, at least, to problems arising from the deterioration of its old meetinghouse on Slaty Hill, or so it would appear.

In its new location on Gravel Hill Road the congregation came to be known, briefly, as Gravel Hill (or Gravelly Hill) Church.²¹⁴ The church worshiped at the Gravel Hill site for only about 3 years during World War I. No physical trace of its presence there remains today. And nothing further is known of the life of this church during that short phase of its existence.

Already the previous year, 1918, "Lanes [*sic*] Memorial (Colored) Church" purchased a plot of land on "the great highway" (the Memphis-Bristol Highway, later to be designated old State Route 34, the Andrew Johnson Highway) from the Washington County Board of Education for the nominal sum of \$1.00.²¹⁵ (This deed is one of only two sources I've ever seen or heard that add an "-s" to the end of "Lane" in the name of this church.) The deed names 5 trustees of the church: Adam Bird, S. A. Russell, W. J. Fields, G. W. Gillispie, and C. D. Gillispie. It mentions the property as being used "as church or burying property" with a wording that might imply that it already had been so used: "if said land ... ever ceases to be used as church or burying property" It fails to mention the size of the plot or the length of its east and west boundaries, thus leaving the depth of the piece back from the highway unspecified, but it obviously went back far enough to include the burial ground, possibly already in existence.

It makes one and only one obscure reference to a "house," clearly added as an afterthought: If no longer used as church or burying property, "said land is to revert back to the original Board of trustees, but not the house." This must mean the trustees of the county Board of Education, not the trustees of the church, the only trustees named in the deed itself. Surely this does not mean that ownership of this "house" would be retained by the church even after the plot ceased to be used as church or burying property (that it would not revert to the county) but rather that it would never cease to belong to the county (that it was not included in the property being sold to the church). Surely it means that the county was retaining ownership of this "house" even if it would now be on the church's property, or more probably that both the "house" and the land it was on would remain property of the county, not of the church. This would be a separate plot adjoining the church's property.

Thus, there was a "house" on this property. In fact, there was indeed a slightly long building on the property, just east of the little church building. The county used that building as a Colored school, McAllister School, from 1905 or earlier until around 1927 or 1928 – though perhaps not every year. Some years it was simply a residence.²¹⁶ The Washington County Department of Education has a picture of that building.²¹⁷ By "house," the deed is presumably referring to that schoolhouse, and the county probably was not selling it or the land it was on to the church but retaining ownership of its plot beside the church's plot on the east.

There is some reason to believe that the schoolhouse had previously been the newer building of an earlier church on the site, whether it was a Methodist church or not, whether it was a Black or a White congregation. And that the property that the Gravel Hill Church/Lane Memorial Church acquired was an older, smaller building of that extinct church which was still standing just west of it plus a burial ground behind that building.

So sometime around 1918 the Gravel Hill Christian Church took the name Lane Memorial Christian Church, though some people called it the Washington College Christian Church in later years.²¹⁸ And that was about the time when the congregation moved yet again, this time to that property at McAllister School which it acquired in 1918 from the county, or at least the part of that property which did not include the schoolhouse. This is the spot on the south side of old State Route 34 which is labeled “McAllister Ch” on the United States Geological Survey (USGS) topographic map (the Telford Quadrangle). It’s about 0.2 mile east of today’s West View Elementary School, going from the school toward Washington College Academy, and about 0.7 mile west of Washington College on that route. One obvious advantage of a location on what was a major state highway in 1918 (even though it was surely not yet paved then) was that this made the church far more readily accessible than even its location beside Gravel Hill Road had been. Moreover, Black families named Gillespie and Story and Fields and Earnest, at least, lived in the general vicinity of the McAllister location.

Washington County Tennessee Tombstone Inscriptions labels the cemetery there “McAllister Methodist.”²¹⁹ *History of Washington County Tennessee 1988* lists McAllister among Methodist cemeteries in the county and theorizes from this that there must once have been a Methodist church at that site.²²⁰ The 2001 *History of Washington County Tennessee* makes no mention of a McAllister cemetery or church, but does name five “early county common schools,” among them McAllister’s [*sic*] in 1830.²²¹ Neither of these histories gives any indication of the location of McAllister. But this McAllister’s school is probably at the same location as the later McAllister Colored School. If so, these meager references suggest that there had been both a school and a Methodist church at this site long before 1918, and likely some burials there. And this was certainly a school for Whites, since the county maintained no schools for Blacks as early as 1830. Likewise, the presumption would then be that McAllister Methodist Church was a White congregation. Further corroboration of these conclusions, it seems, is provided by a piece of information about the McAllister Methodist Cemetery site quoted from the WCCL (Washington County Check List) by the book of tombstone inscriptions: “This has been a voting place since 1796.” Assuming that this fact is known, it was obviously a voting place for White people. Few if any Black people in this rural area were allowed to vote in 1796. Most of them were slaves back then.

The book of tombstone inscriptions also says: “The McAllister Church has been disbanded” (an obvious mistake for Lane Memorial Church, since it’s referring to a time after that church acquired this property and after it disbanded) “and the Washington College House of Prayer now meets in the building.” It further quotes the WCCL as saying: “This is an old Negro church cemetery of small size. It is still used as a burying place for Negroes, but no white people are buried here.” However, whether no White people are buried there (perhaps even in early unmarked graves) is questionable, especially if this had previously been the site of a White Methodist church, possibly from as early as the 1790s. Quite likely there are both Black and White graves there.

Already in 1919²²² the Lane Memorial congregation tore down the older, smaller structure, which it had acquired. Perhaps the building had not been used for some time and was in poor condition. Possibly the congregation worshiped in it in spite of that for several months or even a year before tearing it down. But in its place, come 1919, the members erected a frame building of about the same size which is still standing. We must remember that this church took these bold steps during the widespread suffering and dying of the 1918-1919 flu pandemic. Those were hard times, years of struggle.

Some have doubted that the Lane Memorial Church was the same congregation as the Slaty Grove Church, and thoughtful comparison of the information in the 1919 deed with that in the 1918 deed could lead to a suspicion that it was not. There appears to be a jarring disconnect between them. In the 1919 deed, it’s the “remaining members” of the Slaty Grove Church who wish to sell the quarter-acre plot on Slaty Hill on which their abandoned church had stood. Their “only living Trustee,” C. D. Gillispie, is undertaking that step for the church. And yet already nearly a year and a half before that, in

the 1918 deed, it's the Lane(s) Memorial Church which is purchasing the plot on the great highway from the county Board of Education. And this church already has 5 trustees in 1918 – one of whom is C. D. Gillispie!

I am convinced, however, that the Slaty Grove Church was indeed the same congregation as the later Lane Memorial Church, the linear antecedent of that later church – for these reasons: 1) C. D. Gillispie is named as a trustee of both churches. That fact suggests at least some degree of continuity. 2) Mary Hardin McCown, a careful local historian, says of the Slaty Grove Church: “This congregation was later moved to Lane Memorial Church of today.”²²³ 3) A history of Bethel Christian Church in Jonesborough says of Dr. Hankal's Mt. Gilboa Church: “The name of the church was changed from time to time. It has been known as Slaty Grove, Lanes [*sic*] Memorial Chapel and at last came to be known as Washington College Christian Church.”²²⁴ 4) Louise Bridwell,²²⁵ one of the last surviving members of Lane Memorial Church after it disbanded, gave me approximate directions to what she called the earlier location of Lane Memorial Church and told me that some of the older people in that neighborhood could tell me exactly where the Slaty Grove Cemetery was, and that the church (obviously meaning its building) had been at that spot but was long gone. Later, following her directions to the right neighborhood, I found people who had always lived on farms right there who told me, as she had said they could, where the Negro cemetery is. Then on September 9, 1999 the current owner of the land it's on took me right to the spot. He further gave me a copy of the 1919 deed, which calls it “Slaty Grove church (colored),” and of the 1885 deed, which calls its location Slaty Hill and says the colored church was standing on that quarter acre back then. Mrs. Bridwell plainly called that place the earlier location of Lane Memorial Church. 5) John Wesley Taylor confirmed that Slaty Grove and Gravel Hill and Lane Memorial were the same congregation – successive incarnations of the same church, so to speak.²²⁶

One gains the impression that the life of Slaty Grove Church/Gravel Hill Church had reached a low ebb by the time of World War I. But one gains the further impression that something breathed new life into this church after that war – even during the 1918-1919 flu pandemic – when it adopted the name Lane Memorial Christian Church, acquired the McAllister site, built a new house of worship there, and more or less blossomed anew under its new name. One could speculate that it even underwent a major reorganization around this time.

What caused this resurgence? The ready accessibility of its new location on a busy state highway may have helped. But one might speculate that at least part of the explanation, and possibly most or all of it, was the leadership of its energetic Colored preacher at this time, Elder Samuel Allen Russell. Mrs. Bridwell lists Samuel Russell among the church's “Ministers that pastored.”²²⁷ Did he perhaps become its regular pastor around 1918? He'd been active at least since the 1890s encouraging and leading Colored Christian Churches, and even planting new ones, in various locations from Rogersville to Embreeville and even in Cranberry, North Carolina, and Packer, Kentucky²²⁸ – though few of his church plants survived. In addition to serving as Lane's pastor, S. A. Russell was one of the church's trustees named in the 1918 deed to its new property. So perhaps Elder Russell was the principal factor in reviving the Lane Memorial congregation.

In any case, indications seem to be that the life of this little rural church flourished in the years between the two World Wars and for a short while after the end of World War II. Louise Bridwell wrote: “The Church had Several members, a wonderful Bible school. They entertained the District, & State Conventions.”²²⁹ (Presumably of Colored Christian Churches.) She named as officers who served for many years: Robert Gillespie and George W. Gillespie, trustees; George W. Gillespie and Edward Rollins, elders; Lucky Rollins and John H. Story, deacons.²³⁰ This would probably have been in the 1930s.

One thing that African American old-timers fondly remember about Lane Memorial Christian Church is the annual **May Meeting** that was held there. White people who lived in the vicinity of that church also remember these occasions. Mrs. Bridwell's description of them is worth quoting:

... on the fourth Sunday in May was May Meeting. With Sunday school & Morning & Evening Worship. The church couldn't hold all the people attending they brought quilts & Blankets & Sit [*sic*] on the ground to hear the service. Each family brought basket Dinners & spread them out. people from miles around started coming in on Saturday for that Day. Some selling of Ice Cream sandwiches & cold Lemonade, off from the Church property. At that time members walked miles to get to [church].

The 4th Sunday of May, it goes without saying, fell on Memorial Day weekend most years.

John Wesley Taylor gave me an even more colorful account: He too said it was an all-day meeting with preaching and singing and picnicking, adding that Black people of various denominations came to it from far and wide. But he went on to say, with a bit of a chuckle, that during May Meeting, "bootleggers" would set up business in the woods across the highway from the church, and they made quite a bit of money selling liquor to men who would slip away from the meeting for drinks. Even some of the preachers always seemed to feel that they needed take a nip (or more!) in order to get fired up enough to preach a powerful sermon.²³¹

Members of the church also buried their dead behind the building, so that a small cemetery developed there – the one that *Washington County Tennessee Tombstone Inscriptions* labels "McAllister Methodist." If a previous church already had a burial ground for Whites there, Black graves were simply added to it. It simply continued to grow as part of the ongoing life of Lane Memorial Christian Church. And it continued to receive burials long after the demise of the congregation. Names of African American families on the gravestones there include Earnest, Fields, Gillespie, Rollins, and Story.

The Lane Memorial Church continued to worship in its modest home at the McAllister location through World War II and beyond. During that war, though, its vibrant life was apparently waning. It seems to have revived a little after the war. Its May Meeting still drew crowds every year. But only for a few more years were regular Sunday services held. Eventually this congregation simply ceased to exist, evidently sometime around 1950.²³² In its late years all its remaining members had gradually moved away, part of the long, slow pattern of rural-to-urban migration of African Americans that lasted a century after slavery ended. Indeed, part of the final phase of that migration. Thus, by about 1950 most of the members of this rural church had moved into Jonesborough and other cities, resulting in the gradual dissolution of the congregation. Its little frame building still stands, but in more recent times one or more small White churches have worshiped there.

APPENDIX F

Maria(h) Netherland Hankal's Ancestors

Maria(h) Netherland Hankal was the daughter of biracial slaves, Jordan Netherland and Jane Lynn Netherland.

Jordan Netherland, born February 1814 on the Long Island of the Holston River (Kingsport, Tennessee); died March 28, 1890 in Rogersville, Tennessee. Jordan was the trusted slave of Richard and Margaret Netherland at the historic Netherland Inn in Kingsport. He was the biracial son of their slave **Luvenia/Luvinia** and, presumably, of **Richard Netherland**, her (and his) owner. (Jordan's name was entered in the Netherland family registry in Richard's handwriting along with the children of Richard and Margaret, the only slave listed in that manner. This strongly suggests that Jordan was Richard's son. Relations between the Netherlands and Jordan through the years seem to have been cordial. They seem to have been quite partial to him.) Jordan was born 4 years after the Netherlands moved from Powhatan County, Virginia to the Long Island (Kingsport) in 1810, bringing some 12 slaves with them. One of those was Jordan's mother Luvenia. She was presumably born in Powhatan County, Virginia, on the farm of Richard's father, John Netherland Junior. John willed her to his son Richard in 1803.²³³

On April 22, 1837 Jordan married **Jane (“Jennie”) Lynn**, born January 1815 in Kingsport; died September 15, 1896. She was a slave of John Lynn (a friend and business associate of Richard Netherland) and Martha Fleming Lynn, who lived in a mansion named Walnut Hill next door to the Netherland Inn on the west. Jane was the biracial daughter of a slave of theirs and, it seems, of her master. (Thus, both Jane Lynn and Jordan Netherland were at least 50% White by ancestry.) Once Jane married Jordan, the Lynn family allowed her to live with him. They lived in a cabin next to the Netherland Inn. They had 9 or 10 children, including two before they left Kingsport: Sarah Ann and Fred. These were probably considered property of the Lynns, since Jane was the Lynns’ slave.

Richard Netherland died in 1832. After that Margaret Netherland relied heavily on Jordan in running the inn. Then she died in 1841, willing Jordan to her youngest son, another John Netherland, who was presumably Jordan’s half-brother.

Later, this John Netherland moved to Rogersville, Tennessee, and married the daughter of the owner of Hale Springs Inn there, which John eventually came to own. They lived near that inn in a mansion named Rosemont. Jordan and Jane also relocated to Rogersville, working for John at that inn, as his slaves. (Some arrangement, financial or otherwise, must have been made between the Lynns and the Netherlands to allow Jane and her two children to move to Rogersville.)²³⁴

After Jordan was emancipated in 1864, the first postwar census (1870) lists him as a farmer. At some point, John Netherland got him a custodial job at the Hawkins County courthouse in Rogersville, a position he held for many years. Jordan Netherland was well respected by Rogersville people of both races. His ability to read and write was an asset to the Colored community. He and others bought a lot in Rogersville March 17, 1868 on which to build a Colored Methodist Church, today’s Russell Chapel A.M.E. Zion Church. Later he was active in the founding of St. Marks Presbyterian Church there, and members of his family worshipped at both churches. He was also one of three Black men who purchased land beside St. Marks Church on which to establish Swift Memorial Junior College, which was launched in 1883.)²³⁵

APPENDIX G

Family of Hezekiah and Maria Hankal

- Nancy Elizabeth (“Nannie”) J. Hankal (Welch), born 1868 (or 1869?), first child of Hezekiah and Maria; 12 years old in the 1880 census. She died October 10, 1895, only about 26 years old.
- Mary Alice Hankal (Spurgeon Hansford Callens), June 25, 1870; 9 years old in the 1880 census. Married Sam (S. J.?) Spurgeon, then James C. Hansford, then Thomas Callens. She died March 11, 1958.
- Sarah Margaret (“Maggie”) C. Hankal (Tarter Clemmons Hughes), born October 23, 1873; 7 years old in the 1880 census. Married J. H. Tarter, then William Clemmons or Clemons, then A. B. (or S. B.?) Hughes. She died March 20, 1942.²³⁶
- Josephine Ellen (“Ella”) H. Hankal (Tarter Roseboro), born about 1874; 6 years old in the 1880 census. Married Isaac Tarter Apr. 30, 1895, then the Rev. W. I. Roseboro. She died Sept. 25, 1931.
- **Julia Nelson Hankal**, born November 21, 1877; 4 years old in the 1880 census. One of the first two graduates of Langston Normal School in Johnson City, May 21, 1897. She never married. She taught English at Langston High School and in other cities. Marion Birdwell McKinney of Jonesborough remembers Ms. Hankal as a substitute teacher sometimes at her school, Jonesborough Colored School “on the rocks,” on Spring Street. She remembers Ms. Hankal as light skinned with red hair and as a strict disciplinarian. Julia N. Hankal died June 30, 1963 in East St. Louis, Illinois, where she’d been living with her sister Areatha.
- Anna Pauline H. Hankal (Law Edwards), born 1879; 1 year old in the 1880 census. Married John H. Law Apr. 5, 1898, then Charles L. Edwards. She died April 7, 1947.

- Freddie (“Fred”) Charlotte Hankal (Crawford Dennis), born January (or June 13?), 1881; 19 years old in the 1900 census. Married Dr. D. W. Crawford Jan. 26, 1906, then Dr. E.T. Dennis. She died April 5, 1976 in Louisville, Jefferson County, Kentucky. Probably named after Maria’s brother Fred Netherland. (Might Freddie and Fred be nicknames for some formal name, like maybe Frieda or Frederika or, as it sometimes is, for Frances?)
- Estelle/Estella (“Stell”) A. Hankal (Smith Moorman), born October 23, 1882; 17 years old in the 1900 census. Married Dr. G. Daniel Smith, then William Moorman. She died April 15, 1973.
- **Are(a)tha (“Bennie”) Hankal (Bailey Bush)**, born August 10, 1886; 13 years old in the 1900 census. Married a Bailey, then L. C. Bush. Became head nurse at Homer G. Phillips Hospital in St. Louis, Missouri, a very large facility, the only hospital for African Americans in that great city from 1937 to 1979, when the city still had segregated facilities. She died May 8, 1981 in East St. Louis, St. Clair County, Illinois.

The Hankal daughters often laughed about having 2 or more given names plus a nickname. It must have caused endless confusion for outsiders to the family.²³⁷ Most of the daughters married very young and then remarried later.

- Grandson Dr. Jordan Bourne Hankal (born Jordan Spurgeon, June 8, 1887; surname changed to Hankal sometime between 1900 and 1912, possibly by 1905), 12 years old in the 1900 census, living with Dr. and Mrs. Hankal; son of Alice Hankal Spurgeon Callens (who was not quite 17 years old when Jordan was born) and her first husband, Sam Spurgeon, who taught in the Colored School until the spring of 1887. (It’s said that Sam Spurgeon abruptly left the state and joined the army at that point.) Jordan graduated from Langston High School in 1905.²³⁸ He became a skilled surgeon. He developed a way to cure goiter without removing the thyroid gland; in practice in Knoxville in 1912,²³⁹ then in Greeneville by 1914;²⁴⁰ lived in Johnson City in 1917 and in Indianapolis by 1930. Married Edna Rose (1886-1973). He died in Indianapolis October 3, 1932, only 45 years old. Buried in the Hankal family plot in West Lawn Cemetery in Johnson City. Jordan must have been named after his great-grandfather, Jordan Netherland.
- Sadly, Jordan H. Hankal, their only son, did not survive childhood. He died January 31, 1888 – evidently as a boy, possibly soon after he was born. His gravestone does not give his date of birth, but he must have been born in the 1880s, since he’s not listed with the family in the 1880 census. Logic suggests that he was probably born in the 4 years between Estelle (1882) and Areatha (1886), 1883 – 1885, or else after Areatha, in 1887 or in January 1888, shortly before his death. He must have been named after his maternal grandfather, Jordan Netherland.

APPENDIX H

Hankal Ancestors

Hezekiah Hankal’s great-great-great-great-grandfather, Georg Henckel, was born in Allendorf an der Lumda, Hesse, Germany in 1635.²⁴¹ He died January 29, 1678 in Mehrenberg/ Merenberg, Hesse-Darmstadt, Germany.²⁴² Nothing further is known about him, including the name of his wife.

His son, the Reverend Antonius (Antony) Jacob Henckel, was born May 27, 1668 in Mehrenberg/Merenberg, Hesse-Nassau, Germany.²⁴³ Antony married Maria Elisabeth Dentzle (or Dentzer?) April 25, 1692 in Daudenzell, Mosbach (or in Kirchhain?), Baden, Germany.²⁴⁴ She was born May 26, 1671 apparently somewhere in Hesse-Darmstadt, Germany. (Or if they were married in Daudenzell, perhaps she was born somewhere in Baden.)²⁴⁵ They and their family came to America in 1717 and settled in Germantown, Pennsylvania – just outside Philadelphia (now inside that city). They were among the many immigrants from Germany and the Netherlands who settled in Germantown. They might have settled there simply because other speakers of German and Holland Dutch had been settling there since 1683 and continued to through the 1700s. But since Antony Jacob Henkel was an

Evangelical Lutheran pastor, he may have come to Germantown or been sent to the New World to serve here as a pioneering pastor. He died August 12, 1728 in Germantown, and Maria died there January 23, 1744.

One Hankal family historian, Robert Hankal, a careful researcher, believes that “the Hankal family of Tennessee” originated specifically in “the Palatinate region of Germany.”²⁴⁶ But his reasoning for that region is tenuous: He asserts, without citing evidence, that in general the Germans who “pushed into this area” of Tennessee were “mainly from the Palatinate.”²⁴⁷ He also states that Michael Crouse Sr., “born c1745, emigrated around 1767 from Wuttenberg [*sic*] or the Palatine on the Upper Rhine River after the thirty-years war in that area” and “settled about 1784 on the southern branches of the Shenandoah River in Virginia.”²⁴⁸ Michael Crouse/Krouse/Krause was one of the founders of Knob Creek Church of the Brethren in Washington County, Tennessee and preached in German for that congregation. He was not a Hankal, but the Hankals had some association with the Krouse family and seem to have had some association with the Knob Creek Church over the years.

