

of the

Rockbridge Historical Society



VOLUME XIII

SEVENTIETH ANNIVERSARY 1939 - 2009











Mann 10 much



Proceedings

of the

Rockbridge Historical Society

35

Volume XIII

Presentations in 2003, 2004, and 2005

Robert S. Keefe, Editor
Lexington, Virginia
2009

Rockbridge Historical Society

P. O. Drawer 1409

Lexington, Virginia 24450-1409

2 540 464-1058

www.rockhist.org

25

ISBN 978-0-9777220-2-0
Library of Congress Control Number 2009907735
Printed in Hong Kong

On the Covers

FRONT

Right, from top: Bishop William Taylor, from "The Taylor Branch Drainage and the Community of Fredericksburg, Virginia," page 33; Sally McDowell, from "An Extraordinary Woman: Sally McDowell of Col Alto," page 189; Cyrus McCormick, from "Cyrus McCormick and the Rise of the Megacorps," page 125; Francis H. Smith, from "Forgotten Pedagogue: Francis H. Smith, V.M.I., and the Mission of Educational Reform," page 133.

Center: Excerpt from letter written by Ted Barclay to his mother from "Camp Terrible," June 1861, from "Experiences of the Stonewall Brigade," page 11.

Left and onto back cover: Cornwall railroad, re-created by the National Park Service on the Blue Ridge Parkway, from "The South River Lumber Company of Cornwall, Virginia," page 45.

BACK

Left, from top: Proposal for Lee Chapel reconstruction and enlargement, 1922, from "The Great Lee Chapel Controversy and the 'Little Group of Willful Women' Who Saved the Shrine of the South," page 71; excerpt from First Constitution of the Franklin Society, 1816, from "The Franklin Society and Library Company," page 109; monument to Mary Anne Moore and her five children, murdered in 1846, from "The House Mountain Tragedy of 1846," page 153.

Contents

Editor's Note	v
In Memoriam Winifred Hadsel, 1917-2009 Larry I. Bland, 1940-2007	vii
₹************************************	
PRESENTATIONS TO THE SOCIETY, 2003 TO 2005	
Experiences of the Stonewall Brigade Amanda Conway	11
The Taylor Branch Drainage and the Community of Fredericksburg, Virginia James M. Hepner	33
The South River Lumber Company of Cornwall, Virginia Horace D. Douty	45
Building From Faith: A History of Saint Patrick's Catholic Parish,1873-2003 James M. Morgan Jr.	59
The Great Lee Chapel Controversy and the 'Little Group of Willful Women' Who Saved the Shrine of the South Pamela Hemenway Simpson	71
When the Lights Came on in Lexington and Rockbridge County George Pryde	91
The Franklin Society and Library Company Richard C. Halseth	109
Cyrus McCormick and the Rise of the Megacorps Barry Machado	125
Forgotten Pedagogue: Francis H. Smith, V.M.I., and the Overlooked Mission of Educational Reform Bradford A. Wineman	133

The House Mountain Murders	
Douglas J. Harwood	153
Receiving the Poor:	
The Rockbridge County Poorhouse, 1870-1927	
Mary Ellen Henry	167
An Extraordinary Woman: Sally McDowell Of Col Alto Thomas E. Buckley, S.J.	189
Thomas D. Duchacy, 6.j.	103
Virginia Race Records, Mormon Priesthood, and Indian Identity Ruth Knight Bailey	201
The Great Flu Pandemic of 1918-19 in Rockbridge County	
Eileen T. Hinks	235
₹.	
SUMMARIES OF PRESENTATIONS NOT INCLUDED IN THIS VOLUME	
Shape Note Music and Lucius Chapin,	
Rockbridge County's First Singing Teacher	
David W. Coffey / John del Re	273
'Those Mutinyous Rascals': Militia Disaffection	
In Revolutionary Rockbridge County, 1780-81	
John Maass	277
₹.	
Record of Meetings, 2003-05	279
Index	281

Editor's Note

OME OF THESE PAPERS are scholarly in the most formal sense of that concept; others are more personal or anecdotal. These traits are reflected in tone, style, and even source notes.

In quoted material, we have retained the original spelling, punctuation, capitalization, and other anomalies.

The main text of this volume is set in an elegant typeface called Baskerville, which has its own historic Rockbridge connection. Charles Harold Lauck, the superintendent of Washington and Lee University's Journalism Laboratory Press from 1932 until 1969 and an internationally honored typographer, employed the face often and imaginatively; although it was designed in 1757, he was known as the "father of Baskerville." He was also the husband: he was married to Ida Baskerville.

Thanks

T THE TOP OF OUR LIST is Lisa McCown of Washington and Lee's Leyburn Library, whose professional skill is matched by her energy, knowledge of the W&L collections, and good cheer.

Proceedings XIII also reflects the enthusiasm and hard work of:

- Mary Skutt, head of the Society's publications committee, who fielded a thousand thorny issues and amazingly never exhibited irritation, even when irritation was warranted;
- Our fourteen authors, every single one of whom treats us to an interesting, well-told story, on topics that couldn't be more eclectic;
- Tom Davis and David Coffey, both of the Virginia Military Institute history faculty;
- Diane Jacob, head of archives at V.M.I.'s Preston Library;
- Patte Wood, whose excellent photography you'll see throughout this publication;
- M. Graham Coleman, intellectual property partner in the law firm of Davis Wright Tremaine, always generous with advice and counsel; and
- Pam Simpson, longtime Rockbridge Historical Society leader and now clear successor to Winifred Hadsel and Larry Bland as the Society's heart and brains; agitator on behalf of things historical; my former colleague and my lifelong friend.

In Memoriam

The Society lost two of its leading lights in recent years: Larry Bland on November 27, 2007, and Winifred Hadsel on April 8, 2009. Their impact on the Society will last as long as the Society lasts. Two former presidents remember them.

Winifred Hadsel, 1917-2009

E LOST ONE OF OUR GIANTS when Winifred Hadsel passed away at the age of ninety-one. Winifred made extraordinary contributions to our community over the last thirty-five years. A professional historian with B.A. and M.A. degrees from the University of Nebraska, she also completed graduate work toward her Ph.D. at the University of Chicago before World War II intervened. She worked for fifteen years as a historical researcher for the Foreign Policy Association and the State Department before going abroad with her husband, Fred, to a series of posts he held in the Foreign Service. She came to Lexington in 1974 when he became head of the Marshall Library. Always one to make herself part of whatever community she was in, Winifred soon took important leadership roles in the local branch of the Virginia Museum, the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, and the Rockbridge Historical Society. It was her vision that helped the Society focus on refurbishing its three properties and opening the Campbell House as a museum.

During her time as R.H.S. president from 1987 to 1990, she supervised a series of activities to commemorate the 50th anniversary, including the publication of a guide to the manuscript collection, Volume X of these Proceedings, a program of exhibits at the Campbell House, and the refurbishing of the Campbell House garden, doing much of the work herself. She also undertook the herculean task of securing charitable tax-exemption status from the Internal Revenue Service. As a result of her efforts, the American Association of State and Local History recognized R.H.S. with an award of merit in 1989.

But her greatest tangible contribution came with the publication of two much-prized books: *The Streets of Lexington* in 1985 and *The Roads of Rockbridge*, first published in 1993 and revised in 1998 (and now published in a yet further expanded version that is dedicated to her and to Larry Bland). Anyone doing research on the architectural history of our community will find these books indispensable resources. But even more important than telling when the streets were laid out, by whom, and why they were named as they were is the fact that she made us focus on ur-

ban development, city planning, and cultural resources that are often ignored. In telling us how our streets and roads came to be, she gave us another way to know our history.

That idea of exploring local history in all its manifestations was one of her passions. She was chair of the R.H.S. trustees from 1994 to 2004 and during that time undertook extensive research to identify and record the R.H.S.'s artifact collection. That effort resulted in the exhibit, *Sixty-five years of Collecting*, in which she told the story of how the collection came together and what it represents today.

Winifred was fond of quoting a line from Emily Dickenson about dwelling in "possibilities." She certainly did and she made the rest of us do it too! We will miss her greatly but we treasure the legacy she leaves us.

Pamela H. Simpson

25

Larry I. Bland, 1940-2007

HE ROCKBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, along with many other individuals and groups, lost a longtime friend, dedicated supporter and enthusiastic leader with the death of Larry Bland. Larry's wit and wisdom guided the Society through many projects, publications and programs.

My last conversation with Larry was at our program the evening before he died when, as always, Larry was on hand early to help set up. In fact, I can't remember a program in the last twenty-five years when Larry was *not* there to make sure everything went smoothly. That evening we chatted about Dr. Bodie's forthcoming history of the Rockbridge area; Larry was one of the three manuscript readers for the book and said to me that commissioning the new history was one of the best decisions the Society ever made. Dr. Bodie commented, "Larry's eye for detail and insistence on clarity have been a tremendous help in finalizing each chapter."

Although better known for his work on George. C. Marshall, Larry was very much into the history of the Rockbridge area; he read it, studied it and promoted it, and wanted others to do so too. Thus he was involved in every undertaking of the Society. For many years he edited the Society's *Proceedings* (the written account of programs), published *News Notes*, the members' newsletter, suggested and planned programs and sat through hundreds of board meetings in an effort to better guide the Society in its mission of preserving and promoting the history of the Rockbridge area.

He was particularly proud to have played, in his words, "a small part" in the publication of *The Streets of Lexington* and *The Roads of Rockbridge*, both researched and written by his friend Winifred Hadsel. Yet Mrs. Hadsel readily states that Larry's map work on *Roads of Rockbridge* was essential to the work. He, in fact, drove over every single road to ensure the accuracy of his hand-drawn maps.