Whether Germans who pushed into northeast Tennessee were mainly from the Palatinate depends on what areas of Germany one counts as the Palatinate, and that depends on what time-period one chooses to focus on, since the boundaries of the Palatinate shifted considerably over time. Some Germans who settled in Washington County were Lutherans. Others belonged to the Church of the Brethren. The roots of some families of both denominations do go back to Palatine areas of Germany, but also to other areas of Germany, especially Hesse, and possibly also Baden and Württemberg. The founder of the Brethren, Alexander Mack, and many of his followers had come to Germantown, Pennsylvania from Hesse, from the area around the village of Schwarzenau. The Henckels came there from much the same part of Hesse – from the regions around Marburg and Giessen and Limburg an der Lahn – although Maria Dentzle Henckel might possibly have come from farther south, from the region just southeast of Heidelberg in Baden-Württemberg, where she and her husband, the Reverend Antonius Jacob Henckel, were married and lived when their children were born. That area was indeed part of the Palatinate historically, and it was from there that they and their family departed for America. They, however, were Lutherans, not Brethren.

Hezekiah’s great-great-grandfather, Jacob Antonius (Antony) Henkel, son of Antonius/Antony Jacob Henkel and Maria Dentzle Henkel, was born July 9, 1709 in Daudenzell, Mosbach, Baden, Germany. Jacob married Anna Margaretha (Margaret) June 24, 1732 in Pennsylvania.²⁴⁹ Anna Margaretha was born June 28, 1711 in Daudenzell, Mosbach, Baden, Germany. Jacob Antonius and Anna Margaretha had 8 sons and 1 daughter.²⁵⁰ Jacob Antonius died in Pennsylvania, probably in Germantown, January 21, 1750. Anna Margaretha died October 1, 1800 in Germantown.

Hezekiah’s great-grandfather, Peter Hinkle, one of the sons of Jacob Antonius and Anna Margaretha Henkel, was born June 3, 1743 in Germantown. He married Salome Hartman in 1767 in nearby Berks County (Reading area), Pennsylvania. She was born September 29, 1749 in Berks County. Peter and Salome had 1 daughter and 2 or 3 sons.²⁵¹ They moved to Rowan County, North Carolina sometime between the birth of their son Anthony in Germantown in 1768 and the birth of their daughter Mary at Elberts Creek in Rowan County on October 13, 1769. Nothing is known about the circumstances which led them to relocate to North Carolina. Peter died October 19, 1775 in Salisbury, Rowan County, North Carolina, and Salome died the same year, also in North Carolina, though some uncertainty surrounds her death.²⁵²

Herman Hankal/Hinkle/Henkel, a son of Peter and Salome, was presumably Hezekiah’s grandfather. There’s considerable uncertainty about when and where Herman was born. One source says he was born about 1764 in Maryland. This seems unlikely, since his parents weren’t married until 1767 and a son and a daughter were born to them before Herman. Another source says he was born about 1775 in North Carolina, which seems more likely since his parents died there that year.

If North Carolina is right, one is left to wonder how Herman, orphaned as a baby, came to be in Baltimore 26 years later when he married Margaret Haile there. Did some relative take in Herman under some circumstances in 1775 or after, and perhaps also his siblings?²⁵³ Did relatives at some point take him back to the Hankal family's old stamping grounds in the Philadelphia area? Or did he find his own way back there, where relatives still lived, never having been there himself before? (His siblings did not move there.) If so, how and when did he subsequently make his way from Philadelphia to the Baltimore area? Or did he come to Baltimore directly from North Carolina? In any case, Herman married **Margaret Haile** March 12, 1801 in Baltimore. Their oldest daughter, **Nancy Hankal**, was most probably **Hezekiah's** mother.

It appears that Herman Hinkle had relatives living in Washington County, Tennessee: Robert Hankal reports that a George Hincle and a Benj. Hincle show up in the 1830 census living in the same area as Margaret [Haile] Hincle.²⁵⁴ Robert thinks they were most likely brothers of Herman, but there are problems with these assertions. As already noted in an endnote, no son of Peter and Salome Hinkle was named George or Benjamin. The Hinkle/Hankal/Henkel family tree portion of an online Holt Family Tree shows no brother of Herman named either George or Benjamin.²⁵⁵ Not to doubt that a George Hincle did live in this area in 1830 and that he was somehow related to Herman. But if so, it is not known how. Possibly a cousin? Possibly indeed a brother, though missed by that online Hinkle/Hankal/Henkel family tree?

Herman did have an uncle named Benjamin Hinkle. He was the youngest son of Herman's grandparents, Jacob Antony and Anna Margaretha Henckel. But that Benjamin Hinkle had already died in 1827 in Lincoln County, Tennessee. (Another Benjamin Hankal was a son of James C. M. Hankal, but he wasn't born until 1838.)

There may have been yet another Benjamin Hankle, not a brother but a son of Herman (and thus also a son of Margaret), supposedly born in Tennessee in 1816. No such Benjamin shows up in that online Hinkle/Hankal/Henkel family tree.²⁵⁶ Margaret makes no mention of a son by this name in her 1861 will. And another problem arises over any such Benjamin Hankal: Why does the 1830 census not show him living with his mother that year? It records only 1 male between 10 and 14 years old in Margaret's home then. That boy has to be her known son James C. M. Hankal, age 13 or 14 then. That leaves no room for this Benjamin, who should have been 14 that year. (Neither does that census report any male older than 14 in her home then, ruling out any possibility that Benjamin might have been present but already 15 by then.)

But regarding this elusive Benjamin Hankle, a Ben Hankle, reputedly born in 1816, is buried in the little Krouse Cemetery, not far from the graves of James C. M. Hankal and James' wife Susanna Bowman Krouse Hankal. Maybe this Ben Hankle died young, before 1830. Or possibly he was living somewhere else when the census taker came by in 1830. All things considered, it does seem reasonable to assume that Margaret and Herman Hankal may have had a son named Benjamin and that he died without issue long before 1861. If this is where Benjamin fits into the family, as a son of Herman and Margaret, that makes him an uncle of Hezekiah. Possibly he was born less than a year before James C. M. Hankal. Or possibly they were twins. It remains an enigma.²⁵⁷

An Abner Hinkel also shows up in various records. He was born in 1821 and was listed as a member of Boones Creek Church of Christ in 1849. Robert Hankal thinks he must have been the son of George,²⁵⁸ whereas the online Hinkle/Hankal/Henkel family tree, without citing any supporting evidence, makes Abner L. Hankle a son of Margaret's daughter Elizabeth Hankal, father unknown. If this is where Abner fits into the family, that makes him a first cousin of Hezekiah. But something doesn't stack up here. If Elizabeth Hankal was born in 1810 and Abner in 1821, she couldn't have borne a child when she was only 11 years old. So was Elizabeth actually born much earlier than 1810? It seems not. Or was Abner born later than 1821? Or might Abner have been a son of Elizabeth's older sister Nancy Hankal? That would make him a half-brother of Hezekiah, about 5 years older than Hezekiah, and Abner would then be Nancy's first child. If Nancy really was born in 1803, she would have been about 18 when

Abner was born. In the end, Robert Hankal's speculation that Abner was a son of the elusive George Hankal seems more likely.

Abner married Nancy Jenkins December 12, 1846.²⁵⁹ She may be either the Nancy Hinkel or the Nancy [*sic*] Hinkel listed in the rolls of the Boones Creek Church in 1849. Abner shows up briefly in records of 1857 and 1858 legal actions already discussed here, where it seems clear that Abner was related to Margaret Hankal and to James C. M. Hankal, most likely as a grandson of Margaret and Herman Hankal and a nephew of James. The 1850, 1860, 1870, and 1880 censuses show Abner living in Washington County (in 1860, specifically in the Boones Creek community). He died in Washington County in 1899.

APPENDIX I

Hale Ancestors

Hezekiah Hankal's great-great-great-great-great-grandfather, George Haile (1602? – ca. 1662?), arrived in Virginia from Bristol, England, around 1625²⁶⁰ and settled near Reedville, Northumberland County, on Chesapeake Bay near the mouth of the Potomac River, where he founded one of the earliest families in that colony.

One of his sons, Nicholas Haile, was born in 1625 or 1628 there in the Virginia tidewater. Nicholas married Mary Travers, born there in 1632. They settled in Lancaster County, immediately south of Northumberland County. Nicholas died in that county February 15, 1668 and Mary died there August 11, 1671.

After Nicholas' death, his daughter Mary Heale [*sic*] King and her husband, along with her little brother Nicholas Haile II, moved to Baltimore, Maryland.²⁶¹ Nicholas II had been born in Lancaster County in 1656 (or 1666?). His wife may have been Frances Garrett (1670-1750), presumably of Baltimore. They had 4 sons and 5 daughters.²⁶² Nicholas II died March 29, 1730 (or 1729?) in Baltimore.

Among the sons of Nicholas II were Nicholas Haile III and another George Haile. Nicholas Haile III was born January 2, 1702 in "Hailes Fellowship" in Baltimore. He married Ann(e) Long, who was born in 1703 and died in 1763.²⁶³ They had 4 daughters and 5 sons. Their sons were Nicholas IV, Shadrack, Meshack, Abednego, and John.²⁶⁴ Nicholas Haile III died in 1748 (or 1747?) in rural Lunenburg, Virginia, far southwest of Richmond. However, Hezekiah Hankal was not a descendant of his son Meshack Haile but of a different Meshack Haile who was a son of Nicholas' much younger brother George Haile and thus a first cousin of this one. These two cousins with the same name have been the source of endless confusion.

This second George Ha(i)le, another son of Nicholas II, was born December 21, 1718 (or 1712?) in Baltimore. This George Haile married Elizabeth Chaffinch or Chawfinch or Crawfinch or Chattinch or Cattinch, January 17, 1735 in Baltimore. She'd been born in 1715 (or 1714?). She died March 9, 1788 in Baltimore. George died May 2, 1791 (or 1788?) in Baltimore (or possibly in Washington County, Tennessee?). George and Elizabeth had 3 daughters and 7 or 8 sons,²⁶⁵ including George Haile Jr., (Shadrack?), Meshack, Abednego, and yet another Nicholas.²⁶⁶ (There are several different spellings of the names Hale and Shadrach and Meshach and even Abednego and Nicholas in the various records.)

At this point the story of some members of the Hale family and their taking up land on the Tennessee frontier becomes quite complicated and confusing, though at the same time rather fascinating. The Hale family tree bristles with problems, especially problems circling around **Meshach Haile**, Hezekiah Hankal's great-grandfather. For sure, some Hales were among the early settlers in East Tennessee, staking claims to lands here at various times between the Revolutionary War and 1796, the year that the part of North Carolina west of the mountains became the new state of Tennessee. Evidently

that was true of the sons of Nicholas Haile III and Ann, but it does not seem to have been true of any sons of George Haile Sr. and Elizabeth until around 1800 unless possibly of Shadrack Haile, if they really had a son named Shadrack.

According to Anna Odell Mays, Shadrack, Meshack, Abednego, and Nicholas (IV) “pushed into what is today Tennessee,” then still part of North Carolina; they “arrived in the Watauga settlement around 1778.”²⁶⁷ Nicholas IV²⁶⁸ is the Nicholas Hale who, with his brother-in-law, the Reverend Matthew Talbot or Talbott, was involved in launching Sinking Creek Baptist Church in the mid-1770s in what was then Washington County, now part of Carter County.²⁶⁹

Records of land acquisitions by these first Hale settlers are sketchy and confusing, making it challenging to try to reconstruct their times of arrival in East Tennessee and the locations of their land grants.²⁷⁰ Some deeds that we would expect to exist seem to be lacking. Possibly they were never registered at the courthouse and so never made it into the county’s records, the purchaser instead simply keeping his deed himself or even misplacing it. It does not seem that all of these Hales acquired their first lands close to the same time, though Meshach, Nicholas, and Shadrach all did so between 1778 and 1784. The first surviving record of an acquisition by Abednego, however, did not occur until 1790. The earliest of their deeds dates from January 28, 1778.²⁷¹ It records a purchase of 500 acres by Meshech Hale, but not for himself. Rather, for his brother-in-law Matthew Talbot Sr. It’s one of the few Hale land grants in the area that are easy to locate with certainty: It was on the south side of the Watauga River, ran some distance up lower Gap Creek, and included the historic Watauga Fort.²⁷² The original site of that log stockade is now marked by a simple stone cairn beside West “G” Street near the west edge of Elizabethton. Still, this deed serves to date Meshech Hale’s presence in East Tennessee at least as early as 1778.

On October 24, 1782 Meshech Hail bought 348 acres on the north side of the “Watauga River.”²⁷³ His next purchase shows us that this parcel was at the mouth of Lick Creek (where the village of Watauga now stands), because that purchase was “adjacent to his former survey.” Specifically then, on October 26, 1786 Meshick Hail bought 112 acres “on both sides of Lick Creek.”²⁷⁴ This brought his total holdings there to 460 acres. His land must have extended upstream well into the very narrow hollow of Lick Creek and no doubt included both of its steep sides, providing an ongoing supply of timber and of mast forage for his livestock, especially for his hogs. Then on December 31, 1793 Mashech Haile bought 121 acres on Sinking Creek, location unknown.²⁷⁵ Was this the Sinking Creek in Washington and Carter Counties that flows from Buffalo Mountain through the south edge of Johnson City and past Sinking Creek Baptist Church before eventually “sinking” underground a good half mile before emptying into the Watauga River? Or was it Washington County’s other major Sinking Creek, west and north of Gray, Tennessee, which flows into the South Fork of the Holston River (in our times, Fort Patrick Henry Lake) in southern Sullivan County? And was this the same Meshach Hale or a different one? Then in 1795 Meshach Hale sold off pieces of his lands in two transactions.²⁷⁶ In the second of those transactions, he sold a total of 349 acres to John Haile/Hail. Was John Haile a son of Meshach or not?

The trouble is, this Meshach Hale may not be the one who was Hezekiah Hankal’s great-grandfather. That Meshach had no son named John, or at least none who was still living when he died. Maybe John died earlier than Meshach. Or maybe he wasn’t Meshach’s son. The names of the children of that Meshach who were still living in 1824 soon after he died are well documented,²⁷⁷ and, at least by then, he had no surviving son named Meshach either. Nor was his father’s name Meshach. (It was George.) Besides, as mentioned, we will note evidence that seems to indicate that of the Hale men, that Meshach, at least, did not move to Tennessee until about 1800. If not, then none of the above purchases was by Hezekiah’s great-grandfather Meshach.

Furthermore, confusion arises as a result of the presence of other men named Meshach Hale in Washington County in the early 1800s. There may have been three or more men of that name in the county back then.²⁷⁸ In the 1820s and 1830s two men named Mashack Hale Sr. and Mashack Hale Jr.

[sic] lived in an entirely different part of the county from the Watauga Settlement. They lived in its northwestern corner. They were among the many residents there who petitioned the state legislature in 1821, unsuccessfully, to form a new county, to be named Powell County, out of the northwest corner of Washington County and adjacent parts of Greene and Sullivan and Hawkins Counties.²⁷⁹

Like Meshach, Nicholas Hale also bought land in 1782. His deeds from the 1780s indicate that he came to own a total of 1340 acres of land on Sinking Creek, but I'm not certain where these were located. I'm not even entirely certain which of the two Sinking Creeks in Washington County they were on, though certain considerations favor the one that flows into Carter County and past Sinking Creek Baptist Church.²⁸⁰

Shadrach Hale staked out claims to 3 parcels of land in an entirely different area. Whereas Meshach and Nicholas laid claim to lands along the Watauga River between the mouth of Gap Creek and the village of Watauga, apparently as well as southwest of Watauga village along Sinking Creek, Shadrach chose lands much farther west. He purchased property in the far northwest part of Washington County and evidently in the adjacent far northeast corner of what became Greene County as well. His claims were a little south of today's village of Fall Branch. They were in the general area of the line between today's Washington and Greene Counties, high on the watershed between the headwaters of Washington County's Kendrick Creek and Greene County's Lick Creek and its Clear Creek branch. This particular Lick Creek is a long way from Carter County's Lick Creek.²⁸¹

Abednego Hail was the latecomer. No evidence survives that he bought any land in these parts before 1790. That year he bought land on Sinking Creek, and in 1794 he acquired 3 more parcels. One of those was in the watershed of Boones Creek. The deeds to the other two give no indication where they were located. That same year he sold his first parcel on Sinking Creek.²⁸²

Another Hale who was an early arrival in Washington County, a first cousin of these four brothers, was George Haile (II or Jr., later looked back to by his East Tennessee descendants as George Hale Sr., since he was the earliest of their ancestors to settle in Tennessee, making him their patriarch, their progenitor).²⁸³ He was born February 16, 1735 in Baltimore, a son of George Haile and his wife Elizabeth Chaffinch. He evidently acquired a large tract of land, probably several hundred acres, from the confluence of the Watauga River with the South Fork of the Holston River southwest past State Route 36 to Free Hill Road near the little Hale Cemetery.²⁸⁴ This land is roughly 2 miles east of present-day Gray, Tennessee. We haven't yet found a deed to his purchase, so he must have made it in 1800 or soon after, because it's not in the book about deeds from 1775 to 1800.²⁸⁵ But his "plantation" there may figure later here in the story of his younger brother, a different Meshach Haile, Hezekiah Hankal's great-grandfather.

Other Hales settled at various times in other parts of Washington County and in other northeast Tennessee counties, as witness the name Hale in various place names, like Hale cemeteries, Hale Springs, Hales Chapel, and rural communities named Hale. Some Hales who settled in Sullivan and Greene Counties were related to these Hale brothers and their cousins.

Almost all of the earliest land acquisitions by these four Hale brothers were purchased as land grants directly from the state of North Carolina. It seems that a belief has somehow gained currency that these Hale men received their grants of land for their service in the Revolutionary War, but that notion is probably wrong. Lorraine Rae, at any rate, disputes all such claims:

It is often mistakenly assumed that the North Carolina grants in Washington County were for service in the Revolutionary War. There were **no grants for Revolutionary service in**

Washington County [boldface hers]; all land grants here were purchased.²⁸⁶

And indeed, every one of these Hale deeds names either the purchase price or the price per 100 acres. Rae then describes how a person chose and marked out a claim in the forest and got it surveyed and then registered. She says the prices of the grants were £10,-- per 100 acres, but the price in the Hales' deeds was consistently 50 shillings per 100 acres, in no case £10,--.

Returning to Anna Odell Mays' account: "As the Revolutionary War reached even into the remote frontier, Hales joined the gallant frontiersmen at King's Mountain in 1780," including also Ha(i)le men named John, William, and Lewis. That was the engagement in which frontier volunteers from southwest Virginia and what would later become northeast Tennessee defeated a British and Tory force under the command of Major Patrick Ferguson, purportedly beginning to turn the tide of the war against the British. Later, "Shadrack Hale received payments from North Carolina in 1783 for services rendered during the Revolution."²⁸⁷ And then: "in December of 1787 Shadrack Haile [*sic*] and his son, Shadrack Hale [*sic*], Jr., both were among the signers of the "Petition of the Inhabitants of the Western Country." This petition asked North Carolina to recognize the independence of the State of Franklin which was "our undeniable right."²⁸⁸ But soon after that the attempt of the frontiersmen to get their transmontane region admitted to the Union as a new state named in honor of Ben Franklin fizzled, and it failed the next year.

Two years after that: "In 1790 Shadrack Haile was issued certificates by North Carolina for services rendered against the "Chicamoga [*sic*] Indians."²⁸⁹ Mays adds: "Between 1779 and 1787, Shadrack Haile acquired over 900 acres of land in what is now Washington and Greene Counties."²⁹⁰

We return to the mystery of whether any of these Hale men, including the aforementioned Meshach Hale, were ancestors of Hezekiah Hankal. It's doubtful. Although Hezekiah's great-grandfather was a certain Meshach Hale and might have been this Meshack Haile, some considerations seem to rule out that possibility: And as we shall see, other evidence suggests that the Meshach who was Hezekiah's ancestor did not move to Tennessee until about 1800.

A note added at the end of the timeline of George Haile (1712-1791) in the online Haile/Hale family tree offers us a helpful lead here. It's headed "confusion" and explains: "nicholas hale, who was George's brother [,] and ann long also had a son named meshack. A lot of people confuse these two meshack hales. George's son moved to washington county tennessee." A similar note of caution, at the end of the timeline of the Profile of Meshack Haile (1738-1824) in the online Haile/Hale family tree, likewise headed "confusion," adds:

many people confuse this meshack hale with the meshack hale living in davidson cty [county], tenn. The other meshack was married to catherine gibson, his parents were nicholas and ann (long) hale. Nicholas and George hale were brothers.

So the online Haile/Hale family tree chooses to show Hezekiah's great-grandfather Meshack not as Nicholas' son but as George's son, which seems correct, and to give his birth year as 1738.

Now Nicholas Haile III, born in 1702, was considerably older than his brother George, who was not born until 1712 or more probably 1718 – 16 years later. This Nicholas and his wife Ann Long had 4 daughters and 5 sons, whose names were Nicholas IV, Shadrack, Meshack, Abednego, and John, as already noted. This George Haile and his wife Elizabeth Chaffinch had 3 daughters plus 7 or 8 sons whose names included George Haile Jr., (Shadrach?), Meshach, Abednego, and Nicholas, as already noted. (Logic and the spacing of birth years suggest that there was probably a Shadrach before Meshach, even though we have found no record of him. Possibly he didn't live into adulthood.) It looks as if George and Elizabeth Haile were copying a naming idea from Nicholas and Ann Haile!

If this is indeed the case, then we can make sense of the confusion by assuming that (1) the sons of the older brother, Nicholas Haile III and his wife Ann Long, came to Tennessee first (with the exception of their son John, it seems, but including their son Meshack) and that they laid claim to lands here as early as the 1770s and 1780s, and (2) that at least some of the sons of George Haile and his wife Elizabeth Chaffinch (Joseph, George Jr., Meshach, Henry, and maybe also a Shadrach) later decided to join them here. The confusion arises from that later presence of the cousins with the duplicate names in the same Tennessee county. On this reasoning, Hezekiah's great-grandfather Meshach Haile was not the aforementioned Meshach Haile. Rather, he came here later than that Meshach, was not involved with Nicholas Haile IV and the Reverend Matthew Talbot in the founding of Sinking Creek Baptist Church, did not acquire land here until later, and probably did not settle here until around 1800, as we shall see.

It was the other Meshack, a son of Nicholas and Ann, who was the Mesheck/Meshick Hail who bought lands along the Watauga River in the 1780s and helped the Reverend Talbot found Sinking Creek Baptist Church.

Hezekiah Hankal's great-grandfather **Meshach Haile/Hale**, most probably the second Meshach, was born in Baltimore, Maryland, presumably in St. Paul Protestant Episcopal Church Parish, supposedly in 1738. But since that's the year Meshach's identically named cousin Meshach Haile was born there, this year is obviously suspect. It's likely to be a mistake based on confusion of the two men. It seems more likely that this second Meshach was born at least a few years later, and hence that he was perhaps not quite as much as 15 years older than the woman he married. So maybe he wasn't born until around 1740 or later. He married **Mary Carroll Buckingham** in Maryland, but not until 1784. She was born in Maryland in 1753.²⁹¹ By 1784 Meshach would probably have been in his early 40s, unless he was born well after 1740. He was marrying a woman who was about 31 years old. Certainly possible, but this raises a suspicion of another possibility: Maybe Meshach had been married previously and had lost his first wife, likely after she'd borne him children, although we have found no record of any previous wife or other children. Maybe Mary too had been married previously. Maybe Carroll was her maiden name and maybe Buckingham was the name of a previous husband.

Meshach and Mary Haile had one son and 5 daughters, unless other children died before our earliest traces of them.²⁹² **Margaret Haile Hankal**, their eldest child and Hezekiah's grandmother, was born about 1783 in Saint Paul Protestant Episcopal Church Parish, Baltimore, Maryland. If we can trust the data on Ancestry.com and in U.S. censuses from much later, it appears that all but the last of their children were born in Maryland. The last one, daughter Ara, appears to have been born in Washington County, Tennessee. This leads to a reasonably certain conclusion that the family of Meshach and Mary Haile left Baltimore and settled in northeast Tennessee around the year 1800, between the births of daughters Elizabeth in Baltimore in about 1798 and Ara in Washington County in 1800 or 1801. (There are some uncertainties here, discussed in the previous endnote.) Much later, in 1819, a certain Meshach Hale appears on a tax list for Washington County, but it's impossible to tell which Meshach Hale this was or where his land was.²⁹³

Where in Washington County did Meshach and Mary Haile settle? We don't really know. But we've noted that Meshach's older brother George Haile moved to Tennessee, apparently at about the same time as Meshach or a bit before Meshach, though evidently George hadn't purchased land here yet by 1800. And we've noted that he acquired a large tract of land east of Gray, Tennessee that ran from Free Hill Road northeast to where the Watauga River flows into the South Holston River (now part of Boone Lake), presumably in or after 1800. A good possibility is that Meshach and his family took up residence with his brother there at first, though it's only a guess.

But sooner or later Meshach definitely did acquire some land of his own in this county even though we have yet to find evidence of its location. He definitely did not purchase land as a grant from the state of North Carolina, as his cousins had done, because by the time this second Meshach arrived here, this area was no longer North Carolina. It had been part of the new state of Tennessee for about 4 years by then, since 1796. He must have bought land from one or more previous owners – the usual pattern after the earliest decades. He may have purchased land near his brother George, maybe even adjacent to George's "plantation," either in the area of the Free Hill ridge itself or on the other side of George's claim, between Oak Grove and the Watauga River (now Boone Lake). Or he might have bought land in the northwest corner of the county.

How can we solve the puzzle of Mashack Hale Sr. and Mashack Hale Jr. living in northwest Washington County in 1821 who signed the Powell County petition? Who were they?

Maybe sometime before 1821, possibly as early as the turn of that century, the first Meshach Hale sold his property where the village of Watauga is now located and moved all the way across Washington County to its northwest corner. Maybe he's this Mashack Sr.

Maybe sometime before 1821 his cousin Meshach Hale moved there too, from wherever he had been living in Washington County since he first arrived in Tennessee around 1800, or possibly he even settled in the county's northwest corner right after he arrived in the state. Maybe he's this Mashack Jr. even though he was not actually Mashack's son. Maybe they were not "Sr." and "Jr." after all. Maybe someone saw two Mashack Hales among the names of those who signed the 1821 Powell County petition and added "Sr." and "Jr." when writing up their names, wrongly concluding that they must be father and son. Quite possibly neither Mashack could read or write. If not, if all they could "sign" was "their mark" – "X" – they might never have known that someone had written "Sr." and "Jr." after their names, either at the end of the document itself or in some later report of it and its signatories.

If these two guesses are right, it's worth noting that this second Meshach, Hezekiah's great-grandfather, died in 1823, only 2 years after he signed that petition. But when did Meshach's cousin, the first Meshach, die? Here a serious and possibly insurmountable problem arises with identifying Mashack Hale Sr. with the Meshach Haile who was the son of Nicholas and Ann (Long) Haile. Among the children of Nicholas and Ann one source lists their son Meshach with the dates 1738-1813 and has him moving back and forth, from 1759 until at least 1777, between Bedford County, Virginia and Davidson County, Tennessee (the Nashville area, much farther west in Tennessee than Washington County), then dying in Davidson County in 1813.²⁹⁴ If he died in 1813, obviously he could not have signed a petition in 1821.

But was this man really the son of Nicholas and Ann, or has their son been mixed up with another Meshach Hale in that source? Some things in that source don't stack up.²⁹⁵ As a result, it seems clear that that Meshach was not a son of Nicholas and Ann. Someone's identifying him as such was a mistake. I'm convinced that that Meshack was yet another Meshach Hale. Or, it appears, a confusion of two other men by that name.

Either of the Mashack Hales who signed the 1821 petition could of course be some other Meshach Hale who lived in that part of Washington County in 1821. For that matter, both of them might be other Meshach Hales. But it still seems possible that they were our first and second Meshach Haile. These two guesses might be right after all, even though they remain highly speculative.

The **Meshach Hale** who was the father of **Margaret Haile Hankal** died in Washington County, Tennessee in 1823. He was the great-grandson of the first Nicholas Haile, as Robert Hankal points out.²⁹⁶ Margaret was thus the great-great-great--granddaughter of the first George Haile, who had come from England, making her grandson, **Nancy Hankal's** son **Hezekiah**, the fifth-great-grandson of that first George Haile.

APPENDIX J

Slaves

An intriguing question: Were the Hales slave-owners? Had Meshach Hale ever owned slaves? If any of Hezekiah Hankal's relatives and forebears owned slaves, might that fact have had any influence on Hezekiah's attitudes toward slavery or his feelings about race?

Case No. 1:

The 1790 census, page 134, records a Mash Hail [*sic*] living in Baltimore who owned one slave.²⁹⁷ Can this be Margaret's father Meshach Haile? It seems likely enough, but one of its details might possibly cast doubt on that. In his home are 6 White males under 16 years of age and one who is 16 or older, plus 3 White females, plus the one slave. (There's no free Colored person. That column is blank on Mash's line. But that's no surprise.)

The White male age 16 or older must have been this Mash Hail, the head of the family – the only person who’s named, as usual in the earliest censuses. One of the 3 White females would have been Mash’s wife. The other 2 were presumably their daughters. But who were the 6 boys?

From an 1824 document,²⁹⁸ we know the names of all of Meshach Haile’s children who were still alive right after he died, and they include 5 daughters but only 1 son. Two of his daughters were born before 1790: Margaret and Nancy. That much fits. But his only son who appears in that document is Zachariah. Zachariah was under 16 in 1790 – only about 5. That much fits as well. But if this Mash Hail is the Meshach Haile who was Margaret’s father, the problem is the other 5 boys in this household in 1790. Who were they? Were they all sons of Meshach and his wife Mary, who had been married only 6 years by 1790 and also had at least 2 daughters by that year? Or might some of the boys have been nephews or something else? Or sons of Meshach and/or of Mary by possible previous marriages, though we have no knowledge of any previous marriages or offspring thereof? If sons, all 5 of them must have died before 1824. Might that raise questions about whether this is really a record of Margaret’s father and his family or of some other Mash Hail?

That remains an open question.²⁹⁹ If this Mash Hail was indeed Margaret’s father, Hezekiah’s great-grandfather, then her parents did own one slave in Baltimore in 1790.

Case No. 2:

Did Meshach Hale own any slaves after he settled in Tennessee? Here we are hampered by a complete lack of evidence, affirmative or negative. The U.S censuses taken during the remainder of his life – until his death in 1823 – would surely have contained the evidence we need – the censuses of 1800, 1810, and 1820. His line in them surely showed either the number of slaves he owned or that he owned none. But the records of those censuses for Washington County, Tennessee are missing. They have not survived. So we cannot know.

Case No. 3:

In 1820 Henry Hale and Elizabeth Hale emancipated a total of 17 slaves, who took the surname Hale.³⁰⁰ That was the largest number of slaves ever emancipated at one time in Washington County. These two Hales were certainly at least kin to Meshach Hale, cousins at least. Or were they his brother Henry and his sister Elizabeth? Or were they his brother Henry and Henry’s wife? (The petition doesn’t state whether they were husband and wife.) In contrast to these two Hales, no record has come to light that Meshach ever owned any slaves in Tennessee.³⁰¹ Granted, it is certainly conceivable that, like others on the early Tennessee frontier, he might have had one or more slaves to help him clear his land and build a farm on it. We simply don’t know. As for Margaret Hankal and Nancy Hankal, his daughter and granddaughter, none of the decennial U.S. census records shows either of them as owning any slaves, and we can find no evidence that they ever did, as noted in the opening chapter.

Manumission of as many as 17 slaves at the same time by these two Hales suggests that something was afoot, in this family and probably beyond. Quite probably these seventeen were all of the slaves that these two Hales owned, and something must have motivated them to free them at about the same time. Probably not a joint decision that they could no longer afford to support this many slaves, especially if this Elizabeth was Henry’s sister rather than his wife. Perhaps religious or moral convictions newly arrived at? Perhaps assent to a feeling among some of the population back then that keeping human persons in bondage simply wasn’t right? In the first two decades or so of our republic there was widespread unease in the land over any moral justification for holding people in “perpetual servitude.” Many U.S. citizens were troubled by the inconsistency of championing liberty for everyone while at the same time denying it to “human chattels.” Thomas Jefferson and Patrick Henry, for example, are known to have agonized over the morality of their owning slaves, though neither of them ever emancipated his human chattels. But in those early decades, sentiment in favor of granting liberty to all slaves and ending slavery was unexpectedly strong at times in some circles.

Such thinking did not die out completely after 1800. Indeed, a movement to free slaves was surprisingly strong in Tennessee around 1820. The Tennessee Manumission Society had been forming chapters in various counties, including Jefferson and Greene and Washington Counties, from 1814 on, with Quakers prominent in the movement's leadership and many Brethren and Presbyterians supporting the effort. One of the Quakers, Elihu Embree, published the *Manumission Intelligencer* in Jonesborough in 1819 and then replaced it with *The Emancipator* in 1820. Both journals were dedicated to the abolition of slavery.

However, the antislavery movement in Tennessee faded considerably after 1820, no doubt in reaction to numerous slave revolts on plantations in various Southern states from 1800 on, particularly from the 1820s on, and especially in reaction to the savage murders of Whites in the course of some of those uprisings, such as the Nat Turner rebellion in Virginia in 1831. Even so, it is noteworthy that some strong antislavery sentiment continued long after that. In 1844 Church of the Brethren delegates from several states gathered at the log church house of Washington County's Knob Creek Church for a General Conference to consider the slavery question. They extended their building with large sheds on its sides to accommodate all the Brethren from several states who attended the meetings. It was the thirteenth time that some aspect of the slavery issue had come before the General Conference. No General Conference of Brethren had ever voted to justify any phase of the slave traffic. But at this 1844 assembly in Washington County the Brethren settled the issue for their church for all time. They voted that no member of the Church of the Brethren could own slaves or live off of the proceeds of slave labor. Brethren Churches lost members as a result of this bold decision, but they had taken a firm stand on the basis of Christian moral principle.³⁰²

[2 Photos of Knob Creek Church of the Brethren log building] –

[1. *Hist. of Wash. Co. TN* 2001, p. 995 (poorer copy: *Hist. of Wash. Co. 1988*, p. 73)]

[2. Roger E. Sappington: *The Brethren in Tennessee and Alabama*, last page before Index]

Hezekiah B. Hankal was never a slave himself, and despite community gossip about his paternity it appears doubtful that society ever reached the point of regarding him as a Free Negro beyond questioning his family's insistence that he was White. The three cases above are meager evidence on which to attempt to guess whether those Hale family experiences with slavery may have had any influence on his attitudes toward that institution or his feelings about race. All three of them are from years before he was born. Significantly, the censuses of 1830 through 1860, during his own life, indicate that his mother and grandmother owned no slaves, at least during any of the decennial years when the censuses were taken. And it seems unlikely that they bought any slaves after any decennial year and sold them before the next decennial year. So Hezekiah himself may have had little direct contact with enslaved children – or adults – as he was growing up, even if his great-grandfather Meshach Hale might have owned one or a few at some time prior to Hezekiah's lifetime.

His own attitudes toward slavery and race must surely have been formed, not from direct connections of his family and other relatives with slavery, but from his own experiences in life. Slave-owning did exist all around him in his community for the first 27 years of his life. And he must have become aware at a reasonably early age of the likelihood, as well as the suspicions of some people around him, that he himself had some degree of African ancestry. If indeed his mother and grandmother never owned any slaves, that might mean simply that they could not afford to acquire slaves. But it might be a clue that they were not exactly in favor of slavery. And any such thinking on their part could have influenced Hezekiah's view of the institution. If, as we've inferred, Margaret Hale Hankal took a protective attitude toward her somewhat brown-skinned grandson, that might have influenced him to view people of color favorably. In any case, even though Hezekiah's mother and grandmother had always insisted that he was White, by the time slavery ended in the United States he deliberately chose to identify himself as a Negro, and he married a woman who had been a slave in her childhood. Tellingly, he devoted the rest of his life to serving people of African descent and improving their lot in

life in the segregated society of his time. Whatever may have shaped his attitudes on these matters, those results of them are unmistakably clear.

Donald Shaffer, M.A., Ph.D.

11 February 2022

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INDEX

[yet to be created]

¹ Areatha "Bennie" Hankal Bush, letter from St. Louis, MO, to Elberta Ervin Jackson in Johnson City, TN (Feb. 7, 1969): 2.

² In 1850 Hezekiah's age, 24, ends in 4, rather than 5. In seeming agreement with that, in 1830 he falls into the classification "Under five years of age," so he must have been 4. It seems that his mother and grandmother would have known, this soon after his birth, whether he was 5 years old or not yet 5. The 1840 census, when he would have been 14 or 15, is of no help here: He simply falls into the classification "10 & under 24." Not until 1870 and 1900 does his age end in 5: 45 and 75, respectively. In 1880 he's 52 – surely a mistake. We haven't found him in the 1860 census, and the records of the 1890 census were destroyed in a fire in the Department of Commerce building in Washington, D.C. Sources: Year: 1830; Census Place: *Washington, Tennessee*; Series: *M19*; Roll: 175; Page: 202; Family History Library Film: 0024533. Year: 1840; Census Place: *Washington, Tennessee*; Roll: 535; Page: 200; Family History Library Film: 0024549. Year: 1850; Census Place: *Subdivision 4, Washington, Tennessee*; Roll: 898; Page: 141A. Year: 1870; Census Place: *District 9, Washington, Tennessee*; Roll: *M593_1568*; Page: 259A; Family History Library Film: 553067. Year: 1880; Census Place: *District 9, Washington, Tennessee*; Roll: 1284; Page: 516D; Enumeration District: 033. Year: 1900; Census Place: *Johnson City, Washington, Tennessee*; Page: 4; Enumeration District: 0150; FHL microfilm: 1241604.

³ Bush, letter, 2.

⁴ Since the lives of Hezekiah B. Hankal and James C. M. Hankal intertwine at a number of points in our story, **Appendix A** contains a summary of salient points about the life of James C. M. Hankal.

⁵ Bush, letter, 2.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ It seems that Nancy Hankal was born to Herman and Margaret Hankal in Tennessee sometime between 1802 and 1807. One researcher, and only one, gives a precise date for Nancy's birth: Oct. 2, 1803. (Ancestry.com, Search, Member Search, JenHG, in the Hinkle/Hankal/Henkel family tree portion of Holt Family Tree, in its Profiles of Margaret Hale and Nancy Hankal.) However, that information seems questionable. No documentation supports that date. Instead, the only documentation cited for it there is three U. S. censuses from the mid-nineteenth century, each of which points to a different year and none of which points to 1803. No other source known to me agrees on this 1803 date. Other sources consistently say "about" and give a year, but the years vary: 1802 (Robert Hankal, "A History of the Hankal Family of East Tennessee" (unpublished typescript, 1995-1996), 10). 1804 (1870 U.S. census). 1805 (1850 U.S. census). 1807 (1860 U.S. census). Obviously complete accuracy is by no means assured here.

⁹ The 1830 census is not definitive in this respect because the only names recorded in censuses that early are those of heads of families. Then those censuses simply have the enumerator check off all other family members by age groups and gender and color and slave status. However, the 1830 census too might support an assumption that Hezekiah was already living in Margaret's household before he was 5 years old: He must be the White boy "Under five years of age" living with Margaret in 1830, unless he's one of the 2 White boys "Under five years of age" living with Nancy that year. Year: 1830; Census Place: *Washington, Tennessee*; Series: *M19*; Roll: 175; Page: 202; Family History Library Film: 0024533.

¹⁰ Areatha Hankal Bush, letter, 2. Free Hill is east of Gray and a little west-northwest of the Oak Grove community in the northern part of the greater Boones Creek community, in the 11th Civil District back then. If Hezekiah was born there, it might have been somewhere on what had originally been the "large plantation" of George Hale Sr., a brother of Hezekiah's great-grandfather Meshach Haile, "on Free Hill Road" where the little "family cemetery behind the house" (Hale Cemetery) is and extending northeast beyond State Route 36 to the "confluence of the Holston and Watauga Rivers." Barry Thomas Whittemore, "Unitarian/Universalism," in *History of Washington County Tennessee*, ed. Joyce and W. Eugene Cox (Johnson City, Tennessee: The Overmountain Press, 2001), 1090. But that's probably not where Hezekiah was born.