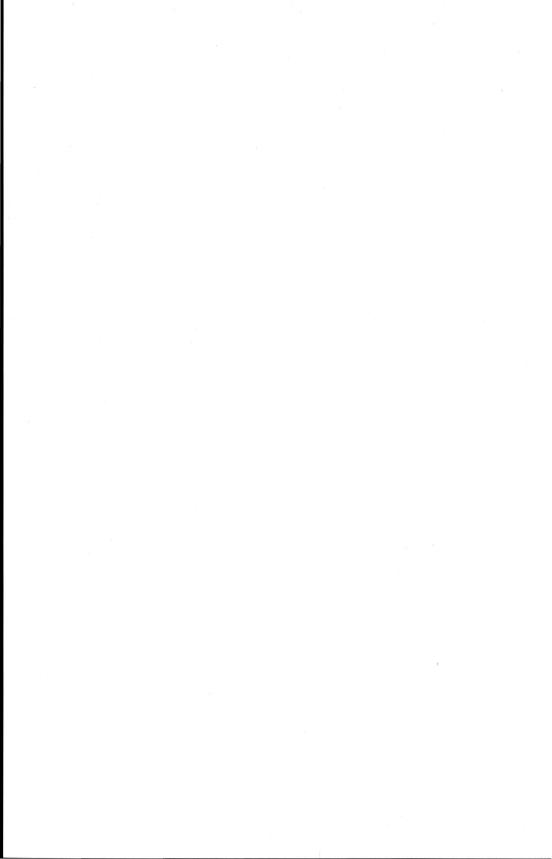
Accuracy was very important to Larry, whether dealing with where exactly Marshall met with Virginia Governor John Battle or where exactly Route 39 curved along the Maury River. No matter the project, he was a careful scholar, and one whose work ethic was legend. If you asked Larry how much time he would need to do a particular project, he would say, "As much time as it takes to get it right!"

Last summer, I accused him of being a workaholic, and he said, "Oh, no, not me . . . I have fun." And he did, and he encouraged others in the Society to have fun and enjoy our various undertakings. This is not to say that all of our undertakings were worry-free — they were not — but where some viewed a problem as a mountain, Larry saw a molehill and set to work with a twinkle in his eye to level it. To him problems were solvable; his "can do" attitude was infectious. I, like so many others, know this first hand.

When nominated for the presidency of the R.H.S. last year, I said I really couldn't do it; the Society has so many irons in the fire, my time is limited by other commitments, and so forth. But Larry said to me, "You can and you should. You have been on the board for more than twenty-five years, and it is time that you stepped up to the plate and served . . . and I will be there to help you."

His can-do attitude was very persuasive. True to his word, he has been a mentor to me and to countless others in the Society. He has been and will always be "the rock" in the Rockbridge Historical Society.

Peggy Hays



Experiences of the Stonewall Brigade

Amanda Conway

EMBERS OF one of the most famous military units in American history, the soldiers of the Stonewall Brigade were unique in the Civil War. Many of them occupied an unusual geographic or social position. Compared to other Confederate brigades, a large number of the soldiers were well educated, giving them deeper insights into the causes of the war and the political issues surrounding it.

Many soldiers in the original brigade were from Lexington and Rockbridge County, Virginia, a unionist stronghold before the war. They had known Thomas Jackson before he became Stonewall Jackson, which could have given them a different opinion of him. When they achieved fame as members of the Stonewall Brigade, it is almost certain that they would have shown an awareness of their fame. The soldiers of the Stonewall Brigade believed in the cause of Southern independence and the idea of freedom from repugnant Yankee rule.

The campus of Washington College was the scene of many debates over secession. Edward A. Moore was a student at Washington College in 1860-61, then became a member of the Rockbridge Artillery, and was present at the surrender at Appomattox Courthouse. In his memoirs, he remembered the conflict between the students: "Among our number there were a few from the States further south who seemed to have been born secessionists, while a larger majority of the students were decidedly in favor of the Union."

When President Lincoln issued his proclamation calling for troops, most Lexingtonians quickly changed their minds and followed the South. According to Moore, "Lincoln's proclamation . . . was immediately followed by the ordinance of secession, and the idea of union was aban-

doned by all."² John Welsh, a farmer from Lexington, wrote in a letter to his brother James, a Union soldier, that Lincoln's proclamation marked the beginning of his secessionist beliefs:* "I have always been oppose to secession but I shall vote

Amanda Tardy Conway was born and raised in Rockbridge County. She attended the University of Virginia, where she wrote this paper as a degree requirement under Dr. Gary Gallagher. After graduation she returned to Rockbridge County and teaches history at Rockbridge County High School, alongside Elizabeth Ramsey, the teacher who inspired her love of history. This paper was presented at the Society's April 28, 2003, meeting in the George C. Marshall Library's Pogue Auditorium.

^{*} I have preserved spelling and grammar as they appear in the original sources, and we have decided not to interrupt with constant, repetitious "[sic]s."

for it to day because I dont intend to submit Black Republican rule any longe."³ After the vote for secession, several military groups formed on the campuses of Washington College and the Virginia Military Institute; among these were the Liberty Hall Volunteers, who became part of the Stonewall Brigade and were known as Stonewall's college boys.

Anti-Yankee Fervor

The soldiers from Lexington believed they were defending themselves and their families from the tyrannical rule of the North. Benjamin Franklin Templeton was a private in the Second Rockbridge Artillery; he died of typhoid fever on April 10, 1862. As he was leaving for the service, he wrote a goodbye letter to his children, saying, "I am going away on a dangerous journey for your defence." Greenlee Davidson was a graduate of Washington College and became captain of the Letcher Battery. He was mortally wounded at Chancellorsville. In a deathbed message to his mother, he said, "Weep not for me, I die fighting in defense of our home." John Welsh wrote, "We are going to resist we dont inten to troble the North but they must let us alone."

Most of the soldiers of the Stonewall Brigade also wrote of their intense hatred of the Yankees, and it was a main theme of their letters early in the conflict. (These feelings largely disappeared from letters later in the war, however.) Ted Barclay's letters were more filled with ideology and fervor than were those of most of his fellow soldiers. He wrote frequently of the Yankees' oppression and horrid nature: "We are elated at the

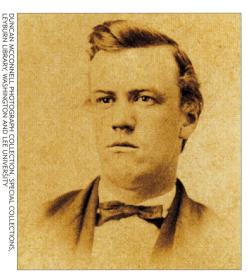


FIGURE 1 Ted Barclay, 1860-61, Boude & McClelland, Lexington.

prospect of the speedy deliverance from Yankee rule and tyranny." In another letter Barclay wrote:" God will not prosper such a cause as theirs."8 Barclay scorned Northerners as uneducated and vulgar: "You ought to see a specimen of the Yankee letters, out of all the number I have seen and I have seen a great many, not one is from an educated person but all low flung and vulgar, and of all the common soldiers we have taken prisoners but one that I have heard of is a gentleman, but all talk as the lowest class."9 On another occasion later in the war. Barclay again expressed his hatred, even describing the Yankees as an-

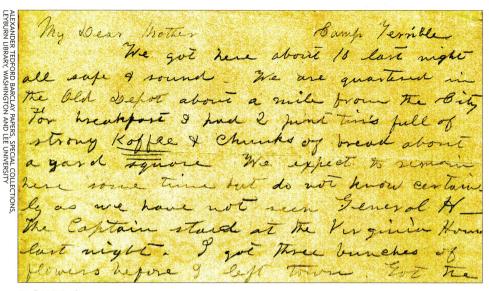


FIGURE 2
Letter from Ted Barclay to his mother from "Camp Terrible," June 1861.

other race: "I really think that it would be good for the good of mankind, if the whole Yankee race could be swept from the face of the earth." After an early battle, Barclay described his opinion when the Union Army left the field without burying their dead: "The cowardly dogs left wounded and dead to be taken care of by our troops, but I would let them rot on the field before I would bury one of them." 11

John Welsh gave a vivid description of his opinion of Republicans: "A man when they become a republican forsuares home mother father and Brothers and are willing to sacrafice all for the dear nigger." ¹²

For many, such as John Welsh, joining the army meant fighting against family members. At the end of his last letter to his brother James, Welsh expressed his commitment to the war, and at the same time reasserted his commitment to his brother: "Write say what you pleas it will make no dfference with me the same Blood flose in our veins you are as dear to me as ever farewell." ¹³

With God and Justness on Their Side

Early in the war, many soldiers believed their cause to be just; they knew that God was on their side and could carry them through the conflict. Daniel Hileman was born in Timber Ridge, Virginia, and enlisted as a private in the Twenty-Seventh Virginia Infantry. He was promoted to Fourth Sergeant of Company H, captured at Spotsylvania Courthouse, and later imprisoned at Fort Delaware. Hileman expressed his view clearly in a let-



FIGURE 3 William Thomas Poague, about 1864. Photo by Michael Miley.

ter dated September 13, 1861: "The Lord is the Lord of the battles, if he is for us who can be against us." ¹⁴ John Welsh wrote, "We look upon it as a just caus and we are united man and women all contribute without stint." ¹⁵

There are several accounts of experiences of divine intervention in battle — a belief in having been saved by God even while men all around them were dying. William Thomas Poague was born in Rockbridge County, graduated from Washington College, and became a member of the First Artillery. He was promoted to lieutenant colonel and was present at the surrender at Appomattox Courthouse. He believed that he was protected at the battle of First Manassas: "I was

conscious of being in danger, but right there I felt was the place that I ought to be. The thought repeatedly came to me that I was in the hands of a kind, heavenly Father, and then His merciful care and protection were over me. With all this was a most novel sensation, hard to describe, a sort of warm, pleasing glow enveloping the chest and head with an effect something like entrancing music in a dream." At Chancellorsville, Ted Barclay had a similar experience: "Feeling that perhaps at that time prayers were going up at home for our protection, I became almost unconscious of danger though men were falling thick and fast all around me." Five months later, Barclay still believed that God would determine his death, on a battlefield or not: "I trust I am prepared [if I fall], what a cause to fall in, fighting for everything that we hold dear — But God can protect amidst the storm of war as well as elsewhere." ¹⁸

As the war continued, many soldiers remained strongly committed to the war effort. They retained their belief in their just cause and their ability to defeat the enemy. In his memoir, *The Story of a Cannoneer under Stonewall Jackson*, Edward A. Moore remembered that type of commitment: "The fact that we had defeated our antagonists, usually in superior numbers, in battle after battle throughout a long campaign, tended to confirm us in the opinion that we could down them every time, and the contest must, at no distant day, end in our favor." ¹⁹

Soldiers frequently described this commitment to the war effort in letters during the war. Ted Barclay's letters gave vivid accounts of his devotion to the cause and his belief in certain Confederate victory. On February 10, 1862, he was very positive about the outcome of the war and the political situation of the Confederacy: "Everyone thinks here if the Volunteers reenlist we can put this war through in the spring. I never saw such enthusiasm; it beats the first of the war. Certainly everything is in the favor of the South now. England and France are vying with each other who shall recognize us first. I think that they will undoubtedly do so before long." On March 21, 1863, he wrote, "We are elated at the prospect of the speedy deliverance from Yankee rule and tyranny. . . Never for one moment must we allow the thought of submission to Yankee rule enter our minds." ²¹

Barclay placed victory in God's hands in a letter dated October 13, 1863: "I do not trust in our own strength but in the arm of our omnipotent and righteous God."²² He knew that victory would come to the South since southern soldiers were virtuous and Northern soldiers were worthless: "We are backed by an army of good and true men, the other by a bunch of lawless outcasts and mercenaries."²³ In a letter dated February 22, 1864, Barclay again expressed his faith in the victory and in the virtue of southern soldiers (although he was not accurate on the number of men shirking their duty), and he also commented on public morale: "I am glad to see the tone of the people is becoming more courageous and more worthy of Southerners battling for freedom and all that men hold

dear. But look at our noble army voluntarily reenlisting for the war; none are found who shirk from their duty. On the other hand, look at the Yankees offering enormous bounties and getting so few soldiers at that."²⁴ Even after the death of Jackson, Barclay trusted God to bring victory to the South: "Though we mourn his loss, still we do not feel we are without a leader. God is our leader and protector. He can raise up many a Jackson and will yet deliver us from the power of the enemy."²⁵

Elisha Franklin Paxton was born in Rockbridge County and received his education at Washington College, Yale University, and the

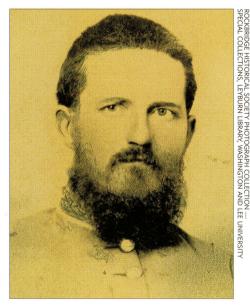


FIGURE 4 Elisha Franklin Paxton, undated photo.

University of Virginia Law School. He was a brigadier general in the Rockbridge Rifles, was promoted to general, became the fourth commander of the Stonewall Brigade, and was killed in action at Chancellorsville. In a letter to his wife, he wrote that he believed the cause was sacred and he was happy to fight for his country: "We spent Sunday last in the sacred work of achieving our nationality and independence. The work was nobly done, and it was the happiest day of my life, our wedding day not excepted. I think the fight is over forever."²⁶

Not All Served Nobly

Ted Barclay and Edward Moore were not typical examples of Confederate soldiers. They were well educated and very committed to the Confederate cause. In contrast, most Confederate soldiers were less well educated and less committed, and many deserted during the war. According to the Virginia Regimental Histories series, however, a significant number of soldiers who deserted returned to the army fairly quickly. Even Moore was on record as deserting for a short period from the hospital in the fall of 1864. The majority of Confederate soldiers were farmers, and since many did not own slaves, they went home to help their families with farm work before returning to the army. Unfortunately, the less ardent supporters of the Confederate cause are underrepresented in the surviving sources. Most of the accounts that survive are from educated men, so analysis of the sources must take into account their particular viewpoints. Many of these men became army officers and therefore had a greater duty and important responsibilities on a day-to-day basis.

Even the men who remained most loyal to the cause and never left the army wrote about deserting. They received letters from wives and other family members begging them to return home. They remained in the army largely because of their sense of honor. Frank "Bull" Paxton's letters were filled with assurances to his wife that he could not desert because it would destroy his honor. "You would not have me stay at home whilst the country has such a pressing need for the service of every citizen in the field," he wrote on March 6, 1862. "If such were the feeling and wish of every woman and child. . . . Our soldiers, impelled by influence from home, would all remain in the service."27 Paxton also combined his sense of honor with a need to defend the just cause, and on December 15, 1861, he wrote: "My judgement dictates to me to pursue the path which I believe to be right, and to trust that the good deed may meet its just reward. Nothing else could induce me to bear this seperation from my darling wife and dear little children."²⁸ In yet another letter, he incorporated his faith in Confederate victory: "Within my heart I find an immovable purpose to remain until the struggle end in the establishment of our independence." As usual, Barclay's opinions on desertion were very colorful: "No, never do I intend to desert the flag of my country, so long as the abominable flag of despotism hovers over a fort on Southern soil. Rather would I have my bones rot on the hillside that live a slave for it would be the most degraded slavery."²⁹

These loyal soldiers often held some contempt for men who remained at home to avoid military service. John Welsh also gave honor and nationalism as reasons for remaining in the army; on January 19, 1863, he wrote: "I don't see any way of getting of onerably at any cost at present the man who would for sake his country at a time like this when every man in neede for any selfishe purpose deserves the contempt of every honest man." A few weeks later, he reiterated his views: "Unless we can maintain our independence peace will do us no good for after Lincoln proklimation any man that wouldent fight to the last ought to be hung." Barclay also expressed his contempt for men who avoided service: "I think every scoundrel in old Rockbridge who has been hiding himself in the Militia should be drafted. For are not the Volunteers fighting for their liberty while they are at home enjoying all the luxuries and we enjoying none?" 32

Hardships of War

The soldiers of the Stonewall Brigade had many wartime challenges besides desertion problems. The biggest struggle for many soldiers was not the hardship of battle, but the strain of marching and hunger while on campaign. The men were always astounded by what they could endure and remained faithful in the wisdom of their commanders. They quickly accepted frequent battle as part of being members of the Stonewall Brigade. Joseph Hannah Carpenter was an 1856 graduate of Virginia Military Institute; he later became captain of Company A of the Twenty-Seventh Virginia Infantry, and died from battle wounds. On June 16, 1862, he wrote, "It appears to me now that fighting is becoming quite fashionable especially in Jackson's army — we have had three days of rest in the last two months — the balance of the time either on a forced march or fighting."33 In a very short letter to his wife, Frank Paxton wrote: "My darling wife: I have only time to say that we were fighting on Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday and I am well."³⁴ Earlier in the war, Paxton had written of the frequency of battle and the way he prepared for it: "From this to the end of the war, I never expect to see the time when a battle may not occur in a few days. Hence I always try to be ready for it, expecting it as something through which I must pass, which is not to be avoided." 35

Battle was frequent, but the soldiers faced it bravely. Ted Barclay wrote, "The struggle will be a bloody one, but it is noble to die in so just a cause." Edward Moore was analytical in his opinion of battle, writing: "Be-



FIGURE 5
Soldiers from the Stonewall Brigade, killed in the Battle of Antietam in September 1862, by a rail fence on the Hagerstown Pike. Photograph by Alexander Gardner.

ing an artilleryman and therefore to be exposed to missiles of that kind, I concluded that my chances of surviving the war were extremely slim."³⁷

The men of the Stonewall Brigade had to face many hard situations, on and off the battlefield. Moore described a battlefield where the dry clothes of the casualties lying on the ground had caught fire from the numerous artillery shells, and the wounded and dead men were burning during battle. But the soldier's life had made them almost numb to such experiences: "Such spectacles made little or no impression at the time, and we moved to and fro over the field, scarcely heeding them."38 In another gruesome battle experience, Moore believed that he saw the fundamental difference between the life of a Confederate and a Union soldier: "Here we had a good opportunity of observing the marked and striking difference between the Federals and Confederates who remained unburied. . . . While the Confederates underwent no perceptible change in color or otherwise, the Federals . . . became much swollen and discolored." He attributed this difference to the frequent lack of supplies in the Confederate Army: "[Confederates] owing to their simple fare, could endure, and unquestionably did endure, more hardship than the Federals who were overfed."39

If the soldiers of the Stonewall Brigade wrote most often on the things that were the most important to them, then food was foremost on their minds. Their letters were filled with accounts of their food supplies and what they ate day-to-day. While they were in Southern territory, their diet consisted mainly of beef and bread, but it was often supplemented with packages from home. In a letter thanking his sister for a box of food, Barclay expressed what a welcome addition the boxes were: "If the home folks could ony see how we enjoy the boxes and bless them for their kindness, I think they would be amply repaid for their trouble." When cooks were not available, the soldiers often had a hard time cooking for themselves; they favored dishes that were easy to make, like soup, which "was a favorite dish, requiring, as it did, but one vessel for all the courses, and the more ingredients it contained, the more it was relished."

The soldiers of the Stonewall Brigade often foraged to supplement their rations, sometimes adding corn or fruit from nearby farms. Edward Moore described an example of the lengths to which soldiers would go in order to add to their diet: "Game had become quite abundant, especially quail. . . . I soon succeeded in getting an Enfield rifle, a gun not designed for such game. By beating Minie-balls out flat, then cutting the plates into square blocks or slugs, I prepared my ammunition, and in the first eleven shots killed nine quail on the wing." When the soldiers crossed into Union territory, their diets improved significantly, since they were able to forage from areas that had not been significantly touched by the war. Moore described a wonderful feast he had while in Pennsylvania: "To give an idea of the change in our diet since leaving Dixie, I give the bill-of-fare of a breakfast my mess enjoyed while of this road: Real coffee and sugar, light bread, biscuits with lard in them, butter, apple-butter, a fine dish of fried chicken and a quarter of roast lamb!" 43

Southern soldiers also benefited from Northern surpluses of supplies. Union soldiers often left behind their supplies when they retreated, and supplies were also available amid the dead of the battlefield. "To give an idea of the ready access we had to the enemy's stores, I had been the possessor of nine gum-blankets within the past three weeks, and no such article as a gum-blanket was ever manufactured in the South," wrote Edward Moore. "Any soldier carrying a Confederate canteen was at once recognized as a new recruit, as it required but a short time to secure one of superior quality from a dead foeman on a battlefield." There were also many times, however, when Confederate soldiers had few supplies and had to sleep without blankets and march without shoes. In a letter in early winter, Frank Paxton described the poor condition of their supplies: "A large number of our soldiers are entirely barefooted, and very many without blankets, living in the open air, without tents and with a very small

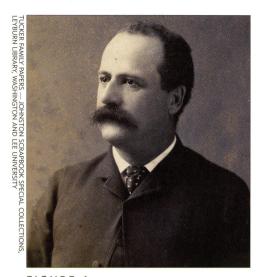


FIGURE 6 Robert E. Lee Jr., no date.

supply of axes to cut wood for fires, there is much suffering."⁴⁵ Ted Barclay also wrote about the lack of good clothing, asking his sister to send him new clothes: "I wish you would send me the clothing; you cannot image my condition. I have no seat in my pants, the legs are worn out, have had but one pair of sox, which are worn out completely, my shirt literally rotted off me."⁴⁶

Soldiers also faced lice infestations and disease. "This evening caught between fifty and one hundred [lice] on my shirt and drawers," wrote Ted Barclay, "Excuse plain speaking, but it is certainly not an exxaggerated state of af-

fairs."⁴⁷ William Poague had a more inventive way for removing lice. In March 1862, he hoped to get rid of his "gray backs" forever: "I went to a creek on a cold windy day, took off my new flannel underwear, sunk it with rocks in the cold water, washed myself clean, put on new flannels intending to return in a day of two to get my shirt and drawers—minus the little creatures as I hoped."⁴⁸ Unfortunately, he was never able to go back for his flannels.