- ¹¹ Deed Book 17, p. 325. Margaret's farm was probably a little smaller than the original surveyor's estimated 120 acres. In deeds to later sales of her land, it is rated as 100¼ acres, later as 96 acres, and then consistently since 1911 as 103 acres.
- ¹² According to a deed to a later purchase of her property it was "on the head waters of Boon's creek," Deed Book 48, p. 145, Sept. 17, 1870.
- ¹³ A tiny branch, Paine Branch, ran across Margaret's farm before flowing on to Boones Creek. Her buildings probably stood on the south side of that branch. Besides a house and presumably a barn she may have had a chicken coop, a corn crib, and of course an outhouse, and maybe a spring house in the cool waters of the branch for keeping milk and butter and cheese and eggs.
- ¹⁴ I have found no slaves listed for either Margaret or Nancy in the Slave Schedules of the 1830, 1840, 1850, or 1860 censuses. (The 1800 and 1810 and 1820 censuses for Washington County are missing.) Robert Hankal though, referring to the 1830 census record of Margaret Hincle, states: "...the census lists one slave ... and one child ... belonging to the slave..." Robert Hankal, "A History of the Hankal Family of East Tennessee" (unpublished typescript, 1995-1996), 5. And later (p. 16) he comments: "Margaret owned one female slave who was in her home during the childhood and well into the adult life of all her children, and this slave woman was probably living when her grand-children were in their teens." We find not one shred of evidence for this, including in the 1830 census. In the columns for enumerating people's slaves, there isn't even a mark on a line anywhere close to the lines for Margaret and Nancy that Robert might conceivably have mistaken as indicating a slave of theirs by looking at the wrong line. We are convinced that he was wrong. (Even if he were right, he shows an awareness in any case that there was "only one slave involved" [p. 16], not several slaves.) He was such a careful researcher and was so completely sure about these statements that one can't help wondering how he came up with this idea. (Might he have looked in the wrong place in the 1830 census? Might he have been looking in those censuses for a different person with a name similar to Margaret's? Might he have found evidence of it which has eluded us in other places in several censuses from 1830 through perhaps 1860?) However, Margaret did not mention any slaves in her 1861 will. She did not bequeath any slaves to any of her heirs. Nor do the county's records of the inventory and settlement of her estate mention any slaves. So she must not have owned any slaves by the outbreak of the Civil War, if she ever had. (After 1864, when the slaves in Washington County were emancipated, any such woman, if still living, would no longer have been a slave.)
- ¹⁵ Year: 1830; Census Place: *Washington, Tennessee*; Series: M19; Roll: 175; Page: 202; Family History Library Film: 0024533.
- ¹⁶ Robert Hankal asserts that the 1830 census also lists Benj. Hincle and George Hincle living in the same area as Margaret (p. 5). He thought that these men must have been brothers of Herman Hankal. But something is wrong here. Herman had no brother named George or Benjamin. He did have an uncle named Benjamin Hinkle, the youngest son of his grandparents, Jacob Antony and Anna Margaretha Henckel. But that Benjamin Hinkle had already died in 1827 in Lincoln County, Tennessee. If a George Hinkle did live not too far from Margaret in 1830, he must have been related to Margaret and Herman somehow, but it is not known how. Possibly a cousin.
- ¹⁷ Year: 1830; Census Place: *Washington, Tennessee*; Series: M19; Roll: 175; Page: 202; Family History Library Film: 0024533.
- ¹⁸ Robt. Hankal, "History," 5.
- ¹⁹ There's always the possibility, of course, that the census taker never saw little Hezekiah. The boy could have been somewhere else, and Margaret, if asked whether anyone else lived there, might have simply reported to the census taker the few basics about him that got recorded: his sex and age, with no mention of his color.
- ²⁰ Year: 1840; Census Place: *Washington, Tennessee*; Roll: 535; Page: 200; Family History Library Film: 0024549.
- ²¹ There was one Free White Male "5 & under 10" in Nancy's household in 1840, but that's too young for Hezekiah. There were no males in her house in his age range that year. So this boy between 5 and 9 in Nancy's house in 1840 must be one of the 2 free White males "Under five years of age" in her house back in 1830. The other one might have been Hezekiah. But more probably he was the Free White Male in Margaret's house back in 1830, because the only person besides Margaret in her house in 1840 is male and is the right age range for Hezekiah, though he now turns up as a Free Colored Male there.
- ²² Year: 1840; Census Place: *Washington, Tennessee*; Roll: 535; Page: 208; Family History Library Film: 0024549.
- ²³ According to an 1838 land tax document, Margaret Hankle owned 1.13 acres of land that year, its value being \$700. The tax on it was \$35, and her balance (still owed?) was \$7.00. *Tennessee, U.S., Early Tax List Records, 1783 – 1895*, p. 497 – District No. 14. The absurdly low acreage must surely be a mistake for 113 acres.
- ²⁴ Bush, letter, 2.
- ²⁵ Freddie Hankal Crawford Dennis (an older daughter than Areatha Hankal Bailey Bush), cited by Ruth Claytor Marsh and Margaret C. Woodbury, *Virginia Kaleidoscope* (self-published, 1994), 367-368. However that account contains some incredibly wild errors, most notably that "Hezekiah lived with his family in Holland, Netherlands until about his 14th birthday when he was sent away to school...."
- ²⁶ June 10, 1858 deposition of Samuel Devault in the records of Washington County Circuit Court, Washington County Archives: testimony under oath that Hezekiah had bought a certain cow "in the year 1848."
- ²⁷ Year: 1850; Census Place: *Subdivision 4, Washington, Tennessee*; Roll: 898; Page: 141A.
- ²⁸ Year: 1850; Census Place: *Subdivision 4, Washington, Tennessee*; Roll: 898; Page: 221B.
- ²⁹ We cannot exclude the possibility that the census taker hadn't seen Hezekiah, only gotten a report on him from Margaret.
- ³⁰ The census taker did ask this, or at any rate found it out, about Elizabeth Hankle next door, but maybe s/he neglected to ask it about Margaret. It would also seem surprising if Margaret could read and write but her daughter Elizabeth couldn't.
- ³¹ Meharry Medical College in Nashville, Tennessee, wasn't founded until 1876, and it was the first medical school for African Americans in the South. In those days, before medical schools were at all common, one became a physician by "reading medicine" and gaining experience under the guidance of an established physician – in essence, by serving an apprenticeship, the way one became a lawyer by "reading law" under the tutelage of an established lawyer, as Abraham Lincoln did. Probably that was the route by which H. B. Hankal became a physician – or maybe simply by studying a "doctoring book." (These were hefty tomes back then. They described symptoms of all kinds of ailments and gave people without ready access to a doctor advice on how to treat each one.) Or both. Note the description of the process by Dr. William P. Bailey Jr. in "Medicine," in *History of Washington County Tennessee*, ed. Joyce and W. Eugene Cox (Johnson City, Tennessee: The Overmountain Press, 2001), 586.
- ³² The little Oct. 24, 1857 document, in the records of Washington County Circuit Court, Washington County Archives, calls on Dr. Humphreys and others to testify in court in support of "Heskia Hinkle," plaintiff in a lawsuit.
- ³³ All in all, Richard Humphreys appears in 5 documents related to this lawsuit, from October 24, 1857 to June 5, 1858. The last of them is a lengthy and detailed sworn deposition from Dr. Humphreys, in his own handwriting and signed by him, in support of Hezekiah's claim. Evidently Dr. Humphreys regarded Hezekiah Hankal highly. He concludes his sworn deposition with this testimony: "I have always since my acquaintance with said Hezekiah Hankal [known – *inserted later above the line here*] that he has been in habit of buying and selling and owning property in [his own] name." The dispute here seems to center around whether this Black man could own and deal in property, in this case, a cow and her heifer, or whether the White woman in whose house he lived and presumably in whose barn he kept his livestock was the rightful owner of said beasts. Although Hankal's suit is against his grandmother, one can't help suspecting that it was really against her son James C. M. Hankal, who must have been claiming that the cow in question was not Hezekiah's property but his mother's – Margaret's – and therefore his to dispose of, since at about that time she granted James Power of Attorney for her, as we shall see.

³⁴ June 5, 1858 deposition of Richard Humphreys in support of Hezekiah Hankal, plaintiff, in the records of Washington County Circuit Court, Washington County Archives.

³⁵ Since Hezekiah was still living at Margaret's place at least as late as 1855, this mare may have been kept in Margaret's barn. Might it have been Hezekiah's property? Or might he have believed it was? And might James have believed it was his, even though census records show that James didn't live there? If Hezekiah had been living somewhere else on his own in 1852, this vague reference would sound more like theft – unless perhaps Hezekiah was living in another house on Margaret's farm, and a mare of his was being kept in Margaret's barn. There seems to have been a second house on Margaret's farm as early as the 1830 census, with her daughter Nancy and others living in it then. Margaret's daughter Elizabeth Hankal seems to have been living in it in the 1850 census. If Hezekiah was living in that house in 1852, might he have been keeping this mare in a shed or stable somewhere else on the farm instead of in Margaret's barn? If so, it would look more like James was the offender.

³⁶ The minimal record of this action includes a note on the back that it was "Returned for trial same day" before Collins at the courthouse and includes another note on the back that "the Pff gits [?] Judgment against Dff [*sic*] for \$2.00 and cost," signed by Collins. An itemized column on the front adds another 35¢ + 50¢ + 25¢ to that, obviously for court costs, for a total of \$3.10. So Hezekiah lost this case and had to pay \$3.10, \$2.00 of which went to James.

³⁷ Files of Washington County Circuit Court, 1858: Archer, Silas ... Hezekiah Hankal vs. Margaret Hankle. "*Next friend*" is a person who sues on behalf of someone else – usually because that person, for whatever reason, cannot legally file the case. During certain times in the past, this was because that person was a woman or was Colored or was not yet 21 years old.

³⁸ Abner Hankal was not a son of Elizabeth Hankal, a grandson of Margaret Hale Hankal, as has been claimed. If the dates for Elizabeth (born 1810) and Abner (born 1821) are correct, Elizabeth was only 11 years old when Abner was born.

³⁹ Deed Book, 36, p. 322.

⁴⁰ The text of Margaret's grant of Power of Attorney to her son James C. M. Hankal: "I Margaret Hankal Being old and Feeble in health and not being able To Manage My Affairs Do Hereby Nominate and Appoint Jas. C. M. Hankal My attorney in fact to Manage my affairs, To rent My farm on which I now live To pro cure my Support if it Can be done By Renting But if the farm will not Bring my Support By renting I here by Empower and Authorise him to sell said farm to the best advantage and appropriate the pro ceds [*sic*] or so Much there of as Will Be Sufficient To Decently support Me During My Natural Life and in fact to trans act all my Buis ness [*sic*] of every kind what ever at my Expence to protect me in my old age and in the event He should have to Sell Said farm and there Shall B A. Remainder Left at My death after being decent ly Supported and after My funeral and all other Nessary [*sic*] Expences is paid and satisfied, then and in that Case He is to Make Equal distribution Among all My lawful Heirs, Himself with the rest and I do Here by Ratafy and confirm all the lawful Actings and doing [*sic*] of Said Jas C. M. Hankal in persuance of the power and authority Here by Communicated as fully as if I were to do them My self." Margaret signed with "her mark." Registered at the courthouse (Clerk's fee \$25 [?]; Register's fee \$75; both paid by James C. M. Hankle) July 20, 1857.

⁴¹ Files of Washington County Circuit Court, 1857: Hankle, Hezekiah vs. James C. M. Hankle and Margaret Hankle.

⁴² *Replevin* is recovery of goods by the person claiming to own them, upon the person's giving security to try the matter in court and return the goods if defeated.

⁴³ For example: Where was Hezekiah keeping his animals in the 1850s? He was still living in Margaret's house around 1855. But was he no longer living in her house by 1857? Was he living in that other house on Margaret's farm by then, or somewhere else? Where were his various animals taken from? And when they were retaken from Abner or Margaret or James and brought back to Hezekiah, where was he?

If he was still keeping his animals on Margaret's farm, might that explain how she may have gotten confused, in her old age, as to whose animals they were? Or was it James who took them out of Margaret's barn? On the assumption that they were hers? Or deliberately, to deprive Hezekiah of them? It's difficult to escape the conclusion that Hezekiah's pursuit of both of these lawsuits is an indication that he felt that James was taking advantage of him. Or could there have been genuine confusion and disagreement over the ownership of these animals, an honest misunderstanding, especially if all the animals of both Margaret and Hezekiah were kept in Margaret's barn? Perhaps that was still a log barn from the time when this land was first cleared. Perhaps it wasn't very large. Might James have assumed that all the beasts in Margaret's barn were hers and, now that she had granted him Power of Attorney, that he was free to deal with them as he thought best? Alternatively, might Hezekiah have kept his animals in a separate shed, especially if he owned only a couple of beasts?

James did not live at Margaret's place, though he had as a boy. He does not live near Margaret in the 1850 or 1860 census. Probably he lived on a farm that the widow he had married, Susannah Bowman Krouse, had likely inherited, wherever that was. Might this circumstance have increased the likelihood of James assuming that all animals in Margaret's barn belonged to Margaret? And might she herself have been confused about that by this stage in her life?

⁴⁴ Year: 1860; Census Place: *Swinneys, Washington, Tennessee*; Page: 124; Family History Library Film: 805277. In this census it is not noted that she cannot read and write.

⁴⁵ Year: 1860; Census Place: *Boones Creek, Washington, Tennessee*; Page: 33; Family History Library Film: 805277.

⁴⁶ If someone arrived at 1808, rather than 1807, for Nancy's birthyear by figuring backward 53 years from 1860, that person must have been sharp enough to notice that the census taker took the information on this page of the census on July 5, 1860 when Nancy was still 52 years old. She didn't turn 53 until October 2, if October 2 of 1808 is correct for her birth..

⁴⁷ Ancestry.com/imageviewer/collections.

⁴⁸ Evidently Jephtha Hankal had disappeared or moved away from this area before Margaret died. One seems to sense that this happened long before she died. He was never found. Possibly at some point he had decided to leave the area, maybe in hopes of doing better by settling farther west. Might he even have succumbed to gold fever and joined the Gold Rush to California in 1849?

⁴⁹ The one-fifth share of Margaret's remaining money that each heir received turned out to be \$64.50, according to a separate record of the March 29, 1867 settlement, finally paid out to the heirs between 1870 and 1872 (to Hezekiah B. Hankal April 4, 1870) – if that's a complete record of the distribution of Margaret's remaining money. It does seem to be the complete amount, as per a "Note" at the end of that separate record to the effect that it included the share of Jephtha ("whose whereabouts is not known"), which was being divided equally among the other five heirs. If each of Margaret's five heirs got only \$64.50 in the final settlement – if this was indeed their complete share – that must mean that all of her cash that was left after payment of her debts and funeral expenses was only \$322.50.

⁵⁰ Ferguson had prepared her will. He was a justice of the peace and maybe a lawyer.

⁵¹ Margaret's will stipulates that her money, after costs are paid, be divided equally among her 6 children, or 5, if her lost son Jephtha cannot be found within 3 years after her death. A surviving record notes that that financial settlement among the 5 heirs was made on March 29, 1867. This could be taken as pointing to a date for Margaret's death 3 years before that, early in 1864. At the end of that surviving record is this important detail: "Note – The above settlement and receipts [*sic*] includes the share of Jephtha Hankal, whose whereabouts is not known. Hence his share has been divided equally among the other heirs, as above."

⁵² Files of Washington County Judicial Court, 1866: Hankal, Hezekiah B. vs. J. C. M. Hankal.

⁵³ Listed as Heskiah Hinkel in a book that records the members of this church between 1834 and 1869. Also in 1865 Nancy Hinkel is once again listed as a member of Boones Creek Church of Christ, as she was in 1849.

⁵⁴ "...for some time before and during the war." David W. Wead, "Boones Creek Church of Christ, The Earliest Years" (unpublished typescript, n.d., on his special "Slavery" page). "He served our congregation for several years prior to 1865." David W. Wead, "The Passing of an Era," *Boones Creek Christian Caller*, May 11, 1981.

⁵⁵ Herman A. Norton, *Tennessee Christians* (Nashville: Reed and Company, 1971), 127-128.

⁵⁶ "As the custom was to take slaves into the churches, many 'of colour' were on the Boones Creek Roll. One time they totaled more than 175." Mary Hardin McCown, "The Early History of the Christian Church in East Tennessee," *East Tennessee Christian* (June 1966): 2. Wead, "Boones Creek Church," "Slavery" page, similarly says 175 people of color attended. I've found no evidence for as many as 175. I've found a total of 29 between 1834 and 1852, after eliminating 8 evident duplicates. Did McCown and Wead see lists of members from 1852 to 1865, or a statement about the number of Colored attendees, which I have not seen?

⁵⁷ Norton, *Tennessee Christians*, 128.

⁵⁸ Wead, "Boones Creek Church," 11.

⁵⁹ Areatha "Bennie" Hankal Bush, letter from St. Louis, MO, to Elberta Ervin Jackson in Johnson City, Tennessee (Feb. 7, 1969): 6.

⁶⁰ We know this from an old handwritten record still preserved by the Boones Creek Christian Church. It is only one brief entry among others in the earliest book of records of the business of that church. (On its cover, someone has pasted a sticker label with the words "Boone's Creek Church of Christ Official Business Record.") As nearly as its handwriting can be represented in print, it reads:

1866 The elders

And church met

And ord[ance?] hesi kier

Hinkel to minister

Feb 1☉.

All but the first 3 letters of "ord[ance?]" are written over and difficult to make out. The first name appears to be "hesi kier," but its last 2 letters are not clear. After the "l" there's a big dark blob with a somewhat faint horizontal stroke extending from its left side which might be part of the horizontal stroke of a "7". The rest of the blob is an undecipherable mark on top of a no longer decipherable mark. Thus the second digit of the date in this carelessly written entry is obscured by what might be a blob of ink (represented in my transcription here by a dark blob after the "l"), but it's more probably an attempt by one or more persons to "correct" (as s/he or they believed) whatever that number was by writing different numbers on top of it in thick, heavy lines. In other words, "Feb 1" is followed immediately by a heavy character that appears to be written on top of whatever the original second number was, possibly a "7." It's impossible to be sure what the new number in heavy strokes was, but it appears most similar to a misshapen "4" and doesn't remotely resemble any other number – unless it was rendered unintelligible by an attempt by a third person to write a different number on top of that one. It's also conceivable that the original number here might have been "11" and that someone altered the second "1" by adding a horizontal stroke to change "11" to "17."

One might regard Sunday as the most likely day of the week for the elders and church to have met to ordain someone to the ministry. But it is not the only possibility. Over the years covered in the church's little "Official Business Record" book, 1834 to 1868, the elders and church met some 61 times to make decisions or to transact business, sometimes including ordinations of ministers and elders and deacons. Although this church met for business on different days of the week, the overwhelming number of those meetings took place on Saturdays. So while other days of the week are possible, especially Sunday, the odds heavily favor a Saturday, which would make it February 17.

⁶¹ "...to evangelize his own people" and "establish congregations among his own people." Wead, "Passing of an Era." Cf. "to his race," McCown, "Early History," 2.

⁶² "Bro. Hinkle, our colored brother, was called on, when said evangelist made the following report, to-wit: He has preached three hundred discourses, and had four hundred conversions. The amount of contributions for the present year \$108. ¶ On motion of Bro. [Hugh] Millard, the contributions as reported by Bro. Hinkle, our colored evangelist, go to the benefit of our colored brethren. ¶ On motion of Bro. [William] Bullard: ¶ *Resolved*, That this Co-operation employ two white evangelists and one colored evangelist to ride and preach the present year, and that we pledge ourselves to sustain them. ¶ On motion, there was a committee appointed to conduct [*sic*] the labors of the evangelist, and that there be one person in each congregation appointed whose duty it shall be to collect means and forward the same to said committee, and that Bro. H. Millard, of Bristol, be the corresponding secretary of said committee, and that said committee employ and put labor in the field as fast as means can be collected and forwarded to said committee." Excerpt from a report by Chairman Daniel McInturff of "a meeting of the delegates of the various congregations of the East Tennessee and Virginia Co-operation assembled at Turkeytown [present-day Range], Carter county, Tennessee, on Saturday previous to the 2d Lord's day of September, 1867" in *The Gospel Advocate* (Oct. 10, 1867): 804-805, which also includes the name Hinkle among "Our preaching brethren who are in attendance." *The Gospel Advocate* at that time was a 16-page weekly. I found no report of an 1868 Co-operation meeting in the issues from October or in the last 2 issues from September 1868. Perhaps in other months?

⁶³ "...the colored preachers, Elders Hinkle and Bayless, gave an account of their labors in the upper counties of East Tennessee." Excerpt from the "Minutes of the East Tennessee and Western Virginia Co-operation of the Church of Christ, held at Cherokee, Washington County, Tennessee, Saturday, Sept. 11, 1869" – again by Chairman D. McInturff, in *The Gospel Advocate* (Nov. 4, 1869): 1022, which also reports a membership of 2,552 in the churches reporting, including "colored brethren." (The minutes continue with the business transacted on Monday, Sept. 13.)

Curiously, a typescript of a different account of the same Sept. 11, 1869 meeting survives, written up on October 6 at Cave Spring, Carter County, the location of the Buffalo Creek Church of Christ, which became today's Hopwood Memorial Christian Church, and of the Buffalo Male and Female Institute, which became today's Milligan University and Emmanuel Christian Seminary. This account is in the form of a report addressed to one "Bro. Wright." (Might he have been the editor of a different religious journal?) On most details it agrees with the above Minutes, but it contains some interesting differences and some valuable additional information. It says that 2,210 members were represented "but a great many of the churches failed to send up reports." Is it possible that 2,210 is a count of White members only? Since the Minutes reported 2,552 members "inclusive of colored brethren," might the difference imply that the other 342 members were Colored? This report lists the names of ministers present, concluding, separately (after a long dash), with "H. B. Hankle, T. R. Bales, and A. Rankin (colored)." Evidently continuation of the employment of White and Colored traveling evangelists was in doubt by 1869, as witness some additional information here about Monday's business which was not included in the Minutes: "The means on hand being insufficient to employ an Evangelist, there was a committee of three appointed ... to see what could be done, and to report at our Consultation Meeting, at Buffalo, on Saturday before the 4th Lord's day in October, 1869."

Although agreement in detail after detail removes any doubt that this is a report of the same meeting on the same two days as those Minutes, rather than locating that meeting at Cherokee, Washington County, Tennessee, this report locates it at "Christian Union, Washington County, Tenn., four and a half miles South of Jonesborough." But this is no discrepancy: The location was today's Union Church of Christ on Cherokee Road (State Route 67) near

Little Cherokee Creek in the Little Cherokee community. Elder Hankle is of course the same man as Elder Hinkle, and Elder Bailes is the same man as Elder Bayless.

⁶⁴ Norton, *Tennessee Christians*, 136.

⁶⁵ Norton, *Tennessee Christians*, 143 – although he gives the wrong date for his reference in *The Gospel Advocate*. The correct date is Oct. 10, 1867. Even though “during that year” is not entirely clear in the account from *The Gospel Advocate* (quoted in a previous note), it’s probably implied. The Co-operation had surely not employed Hankal as an evangelist before 1866. He had not been ordained to the ministry before February of that year.

⁶⁶ Mary Hardin McCown, “The Early History of the Christian Church in East Tennessee,” *East Tennessee Christian* (June 1966): 2. Various deeds of the church in Jonesborough call it “the Colored Church of Christ of Jonesboro” (1916: Deed Book 128, p. 389; 1920: Deed Book 145, pp. 269-270), “the Colored Christian Church of Jonesboro (also 1920: Deed Book 145, p. 150), and “Bethel Christian Church” (1968: Deed Book 420, pp. 299-300; 1974: Deed Book 485, pp. 109-110). The cornerstone of the church’s 1922 building calls it simply “Church of Christ.” All three names of the College Avenue church in Bristol occur in various records of that church.