In two letters to his wife, Frank Paxton mentioned the effects of sickness on his men. On January 19, 1862, he wrote, "our ranks had been made thinner by disease since we left Winchester. Two battles would not have done us as much injury as hard weather and exposure have effected." On January 25, 1863, he wrote: "My brigade has been rapidly increasing in the last month by the return of sick." 50

Frequent battles, high desertion rates and lack of food and supplies combined to make life hard in the Stonewall Brigade. Robert E. Lee Jr. was a student at the University of Virginia, and enlisted as a private in the First Rockbridge Artillery. He was eventually promoted to captain, survived the war and later summarized the hardships of a soldier's life in his book, *Recollections and Letters of Gen. Robert E. Lee.* Edward Moore quoted from Lee's book: "The tremendous work Stonewall's men had performed, including the rapid march from the Valley of Virginia, the short rations, the bad water, and the great heat, had begun to tell upon us, and I was pretty well worn out." "51

Poague described the suffering of the soldiers during the campaign

at Romney, in present-day West Virginia, in early 1862: "In all the war I never had a similar experience —never endured such physical and mental suffering as on this trip." On another campaign, Poague again complained of the loss of sleep, although he seems to be confused on which campaign was worse: "I may say that the loss of sleep, especially in this closing campaign, was the severest suffering by far that I endured in the whole war." In a letter to his wife on January 19, 1862, Frank Paxton wrote, "We have indeed been making war upon the elements, and our men have stood an amount of hardship and exposure which I would not have thought was possible had I not witnessed it."

Pride, Resolve, and Endurance

Although there were many complaints of suffering, those who were committed to the war effort like Barclay and Paxton knew they must endure. On July 3, 1863, Barclay wrote: "The army is in fine spirits, but dirty, ragged and barefooted." On December 15, 1862, Paxton was thankful that his men could stand the suffering: "Thanks to God for changing their natures, they bear in patience now what they once would have regarded as beyond human endurance."

In his memoir, William Thomas Poague wrote of the delight he felt at the battle of First Manassas: "The smoke of battle rised above the tree tops, and with it all comes a wild and joyous exhilaration. Oh, what an experience! Nothing ever equalled it afterwards." He described the conflict of emotions on the battlefield: "Here, as on other fields, I experienced most divers and conflicting emotions — sincere sympathy for individual suffering and wishing I could give relief," and then feeling "and intense satisfaction at the sight of hundreds of my country's foes deliberately put to death." ⁵⁸

The Stonewall Brigade achieved great fame during the war for feats of bravery and hardship. On April 1, 1862, Frank Paxton wrote: "I never expect to see troops fight better than ours did." Later that year, he wrote, "I have had the pleasure of participating in what history will record was the most astonishing expeditions of war, for the severity of battles fought and the hardships endured by our soldiers." Greenlee Davidson wrote to his father on December 23, 1862: "notwithstanding the trying circumstances under which we were placed, my brave men stood at their post like veterans and not a man faltered. Gen. L. complimented them after the battle and said they were the bravest Cannoners he ever saw." Early in the war, Barclay wrote, "The people here think a great deal of our company, it is considered next to the best company on the ground." On September 9, 1863, Barclay mentioned the effectiveness of their charge during a exhibition for visitors: "Who has ever withstood a charge of the

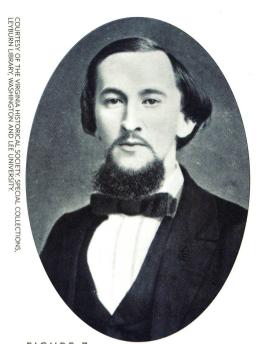


FIGURE 7
Greenlee Davison, undated.
Photograph by Michael Miley.

Stonewall Brigade, and as we came on such a getting over the fence you never saw."⁶³

Though the soldiers of the Stonewall Brigade remained confident in their ability to beat the Yankees, they also knew that their victories had made little difference in the progress of the war. Frank Paxton mentioned this concern in three letters over the winter of 1862-63. On October 12, 1862, he wrote, "Our victories, though, seem to settle nothing; to bring us no nearer the end of the war. It is only so many killed and wounded, leaving the work of blood to go on with renewed vigor. Like everything else, it must have an end sooner or later."64 On November 15, he wrote of all the hardships being suffered by the Confederate soldiers: "If

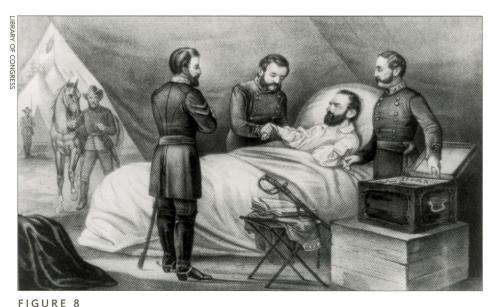
ever a people on earth had cause upon bended knees to pray God to spare a further infliction of this terrible curse, it is ours. We have suffered much, yet the future seems to hold for us an inexhaustible store of suffering — the bloodshed of the battle, made no application for it, and the diseases which the camp and exposure gender, and the want of food and clothing produced by laying waste the country."⁶⁵ In January, he still held faith in the Confederate victory, but was unable to predict the outcome of the war: "We have whipped the army in front of us very often, and I feel sure that we can do it any time. . . . Our independence was secured in the last campaign when we proved our capacity to beat the finest army they could bring in the field."⁶⁶

Jackson: Hero and Demanding Commander

The soldiers of the Stonewall Brigade, like most Confederate soldiers, held Generals Stonewall Jackson and Robert E. Lee in high esteem. Moore was the only one to comment on knowing Jackson before the war, which is not surprising considering the fame Jackson had attained when Moore wrote his memoir. "The cadets received marching orders, and on that morning, for the first time since his residence in Lexington, Major Jackson was seen in his element. "As a professor at the Virginia Military

Institute he was remarkable only for strict punctuality and discipline," wrote Moore. "I, with one of my brothers, had been assigned to his class in Sunday-school, where his regular attendance and ernest manner were equally striking." When the war began, Jackson quickly earned fame as a successful commander. Randolph Fairfax was a University of Virginia student who was a private in the First Rockbridge Artillery and was killed in action at Fredericksburg. He wrote, "It is wonderful how successful Jackson is in his movements." Jackson was known for his quick and secretive moves. On December 29, 1861, Frank Paxton wrote that "Jackson is not disposed to lie idle when there is an opportunity to win laurels for himself and render service to our cause." He was famous for keeping his plans secret, often confusing his men and his colleagues over his direction of march. Poague related a story of a judge who asked Jackson where he was going. Jackson replied, "Judge B —, can you keep a secret?' 'Most certainly,' said the judge. 'So can I,' replied Old Jack."

He pushed his men hard, fighting often and expecting more than they thought they could give. They believed that he did not plan for sleep and weather. Moore wrote, "Sleep did not seem to enter into Jackson's calculations." After the hard campaign of Romney, Poague wrote, "But for the weather, I believe General Jackson would have achieved brilliant results. But he seemed to leave the winter out of his calculations, or else thought he could conquer the elements." In another story of Romney, Poague wrote of Major General William Loring's unit who were less forgiving of Jackson's methods: "Loring's part of the army was in a



"Death of 'Stonewall' Jackson," Currier & Ives lithograph, 1872.

state of semi-mutiny, and Jackson was hissed and hooted as he passed them. This I had from a friend in the Georgia regiment who teased me a great deal about the 'crazy general from Lexington." But the negative opinion of Jackson did not last long: "The next time I met him . . . he was a most enthusiastic admirer of 'the great Stonewall.'"73 Joseph Hannah Carpenter also wrote about Jackson pushing his troops: "A few more such marches and fights will ruin his Old Brigade unless he allows them to recruit a little now. But they appear to be determined to push us hard in our unorganized condition." According to Moore, Jackson had faith in the skills of his men; at Cold Harbor in June 1862, Lee said to Jackson,

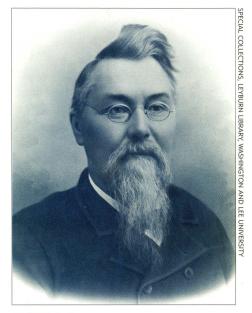


FIGURE 9
James K. Edmondson, undated photograph.

"That fire is very heavy! Do you think you men can stand it?" to which Jackson replied, "They can stand almost anything; they can stand that!"

He was also aggressive in battle. Poague speculated that Jackson would have been more successful in the place of the Union commanders at Kernstown: "The enemy made a feeble pursuit. Had 'Old Jack' commanded on the other side he would have pressed forward and doubtless gobbled up a big lot of us." The combination of his aggressive nature and his secrecy bewildered his men when he made apparent mistakes. During the battle of Fredricksburg, Jackson gave Poague an order to fire his battery while the rest remained silent, causing the battery to receive tremendous fire from the Yankees. Poague lost many men and was very troubled by the incident. "That fight on Dead Horse Hill weighed heavily on me for sometime. I could not understand Jackson's order and our sacrifice seemed useless . . . ," but Poague retained faith in his commander, "But Jackson ordered it and I tried to think it was all right, but never ceased to mourn the loss of those splendid officers and men." but the property of the propert

Like other soldiers and citizens of the Confederacy, the soldiers of the Stonewall Brigade greatly esteemed Jackson as a man and a strong Christian. In a letter to his mother written on June 14, 1862, Randolph Fairfax attributed Jackson's success to his Christianity: "It is such a comfort and a great cause for thanksgiving to have such a Christian as Jackson

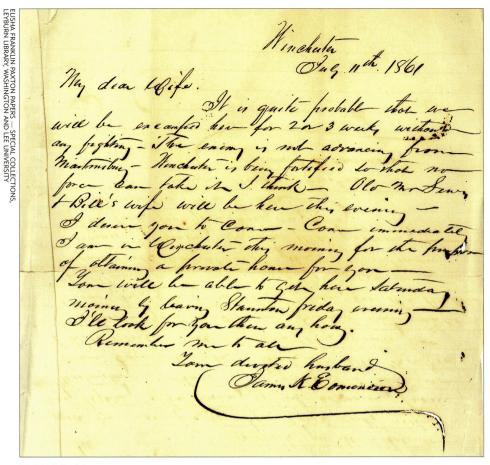


FIGURE 10 Letter from James K. Edmondson to his wife, Lizzie (Elizabeth White Paxton), July 11, 1861.

for our General. I have known him, when obliged to fight or march on Sunday, to set apart another day for rest and divine service. . . No wonder the blessing of God attends his army in such a signal way."⁷⁷ Poague remembered a conversation with General Frank Paxton when he said: "'Ah, Poague, if the rest of us poor sinners had 'Old Jack's' religion and assurance of faith, with what little thought of personal safety we would go into battle."⁷⁸

James K. Edmondson was born in Rockbridge County (in what is now Buena Vista) and attended Washington College. He was a colonel in the Twenty-Seventh Virginia Infantry and resigned his position on December 12, 1863. He was reluctant to see Jackson promoted because Jackson would no longer be their commander: "If the General [Stonewall] was to leave us, I donot know what we would do; it would be like break-

ing us up."⁷⁹ After Jackson was promoted, Frank Paxton wrote that the promotion was well deserved: "Jackson has been promoted again, and is now Major General. It is, indeed, very gratifying to see him appreciated so highly and promoted so rapidly. It is all well merited. We have, I think, no better man or better officer in the army . . . this brigade will part with him with very much regret."⁸⁰

William Poague and Ted Barclay also had compliments for Jackson. Poague admired his bravery in battle: "I saw Jackson afterwards in every one of his fights, big and little, but never detected the quiver of a muscle." He also believed that A. P. Hill was jealous of Jackson, complaining that Hill's comments after the battle of Cedar Mountain were unfair: "Gen. A. P. Hill's report contains strictures on the Stonewall Brigade undeserved and unjust. I can't help thinking he was a little jealous of 'Old Jack' and the old Stonewall Brigade." Barclay was upset after one of Jackson's subordinates disobeyed orders: "If the orders of such a man as Jackson are to be disregarded by such trifling people as Loring and seconded by Benjamin, I think the Southern Confederacy is in a bad fix."

Edward Moore and Poague also gave accounts of the way Jackson was received by the army as a whole. After the battle of Malvern Hill, Moore remembered the soldiers cheering Jackson: "During the remainder of the day the soldiers gave vent to their feelings by cheering the different generals as they passed to and fro, Jackson naturally received the lion's share."⁸⁴ Poague noted a similar situation on the march to Harrison's Landing: "'Old Jack' received his first ovation from the Army of Northern Virginia. Cheering began far behind us, so far away that we scarcely heard it, increasing until in tremendous volume it swept by us with Stonewall bareheaded on Little Sorrel at his best speed, the staff strung out away behind, doing their level best to keep up."⁸⁵

When Jackson was wounded at Chancellorsville, Barclay admired his bravery in battle: "Twas in this fight that General Jackson lost his arm but no one knew it until afterwards, as the old hero calmly sat upon his horse all the time, though his arm was almost shot off." Four days later, Barclay wrote of Jackson's death and its religious connotations: "A deep gloom is over the camp because of the death of General Jackson. He was taken away from us because we made almost an idol of him." Poague also felt the loss of Jackson: "The loss to our country and our Southland was beyond estimate in the fall of Jackson alone." 88

Accounts written after the war contain many references to the greatness of the Stonewall Brigade, but considering the post-war fame of the unit, those are less convincing sources than war-time accounts. In 1893, John O. Casler wrote of the famous charge at First Manassas: "The charge of Jackson's men was terrific. The enemy were swept before them like



FIGURE 11
Confederate veterans in front of the Rockbridge County Courthouse, 1913; photographer unknown.

chaff before a whirlwind. Nothing could resist their impetuosity. The men seemed to have caught the dauntless spirit and determined will of their heroic commander, and nothing could stay them on their onward course."89 The editor of Paxton's letters wrote that after the battle of Chancellorsville, Jackson said, "'The men of that brigade . . . will be, some day proud to say to their children, 'I was one of the Stonewall Brigade."90 Poague also wrote of the skill and fame of his fellow soldiers: "Our whole battery was proud to be known as an integral part of that immortal brigade."91 While describing the formation of his battery, he wrote: "The very best young men in the state flocked to the company . . . We thus had the very best material for a battery — men who knew how to manage and take care of the horses and educated, high spirited men for the guns."92

Edward Moore told of a visit with Frank Singleton, who had been imprisoned at Fort Warren: "Singleton gave glowing accounts of the 'to-do' that was made over him, he being the only representative from the army of Stonewall, whose fame was now filling the world." Moore also noted an amusing story that demonstrated the fame of Stonewall Jackson; his men were so confident in his victory that they would not allow losers to travel with the headquarters: "The College company had as cook a very black negro boy named Pete, who through all this marching had carried . . . a small game rooster which he named 'Ashby' and which he told me had whipped every chicken from Harrisonburg to Winchester and back

again.... At last poor Ashby met defeat, and Pete consigned him to the pot, saying, 'No chicken dat kin be whipped shall go 'long wid Jackson's headquarters.' "94

Poague also gave several accounts of the soldiers' opinions of General Robert E. Lee. It is almost certain that they greatly esteemed him, because he was revered throughout the South; however, since Poague wrote after the war, it is possible that he was reflecting post-war attitudes: "We all knew that General Lee was at a great disadvantage in numbers, equipment and in food supplies for man and beast. Yet such was our faith in our commander, that we went into the contest cheerfully and not without some curiousity as to Grant's plan of campaign." Later in his memoir, he wrote, "I recall one old man . . . getting up and saying he was willing to follow General Lee to the end, wherever that might be; that Lee was a great soldier and a good man and would tell his men when the time came to stop, for he was the only one that would know."

HE SOLDIERS of the Stonewall Brigade achieved fame during and after the Civil War. They were atypical Confederate soldiers in several ways: They were led by one of the most famous men in American military history, and they were predominately well educated. Those well-educated men are over-represented in the sources; they were devoted to the Confederate cause, disliked the Yankees, and spoke out strongly against desertion. Few sources remain from other members of the brigade: They were predominately farmers, and were more prone to desertion. Both groups were united in the Stonewall Brigade. They were devoted to and believed in Stonewall Jackson, followed him through many hard campaigns, and were very upset by his death. These soldiers have gone down in history as a special military unit, but in their attitudes and experiences, they were typical examples of Confederate soldiers.

Notes

- 1 Edward A. Moore: *The Story of a Cannoneer Under Stonewall Jackson* (J. P. Bell Company Inc., Lynchburg, 1910), p. 19.
- 2 Ibid., p. 22.
- 3 John Welsh, May 23, 1861, in Welsh Family Letters, Special Collections. Leyburn Library, Washington and Lee University.
- 4 Benjamin Franklin Templeton, in Special Collections, Leyburn Library, Washington and Lee University, undated.
- 5 Greenlee Davidson: *Cpt. Greenlee Davidson, C.S.A. Diary and Letters 1851-1863*, Charles W. Turner, ed. (McClure Press, Verona, Virginia, 1975), p. 74.
- 6 Welsh, May 23, 1861.

- 7 Ted Barclay: *Ted Barclay, Liberty Hall Volunteers: Letters from the Stonewall Brigade* (1861-1864), Charles W. Turner, ed. (Rockbridge Publishing Company, Natural Bridge Station, 1992), p. 135.
- 8 *Ibid.*, p. 115.
- 9 *Ibid.*, p. 29.
- 10 Ibid., p. 107.
- 11 Ibid., p. 28.
- 12 Welsh, May 23, 1861.
- 13 *Ibid*.
- 14 Daniel Hileman, in Special Collections Leyburn Library, Washington and Lee University, September 13, 1861.
- 15 Welsh, May 23, 1861.
- 16 William Thomas Poague, Gunner with Stonewall: Reminiscences of William Thomas Poague, Monroe F. Cockrell, ed. (McCowat-Mercer Press Inc., Jackson, Tennessee, 1957) p. 11.
- 17 Barclay, p. 79.
- 18 Ibid., p. 108.
- 19 Moore, p. 143.
- 20 Barclay, pp. 51-52.
- 21 Ibid., p. 135.
- 22 *Ibid.*, p. 108.
- 23 Ibid., pp. 143-44.
- 24 Ibid., p. 128.
- 25 *Ibid.*, p. 83.
- 26 Frank Paxton: *The Civil War Letters of General Frank "Bull" Paxton*, John Gallatin Paxton, ed. (Hill Junior College Press, Hillsboro, Texas, 1978), p. 11.
- 27 *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41.
- 28 *Ibid.*, p. 31.
- 29 Barclay, p. 56.
- 30 Welsh, January 19, 1863.
- 31 Welsh, January 30, 1863.
- 32 Barclay, *Ibid.*, p. 52.
- 33 Joseph Hannah Carpenter: Joseph Hannah Carpenter Papers, in Archives, Preston Library, Virginia Military Institute, June 16, 1862.
- 34 Paxton, p. 52.
- 35 Ibid., p. 41.
- 36 Barclay, pp. 143-44.
- 37 Moore, p. 50.

- 38 Ibid., p. 120.
- 39 Ibid., pp. 124-25.
- 40 Barclay, p. 113.
- 41 Moore, p. 210.
- 42 *Ibid.*, 212.
- 43 *Ibid.*, pp. 191-92.
- 44 Ibid., p. 82.
- 45 Paxton, p. 62.
- 46 Barclay, p. 97.
- 47 Ibid.
- 48 Poague.
- 49 Paxton, p. 37.
- 50 Paxton, p. 73.
- 51 Moore, p. 85.
- 52 Poague, p. 18.
- 53 Ibid., pp. 116-17.
- 54 Paxton, p. 37.
- 55 Barclay, p. 92.
- , · I

Paxton, p. 66.

- 57 Poague, p. 8.
- 58 *Ibid.*, p. 39.

56

59

- × 1
- 60 *Ibid.*, p. 58.
- 61 Davidson, p. 65.

Ibid., p. 46.

- 62 Barclay, p. 18.
- 63 *Ibid.*, p. 103.
- 64 Paxton, p. 58.
- 65 Ibid., p. 63.
- 66 *Ibid.*, p. 71.
- 67 Moore, p. 23.
- 68 Rev. Philip Slaughter: A Sketch of the Life of Randolph Fairfax (Third edition, privately printed, 1878), p. 37.
- 69 Paxton, p. 32.
- 70 Poague, p. 22.
- 71 Moore, p. 113.
- 72 Poague, p. 15.