⁶⁷ There may have been several tiny Black churches or “chapels” at various places in Washington County, especially in the first half-century after freedom came. But the only rural Black churches in the county known to me are Lane Memorial Christian Church in the old 3rd District, Union Grove Church at New Victory in the old 5th District (apparently an interdenominational community church), and Freedman’s Chapel (Presbyterian), whose location is not known. It may or may not have been identical with Union Grove Church in the 5th District, or it might have been in some other District. If perchance it was a later occupant of the Old Dutch Meetinghouse, the former home of Immanuel Lutheran Church (White), that’s a known location in the old 4th District. Little is known about the tiny Union Grove Church (and School) and only a little more about Freedman’s Chapel. Of these three, Lane Memorial was the oldest, decidedly the strongest, and lasted the longest. The A.M.E. Zion Church in the village of Limestone could be counted as a semi-rural church. Although it was not quite as old as Lane Memorial Christian Church, it survived several decades longer – probably precisely because it was in a village with a tiny Black population rather than out in the country and, by the mid-twentieth century, was rather far from any other concentration of Black residents.

⁶⁸ The “Colored Christian Church of Jonesboro” didn’t acquire its first known piece of property, a rather small lot beside the railroad, until 1879: 40 feet of frontage on the railroad, 40 feet across the opposite end, 99 feet back from the railroad on the west side and 115 feet 4 inches [*sic*] on the east side, “for the purpose of a Church house.” No mention of frontage on any street or road. Deed Book 46, pp. 507-508. And it appears doubtful that this congregation ever built a house of worship on that lot, although the deed stated that as the intention. The church owned that lot for only 9 years. In 1888 “the Colored Christian Church of Jonesboro Tenn” exchanged that lot for its second known piece of property. Deed Book 55, pp. 118-199. This 1888 deed notes that the church’s first property had become “Known as the Colored Christian Church lot.” That could possibly imply that it was still only a “lot,” no building having been erected on it, though not necessarily. This new property was a strip merely 26 feet wide running south-southeast 160½ feet from a “new Street,” believed to be today’s Depot Street. It contained only “4173 sqr ft more or less,” and it was conveyed “only for the purpose of a Church lot for the Colored Christian Church.” This strip eventually became the eastern edge of the parking lot of the property at 303 Depot Street which was the home of Bethel Christian Church from 1922 until 2004, if not already from 1888 on.

⁶⁹ Deed Book 55, pp. 118-199. Was that the same log church that Dr. Hankal had, in some sense of the word, “built” for them? Possibly simply meaning that he paid for its construction? So did he build this log church there in 1888 or after? He was 62 years old by 1888. Or had he built them a log church on their first lot after all, after 1879, when he was 53 years old or so? And did the congregation build itself a new log church house on this narrow strip after purchasing it in 1888, no more than 9 years later? Is it conceivable that the church even moved a log meetinghouse that Dr. Hankal had built on its first property to this new property? Depending on where its first property was located, this narrow strip might not have been more than half a block away from it.

⁷⁰ “Celebrating 125 Years of Bringing Jesus to Jonesborough,” souvenir booklet, October 13, 1991, p. [4].

⁷¹ McCown, “Early History,” 2. “CHURCH HISTORY,” a section in a souvenir booklet on the occasion of the 112th anniversary of the church in 1988, likewise says 1866 – in June of that year. This historical sketch is the source of most of the following information about the Bristol church. Its tradition claims that though it began in 1866, it “was organized” in 1880. Might that organizing have involved choosing leaders, including trustees? If so, perhaps not for the first time, since taking no such action before 1880 wouldn’t seem to accord with its construction of a church house in 1878, presumably on land which it had bought by then. Norton, *Tennessee Christians*, 135, names Bristol among places where a Negro congregation (of Churches of Christ) was established right after the Civil War. Norton seems to imply that in Bristol this was done by 1867 and by “leaders from the Negro church in Nashville.” That would be Nashville’s Grapevine Christian Church, established in 1859. It later became Second Christian Church there, then Gay Street Christian Church, and now Gay-Lea Christian Church. Norton does not mention Hezekiah Hankal in connection with this particular effort, though the years are right for Hankal’s evangelistic and church-planting work.

⁷² McCown, “Early History,” 2.

⁷³ Ray Stahl, *Greater Johnson City, A Pictorial History* (Norfolk/Virginia Beach: Donning Company, 1983), 55; Ophelia Cope Daniels, “The Formative Years of Johnson City, Tennessee, 1885-1890: A Social History” (M.S. Thesis, Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial State College, August 1947), 64-65. Horace Leftwich mentions the use of this “old log house” as a church in his unpublished autobiography. Some members of West Main Street Christian Church believe that their church moved from the log schoolhouse to the Hankals’ house in town in 1871, a tradition on doubtful authority recorded by Ralph Wheeler, “A History of the West Main Street Christian Church” (research paper for the course Restoration Movement, taught by Dr. Henry E. Webb at Milligan College, Apr. 28, 1965), 1. Possibly correct, possibly not: While this church did not have a building of its own until 1889, the 18 years from 1871 to 1889 seem like a long time for a church to have continued to meet in a home occupied by a large family. It seems more likely that this congregation continued to worship in the log schoolhouse on Roan Hill until 1889.

⁷⁴ Mary Hardin McCown names only four churches that Dr. Hankal established, the ones already named here, and Rogersville is not among them. Although this is merely negative evidence (or rather the absence of positive evidence), it may be significant, because McCown seems to have been quite conscientious and thorough in her research. She seems to have been making an effort to cover the ground completely. McCown, “Early History,” *East Tennessee Christian* (June 1966): 2.

⁷⁵ Extensive efforts to turn up written or printed documentation of the origins of Hasson Street Christian Church in Rogersville have found nothing. My information about this church comes primarily from some its oldest members who were still living in the mid-1990s and kindly shared their knowledge and memories with me during the years between 1994 and 1996: Mrs. Leola Fugate (not orally but in a mimeographed account of her recollections of Rogersville in her earlier life, “As I Remember,” composed apparently in the 1980s or earlier – my primary source); Jennie Emaline Bradley Watterson (Mrs. Richard Watterson), only child of D. W. Bradley (Dee Wolf Bradley), who was the church’s minister from around 1909 (or possibly a few years earlier) until his death in 1951; her husband, Richard Watterson, an elder in this church; Wiley Henry Fulkerson; and Mrs. Dorris [*sic*] Kincaid. Also Gentry James Fitzgerald of Jonesborough, not one of the oldest members, but pastor of this church from 1952 until his death in 1994. But none of these had any knowledge of even an oral tradition about who had started their church or when.

According to them, though, Gilbert (“Bert”) Carmack, a Black man, gave the land at 601 Hasson Street on which its building stands, or else gave permission for the church to erect it there. But no one knows when this occurred. Any deed should have given the date, but the church never had a deed to the property until 1981. By that time the building needed repairs – not for the first time – and indeed, in the mid-1980s it added a classroom wing to its building. So on November 27, 1981 the congregation got a court judgment granting it a deed to the property. The judge is reported to have said that the church had been using that building for 84 years, so it had a right to have a deed to the land it’s on. I don’t know the basis of the judge’s 84 years, but someone who was still living in 1981 must have given the judge that figure or presented some kind of evidence of it. Assuming that it’s valid, that would

date the building to 1897. The building's cornerstone is no help. It says "First Church of Christ, Remodeled Nov. 3rd 1912." That was early in the four-decades-long ministry of D. W. Bradley. But the stone gives no date for when the building was erected. One would think, though, that it was built before 1900, that is, that it was more than 12 years old before it needed remodeling. In any case, the oldest members were sure that their congregation already existed before 1900. And the above clues, though meager, clearly do seem to point to a time before the turn of that century. Perhaps it began in the 1890s, or possibly a decade or so before that, if not already in 1866.

No one contends that D. W. Bradley began this church. In fact, according to Elder Gentry Fitzgerald, his successor as its pastor, Elder Samuel A. Russell had been the minister of this church before Bradley, i.e. in the earliest years of the twentieth century, and it was Russell and the church's elders who ordained Bradley to the ministry in Rogersville on November 23, 1902. For several years after that Bradley pastored in Knoxville and then in Bristol before his long pastorate at Hasson Street began. His daughter, Mrs. Watterson, firmly denied, however, that Samuel Russell had founded Hasson Street Church. So it clearly existed before 1902. (Samuel Russell also ordained Gentry Fitzgerald, in 1946.)

A couple of interesting stories from this church's past:

1) Church tradition recalls that Gilbert Carmack used to call the members to worship by blowing a trumpet very loudly because the church had no bell. Conceivably, Bert Carmack might even have been the founder of Hasson Street Church and possibly its first minister, or he might at least have preached for it, but no one claims to be certain of any of that.

2) Leola Fugate describes how the members of the church, in the days when few of them had cars yet, used to walk out to "Well's [sic] Bottom" on "the river" (the Holston River) to baptize new members. Then they would change to dry clothes in a barn there, owned, she thought, by a Mr. Wells. I don't know where Wells Bottom was, but it appears to me that getting from Hasson Street Church to the nearest point of the Holston River would have involved walking more than 3 road miles out and more than 3 miles back – a challenging distance to cover on foot.

⁷⁶ Something of a satellite or offshoot, apparently, of the Hasson Street Church is the Guntown Union Christian Church along the abandoned railroad a mile or so southeast of Rogersville toward the Holston River. Even less is known about this tiny congregation. There is no way of knowing whether Dr. Hankal had anything to do with its beginnings. Possibly Samuel A. Russell started it. No one seems to know. Through the years, the minister of Hasson Street Church usually preached also at the Guntown Church once a month or so. D. W. Bradley did, and Gentry Fitzgerald still did in the 1990s. Fitzgerald usually called this little church "the Mission." On other Sundays its members and their leaders, few in number, assembled and held services on their own.

⁷⁷ He's one of 79 men who committed a total of \$1,553 toward this building fund. Their names appear on a handwritten list, in very rough condition, preserved in the Holloway Archives at Milligan University and discovered there by Clinton J. Holloway.

⁷⁸ Observation of Clinton J. Holloway, e-mail message to author, November 3, 2014.

⁷⁹ Ancestry.com; Tennessee, Compiled Marriages, 1851-1900.

⁸⁰ Julia N. Hankal, "Colored School System Grows," *Johnson City Press-Chronicle* (November 16, 1941): page 5, column 4.

⁸¹ Ray Stahl, personal communication to the author.

⁸² Information communicated from Ruth Claytor Marsh, from her records of her family history.

⁸³ Deed Book 44, pp. 266-267. Henry Johnson didn't execute the deed until January 24, 1874 but ended it by saying "This title begins the 5th day of June 1869." Possibly Dr. Hankal didn't finish making payments to Henry Johnson until January 24, 1874? The deed was registered at the courthouse Feb. 3, 1874.

⁸⁴ Paul B. Carr, letter in Editor's Mailbag, *Johnson City Press-Chronicle*, Jan. 19, 1960.

⁸⁵ Afterward (Oct. 25, 1923) the family sold off the triangle which that street cut off for \$500 (Deed Book 160, pp. 341-343). Even before that (Aug. 18, 1920) they had sold a large slice (45 feet wide) off the west side of their lot for \$2,250 (Deed Book 145, pp. 560-562), probably as this area was becoming part of the growing city's business district. The heirs finally sold the remaining portion, "the home property of the late Dr. H. B. Hankal, deceased, and on which the present home residence is now located," Sept. 25, 1946 (Deed Book 239, pp. 533-535).

⁸⁶ Compare Janet Duitsman Cornelius, *When I Can Read My Title Clear* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991), 32-34, 42, 66.

⁸⁷ "...at the old Roan Hill school," Bush's 1969 letter.

⁸⁸ The belief that Dr. Hankal "began a school for his fellow African Americans in a log cabin on Roan Hill in the late 1860s" is wrong. Ned L. Irwin, "Education," *History of Washington County Tennessee* (Johnson City, Tennessee: The Overmountain Press, 2001), 526. The first teacher of Colored students there seems to have been **George Perkins**, a White man, and the second one was **Thomas Harrison**, an ex-slave. The unpublished text of a speech from around 1918 or 1919, "What I Have Learned of the Negro Schools," by a former slave, the Rev. George Washington Woodbey (transcribed by Josephine Woodbey Clark and in her personal collection), states: "It was three miles out from this place that my father [Charles Woodbey] rented first after the close of the War and was instrumental in organizing the first subscription school, which assembled in the old log shanty under the tutelage of a Mr. George Perkins, a lame ex-union soldier 52 years ago."

The Rev. G. W. Woodbey gives further clarifications in a speech that he delivered in Johnson City's Langston High School in 1918, reported as "Johnson City Fifty Seven Years Ago" in *The Johnson City Staff*, Jan. 25, 1918, page 6. With reference to his father renting "first," he states: "My father had been out in the war with the 13th Tennessee, waiting upon Captain Isaac Taylor and had just begun life for himself [now as a free man], by renting land on the Taylor estate." G. W. Woodbey himself had studied in the Roan Hill school when he was about 12 or 13 years old. (He was born in 1854.) He says: "I had the privilege of walking in from the Taylor farm, and attending the first school opened for negro [sic] children, above the town on Roan Hill: taught by Mr. Thomas Harrison a gentleman, who had somehow managed to get a knowledge of letters during his life as a slave. The next teacher followed him was the late noted Dr. Hinkle." [Read: Hankal.]

If the Rev. Woodbey delivered these speeches in about 1918, that points back to the year 1866 for the opening of that school for Coloreds. But that was the very year that the White school ceased to use that log building. So possibly George Perkins didn't begin teaching there until 1867.

Ned Irwin and I are indebted to Aaron Stauffer, Ph.D., of Vanderbilt Divinity School, for bringing this information about the first two teachers at the log Roan Hill school to our attention.

⁸⁹ See for example Deed Book 161, p. 177, paragraph 4. For this street address, cf. Washington County TNGenWeb,

<http://tngenweb.org/washington/records-data/cemeteries/cemeteries-of-washington-county-tennessee>, s.v. Roan Hill

Cemetery – regarding the location of the little Colored cemetery that developed adjacent to the schoolhouse/ meetinghouse.

⁹⁰ Deed Book 40, pp. 547-548. The deed is attested by Henry Johnson and William T. Range. The enterprising Henry Johnson would buy a piece of land from Tipton Jobe beside the road from Jonesborough to Elizabethton at the point where the projected East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad planned to cross it. And there he would build a general store and a tank from which the locomotives could take on water – "Johnson's tank." I think he would also rent out rooms in his building there, and he probably landed a post office in his establishment before long. Johnson City would grow from that beginning. But when Henry Johnson attested this deed in 1849, all that was still about 7 years in the future. Incidentally, though the deed bears the date Sept. 6, 1849 it wasn't registered at the court house until Feb. 13, 1868.

⁹¹ Daniels, p. 63, citing the unpublished autobiography of Horace Leftwich. Range's own wording of his intention in selling it, in the deed of conveyance, was that the plot was for the purpose of "...building a school house which is also Designed for a meeting House in which all Denominations have the right to Preach..."

⁹² Peter Range did keep some control over the property, though: His deed goes on to name himself and James Hunt and John H. Bowman as “Trustees of the House” with “full authority to regulate the Days and time of Preaching so as not to interfere with school hours ... and not to suffer the said House to be used for any other purpose than a School House and House for the Worship of God.”

⁹³ Stahl, *Greater*, 49; Judith Haws Hash, “Presbyterian,” *History of Washington County Tennessee 1988* (Watauga Association of Genealogists, 1988), 84, cf. p. 571.

⁹⁴ Sidney Smallwood, “A History of Education in Washington County,” *History of Washington County Tennessee 1988* (Watauga Association of Genealogists, 1988), 65.

⁹⁵ Daniels, p. 53.

⁹⁶ Smallwood, p. 65; cf. Irwin, p. 522. Already in 1866 it was chartered as the Science Hill Male and Female Institute, Irwin, p. 525, though he prematurely calls it the Science Hill Male and Female High School there.

⁹⁷ Daniels, p. 53, from her personal interview with Heiskell Dyer; Smallwood, 65.

⁹⁸ Samuel Cole Williams, *History of Johnson City and its Environs*, 1940, p. 15.

⁹⁹ Once again, see Washington County TNGenWeb, <http://tngenweb.org/washington/records-data/cemeteries/cemeteries-of-washington-county-tennessee>, s.v. Roan Hill Cemetery.

¹⁰⁰ Julia Hankal; Smallwood, p. 66; Irwin, pp. 518-519. Julia wrote that her parents talked of Subscription Schools as the earliest schools. If Hezekiah Hankal had not taught school before 1868, then he does not seem to have taught for more than 6 years at most, because he stopped teaching in 1874, as we shall see.

¹⁰¹ Irwin, p. 519.

¹⁰² Julia Hankal’s testimony implies this.

¹⁰³ Cf. Irwin, p. 519; and others.

¹⁰⁴ Smallwood, p. 66. Hankal’s certificate is signed by H. Presnell. Henderson Presnell was Washington County’s first superintendent of schools under Tennessee’s 1873 Education Act (Smallwood, pp. 66 & 68; Irwin, p. 528), though L. F. Drake had been appointed the county’s first school superintendent in 1867 under the state’s previous failed attempts to establish a public school system (Irwin, p. 527).

¹⁰⁵ Julia Hankal; Daniels, p. 57, citing an interview with Julia Hankal.

¹⁰⁶ Julia Hankal. Concerning each Tennessee county’s common school commissioners from 1823 on, cf. Irwin, p. 519. It has not been possible to document exactly this board of commissioners for the entire county nor the number 5 for the commissioners on it from other sources. Whether it was what we know today as the Washington County Board of Education and whether these commissioners were elected positions is not clear. It’s also unclear, given Julia’s inconsistency between “schools” and “school,” whether there were more Colored schools in Washington County than the Roan Hill school that she focuses on. (There were: several.)

¹⁰⁷ Year: 1870; Census Place: District 9, Washington, Tennessee; Roll: M593_1568; Page: 259A; Family History Library Film: 553067. The Washington County portion of that census locates Dr. Hankal in the county’s (Civil) District 9, which included all the old parts of Johnson City, and it lists his post office as Johnson City. An 1836 map of the county’s civil districts calls District 9 the “Brush Creek district.” That probably means it was coterminous with the watershed (drainage) of Brush Creek.

¹⁰⁸ Information on this page of the census was taken on Aug. 11, 1870. That was 3 months after his birthday. But is it possible that he wasn’t sure of his age any more by 1870?

¹⁰⁹ Deed Book 145, p. 560 (margin) & p. 561; Deed Book 160, p. 341. (Starting with 1870, the censuses separate reading from writing and no longer ask this only for persons older than 20.)

¹¹⁰ He taught “until 4 P.M.,” Areatha Hankal Bush, p. 3.

¹¹¹ Areatha Hankal Bush, letter, 4. These would presumably be “some of his old friends” that Mrs. Bush mentioned, pp. 7-8, with whom he spoke German.

¹¹² Bush, letter, 7-8.

¹¹³ Interestingly, one of the first pastors of Immanuel Lutheran Church was Philip Henkel, who preached in both English and German. Mary Sue Going, “Lutheran,” *History of Washington County Tennessee 1988* (Watauga Association of Genealogists, 1988), 78.

¹¹⁴ Herman’s uncles Anthony Jacob Hinkle, Charles Hinkle, and Michael Hinkle were still living in Rowan County, North Carolina in 1775, and all three of them died there.

¹¹⁵ If then Hezekiah grew up speaking German in the company of his boyhood friends, one is left to wonder where, near the location of Margaret Hale Hankal’s farm, any German-speaking families might have lived in the 1830s and 1840s. Also, that location is surprisingly far from each of the churches that we know or think were associated with the Hale and Hankal families over the years. From there (not counting the quarter of a mile or so of the driveway from Margaret’s buildings out to the nearest public road) it’s nearly 4½ road miles to Boones Creek Christian Church, roughly 4½ road miles to the original location of Buffalo Ridge Baptist Church, and roughly 5½ road miles to Knob Creek Church of the Brethren. Thus, not at all close to any of them. Covering any of those distances by horse and buggy, or even on horseback, required a fair amount of time. So one had to make allowance for the time needed to reach them – and to return home from them, in some cases, after dark. On the other hand, if Hezekiah grew up in or near the Free Hill community, any location there is even farther from those three churches. And again, it is not known whether any German-speaking families lived anywhere near Free Hill.

¹¹⁶ Billy H. Campbell, “Garbers,” *History of Washington County Tennessee 1988* (Watauga Association of Genealogists, 1988), 177.

¹¹⁷ Fred S. Garst, “Brethren,” *History of Washington County Tennessee 1988* (Watauga Association of Genealogists, 1988), 72.

¹¹⁸ Isaac Garber bought the grist mill there in 1864. If Garbers is Areatha’s “Cherokee,” maybe he and other Garbers in that community were Dr. Hankal’s patients and German-speaking friends there: David and Clay and Walter and William and Phronia and Landon and James and Fannie and Pearl Garber. There might have been a couple of other German-speaking families there, since the German surnames Deadrick and Keplinger also occur in the Garbers community. Campbell, p. 177.

¹¹⁹ Penny McLaughlin, “Embreeville – Bumpass Cove,” *History of Washington County Tennessee 1988* (Watauga Association of Genealogists, 1988), 174.

¹²⁰ Campbell, p. 177.

¹²¹ Cf. Maude S. Crookshanks, “The Cholera Epidemic of 1873,” *History of Washington County Tennessee 1988* (Watauga Association of Genealogists, 1988), 49, though she doesn’t cover Johnson City or Dr. Hankal’s work.

¹²² Bush, letter, 4.

¹²³ He “was not losing patients,” Bush, p. 4.

¹²⁴ The White physicians in Johnson City in 1873 were the Hankals’ family physician James H. Mongle and “the older Dr. Miller” (Bush, p. 4). Is this A. J. Miller (Daniels, p. 39)? By 1873 perhaps also Sam Bolton (Bush, p. 4). Dr. James H. Mongle, born in Virginia, is listed as a physician in Washington County in the censuses of 1860 (age 34), 1870 (age 44), and 1880 (age 54). Neither Dr. A. J. Miller nor Dr. Sam Bolton appears in the 1870 or 1880 census.

However, the 1880 census does list Dr. E. S. Miller, born in Tennessee (age 37), as a physician in the county, so possibly he was the older or the younger Dr. Miller. Or possibly there's simply a mistake in someone's reading of his handwritten initials somewhere.

¹²⁵ Bush, letter, 4.

¹²⁶ Bush, letter, 4-5: "The older Dr. Miller Dr. Sam Bolton and others became quite helpful to him and he did not need to teach after 1874, for his practice kept him busy."

¹²⁷ Year: 1880; Census Place: District 9, Washington, Tennessee; Roll: 1284; Page: 516D; Enumeration District: 033. He resides in the 9th Civil District, as in the 1870 census. His age, 52, is a discrepancy with the 1870 census, so he must actually have been 54 in 1880. This census wrongly says his mother was born in England. The only truth behind that is that many generations earlier his Hale ancestors had come from England.

¹²⁸ It is not noted that any of these Hankles could not read or write, not even Mariah this time. It's not noted that Mary and Sarah and Ellen attended school that year, even though they were of school age. Did the census taker perhaps forget to put ditto marks after their names and to tick their columns regarding school attendance?

¹²⁹ Archives of Appalachia, East Tennessee State University Library: Washington County Court Records, Box 48, Series IV, Folder 5 – election returns for Johnson City.

¹³⁰ Bush, letter, 5.

¹³¹ Paul B. Carr, letter in Editor's Mailbag, *Johnson City Press-Chronicle*, January 19, 1960.

¹³² Hankal received 158 votes, tying with W. C. Maupin for 5th place out of that field of 18 candidates. Archives of Appalachia, East Tennessee State University Library: Washington County Court Records, Box 48, Series IV, Folder 5 – election returns for Johnson City.

¹³³ The Archives of Appalachia contain no records of Johnson City's elections for the 4 years between 1887 and 1892.

¹³⁴ Archives of Appalachia, also in Box 48, Series IV, Folder 5.

¹³⁵ Deed Book 54, p. 47. The deed describes its boundaries as 3 poles & 13 feet by 3 poles & 15 feet by 3 poles & 9 feet by 3 poles & 16 feet.

¹³⁶ It would be difficult to locate this property. It was not right on Brush Creek, since that creek is not named in the description of any of its boundaries, and the deed names no streets that it fronted on – only an alley, a ditch with a bridge over it, and two fences. Probably "on the west side of Brush Creek" means simply that it was located (well?) (to the) west of that creek, or to the northwest of it, and therefore also of the railroad, in an area on what was the west edge of the city at that time, an area which was only then being developed, with no streets yet. Perhaps Dr. Mongle was developing an area here as an addition to the city and was selling lots in it.

¹³⁷ A. J. Hill, Edward Bayless, John Person [*sic*], and Allen Graham are named as trustees of the church.

¹³⁸ Deed Book 55, pp. 551-552: one-twentieth of an acre, 50 feet deep with 35 feet of frontage on Main St. The sellers were Henry (or Alfred) Hughes and Alpha Hughes. Apparently the church's trustees were the same 4 men as in 1886, despite some differences in some of the names: Allen Grimes, A. J. Hill, John Pearson, and Edmand [*sic*, but probably should be Edward] Bayless.

¹³⁹ This lot was not on a street corner until the 1930s. In 1888, Whitney St. ended at W. Main St. It did not yet go through to W. Market St. even in the 1930-1931 city directory, but it did in the next city directory, 1935.

¹⁴⁰ Daniels, p. 65; Johnson City's *The Comet*, Oct. 31, 1889, p. 2: "The colored Baptists have just completed a new church on West Main street" – though this was the Colored Christian Church; the "colored Baptists" (Thankful Baptist Church) never had a building on W. Main St.; cf. 1909 Langston annual.

¹⁴¹ Wheeler, p. 1.

¹⁴² Julia Hankal; Julia Wiech Lief, "A Woman of Purpose: Julia B. Nelson," *Minnesota History* 47/8 (Winter 1981), 308.

¹⁴³ Julia Hankal.

¹⁴⁴ Since the two Netherland sisters were schoolteachers, obviously they could read and write, even though it appears that their sister Maria could not.

¹⁴⁵ Julia Hankal.

¹⁴⁶ Julia Hankal.

¹⁴⁷ Martha Wilder Elementary School and Columbus Powell Elementary School, both built in 1892. Smallwood, p. 65; Irwin, p. 526; Stahl, pp. 95 & 96.

¹⁴⁸ Lincoln University, in the southeastern corner of Pennsylvania, near Wilmington, Delaware, was founded in 1854 as Ashmun Institute. It's the oldest degree-granting institution of the Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) in the United States.

¹⁴⁹ *Langston Voice*, 1909, unnumbered pages [3] to [5]; *Langston H. S. 100*, unnumbered pages [5] to [6]; Smallwood, p. 65.

¹⁵⁰ "During the past two years..." *Tennessee School Report 1888*, p. 47. This wording leaves open the possibility that Johnson City and the other two cities listed with it (Gallatin and Morristown) actually organized their school systems in 1887 or even in 1886, but 1888 seems to be the correct year for Johnson City.

¹⁵¹ Julia Hankal.

¹⁵² *Langston Voice*, 1909, p. [3], though Julia Hankal says the assistant was Nelson Fitzgerald; *Langston H. S. 100*, p. [5].

¹⁵³ Oral tradition has it that Mrs. Carson's home was "across the street." This would have to be Main Street. Whitney St. was not continued from Main St. to Market St. until the early 1930s. But it seems doubtful that Mrs. Carson really lived across the street and more likely that she lived on the lot on the west side of this church, which was "Carson's lot" in the church's 1888 deed to its property (Deed Book 55, p. 551). That was only 2 years before this high school class was taught in her house.

¹⁵⁴ Julia Hankal; *Langston Voice*, 1909, p. [3]; Smallwood, p. 65.

¹⁵⁵ *Langston Voice*, 1909, p. [3]; Smallwood, p. 65.

¹⁵⁶ Thankful must have erected this frame building sometime between 1886 and 1891. Possibly closer to the latter year. Both buildings were on the southeast side of Water Street just northeast of Roan Street.

¹⁵⁷ Julia Hankal; Daniels, p. 64. This first building of Thankful Baptist Church was a log structure. It had been erected, apparently, in 1876 or soon after and had later been weatherboarded.

¹⁵⁸ *Langston Voice*, 1909, p. [3].

¹⁵⁹ Smallwood, p. 65.

¹⁶⁰ Johnson City's *The Comet*, Aug. 31, 1893, p. (5), column 2, & Dec. 7, 1893, p. (5), column 2.

¹⁶¹ *The Comet*, Dec. 7, 1893, p. (5), column 2. "On last Monday..." would point to an opening of the new school on Dec. 4. But the earliest memories are that it opened in November (*Langston Voice*, 1909, pp. [3] to [5]; cf. Julia). So it would seem that the previous Monday, Nov. 27, is correct and that the brief report failed to make it into the previous (Nov. 30) edition of *The Comet*, a weekly paper, and that when it did make it in, a week later, no one thought to update the wording to make it accurate.

¹⁶² Julia Hankal; Daniels, p. 39; *Langston Voice*, 1909, p. [7].

¹⁶³ *Langston Voice*, 1909, p. [5].

¹⁶⁴ Daniels, p. 65.

¹⁶⁵ Julia Hankal.

¹⁶⁶ *Langston Voice*, 1909, p. [9]; *Langston Spectator*, 1911, p. 18; *Langston H. S. Annual*, 1912, p. 5; Bulletin of Langston, 1914-1915, p. [4].

¹⁶⁷ Deed Book 83, pp. 406-407.

¹⁶⁸ Year: 1900; Census Place: *Johnson City, Washington, Tennessee*; Page: 4; Enumeration District: 0150; FHL microfilm: 1241604.

¹⁶⁹ The census taker has not entered any house numbers on this page in the column provided for those.

¹⁷⁰ The census taker has changed her age from 52 to 51 – probably because the information on this page was taken on June 4, 1900, before she turned 52 that August

¹⁷¹ Bush, letter, 1.

¹⁷² Sept. 25, 1946 is when the heirs sold “the home property of the late Dr. H. B. Hankal, deceased, and on which the present home residence is now located.” (Deed Book 239, pp. 533-535)

¹⁷³ Wheeler, p. 1.

¹⁷⁴ Mrs. H. R. Ryan, May 18, 1937.

¹⁷⁵ Mary Frances Ervin Jackson shared this memory with the author.

¹⁷⁶ Her obituary names a few descendants of her parents. *Johnson City Press-Chronicle*, July 4, 1963.

¹⁷⁷ Information on the early Hankal and Hale ancestors is from Anna Odell Mays, “The Hale Family,” and Barbara Hale, “Hale Family,” both in *History of Washington County 1988* (Watauga Association of Genealogists, 1988), 354-355; from Robt. Hankal, “History of Hankal Family”; and from Ancestry.com, Search, Member Search, JenHG, Holt Family Tree. Admittedly, complete accuracy is by no means assured.

¹⁷⁸ Robert Hankal says that Meshack Haile, Margaret’s father, was a founding member of Buffalo Ridge Baptist Church (p. 7). That church was founded about 1779 (*Hist. of Wash. Co. 1988*, 69; *Hist. of Wash. Co.* 2001, 930). So that would have to mean that Margaret’s father was living in Tennessee by 1779. He was not. That was at least 3 or 4 years before his daughter Margaret was born in Baltimore, about 19 years before the last birth of a child to him there, and 22 years before Margaret married Herman Hankal there. If, as we’ve concluded, Margaret’s father didn’t arrive in Tennessee until around 1800, he could not have been a founding member. According to Robert Hankal, “Margaret Haile’s ancestors arrived in the area around 1778, and therefore were among the early landowners” (p. 5). But these early Haile landowners who came to Tennessee around 1778 were cousins of Margaret’s father, rather than direct ancestors of Margaret. So while Margaret’s father might have been an early member of Buffalo Ridge Baptist Church, this founding member could only have been his cousin, the first Meshack, as discussed in Appendix I.

Hankal is very persistent, though. He later says: “Margaret’s father, Meshack, was the great-grandson of Nicholas Haile (Hale) who came to the area in 1778, along with a brother-in-law, Reverend Matthew Talbot and they are said to have been instrumental in the founding of Sinking Creek Baptist Church” (p. 8) in neighboring Carter County (still part of Washington County until 1796). That historic church was actually founded about 1775. A decade later, in 1785, one “Meshek Hail” was a deacon of that church (*Hist. of Wash. Co. 1988*, 69). But once again this Meshek could not have been Margaret’s father, who wasn’t here yet in 1785. These two must have been his cousins, Nicholas Haile IV and Nicholas’ brother, the first Meshack Haile. They had both been here at least since 1778. Likewise the Meshack Haile who was an attorney in Washington County in the 1780s (or at least was given Power of Attorney for one William Reeves in 1784, *Hist. of Wash. Co. 1988*, 26 & 460; *Hist. of Wash. Co.* 2001, 572) could not have been her father. Nor was this Nicholas Haile the great-grandfather of her father Meshack. His great-grandfather was Nicholas Haile I. But he of course did not come to this area in 1778 since he had died in 1668. Rather, this must have been Meshack’s cousin Nicholas Haile IV (1724-1807), himself a great-grandson of that first Nicholas Haile and a son of Nicholas Haile III and Ann Long.

As for Margaret’s parents, Meshack and Mary Haile, they were still living in Baltimore until about 1800 – even though various Hale relatives of theirs had been living in Washington County, Tennessee for more than 20 years by then. Margaret was born to them in Baltimore around 1783, Nancy around 1787, Barbara in 1793, and Elizabeth around 1798. Daughter Ara, though, was born to them in Tennessee, most probably in 1801, so they must have moved to Tennessee around 1800. Margaret was about 17 years old then, and she must have stayed behind in Baltimore for some reason, perhaps with relatives, since she and Herman Hankal were married there in 1801, when she was still just 18 years old. Herman and Margaret moved to Tennessee around 1801 (Robt. Hankal, p. 4) or 1802, before daughter Nancy was born to them there, perhaps as early as 1802.

¹⁷⁹ That year they both signed an unsuccessful petition to the state legislature to form a new county, to be named Powell County, out of the northwest corner of Washington County. “Powell County,” unsigned article in *History of Washington County Tennessee 1988*. (Watauga Association of Genealogists, 1988), 28.

¹⁸⁰ As noted in an endnote to the first chapter, various sources give different years between 1802 and 1807 for the birth of their daughter Nancy in Tennessee: About 1802 (Robert Hankal, “A History of the Hankal Family of East Tennessee,” unpublished typescript, 1995-1996, 10). About 1804 (1870 U.S. census). About 1805 (1850 U.S. census). About 1807 (1860 U.S. census). One researcher gives a precise date – which no one else gives: Oct. 2, 1803 (Ancestry.com, Search, Member Search, JenHG, in the Hinkle/Hankal/Henkel family tree portion of Holt Family Tree, in its Profiles of Margaret Hale and Nancy Hankal). But not one of the 3 sources cited to document that date (three U. S. censuses from the mid-nineteenth century) supports it. Rather, they point to 3 different years.

¹⁸¹ Robert Hankal, “A History of the Hankal Family of East Tennessee” (unpublished typescript, 1995-1996), 4, dates it 1801. That was the year of their marriage in Baltimore.

¹⁸² A Profile of Jephtha Hinkle in that online Hinkle/Hankal/Henkel family tree (which contains some correct information and some wrong information) gives his birth year as 1801 with no source citation, no information about his birthplace, and none about the time and place of his death. Robert Hankal says that based on his calculations of the children’s birth years from several decades of U.S. censuses, Jephtha was born about 1820. His mother Margaret would have been about 37 by then. But if Jephtha was only 10 in 1830, he should still have been living with Margaret then. Yet only 1 boy of the right age range for Jephtha (between 10 and 14 in that census) was living with Margaret in 1830 (and no boy between 5 and 9), and that 1 boy has to be her son James C. M. Hankal, who was about 13 then. Robert Hankal didn’t find Jephtha in the 1840 census because he says he couldn’t find the 1840 census. Did he find Jephtha in 1850 and/or 1860? Probably not in 1860, because according to Margaret’s 1861 will, the family no longer knew where Jephtha was by then, and apparently hadn’t been able to find him for some time. So Robert must have found Jephtha in only one census, 1850, at age 30. But even if that’s so, age 30, and consequently 1820 for his birth, must be wrong. If Jephtha was born about 1801 instead of 1820, that would explain his absence from Margaret’s household in the earliest census we have of her, 1830, because by 1830 he was about 29 years old, rather than 10, and hence was surely living on his own somewhere else.

¹⁸³ As noted in previous endnotes, various sources give different years for Nancy Hankal’s birth: Oct. 2, 1803 (Profiles of Margaret Hale and Nancy Hankal in the online Hinkle/Hankal/Henkel family tree). About 1802 (Robert Hankal, “A History of the Hankal Family of East Tennessee” (unpublished typescript, 1995-1996), 10). About 1804 (1870 U.S. census). About 1805 (1850 U.S. census). About 1807 (1860 U.S. census).

¹⁸⁴ Elizabeth had a daughter, Mary C. Hankal, born in 1834.

¹⁸⁵ The Profile of Margaret Hankle in the online Hinkle/Hankal/Henkel family tree indicates that she was born May 12, 1818 in Tennessee, citing documentation for that date under Margaret Collins, wife of Peter S. Collins, in the U.S. Find a Grave Index, 1600s–Current. However, the other sources cited in that Profile for the year of her birth do not agree with that date. They suggest that she was born about 1813 (1850, 1860, and 1880 U.S. censuses) or in 1824 (1870 U.S. census) – though that late a time is surely wrong. Also, Robert Hankal says that she was born about 1812 (p. 10). He must have found Margaret Hankal Collins in a later census and calculated backward from her age as given there. I don't know which if any of these sources is correct about her age or birth year.

¹⁸⁶ Peter and Margaret Collins had 3 daughters and 4 sons.

¹⁸⁷ Whether he appeared in the 1820 census is not known. Apparently the records of the Washington County portion of that census have not survived.

¹⁸⁸ Deed Book 17, p. 325.

¹⁸⁹ Note appended at end of the 1820 Indenture.

¹⁹⁰ One or two sources say 1824, but since a January 20, 1824 deed (see the following) shows that he was “Deceased” by January 20 of that year, he almost certainly died in 1823. Either of those two years fits perfectly with other details we know in connection with his death. Another source says he died in 1850, but the 1824 deed rules that out.

¹⁹¹ Deed Book 17, pp. 444–445, probated at January sessions of county court 1825.

¹⁹² The land was conveyed to John Hair and his wife Ara. John and Ara were “an heir or heirs of Sd. [said] Mesheck Hale Deceased,” which clearly implies that Ara Hair was a daughter and heir of Mesheck Hale. This deed conveys 100 acres, more or less, “with Improvements thereon,” to John and Ara Hair, “a portion of Land heretofore had and received Titles for from the sd. Mesheck Hale Deceased, in his Lifetime Given to us as our portion of his Landed Estate.” (The spellings Mesheck, Meshech, Meseck, and Meshek all occur in this deed.) No price is named for the transaction, so this is not a sale. It's essentially a Quit Claim Deed to land to which Hale had already given the Hairs title before he died, a deed to give the Hairs clear and exclusive title to the ownership of land that was already essentially theirs, in view of the potential complication of any possible future claim to joint ownership by Hale's other five heirs named in this deed or their heirs.

¹⁹³ On the other hand, in view of the nature of the situation described in this deed, it might not have taken terribly long for all of Mesheck Hale's heirs to agree on this solution as the only fair one. Still, this deed from so early in 1824 is sufficient evidence that Meshach Hale must have died before the end of 1823.

¹⁹⁴ Meshack's daughters and sons-in-law named in the will, along with his son Zachariah Hale (no spouse mentioned) and John and Ara Hair, are Margrett Hinkle, Isham and Nancy Matlock, Ransom and Barbara Matlock, and Thomas and Elizabeth Grisham. In an interesting insight into the level of literacy in the community at the time, only 3 of these signed their names to the deed: Zachariah Hale, Nancy Matlock, and Thomas Grisham. Each of the other 5 signed with “her mark” or “his mark,” an indication that they could not write their names: **Margrett Hinkle**, Isham Matlock, Ransom and Barbara Matlock, and Elizabeth Grisham. (John and Ara Hair did not need to sign.)

¹⁹⁵ Someone based this conclusion about the latest year for Herman Hankal's death on an identical naming of all of Meshach's sons-in-law except Herman Hankal in Meshach's will. But it appears that no such will ever existed, or if it did, that it never got recorded at the courthouse or probated. We have not been able to find any trace of it. It was not found in the records of Washington County or in *Tennessee, Wills and Probate Records, 1779-2008* or on Amazon.com. Rather, this deed must be the source of this information.

¹⁹⁶ Another source says Mary Carroll Buckingham Hale died in 1807.

¹⁹⁷ Bush, letter, 6.

¹⁹⁸ Robert Hankal, “A History of the Hankal Family of East Tennessee” (unpublished typescript, 1995-1996), 12.

¹⁹⁹ Roger E. Sappington, *The Brethren in Tennessee and Alabama* (self-published, 1988), 55. Dr. Sappington was a professor at Bridgewater College in Bridgewater, Virginia. Cf. Shirley Spire, “Church of the Brethren,” in *History of Washington County Tennessee*, ed. Joyce and W. Eugene Cox (Johnson City, Tennessee: The Overmountain Press, 2001), 995.

²⁰⁰ *Replevin* is recovery of goods by the person claiming to own them, upon the person's giving security to try the matter in court and return the goods if defeated.

²⁰¹ Above Hezekiah's name, Ferguson has squeezed in “Silas Archer next” without the word “friend.” It's becoming clear that the plaintiff who really matters is Hezekiah, at least in the view of this justice of the peace, whatever disabilities for suing in court the law and practice at that time may have placed on a Colored person.

²⁰² Silas Archer and Jeriel D. Archer probably lived close to Margaret's farm, since the ridge of knobs that hides Margaret's farm from Hairetown Road is named Archer Ridge. As near neighbors they surely knew both Margaret and Hezekiah well.

²⁰³ It summons Martha C. Buckingham and Thomas F. Buckenham [*sic*] to testify in County Court (Judicial) on behalf of J. C. M. Hankle in a case against him by Margaret Hankle. We have not identified Martha. She was not Thomas' wife, at least not in the census taken the previous year. His wife then was Susannah. That census records a daughter of his named Martha, age 13 then. But would she have been summoned to testify in court at age 14?

²⁰⁴ Deed Book 38, pp. 156-157. Might William K. Hale have been a relative of Margaret Hale Hankal?

²⁰⁵ Memories I collected in the 1990s and around 2000 from Louise Bridwell (Marjorie Louise Gillespie Bridwell) and Elmer Gillespie, two of the last surviving members of Lane Memorial Christian Church, and from Bill Bridwell Jr., Ruth Broyles, and John Wesley Taylor.

²⁰⁶ In the early decades of the twentieth century, George Gillespie and Mrs. Alonzo Fowler and more than one Rollins family still lived there. (I believe there was more than one George Gillespie.) Information from John Wesley Taylor, personal communication, January 16, 2000. Local Christian Church historian Mary Hardin McCown says this church was located about 2 miles northeast of Washington College. That would seem to point to a location somewhere slightly southwest of Telford, Tennessee, but this location is probably wrong. Since Mrs. McCown doesn't mention Telford, perhaps she meant “northwest” instead of “northeast.” That's an easy substitution to make unconsciously, especially in handwriting, and to fail to catch. “Northwest” of Washington College would agree in general with Mr. Taylor's location on Washington College Station Road, but more like 1 mile northwest than Mrs. McCown's 2 miles.