- 73 Ibid., p. 18.
- 74 Moore, p. 84.
- 75 Poague.
- 76 Ibid., p. 60.
- 77 Fairfax, p. 33-34.
- 78 Poague, p. 66.
- 79 James K. Edmondson: My Dear Emma: War Letters of Col. James K. Edmondson, 1861-1865, Charles W. Turner, ed. (McClure Press, Verona, Virginia, 1978), p. 52.
- 80 Paxton, p. 22.
- 81 Poague, p. 14.
- 82 Ibid., 34.
- 83 Barclay, p. 48.
- 84 Moore, p. 94.
- 85 Poague, p. 30.
- 86 Barclay, p. 78.
- 87 Ibid., pp. 78, 83.
- 88 Poague, p. 66.
- 89 John O. Casler, Four Years in the Stonewall Brigade (Fourth edition, Morningside Bookshop, 1995), p. 29.
- 90 Paxton, p. 83.
- 91 Poague, p. 50.
- 92 Poague, pp. 4-5.
- 93 Moore, p. 100.
- 94 Ibid., p. 68.
- 95 Poague, 86.
- 96 Ibid., p. 106.

The Taylor Branch Drainage and The Community of Fredericksburg, Virginia

James M. Hepner

HE TAYLOR BRANCH DRAINAGE is located south of the Maury River in Rockbridge County, along the northeastern flank of Hogback Mountain. This drainage, covering an arc of roughly 3,300 acres, has attracted people to the area for more than 10,000 years. In the center of the drainage is a small community named Fredericksburg that has made substantial contributions to the history of the county, country, and world. This small, unincorporated community has been able to keep its name because it has no post office and thus attracts no official notice from federal and state governments, which might be concerned about the better-known Fredericksburg in eastern Virginia.

Prehistory

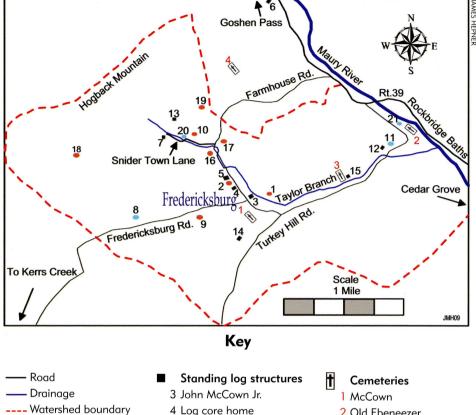
Eleven prehistoric sites have been recorded in the area, along the headwaters of Taylor Branch, where it runs west along Snider Town Lane (Figure 1). Two of the sites were larger camping or reduction areas, where stone tools were started, but not necessarily finished. At most of the sites, existing tools were resharpened. The material found at these sites is regional in origin, with quartz, quartzite and microcrystalline quartz, or chert, predominating. During the late Archaic era, however, about 3,000 to 4,000 years ago, the Native American toolmakers suddenly began using local ferruginous quartzite, surface-mining the ridge at the headwaters of Taylor Branch for it. Below this point on Taylor Branch, no Native American sites have been found, although there are areas from the Taylor Branch drainage to the Maury River, about two miles to the east, where the likelihood of site occupation is high.²

More than seventy artifacts have been recorded with the state on these sites that can be confidently dated or dated by inference. The oldest

identifiable artifact, from the Paleoindian period of nearly 10,000 years ago, is a fluted projectile point, a spear point known to archaeologists as a Dalton, made of a volcanic rock known as rhyolite and used to the point of exhaustion (Figure 2). Discovered in the fall of 2000 and recorded with the Virginia Department of Historic

James Hepner was a research archaeologist at Washington and Lee University. A graduate of Lord Fairfax Community College, he also studied at Northern Arizona University and Mary Baldwin College. A descendant of German immigrants who settled in the Valley of Virginia in the 1750s, he lives in Fredericksburg. He made this presentation to the Society on July 28, 2003, at the Rockbridge Baths Firehouse.

FIGURE 1 Taylor Branch Drainage Area, Fredericksburg, Rockbridge County





- 10 Taylor cabin site 16 Recently removed log home
- 17 Domestic site
- 18 Dale Hollow site
- 19 Coleman home site

- 5 Log core home
- 6 Wilson Springs Hotel
- 7 Tolley log home
- 12 Potter's house
- 13 Coleman log house
- 14 Turkey hill log core home
- 15 Shewey/Lambert loa home

- 2 Old Ebeneezer
- 3 Shewey
- 4 Wilson Springs

Historic sites

- 8 Fredericksburg school
- 11 Rockbridge pottery kiln
- 20 Taylor blacksmith shop
- 21 Ebeneezer church site

Resources in 2001, it is one of only five Paleo spear points reported in Rockbridge County. The nearest sources of rhyolite are near Mount Rogers, near Bristol; the Carolina slate belt, which bisects the middle of North Carolina; and Maryland³ — indicating that the Rockbridge Dalton spear point was acquired through trade or extensive travel.

For the most part, the major tertiary drainages in this area of the James River — Kerrs Creek and Hayes Creek — have shown more evidence of prehistoric occupation than the main stem of the Maury River, probably because passage along the smaller streams was easier than it was on the Maury. As it is today, this area was a crossroads for material goods and social influences. The Taylor Branch is considered an intermittent stream, but as this small creek turns west from Farmhouse Road, it becomes con-

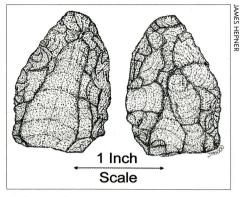


FIGURE 2
Fluted projectile point, found near
Fredericksburg, 2000

tinuous, going underground before it gets to the bottom of the ridge. Taylor Branch was a permanent water source for the generations of Native Americans that occupied the area.

History

Even today, most homes in the area are located along the main channel of the Taylor Drainage. The Shenandoah Valley was settled principally by groups of Scots-Irish, German Palatines, and English. This not-uncommon eighteenth-century pattern of settlement — generally reflecting religious and cultural traits — has been observed in Rockbridge County and elsewhere in research by Washington and Lee University anthropologists. Some families remained in the Valley only a few years and then moved further south or west, while others simply passed through. In 1750, when Daniel Boone and his family and others came through the area en route to the "new frontier," Daniel's best friend, Henry Miller, stayed behind in Augusta County, which at the time included Rockbridge County and extended west to the Mississippi. Miller took up his trade of iron-working and eventually built the first iron furnace in the area, in 1760, at Mossy Creek, a sure sign that the Industrial Revolution had reached the Valley. Boone is reported to have visited him often while traveling back through the area on business.4

The first property owners in this area were John McCown and William Porter, both part of the Borden Grant influx into Rockbridge during the mid-eighteenth century.⁵ John McCown's first home was located southeast of this intersection (Figure 1-1) and William Porter's to the northwest (Figure 1-2).⁶ McCown had been born in County Donegal, Ireland, about 1720,⁷ and acquired 437 acres of Borden Grant land in 1750.⁸

His home was undoubtedly built quickly to satisfy the Borden requirement that a family had to be living on the land to maintain possession.

His son, John McCown Jr., built a log house in 1777 (Figure 1-3) that is still standing; it is believed to be the oldest standing structure in the area⁹ and is the focal point of the Fredericksburg and Farmhouse Road intersection. There is no spring located near this site. A well, lined with uncut native stone, continues to supply part of the current owners' water. Descendants and relatives of the original McCown family owned part of this original Borden Grant land until recently, and at one time the family had acquired more than 2,000 acres in the area. Oddly, neither initial settler is commemorated in any area place name.

William Porter, the other original grantee, purchased two tracts of land, 112 acres in 1750, north of John McCown, and 310 acres four years later, to the south and northeast of him. Almost the entire northern tract appears to be beyond the Borden line. William Porter's log-wall home (Figure 1-2) is said to have been the core of a larger house that Frederick Snyder bought in 1812. The log core, dating to 1755, was moved in the 1950s to Austin, Texas, and incorporated into a home there, because Sam Houston was said to have slept in it. (Born in 1793 at Timber Ridge in Rockbridge County, Sam Houston was the Mexican War hero and the first president of the Republic of Texas and senator and governor after Texas joined the United States.) That cabin was located between the two existing homes, both with log cores, northwest of the intersection of Fredericksburg and Farmhouse Roads (Figures 1-4, 1-5). The actual age of this house is in dispute, as the area was settled rapidly during the late eighteenth century.

Across the ridge to the north, along the Maury River, is the Wilson Springs Hotel, formerly Sticklers Springs Hotel, circa 1778 (Figure 1-6); the building may also contain remnants of the original Porter home still encased in the much larger structure that now stands on the site.¹⁵

The lower portion of Taylor Branch begins near the juncture of Farmhouse and Turkey Hill Roads, where Taylor Branch curves back to the northeast on an almost straight course to its confluence with the Maury River, directly across from Rockbridge Baths. A bridge at this point was destroyed by flooding in 1847 after having only recently been completed. The bridge built to replace it lasted about a hundred years, and its remains are visible upstream of the present steel structure.

Frederick Snyder

Fredericksburg and Snider Town Lane survive as historic place names in the area (Figure 1). Quite a few Snyders* lived in the immediate area

As the family spelled it then.

during the nineteenth century, among whom were Frederick Snyder Sr. and Frederick Snyder Jr. It is unclear whether either Frederick Snyder was the namesake of the small Rockbridge community. By the mid-nineteenth century, at least five families with that name, consisting of nearly thirty people, according to the 1850 census, lived in close proximity. Many were children, and the community was large enough to support a small school at one time.

The family matriarch, Rebecca Isabel Snider, born in 1914 in nearby Fairfield, is still living on land deeded to the family during the twentieth century. Mrs. Snider, whose mother had been reared in a log house (Figure 1-7; Figure 4) in a family of ten or eleven, has been a lifelong resident of the county, moving only as far away as Brownsburg after marrying. During the Great Depression, her family lived mostly off the land and did not rely on consumer goods.*

Fredericksburg School

The Fredericksburg school was located a hundred yards west of Fredericksburg Road along the Taylor Branch drainage, approximately three-quarters of a mile southwest of the intersection of Farmhouse and Fredericksburg Roads (Figure 1-8). Only the remains of a collapsed chimney are visible today.¹⁷

The school was built before 1863, as is shown on the Rockbridge County Gilmer map. ¹⁸ It would have been consolidated with the Rockbridge County school system in the early twentieth century. Mary Firebaugh Reid was a teacher at this school and lived across the road in a house, owned by her father and grandfather, that has now been removed (Figure 1-9). ¹⁹

William Taylor

William Taylor (Figure 3) was born on a small knoll that overlooks Fredericksburg (Figure 1-10). It is unclear whether Taylor Branch was named for William or for his father, Stuart Taylor, who married Martha Hickman and built the log cabin in which their son was born. Although he had little formal education, Stuart Taylor was considered a mechanical genius. For example, there is no spring near the home site; instead, he laid a gravity flow water system to a spring a quarter-mile upstream on the other side of Taylor Branch.²⁰ The spring is still deeded to the property.²¹ The water sys-

^{*} A favorite family story recalls that during the Depression, a visiting preacher from the city was having Sunday lunch with the Snider family. The preacher started in on the main dish and after many added dishes at the end of the meal he declared that they were so good that he thought he could eat a whole squirrel. All the Snider children started giggling because he had already eaten two of them.²⁰

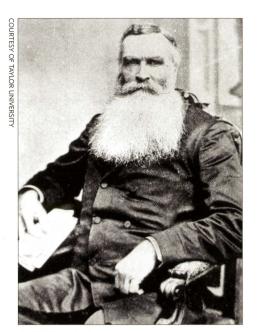


FIGURE 3
Bishop William Taylor.

tem was only recently replaced by a well. The Taylor homestead was torn down in the 1930s because of its poor condition. Later, during the 1950s, there was a small push to have a state historical marker placed along Route 39 describing William Taylor's accomplishments.²²

William Taylor was born on May 2, 1821, and is listed as having been a tanner in his younger years, probably helping his father in that trade.²³ Both were men of large stature and both became preachers. William is reported to have won people to his side by his feats in log-rolling.