²⁰⁷ General location corroborated by former member Marjorie Louise Gillespie Bridwell.

²⁰⁸ Later the present owner of the property, Bill West, took me to the exact site (September 9, 1999).

²⁰⁹ John Wesley Taylor, personal communication, January 16, 2000.

²¹⁰ Deed Book 49, p. 517.

²¹¹ It worshiped at its next location, on Gravel Hill Road, for about 3 years, during World War I, according to John Wesley Taylor, personal communication, October 26, 1999.

²¹² John Wesley Taylor showed me this location, October 26, 1999.

- ²¹³ [Marjorie Louise Gillespie Bridwell], "A Brief History of Lane Memorial Christian Church Washington College Tenn.," not dated, an unsigned 2-page handwritten document. The writer was almost certainly Mrs. Bridwell, one of the last surviving members of this church, because in her last sentence she testifies: "After marriage moved my membership to the Bethel Christian Church in Jonesboro, Tenn."
- ²¹⁴ John Wesley Taylor, personal communications, October 20, 1999 and January 16, 2000.
- ²¹⁵ Deed Book 133, p. 347. The deed is dated 1918. The month and day are not filled in, but the trustees of the county Board of Education acknowledged to the county court clerk on April 6, 1918 that they had executed the document, and the Register of Deeds received it for registration June 3, 1918.
- ²¹⁶ Ruth Broyles (who was White), personal communications to author, October 22, 1999. She says that McAllister Colored School closed about 1927 or 1928. She attended high school in nearby Washington College Academy and graduated from that school in 1931. In some periods the building served as the home of a Black lady and her son. White people in the area remember that this lady made a living by taking in laundry, and they could remember often seeing her walking along the highway to pick up and deliver laundry.
- ²¹⁷ Photo #31 in its collection.
- ²¹⁸ John Wesley Taylor, personal communication, January 16, 2000. No one knows who the Lane was which the church's name memorializes. That surname has not turned up in any information that has surfaced about this church. Perhaps this Lane person was someone who did not live in this community.
- ²¹⁹ Charles M. Bennett, *Washington County Tennessee Tombstone Inscriptions* (Nashville: Watauga Association of Genealogists, 1978), 2:180.
- ²²⁰ Mary Sue Going and James T. Dykes, "Methodist," *History of Washington County Tennessee 1988* (Watauga Association of Genealogists, 1988), 80.
- ²²¹ Ned L. Irwin, "Education," *History of Washington County Tennessee* (Johnson City, Tennessee: The Overmountain Press, 2001), 520.
- ²²² The building's cornerstone at its northeast corner, now hidden by the entrance structure which was added to the front of the building sometime around the year 2000, bears the date April 15, 1919.
- ²²³ Mary Hardin McCown, "The Early History of the Christian Church in East Tennessee," *East Tennessee Christian* (June 1966): 2.
- ²²⁴ "Celebrating 125 Years of Bringing Jesus to Jonesborough," souvenir booklet, October 13, 1991, p. [3]. The "brief history" in this booklet, pp. [3] to [5], is accurate in the main, but it does contain errors.
- ²²⁵ Marjorie Louise Gillespie Bridwell, personal communication, September 2, 1994.
- ²²⁶ There may be an explanation of the use of the outdated name Slaty Grove Church still in a 1919 deed. Possibly it was used simply because that earlier name of this congregation was the name which had appeared on its lost deed and the name by which it had been known in the neighborhood in which it was selling that land – the neighborhood in which its earlier building had been located. Further, the 1919 deed may refer to C. D. Gillespie as the only living trustee, even though the church by now had 4 additional trustees, simply because he was the only one of them who had been a trustee of the church in its former location on Slaty Hill and the only one named in the lost deed to its quarter-acre lot who was still living.
- ²²⁷ [Bridwell], "Brief History."
- ²²⁸ McCown, "Early History," 2, which adds: "He claimed to have baptized over 1300 converts." She also adds the tiny rural communities of Locust Mount in Washington County and Horse Creek in Sullivan County.
- ²²⁹ [Bridwell], "Brief History."
- ²³⁰ If I've lined up the names with the offices correctly from her somewhat confusing account.
- ²³¹ John Wesley Taylor, personal communication, October 26, 1999.
- ²³² Based on Elmer Gillespie's recollections shared with me in April 2001. Louise Bridwell guessed possibly as much as a decade later, but Mr. Gillespie's calculations, correlated with when he was in high school, seemed more convincing. He did believe, though, that the May Meetings continued to be held there for several years after regular weekly services there ended, so possibly into the 1950s.
- ²³³ Posted on Genealogy.com under "Netherland Family Genealogy Forum," quoting from Muriel Spoden's 2 books on the Netherland family.
- ²³⁴ Ruth Claytor Marsh and Margaret C. Woodbury, "Virginia Kaleidoscope" (self-published, 1994), 329-331, 367-370, 380 (contains many errors and some confusion, but much helpful information); other sources in Rogersville and at Netherland Inn.
- ²³⁵ Historical marker outside Swift Museum there.
- ²³⁶ Ancestry.com. Maggie's death certificate makes her birth year 1881, but that's impossible because she was already 7 years old in 1880. Her sister Freddie Charlotte Hankal was born in 1881.
- ²³⁷ Marsh & Woodbury, "Virginia Kaleidoscope," 368.
- ²³⁸ *The Langston High School Annual: Carnation* (1912), 21; cf. *Bulletin of Langston* (1914-1915), [14].
- ²³⁹ *The Langston High School Annual: Carnation* (1912), 21.
- ²⁴⁰ *Bulletin of Langston* (1914-1915), [14].
- ²⁴¹ Allendorf an der Lumda in Hesse, the German state of Hessen, is a village on the Lumda River north of Frankfurt am Main between Giessen and Marburg.
- ²⁴² Darmstadt, once the capital of Hesse (of the old grand duchy of Hessen), is between Mannheim and Frankfurt am Main.
- ²⁴³ Hesse-Nassau was part of the former grand duchy of Hessen. Merenberg is a market community northwest of Frankfurt am Main, between Weilburg and Limburg an der Lahn. Located there are the ruins of the family castle of the House of Merenberg, a noble family back in the 1100s and 1200s.
- ²⁴⁴ Probably not Kirchhain. Kirchhain is in Hessen, not in Baden, and is a long way from Daudenzell, a village between Heidelberg and Heilbronn a little west of Mosbach in the former grand duchy of Baden. Or might Kirchhain be a mistake for Kirchheim, a village just outside the city of Heidelberg which became part of that city in 1920? This village was in Baden.
- ²⁴⁵ Children of the Rev. Antony Jacob Henckel and Maria Elisabeth Dentzle: Johann Nicolaus Henckel (born Feb. 19, 1693, Eschelbronn, a village a little southwest of Daudenzell, a little southeast of Heidelberg, Rhein-Neckar-Kreis [District], Baden-Württemberg; he died the same year, May 14, in Heidelberg, Germany). (Apparently no children were born to this couple during the next 8 years, 1693 to 1701, or none who survived. Or possibly some daughters? Were there perhaps some miscarriages or stillbirths or infant deaths in those years?) Georg Rudolphus Henckel (born Oct. 19, 1701, Daudenzell, Mosbach, Baden; died Sept. 11, 1803, Winchester, Frederick County, Virginia). Johan Justus Henckel Sr. (born Feb. 10, 1706, in Daudenzell; died Aug. 1, 1778, in German Valley, Morris County, New Jersey). Jacob Antonius Henckel (born July 9, 1709, in Daudenzell; died Jan. 21, 1750, [Germantown?], Pennsylvania).
- ²⁴⁶ Robt. Hankal, "History of Hankal Family," 5 & 12.
- ²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 2.
- ²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 12. Hankal's "Wuttemberg" must surely be a mistake for Wuerttemberg (Württemberg), a large region in southwestern Germany around Stuttgart, now grouped together with Baden, an elongated region along the east side of the Rhein River – the area around Karlsruhe and Freiburg. The Palatine region (German: the Pfalz) lies immediately north and northwest of Baden. It's the region around Heidelberg, Mannheim, Ludwigshafen, Frankenthal, Kaiserslautern, Landau, and Speyer. But historically the Palatine consisted of a bewildering array of scattered fragmented territories, some of them very

small, that belonged to the Count Palatinate. In some periods, Palatine territory also included a large detached region in northeastern Bavaria adjacent to Bohemia, today's Czechia, but people from that region are not in mind when reference is made to immigrants from the Palatinate to America.

²⁴⁹ A different source states that Jacob Antonius Henkel and Anna Margaretha married in Germany – in Steinberg Ort, Oberhessen, Hesse-Darmstadt. But Pennsylvania seems more likely. If 1717 is indeed the year that Jacob's parents brought their family to America, it seems unlikely that they would have left 8-year-old Jacob behind in Germany and that at some unknown later time he and his wife would have come to America after marrying in Germany in 1732.

²⁵⁰ Children of Jacob Antonius and Anna Margaretha Henkel: John Justus (born Apr. 18, 1733, New Hanover, Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania; died Oct. 18, 1816, Hanover? Beaver County? Pennsylvania). Anthony Jacob (born Sept. 10, 1735, New Hanover; died 1814, Abbotts Creek, Rowan County, North Carolina). Mary Barbara (born Feb. 12, 1737, New Hanover; died Sept. 4, 1817, Germantown). Philip (born Mar. 3, 1739, Germantown, Pennsylvania; died May 15, 1814, Plumstead, Bucks County, Pennsylvania). Charles (born Apr. 10, 1741, Germantown; died 1793, Rowan County, North Carolina). Peter (born June 3, 1743, Germantown; died Oct. 19, 1775, Salisbury, Rowan County, North Carolina). Michael (born May 4, 1745, Germantown; died 1790, Salisbury, Rowan County, North Carolina). Henry (born Oct. 30, 1747, Germantown; died 1812, Germantown). Benjamin (born Mar. 29, 1751, Germantown; died 1827 in Lincoln County, Tennessee).

²⁵¹ Children of Peter and Salome Hartman Hinkle: Anthony (born 1768, Germantown; died 1838, Robertson County, Tennessee). Mary (born Oct. 13, 1769, Elberts Creek, Rowan County, North Carolina). Herman (born 1775, Rowan County, North Carolina). And possibly Peter (born Feb. 10, 1776, Abbotts Creek, Rowan County, North Carolina).

²⁵² One source says that Salome Hartman Hinkle died in 1775. That was the year she bore her son Herman, raising the possibility that she died in childbirth, though that would not explain why her husband Peter died the same year. Of some disease perhaps? Another source says she bore another son the next year, named Peter (after his recently deceased father?), Feb. 10, 1776, at Abbotts Creek, Rowan County, North Carolina. If that source is right, might she have died giving birth to this child or soon after?

²⁵³ Their uncles Anthony Jacob Hinkle, Charles Hinkle, and Michael Hinkle were still living in Rowan County, North Carolina in 1775, and all three died there.

²⁵⁴ Robt. Hankal, "History," 5.

²⁵⁵ Ancestry.com, Search, Member Search, JenHG, Hinkle/Hankal/Henkel family tree portion of Holt Family Tree. According to all the information on this site, Herman Hankle's only brothers were named Anthony and Peter. Anthony Hinkle, born 1768 in Germantown, Pennsylvania, did come to Tennessee. Two of his children, Peter and Nancy, were born somewhere in Tennessee, in 1801 and 1807 respectively, and then a son, Andrew J. Hinkle, was born in 1816 in Robertson County (north of Nashville). Puzzlingly, though, the 1810 census shows Anthony living in Rowan County, North Carolina. The 1820 census shows him living in Robertson County, Tennessee, where he died in 1838. But there's no hint on this website whether he ever lived in Washington County. Herman's brother Peter Hinkle II was born Feb. 10, 1776 at Abbotts Creek, Rowan County, North Carolina (near Salisbury). He and his wife Amelia Clodfelter lived in Nashville, Tennessee, at least from 1806 to 1816: Five of their children were born there during those years. They had a total of 7 sons, nephews of Herman, but none named George or Benjamin or Abner. Peter and Amelia later moved their family to Missouri. Peter died Sept. 22, 1833 in Cape [meaning Cape Girardeau?] County, Missouri. Herman did have an uncle named Benjamin Hinkle, a brother of his father Peter Hinkle and the youngest son of his grandparents, Jacob Antony and Anna Margaretha Henckel, born 1751 in Germantown, Pennsylvania. He did come to Tennessee: He died in Lincoln County, Tennessee (well west of Chattanooga on the Alabama state line) in 1827. But that was 3 years before this 1830 census and there's no hint on this website whether he ever lived in Washington County. Benjamin had one son that we know of, Joseph. Jacob Antony and Anna Margaretha Henckel did have 6 other sons – uncles of Herman Hankal – but none named George or Abner, and there's no hint on this website whether any of them ever came to Tennessee.

²⁵⁶ Ancestry.com, Search, Member Search, JenHG, Hinkle/Hankal/Henkel family tree portion of Holt Family Tree.

²⁵⁷ Why Ben Hankle was buried in the little Krouse cemetery is a puzzle in itself. Might this suggest a death date later than 1830? If he was still living in 1830 but not at Margaret's place, maybe he died without issue in the later 1830s or in the 1840s, when he was in his twenties and perhaps had not yet married. Maybe he died after 1836, the year his putative brother James C. M. Hankal married Susannah Bowman Krouse, she having buried her first husband in Krouse cemetery in 1834. Or if he died before 1830, it's even conceivable, however unlikely it seems, that his remains were reinterred in this cemetery after 1836.

²⁵⁸ Robt. Hankal, "History," 13.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 14; Ancestry.com, Search, Member Search, JenHG, Hinkle/Hankal/Henkel family tree portion of Holt Family Tree.

²⁶⁰ Various sources say 1620 or 1630.

²⁶¹ Barbara Hale, "Hale Family," *History of Washington County Tennessee 1988* (Watauga Association of Genealogists, 1988), 355; "George Haile, The Immigrant," *The Hennessee Family Genealogy Pages*, www.thehennesseefamily.com. These Hennessee pages contain numerous errors, as noted there by some of their contributors (including a complaint about sloppy genealogy work), and more than once they confuse two or more individuals who had the same name.

²⁶² Children of Nicholas Haile II: Nicholas III (born Jan. 2, 1702, Baltimore). Mary (born Jan. 31, 1703, Baltimore). Millicent (born 1711, Baltimore). Sabina (born 1715). Hannah (born 1716, Baltimore). Anne (born 1716, Baltimore – a twin? or later that year?). Neal (born 1718). George (born Dec. 21, 1718 or 1712, Baltimore). Henry (born Mar. 25, 1721, Baltimore).

²⁶³ Ancestry.com, Search, Member Search, JenHG, Haile/Hale family tree portion of Holt Family Tree, Profile of Nicholas Haile (1702-1747).

²⁶⁴ Children of Nicholas Haile III and Ann (Long) Haile: Nicholas IV (1724-1807 [or 1824?]). Susanna (1727-____?). Mary (1730-1785). Ann (1732-1769). Shadrack ("Shadrack Haile Sr.," born Sept. 7, 1735, St. Paul Protestant Episcopal Church Parish, Baltimore; died January 30, 1814, Washington County, Tennessee or else 1812, Davidson County, Tennessee – if that wasn't a different Shadrack Haile). Meshack (1738-1813). Abednego (1741-____?). Elizabeth (1743-____?). John (1743-1810). I don't know whether Elizabeth and John, born the same year, were twins. For the names Shadrack, Meshack, and Abednego, compare Daniel 2:49 and 3:12-30. Logically one would expect that three sons bearing these names would have been born in that order, and such was the case here.

These were Nicholas' sons. He and his sons began to settle in Tennessee as early as the mid-1770s, whereas George and his identically named sons (next endnote) were evidently still in Maryland until about 1800. The names of all five of Nicholas' sons are duplicated among George's sons – if the information on that online Haile/Hale family tree can be trusted – and this has been a major source of confusion. Two details in that information do look suspicious, though: It gives the same year for the births of both cousins named Shadrack, 1735, and the same year for the births of both cousins named Meshack, 1738 – even though their fathers' ages were apparently 16 years apart. And the years given for the births of both cousins named Abednego are fairly close too: 1741 and 1745.

²⁶⁵ Children of George and Elizabeth (Chaffinch) Haile: Joseph and John, twins (born Sept. 13, 1734). George Haile II (born Feb. 16, 1735, Baltimore). [Shadrack? (____?)?, ____? – died 1809? Washington County, Tennessee?]. Frances (born 1737 [or 1742? possibly a twin of Sarah?], Baltimore). Meshack (supposedly born Aug. 19, 1738, St. Paul Protestant Episcopal Church Parish, Baltimore, though the year is immediately suspect, being identical with that of Meshack's cousin Meshack; maybe this Meshack wasn't born until around 1740 or after). Nicholas (born 1739? [or 1762?!]). Sarah (born 1742 [a twin of Frances?]). Abednego (born Aug. 12, 1745, St. Pauls, Baltimore). Elizabeth (born Jan. 26, 1746, St. Pauls, Baltimore). Henry (born Jan. 1750 or 1751, St. Pauls, Baltimore). Ancestry.com, Search, Member Search, JenHG, Haile/Hale family tree portion of Holt Family Tree.

It looks as if George and Elizabeth Haile were copying a naming idea from Nicholas and Ann Haile. I have posited a Shadrack among the sons of George and Elizabeth even though I have found no confirmation of the existence of one. But the logic of the three biblical names would seem to demand that a Shadrack was born before Meshack. Possibly there was such a Shadrack but he died young. Or perhaps one of the two places and dates of death given for his cousin Shadrack in the endnote above for the children of Nicholas III and Ann is actually correct for this Shadrack instead. Still, in this family a son Nicholas (a fifth Nicholas Hale) was born between Meshack and Abednego, and Abednego wasn't born until 7 years after Meshack – if all this information is reliable. Perhaps George and Elizabeth forgot the naming pattern when their Nicholas was born but remembered it again when their Abednego was born! Or perhaps George suddenly had the thought that he'd like to honor the name of his father and grandfather and brother with another Nicholas in the family.

Interestingly, Amazon.com does contain a Profile of a Shadrack Hale whom it indeed shows as a son of George Hale (1712-1788) and Elizabeth Chattinch (about 1715 to after 1748): [Ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/113807571/person/270120889776/facts](https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/113807571/person/270120889776/facts). (Actually, George Hale was probably born in 1718, Dec. 21, rather than in 1712.) This Profile places Shadrack's birth between 1740 and 1748 and guesses that he was born in Virginia or North Carolina (no mention of Maryland), and it places his death around 1803, guessing that he died in Washington County, Tennessee. Some of its contents seem to match up fairly well with information from our other sources about the family of George and Elizabeth while at other points it conflicts with our information about them and seems to match up better with the identically named sons of Nicholas and Ann. Thus, it lists brothers of this Shadrack as Abednego (born 1745 in Virginia), Mesheck (born 1747? in Virginia or North Carolina or Maryland?), and Nicholas (born 1748? in Virginia or North Carolina?). Its contributor was obviously uncertain about numerous dates and places and so placed question marks in front of a number of them. However, it differs sharply with our information on the dates and the order of birth of the sons of Nicholas and Ann (who apparently did move from Baltimore to Lunenburg, Virginia): Nicholas IV (born 1724), Shadrack (born 1735), Meshack (born 1738), Abednego (born 1741), and John (born 1743). (It doesn't mention John.) On the other hand, it also differs wildly with our information about a couple of the birth years of sons of George and Elizabeth: Meshack (born 1738 – though its date in the 1740s for his birth strikes me as much more likely than 1738, as I've explained) and Nicholas V (born 1739). Yet it gives the exact year we have for the birth of Abednego, 1745, whereas the year we have for the birth of Nicholas' and Ann's Abednego is 1741. Besides, it fails even to mention four of the sons of George and Elizabeth: Joseph, John, George II, and Henry. So this source seems unreliable. It looks like the result of a lot of guesswork. It contains careless inaccuracies as well, e.g. giving the name of Mesheck Hale's wife as Mary Carl Buckingham, a mistake for Carroll. But it correctly names their daughter Nancy Ellen and correctly gives her birth year as 1787, though without so much as naming any of their other 4 daughters or their son.

This Profile lists several matters from the life of this Shadrack Hale between 1778 and 1790 which tie him to the area of Washington County, Tennessee. It says he moved to the Watauga Settlement there from Virginia in 1778 and shows him as buying lands in today's Washington and Greene Counties totaling in the end over 900 acres, including the area around Hale Springs and Hale Cemetery at the head of Lick Creek (which it calls Licking Creek, possibly by confusion with the Licking River in northern Kentucky). This area is a little south of Fall Branch, Tennessee. I deal with these land purchases in a subsequent endnote about Shadrach/Shadreck Hale. I'm unsure which Shadrack Hale this was, but I'm inclined to doubt that it was George and Elizabeth's Shadrack even if they did have a son by this name.

It certainly looks like the person who contributed this Profile has confused various details from the lives of two different Hale cousins named Shadrach as well as other identically named Hale cousins of the families of Nicholas and Ann Hale and George and Elizabeth Hale and has also merely estimated quite a few of the years and places here. It's doubtful that we can rely on any of the information in this Profile. Still, if anything, it just might possibly undergird an assumption that George and Elizabeth did indeed have a son named Shadrach after all, and possibly even that he lived into adulthood. How else can we account for what seems like a curious and confused jumble of details from the lives of two different families?

²⁶⁶ Anna Odell Mays, "The Hale Family," *History of Washington County Tennessee 1988* (Watauga Association of Genealogists, 1988), 354-355. Cf. p. 28 for a Mashack Hale Sr. and a Mashack Hale Jr.

²⁶⁷ Mays, "The Hale Family," 354-355; cf. Robt. Hankal, p. 8.

²⁶⁸ Not his great-grandfather, the first Nicholas, as Robert Hankal has it, p. 8.