His size and robust health certainly did not hurt him on his many missionary trips. He became

a Methodist preacher in 1842 and was admitted, on trial, to the Baltimore Conference in 1843. There can be little doubt that he was the most well-traveled resident of Rockbridge County. He launched his missionary work in 1849, and it led him throughout the United States, Canada, Britain, Egypt, the Holy Land, Australia, Tasmania, New Zealand, China, Ceylon, Malaysia, the West Indies, India, Brazil, Chile, and Peru. He set up thirty-six mission stations that extended 1,200 miles along the Congo River.

He was elevated to the position of Missionary Bishop of Africa in 1884. In 1890, Fort Wayne College in Indiana was renamed in honor of his missionary zeal. Bishop Taylor died in California in 1902 at the age of eighty-one and was buried in Mountain View Cemetery in Oakland, overlooking San Francisco Bay.²⁴ His autobiography, *The Story of My Life*, was "written during about 100 ocean voyages." His other books are *Seven Years Street Preaching in San Francisco* (1857), *Christian Adventures in South Africa* (1867), *Four Years' Campaign in India* (1875), *Our South American Cousins* (1878), *Self-Supporting Missions in India* (1882), and *Flaming Torch in Darkest Africa* (1898).²⁵

Industry in the Area

The largest industry in this drainage, the Rockbridge Pottery Kiln, was located at the point where the Taylor Branch enters the floodplain of the

Maury (Figure 1-11). This kiln was in operation from about 1830 to about 1880. The potter's house and kiln is on a 1762 Borden Grant Tract of 406 acres deeded to Archibald Buchanan (Figure 1-12).²⁶

Several potters that have been associated with this site. John S. Morgan, who was born in 1768 and died in 1850, was probably the first to build a kiln here. John Campbell and his two sons, James H. and Charles, are listed as potters in the area in the 1850 census. Isaac D. Lam was the most active potter at the site, working there from 1864 to 1880.

Using local clays, they manufactured pots, containers and other ceramic items. Their businesses would have benefited from close proximity to the Brownsburg-Staunton Turnpike (Route 252 today) and to the northernmost point of bateaux navigation on the Maury, at Cedar Grove. The Rockbridge stamp that can be found on many finished vessels was also used by the nearby Bustleburg kiln, which was probably operated by the same potters.*

The only other commercial enterprises that have been recorded in the area were owned by William Weaver Davis,²⁷ a local ironmaster who operated his businesses from his home near Gibraltar Forge above Cedar Grove.²⁸ He was mainly interested in the charcoal²⁹ that could be produced on the wooded mountainsides, and telltale leveled circular areas from his coaling hearths are still visible.³⁰ In some areas, entire moun-

tainsides were cleared. The coaling areas extend beyond the land that was actually deeded to him, and some of his charcoal would have been used in the small forges where neighboring farmers made and repaired wrought-iron items.

In addition to industry, the area supported considerable cattle-ranching. As was common practice, cattle would be driven out to the mountainside to graze in the spring and summer, and then driven back into town after the fall mast, when acorns fall.³¹

Other Home Sites

The other historic home sites in the Taylor Branch drainage dating



FIGURE 4 Log home, Tolley property.

^{*} These sites were extensively excavated by Washington and Lee University archaeologists during the 1980s.³²



FIGURE 5
Old frame house.

to the nineteenth century that were recorded for this report include eight standing structures with interior log portions (Figure 1-3, 1-4, 1-5, 1-7, 1-12, 1-13, 1-14, 1-15); one that was recently disassembled and incorporated into a home in Augusta County (Figure 1-16); and four other sites that now show nothing but remnants of domestic occupation (Figure 1-9, 1-17, 1-18, 1-19).

A log house on the Tolley property (Figure 1-7; Figure 4) and

a house with clapboard siding nestled away in the next hollow to the north (Figure 1-13, Figure 5) typify the area's log structures. Both structures have rear additions and batten doors made with tongue-and-grove vertical oak paneling of varying widths. The same material was used to construct the non-load-bearing walls on both the first and second floors. The Tolley house still has some fully pegged, six-over-six hung window sashes with crown glass panes.³² Each has a log footprint of sixteen feet by twenty-two.³³

Only two other homes are mentioned in the historic records. One, the Tobias Lambert house, built in 1813 along the lower portion of Taylor Branch (Figure 1-15), has a log core over which weatherboard has been applied.³⁴ The other, a potter's house below the Lambert house (Figure 1-12), has a log core and was added onto many times.

The highest-situated home site in the area is at the first small terrace in Dale Hollow on the side of Hogback Mountain (Figure 1-18). Little is known about the Dales except that the land that they occupied was disputed.³⁵ A spring is located beside the house, the foundation of which consists of large rocks at the corners and doorway. In clearing the terrace, a small fence was created on the northern upslope side of the site. Downstream, a larger field was cleared.³⁶

A home site on the northern side of this drainage on the Coleman property (Figure 1-19) has extensive terraces, clearings, and massive stone fences that would have taken many years to develop.³⁷

Other Historic Sites

Among other sites of historical interest that are located in the Taylor Branch drainage area are an early blacksmith's shop, below the old Taylor cabin site (Figure 1-20).³⁸ Three cemeteries have also been recorded or reported. One represents only a portion of the early McCown family cemetery (Figure 1-1;³⁹ another adjoins the site of an early Methodist church,

"Old Ebenezer," near the old bridge over the Maury (Figure 1-2). 40 In between the two is the Shewey Cemetery (Figure 1-3). 41 Another cemetery north of this area, known as The Wilsons Springs Cemetery, outside the northern boundary of the Taylor Drainage, contains many early Snider and Mohler graves, including that of Frederick Snyder Sr. (Figure 1-4) 42

The Taylor Branch Drainage and the small community of Fredericksburg have, over the years, produced men and women of stature and note who have sent themselves or their products out into the world with the spirit and pride of the place where they began.

Notes

- 1 Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond, site numbers 44 RB 394-404. James Hepner recorded these sites. In standard archaeological protocol, 44 means Virginia and RB means Rockbridge.
- 2 Personal observation.
- 3 In a personal conversation with George Tolley, he said that Carol Nash of James Madison University had located some very low-quality rhyolite in the Blue Ridge, east of this area.
- 4 John M. Faragher: *Daniel Boone: The Life and Legend of an American Pioneer* (Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1992), pp. 13-14 (early friendship); pp. 27, 28-29 (travel to Virginia and development of iron works; p. 268 (extended friendship).
- 5 J. R. Hildebrand: *Borden Map* (1964) redrawn plat on file in the Leyburn Library, Washington and Lee University.
- 6 James W. McClung: 1936a "Robert E. McCown Home" (VHLC356), in *Works Prog*ress Administration of Virginia Historical Inventory — Rockbridge County. This record is confusing; this home is the original John McCown Sr. house. It was torn down in the 1990s, having served the last years of its life as a barn.
- 7 "Descendants of John McCown," compiled by Jas. Harvey McCown, based in large part on information supplied by Lyle Kinnear (McCown) of Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Blacksburg. Copy on file in the Leyburn Library Special Collections at Washington and Lee University.
- 8 Hildebrand.
- 9 James W. McClung: 1936b "Home of Nancy Kirpatrick" (VHLC306), in Works Progress Administration of Virginia Historical Inventory — Rockbridge County.
- 10 Personal observation and conversation with the current owners, Connie and Libby Burch.
- 11 Personal conversation with Lisa Suzanne McCown, a sixth-generation descendant of John McCown, who was born in the county in 1958. She believed Ruth McCown was the last in the area.
- 12 Hildebrand.
- 13 James W. McClung: *Historical Significance of Rockbridge County, Virginia* (McClure Company, Inc. Staunton, Virginia, 1939), pp. 147-49.
- 14 Personal communication with Isabel Snider; also reported by her son in *Rock-bridge County, Virginia Heritage Book, 1778-1999* (Rockbridge Area Genealogical Society, Rockbridge Baths, Virginia), p. 350.

- 15 James W. McClung, 1936c "'Wilsons Springs' Old Home of Daniel Strickler" (VHLC217) Works Progress Administration of Virginia Historical Inventory Rockbridge County. This record has Benjamin Borden deeding the land to William Peeples about 1774, but the Borden Grant Map has the land purchased by William Porter in 1750.
- 16 Lexington Gazette (C. A. B. Dee. 2nd, reporter): "Flood in the North River" (December 2, 1847). Microfilm on file in the Leyburn Library, Washington and Lee University. The Maury River was originally named the North River.
- 17 Personal observation.
- 18 Jeremy F. Gilmer, Map of the County of Rockbridge, Virginia (untitled; 1863). Copy on file in the Washington and Lee University Special Collections. The Gilmer map shows a D. Snyder living in the house south of the school. An 1883 map by John Carmichael (also on file in the Washington and Lee University Special Collections) shows the house as the Firebaugh residence. The inference is that D. Snyder was the original donor.
- 19 Personal communication with David Coffey.
- 20 en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William Taylor (bishop).
- 21 The spring is clearly visible in the northeastern edge of the George Tolley property tract in Rockbridge County, deed plot 35-A-3A.
- 22 Personal communication with Isabel Snider.
- 23 en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William Taylor (bishop).
- 24 taylor.edu/academics/support services/archives/William_taylor.
- 25 en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William Taylor (bishop).
- 26 Hildebrand.
- 27 Charles B. Dew, Bond of Iron Master and Slave at Buffalo Forge (W.W. Norton, New York, 1994). This insightful book includes detailed information on the Weaver-Davis families.
- 28 James Manuel, "Davis House Virginia Historic Landmarks survey form" (File no. 81-131, 1979). Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond.
- 29 Rockbridge County Deed Book OO, p. 362. "I hereby reserve a right of way to my timber land above the tract next to the mountain line on my old coal road on the ridge" W. W. Davis.
- 30 Personal observation.
- 31 In the Blue Ridge Mountains, two grazing areas were known by their access routes: Hog Camp Gap and Cow Camp Gap.
- 32 Crown glass predates the assumed 1830s construction date of the house, and may exemplify the adaptive reuse of building materials that was common at that time.
- 33 Personal observation.
- 34 James McClung, 1936d "Old Home of Charles M. Shewey" (VHLC236), in Works Progress Administration of Virginia Historical Inventory Rockbridge County.
- 35 Rockbridge County Deed Book 91, p. 438, March 19, 1902. Conner never received a deed and Davis said he never paid in full. Nevertheless, Conner sold land to Joseph F. Tolley but never executed that deed. Tolley paid in full and asked the court to authorize a deed with a special warranty. This warranty was called the Larking Patch, with Firebaugh getting water rights to the spring.