²⁶⁹ Mays, "The Hale Family," 355.

²⁷⁰ One can find images of the county's handwritten records of countless early deeds online, but I relied on transcriptions of them in Lorraine Rae, *Washington County, Tennessee. Deeds, 1775-1800* (Greenville, South Carolina: Southern Historical Press, 1991). The very earliest of these deeds, however, does not appear there. Rather, it's noted on a very helpful but partial map ("Plat of Watauga Old Fields, First Land Owners"). It's the 1778 purchase noted below. These deeds often record the price paid (in Rae's shorthand, the "CONS": the Consideration) – in whatever monetary system was current in the area at the time.

²⁷¹ North Carolina Warrant 349, Land Grant 216.

²⁷² As shown on the above mentioned "Plat of Watauga Old Fields, First Land Owners."

²⁷³ Washington County's famous Old Book A, pp. 289-290, North Carolina Warrant (hereafter: NC) #182 (Rae's p. 34).

²⁷⁴ Old Book A, pp. 425-426, NC #688 (Rae's p. 59).

²⁷⁵ Deed Book E, pp. 176-177 (Rae's p. 117).

²⁷⁶ Seventeen acres on the "Wattauga" River, Sept. 30, 1795 (Deed Book 7, pp. 335-336; Rae's p. 168) and (1) 331 acres on the "Watahag" River along with (2) 18 acres on Lick Creek, both parcels on Sept. 15, 1795, both to John Haile/Hail (Deed Book 7, pp. 354-356; Rae's p. 169).

²⁷⁷ A January 20, 1824 deed includes the names of Meshach's heirs. Deed Book 17, pp. 444-445, probated at January sessions of county court 1825.

²⁷⁸ Ancestry.com contains information about numerous men in the United States with variants of the name Meshach Hale from the 1700s into the 1900s. A few of these lived in Washington County and a few others might have, at least part of their lives, and then moved farther west. Some settled in other Tennessee counties, and some moved on west across the Mississippi River, settling especially in Arkansas and Missouri and Iowa.

²⁷⁹ "Powell County," unsigned article in *History of Washington County Tennessee 1988*. (Watauga Association of Genealogists, 1988), 28.

²⁸⁰ Nicholas Hail purchased 300 acres and another 640 acres, both on Sinking Creek, both on Oct. 24, 1782. Old Book A, pp. 266 & 271-272, NC #287 & #284 (Rae's p. 33). Then (1) 200 acres "in the forks of Sinking Creek" and (2) yet another 200 acres on Sinking Creek, both adjacent to his other land, both on Aug. 7, 1787. Old Book A, pp. 381-384, NC #786 & #770 (Rae's p. 58). Thus, he ended up owning 1340 acres along Sinking Creek. Then on Feb. 13, 1792 Nicolas Hale/Haile Senr. sold (virtually gave – out of his love and goodwill and for a mere 5 shillings) 200 acres of his grant to his son Nicolas Hale Junr. Deed Book 4, pp. 254-255 (Rae's p. 95).

Once again, which Sinking Creek? Which one has a prominent fork? Both of them do! The only prominent fork of the Washington & Carter County Sinking Creek, the one that flows past Sinking Creek Baptist Church, is the fork formed by the confluence of what's now called Catbird Creek with Sinking Creek. The Washington & Sullivan County Sinking Creek, west and northwest of Gray, Tennessee actually has two prominent forks: where Ford Creek flows into it (over a mile north-northwest of Gray) and where Red River [*sic!*] flows into it (about 1¼ miles west of Gray). Of the two Sinking Creeks, this one strikes me as less likely because 1) most of the land in these two forks is much steeper and therefore less desirable to a first claimant than the land where Catbird Creek flows into the other Sinking Creek, the creek that gave its name to the historic Baptist church; 2) the lower course of the Baptist Church's Sinking Creek is within the area of the Watauga Settlement, one of the oldest settlements in Upper East Tennessee, whereas the Washington & Sullivan County Sinking Creek is nowhere near it; 3) although more than one Nicholas Hale lived in Upper East Tennessee in the early decades (one was

Nicholas Hale Jr.), this one is the one who is said to have settled in the Watauga settlement; and 4) this Nicholas Hale is surely the one who, with the Reverend Matthew Talbot, was involved in establishing Sinking Creek Baptist Church.

So my hunch is that Nicholas' "plantation" was along the Sinking Creek at the Watauga Settlement. Then the mouth of Catbird Creek well upstream from there, if that's the correct location of one of his holdings, would place those 200 acres in the area where today's U.S. 321/S.R. 67 freeway passes under the old East Tennessee and Western North Carolina (ET & WNC) Railroad overpass, which now serves to convey users of the Tweetsie Trail across the freeway. It looks to me as if Nicholas' claims may have encompassed the rolling but relatively level land from today's Pine Oaks Golf Course downstream to, or most of the way to, the Watauga River.

²⁸¹ Shadreck Hail purchased (1) 200 acres "on Lick Creek and Kindricks Creek," Nov. 10, 1784, NC #607; (2) 300 acres on the north fork of Limestone Fork of Lick Creek "including the head spring," Oct. 26, 1786, NC #739; and (3) 100 acres on Lick Creek "at a place called the long hollow branch of Clear Creek" adjacent to his former survey, also Oct. 26, 1786, NC #695. All 3 parcels are combined on pp. 384-389 in Old Book A (Rae's p. 58).

The descriptions here, though meager, are enough to locate Shadrach's lands rather precisely. The first of these parcels may have lain somewhere in the bi-county area between the headwaters of Lick Creek and Kendrick Creek, the area around Haws Crossroads, south of Fall Branch village at the junction of State Routes 81 and 93. I don't see how it's possible, though, to find 200 acres that would touch even just the headwaters of both of these creeks – except by regarding what's now called Clear Creek as a branch of Lick Creek, which it is. But the deed's description of the third parcel here clearly does exactly that. Kendrick Creek rises in Washington County roughly 4 miles south of Fall Branch. It flows northeast into Sullivan County, through Colonial Heights, and into the South Holston River (nowadays Fort Patrick Henry Lake). Lick Creek rises in the northeast corner of Greene County only about a mile southwest of Fall Branch. It flows a long way southwest, entirely in Greene County and generally not too far from the route of Interstate 81, before emptying into the Nolichucky River. Its tributary Clear Creek rises in Washington County very close to the sources of Kendrick Creek and flows west into Greene County, emptying into Lick Creek about a mile west of Jearoldstown. All this defines the right general area. And the deed just might mean no more than that this 200-acre parcel lay somewhere within that general area, not necessarily that it included any frontage on either Lick Creek or Kendrick Creek, not even touching a single one of their sources.

As for the location of the second parcel here, possibly Lick Creek's Limestone Fork as well as its north fork with its "head spring" are a couple of the uppermost sources of Lick Creek east of Lovelace village along the county line which are unlabeled on the United States Geological Survey (USGS) topographic map (7.5 minute series, Lovelace Quadrangle). These and their "head springs" are all located on the Greene County side of the line, with 2 tiny exceptions. If the deed means these small streams, then these 300 acres, or part of them, were located in today's Greene County, though it was still Washington County, North Carolina, back then. Limestone Fork might even have been the designation of all of Lick Creek above the mouth of Clear Creek in 1784. My guess is that this second parcel adjoined Shadrach's first parcel on the north.

The third parcel here refers to a "long hollow branch of Clear Creek." A long south branch flows into Clear Creek from the east at Cedar Lane in northeastern Greene County. It's unlabeled on the next USGS quadrangle to the south, the Jearoldstown Quadrangle. One stretch of this branch does indeed flow through a long narrow fairly straight hollow, which the quad labels Good Hollow. This hollow runs northeast to southwest for about 1½ miles, most of its length on the Washington County side of the county line. (About half of its length is on the next USGS quad east, the Leesburg Quad.) There's a good chance that this tributary was the long hollow branch and that its long hollow was simply not named Good Hollow yet in 1784. If so, Shadrach's third parcel probably included at least the upstream (northeast) end of the hollow in Washington County.

There's a Hale Spring about one half mile north of this hollow, across a ridge from it, nearly one half mile east of the Greene County line. It stands to reason that this spring was named for some member of the Hale family who had some connection with it and probably owned it. Shadrach Hale perhaps? Or some descendant of his? It's hard to imagine that a parcel of only 100 acres could have encompassed both this spring and any part of Good Hollow. More likely that 100-acre parcel ran north-northeast from the upstream end of that hollow toward the sources of Kendrick Creek. Possibly even beyond today's State Route 81 there, but probably more to the north and not that far to the northeast. But that parcel may have adjoined Shadrach's previous acquisitions in the area. My guess is that Hale Spring is on Shadrach's first parcel and that this third parcel adjoined that parcel on the south or southeast and that his second parcel adjoined the first one on the north. I suspect that most of his land was within today's Washington County, though maybe not. I don't believe it included Haws Crossroads. I suspect that all of it lay west and southwest of there.

Incidentally, Hale Spring is not the "head spring" of the north fork of Limestone Fork of Lick Creek. Rather, Hale Spring is on Clear Creek. Though it's a major spring (what folks in northeast Tennessee call "a bold spring"), it's not even the head spring of that creek. It's merely beside it.

²⁸² Abednego Hail purchased 200 acres, also from North Carolina, "on the dry fork of Sinking Creek," Nov. 17, 1790, NC #911. Deed Book 5: Old Book D, pp. 44-45 (Rae's p. 99). Then in 1794 he bought lands from other owners: (1) Abednego/Ebednego Hail bought 320 acres in 1794 (month and day and location not indicated). Deed Book E, pp. 158-159 (Rae's p. 116). (2) Abednego Haile bought 70 acres, May 27, 1794 (location not mentioned). Deed Book E, pp. 203-204 (Rae's p. 118). (3) Abednego Hale/Haile bought 150 acres "on the waters of Boons Creek," Aug. 26, 1794 – the place he was living on then. Deed Book 7, pp. 3-4 (Rae's p. 153). He then sold his 200 acres on the Dry Fork of Sinking Creek, Nov. 5, 1794. Deed Book 7, pp. 54-55 (Rae's p. 155).

No fork of either Sinking Creek is labeled Dry Fork on the USGS topographic maps. One possibility along the Washington-Sullivan County Sinking Creek is the unnamed two-branched fork near Bacon Cemetery which empties into that Sinking Creek a little over a mile north-northwest of Daniel Boone High School (USGS map, Sullivan Gardens Quadrangle). A possibility along the Washington-Carter County Sinking Creek is the stream along Johnson City's Cherokee Rd. which then flows across the Pine Oaks Golf Course (USGS map, Johnson City Quadrangle). My hunch is that this is the one intended. It's close to Nicholas Hale's holdings and quite possibly adjacent to them, and that Sinking Creek is the more probable location of Nicholas' lands.

Clearly Abednego Hale had moved by 1794 – had chosen to settle instead in the Boones Creek community. Abednego's deed gives no clue to exactly where within the Boones Creek watershed his 150 acres were located. Wordings like "on the waters of X Creek" in early Washington County deeds simply mean "in the area drained by the creek named." Numerous early deeds that use this formula of words do not go on to name said creek in their "metes and bounds," their descriptions of the parcel's boundaries. Thus, those parcels did not actually touch said creek itself at any point. At first each of the county's Civil Districts had a name rather than a number, usually the name of the most prominent landowner in the district (e.g. Taylor District) or the name of the major creek that drained its watershed, as in the case of Boones Creek District. So "on the waters of Boons Creek" most probably means no more than "in the Boones Creek District or watershed."

²⁸³ See Barry Thomas Whittemore, "Unitarian/Universalism," *History of Washington County Tennessee*, ed. Joyce and W. Eugene Cox (Johnson City, Tennessee: The Overmountain Press, 2001), 1090.

²⁸⁴ This was the "large plantation" of George Hale Sr. "on Free Hill Road" where the little "family cemetery behind the house" is located (Hale Cemetery) and extending northeast beyond State Route 36 to the "confluence of the Holston and Watauga Rivers" which we dismissed in the first chapter as probably not the birthplace of Hezekiah Hankal. Whittemore, "Unitarian/Universalism," 1090.

²⁸⁵ Lorraine Rae, *Washington County, Tennessee. Deeds, 1775-1800* (Greenville, South Carolina: Southern Historical Press, 1991).

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 15. Rae seems not to be very reliable on facts of history but may well be on this point. She seems very sure of it.

²⁸⁷ Anna Odell Mays, "The Hale Family," *History of Washington County Tennessee 1988* (Watauga Association of Genealogists, 1988), 355.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.* But in Rae's *Washington County, Tennessee. Deeds, 1775-1800* Shadrach acquired all three of his tracts in 1784, and they total only 600 acres. Maybe he later acquired another 300 acres, but after 1800, in spite of Mays' dates. And maybe he acquired his first three tracts over several years but his title to them, as recorded by the county, lumps all three tracts together in one deed and records it in 1784.

²⁹¹ Another tradition holds that the second Meshach was born in 1753, the same year as Mary. While this might seem plausible, it looks suspiciously like a guess based on her birth year.

With the information in the online Haile/Hale family tree we can trace the ancestry of Mary Carroll Buckingham Haile back three more generations to John Buckingham, great-great-great-grandfather of Hezekiah B. Hankal – but only if her maiden name was Buckingham. If her maiden name was Carroll and she'd been previously married to a Buckingham, the following people were not her ancestors nor Hezekiah's but ancestors of her first husband, that hypothetical Mr. Buckingham. And she may have had children by such a previous marriage, though we know nothing of them. She was already about 31 years old when she married Meshach Haile.

John Buckingham was born in 1670 and died Dec. 3, 1741 in Baltimore. He married Frances Hooper (January?) 1697 in Maryland. She was born in 1664 in London, England and died in 1720 in Saint Margaret Parish, Baltimore, Maryland. Their son, Thomas Buckingham, was born July 4, 1698 in Baltimore and died there (November?) 1750. He married Mary Slade there Oct. 6, 1731. She had been born in 1691. Their son, Thomas Buckingham II, was born Oct. 30, 1731 in Baltimore. By 1814 he lived in Washington County, Tennessee, and he died there in 1830. Apparently he married Frances Broad. Mary Carroll Buckingham (born 1753 in Baltimore) was their daughter.

Another Thomas, Thomas C. Buckingham (born 1775 in Baltimore), was a son of Thomas Buckingham II, and his son was a fourth Thomas Buckingham, while the Thomas Buckingham who lived with the aged Margaret Haile Hankal on her farm in the 1860 census appears to have been the son of that one.

²⁹² Children of Meshach and Mary (Carroll Buckingham) Haile: Margaret (born about 1783, Saint Paul Protestant Episcopal Church Parish, Baltimore, Maryland; died about 1864, Washington County, Tennessee). Zachariah (born about 1785, Baltimore). Nancy Ellen (born Feb. 1787, Baltimore). Barbara Broad (born 1793, Baltimore [U.S. and International Marriage Records; 1850 U.S. census: age 57 in 1850]). Elizabeth (born about 1798, Baltimore). Ara/Ary/Arry/Aery/Eary, short for Araminta or Arrimenta (born in Tennessee, 1800 [1860 U.S. census] or 1801 [1870 and 1880 U.S. censuses]). Many uncertainties like this arose out of the imperfect memories of the people concerned as they gave information to census takers many decades later.)

According to Ancestry.com, Search, Member Search, JenHG, Haile/Hale family tree portion of Holt Family Tree, Profile of Arrimenta Ari Ara Haile, Ara was born in 1795 in Washington County, Tennessee, and at least three other Profiles in the Haile/Hale family tree there say the same (the Profiles of Mary Carroll Buckingham, Meshach Haile, and Margaret Hale). But every primary source cited there for 1795 (namely the 1860, 1870, and 1880 censuses) actually contradicts this year, pointing instead to 1800 or 1801 as the year of her birth. Four other family trees on Ancestry.com, Search, All Collections, Family Trees, Public Member Trees (search there by Ara's first and last name and her parents' names) do show Ara Haile (various spellings) as born in 1795, two of them in Washington County, Tennessee and one in Baltimore, while one doesn't say where. Another one shows her as born in 1797 in Maryland.

Granted, Ara's birth as late as 1800 or 1801 might seem less likely than 1795, since that leaves 5 years without any children born between Barbara (1793) and Elizabeth (1798) – unless some were born but didn't survive. For that matter, one source cited for Elizabeth Haile places her birth in Washington County, Tennessee in 1792, but that has to be wrong on both counts: Seven other sources there agree that she was born in 1798 and that she was born in Maryland. Once again, no original sources are cited to document any of this.

But 1795 is almost certainly wrong. If Ara really was born in 1795 in Tennessee, then this family must have settled in Tennessee about 1794, i.e. between 1793 (birth of Barbara in Maryland) and 1795 (Ara's birth in Tennessee). But surely that can be ruled out on the following count as well: It would not seem logical for the family to move back to Maryland, if that's where Elizabeth was born ca. 1798, and then to Tennessee again about two years later. If 1795 in Tennessee is a mistake and Ara was born that year in Maryland, then none of the children of Meshach and Mary were born in Tennessee and their birth years and places give us no clue to when the family moved to Tennessee, other than after 1798. Hence, sometime around 1800.

On balance, out of these bewildering discrepancies over dates and places, it strikes me as virtually certain that all the children of Meshach and Mary were born in Maryland before 1800 except Ara, and that Ara was born to them in 1800 or 1801 in Tennessee. That would then date the family's move from Baltimore to Tennessee more firmly as occurring around 1800, between the births of Elizabeth in Maryland around 1798 and of Ara in Tennessee in 1800 or 1801.

²⁹³ In the timeline of the Profile of Meshach Haile (1738-1824) in the online Haile/Hale family tree it's noted that Meshach lived in Washington County in 1819, with a link to that tax list. In it he's named Mesbach Hale. (Probably a handwritten "h" has been read as a "b.") This information is cited from the "TN Early Census Index" (fully: "The Tennessee, U.S., Compiled census and Census Substitutes Index, 1810-1891"). However, we have not been able to find this information in the Tennessee Early Census Index, Compiled Census and Census Substitutes Index, 1810-1891, and consequently have not been able to discover any information about the amount of land that Meshach Hale owned in the county then or where it was or the amount of the tax assessment on it, or even a clue to which Meshach Hale this was.

²⁹⁴ Ancestry.com, Search, Member Search, JenHG, Profile of Meshach Meshach Hale (1738-1813) in the online Haile/Hale family tree. According to this Profile, the wife of this first Meshach Haile, son of Nicholas and Ann (Long) Hale, was Catherine Gibson, and they had 3 daughters and 7 sons, but none named Meshach.

²⁹⁵ It shows him as marrying Catherine Gibson in 1760 in Bedford County, Virginia and shows her dying in 1764, yet he continues to have 8 more children after that, though it makes no mention of another wife. The first of those children was born in Bedford County the next year, 1765. It says the next 2 were born in Davidson County in 1769 and 1770, but this seems unbelievable since the earliest permanent White settlement in that county apparently didn't occur until 1779. It places the birth of the next child back in Bedford County in 1777. No birthplace is named for the next child, and Meshach's Profile gives no information at all about this man's last 3 children beyond their names. It does show him living in Davidson County in 1811 and evidently dying there in 1813, that year being inferred from the date of his will there, June 18, 1813 – though curiously it was probated 10 days before that! But most significantly, at no point does it show him as ever having lived in Washington County, Tennessee, whereas the Meshach Haile who was a son of Nicholas and Ann was involved in land purchases in Washington County in 1778, 1782, 1786, and 1793. And 1778 was just one year after one of the children of this Meshach Haile was born back in Bedford County, Virginia.

Clearly someone has mixed together two different Meshach Hales here, one in Virginia and the other in the Nashville, Tennessee area – and neither of them was the Meshach who lived in Washington County, the son of Nicholas and Ann. Surely this Meshach did not move back and forth between Bedford County and Davidson County, then from Bedford County in 1777 to Washington County in 1778, live in Washington County at least until his last known land acquisition here in 1793, and then move back to Davidson County before 1811.

However, if that source really is correct in identifying the Meshach who lived in Davidson County as the son of Nicholas and Ann, then he must have moved back to Davidson County again sometime after his purchase of land on Sinking Creek in 1793, because he was living back there again by 1811. I don't think that makes sense.

²⁹⁶ Robt. Hankal, "History," 8.

²⁹⁷ Ancestry.com: Search: All Collections: "Mash Hail, Baltimore, Maryland, USA": 1790 United States Federal Census: View Image (Ancestry.com/discoveryuicontent/view/107903:5058?tid=&pid=&queryId=dd0fe1e59dd24ae72b5bd1d443f94710&_phsrc=AIC10&_phstart=successSource). The site says that this Mash Hail lived in "Patapsco Lower Hundred" in Baltimore in 1790 and that he was born in Maryland in 1750, citing the American Geological-

Biographical Index (AGBI, 69: 430) as its source. That's later than other sources give as his birth year, which range from 1738 to 1747. However, 1750 is still plausible for his birth since he did not marry Mary Carroll Buckingham until 1784.

²⁹⁸ The same January 20, 1824 deed, Deed Book 17, pp. 444-445, probated at January sessions of county court 1825. It includes the names of Meshach's heirs.

²⁹⁹ On page 134 of that census there happen also to be a Samuel Hail and a Josias Carvel Hale apparently living close to Mash Hail.

³⁰⁰ Washington County Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions Minute Book 5: 161-162; cf. Dr. George A. Finchum, "The Washington County Court System and Blacks, 1796-1836," *History of Washington County Tennessee 1988* (Watauga Association of Genealogists, 1988), 107.

³⁰¹ *Ibid.* As noted, if he did, the 1800 and 1810 and 1820 U.S. censuses for his county would have shown it, but they haven't survived.

³⁰² Reuel B. Pritchett, "Brethren," *History of Washington County Tennessee 1988* (Watauga Association of Genealogists, 1988), 74.