- 36 Personal observation.
- 37 Personal observation.
- 38 The author identified this site while walking the drainage. Isabel Snider and her son confirmed it; many of the tools from this shop are in their possession.
- 39 Rockbridge County, Virginia Cemeteries South River and Walkers Creek Districts (Rockbridge Area Genealogical Society, Rockbridge Baths, Virginia, 1999), p. 226.
- 40 Angela M. Ruley, *Rockbridge County, Virginia Cemeteries, Vol. 1* Kerrs Creek District (published by the author, 1989), pp. 90-91.
- 41 Rockbridge County, Virginia Cemeteries South River and Walkers Creek Districts, p. 6.
- 42 *Ibid.*, pp. 227-228.

The South River Lumber Company of Cornwall, Virginia

Horace D. Douty

O THINK OF Rockbridge County, Virginia, one must envision mountains. The county's 390,000 acres lie nestled neatly between the Blue Ridge Mountains on the east and the Alleghenies to the west. All the Rockbridge waters flow into the James River. Along the south branch of the James, the village of Cornwall is tucked tightly against the mountain that controls the river's course at the eastern edge of the county. Four miles downstream, South River joins the Maury (formerly North) River. Without these rivers and mountains, there could not have been a South River Lumber Company to construct the village.

Archeologists astonish us with the revelation that the grand cliffs we so admire today consist of stone that lay beneath a sea several hundred million years ago. Try to visualize Rockbridge County under water, with a floor of sediment more than thirty thousand feet thick — six miles deep. About three hundred million years ago, the huge tectonic European and African continental masses pushed westward, smashing into North America and destroying our "Rockbridge Ocean." The awesome collision left us with something perhaps even better, however: our Appalachian Mountains.¹

Throughout more recent history, the slopes of the Blue Ridge produced fine timber trees. This abundance did not go unnoticed by northern industrialists, who were running short of lumber. By the end of the 1800s, demand for forest products in New York and Pennsylvania had exceeded supply. Almost all major construction was of wood. Factories, homes, warehouses, and bridges all demanded timber for building. Enormous beams were commonly used, many of them more than thirty feet

long and two feet square, weighing in the tons. Today, the most expensive wood product consists of these beams. Removed from old structures and sawn into smaller boards, the wood is sold as flooring at twenty dollars a square foot.

Although the present location of Cornwall was chosen by the South River Lumber Company in the early 1900s, one must be aware of an earlier history. Let your mind

The Rev. Dr. Horace Douty, a Rockbridge County native and Washington and Lee graduate, earned his doctorate from Union Theological Seminary. His recently published volume, *Rockbridge, Virginia: History Lessons From A Country Church*, consists of fifty-five snippets of local history that he delivered, one per Sunday, as part of the worship in Oxford Church, leading up to its 250th anniversary in September 2008. He delivered this paper at Mountain View Elementary School on October 27, 2003.

go back to the period of the Revolutionary War, the 1770s. Remember that our valley was heavily forested then, accessible only by foot or on horseback. There was an Indian trail on the high ground, later named the Valley Pike. There were no bridges. Lesser trails usually followed streams. The occasional homestead in this challenging wilderness would be carefully located near a creek or river. One of the brave pioneers was a man named Archibald Alexander, who had come from Ireland in 1747, eventually making his way into the eastern part of the valley. The convergence of two streams attracted him: Irish Creek (or Iris Creek, as some old documents have it) and Marys Creek, which we know today as South River. By the late 1700s, much of the land was owned by Archibald's son, William, and a small settlement — today's Cornwall – began to emerge at the junction of the streams. Eastbound travelers from Lexington found that one possible route ran through this little village, up Irish Creek and across the mountain. The village was first called Crowder after a local lawyer who helped establish a small store there with his partner, W. T. Moore. But it was tin that gave Cornwall its permanent name.

Tin-bearing ore had been discovered along the Blue Ridge as early as the 1820s, with the most promising concentration lying several miles upstream from Crowder. In 1846, Professor George D. Armstrong, a geologist at Washington College, tested the ore and declared it to contain tin with some silver. The geological and mineralogical conditions in Rockbridge were found to be nearly identical to those in Cornwall, England. Excitement spread. Tin had great value, and there were no other known deposits in America. Despite the difficulties and challenges of transportation, surely a way could be found to harvest and distribute these resources. The whole world needed tin and silver. The cliffs and forests of Rockbridge should not deter industrial growth.

Then it happened. In the brushy thickets well-dressed surveyors began to appear. They pointed their shiny instruments southward along the base of the Blue Ridge. Settlers viewed the intruders with deep suspicion. Rifles were put away only after gentle persuasion and fair bargaining had a chance to work. Landowners were promised something almost too good to hope for: a railroad. By 1880, construction was virtually completed, and for the first time Rockbridge had a dependable means of rapid transportation. Steel rails quickly made slow canal systems obsolete. The Shenandoah Valley Railroad, later the Norfolk and Western, ran right past the front door of the tin deposits, through Crowder. Some miles to the south, rails converged at Glasgow with a line running east and west to connect Richmond and Big Lick (Roanoke).

Serious tin mining could begin. Crowder seemed too ordinary a name for a place promising unlimited industrial wealth. The villagers

jubilantly renamed their little crossroads Cornwall. It was a breathless time. The iron-makers rejoiced, for no longer would they lose lives and cargo on the treacherous streams. Valley farmers were grateful, knowing that the fruits of their labor could finally reach national markets. Stations appeared along the tracks: in addition to Cornwall, there were Vesuvius, Marlbrook, Midvale, Riverside, "Old" Buena Vista. All of these rail stations were located along a twelve-mile section of Rockbridge's South River above its confluence with the Maury River. It was a heady time for Rockbridge. If one railway could become reality so quickly, then another should follow. Economic exuberance abounded. A number of capitalists assessed the untapped natural resources of Rockbridge. Some formed "development companies." They awakened in our Calvinist forefathers the unfamiliar dream of instant wealth. The *Rockbridge County News* of October 23, 1890, ran an editorial that bubbled like Champagne:

It is with a feeling of sincere gratification that we today record Lexington's great awakening. The old town has aroused from her lethargy. She has caught the spirit of the times, and is girding up her loins to march to the front and take her place among the most vigorous and prosperous towns of the land. . . .



FIGURE 1
Undated photograph of the South River Lumber Company mill at Cornwall.

The Virginia Western Railroad will be built to a connection with the Tennessee Midland Railroad, thus making a Grand Trunk Road from Lexington, Virginia to Memphis, Tennessee. There is every reason to believe that the Pittsburgh and Glasgow Railroad will soon cross the B&O at Lexington, thus giving a short and direct connection with that great center of iron consumption. The Cumberland Valley Railroad, which has reached Winchester in its progress up the Valley, is expected to give Lexington its fifth railroad in the very near future. Then will be fulfilled the prediction of John W. Garrett, late president of the B&O Railroad, that Lexington Virginia will become one of the great railroad centers of the South.

The great metropolis did not materialize, of course, except as countless deeds on paper. In the Rockbridge Courthouse, Deed Book 76 documents an ever-widening circle from the center of town, leaving space only for a grand beltway to help with the traffic. Eventually, however, the surge subsided. Optimistic citizens settled back, awaiting those promising new railroads to arrive. But Lexington did not become the "great railroad center of the South." Perhaps many of today's residents are happier for that failure.

Little Cornwall had its boom as well. Tin was being mined. The furnaces were producing iron. Tanbark was being shipped by the ton. So were crossties, huckleberries, and chestnuts. Commerce poured in and out of the busy hub. People began to envision a city there, glowing with wealth and beauty. Inevitably, a "development company" made its way to Cornwall. Two New York promoters acquired the "Irish Creek Farm," which encompassed most of the level and usable land where Irish Creek joins South River, at the northern edge of Cornwall. On a plateau overlooking the bottom-land of the two streams, they built a hotel, an ornate, three-floor palace with forty-eight rooms, each offering a striking view. A city was laid out and lots were offered for sale. But nothing happened. The hotel was never occupied. The lots were never sold. Instead, the economic depression of the 1890s came to Rockbridge County.

The tin ore, so magnificently promising at first, never rivaled the production of England's Cornwall. Disputes regarding ownership of land and minerals led to complicated legal tangles, halting production in 1886. Mining resumed in 1890, but lawsuits broke out anew, and satisfactory resolution could not be reached. By 1892, the tin mine was closed again and has not operated for the past hundred-plus years. Disheartened investors sold out, and the capitalists from the north went home.

The tin ore is still there, resting in the high ground of Rockbridge. One must wonder: will it ever be brought forth? In America, this valuable metal must be imported or recycled. New technology should make mining easier today, but something more than technology is needed to resolve legal disagreements.

The Rockbridge area has a number of other natural resources, some of which may ignite the interest of a larger world. Limestone is abundant, both for manufacturing lime products and for building. The same is true for other types of stone, including granite and sandstone. Marl is plentiful. Water is present too, in surprising quantities: In addition to obvious and valuable rivers, water runs pure and sparkling underground, largely unnoticed.*

Despite its beauty and providential abundance, Rockbridge at the end of the nineteenth century was suffering economically. The future looked bleak in the opening years of the 1900s. Commerce and industry had come to a standstill. When one examines historic photographs of the Rockbridge hills from that period, the lack of forest cover is striking. There is a reason: during the last half of the century, at least eight major furnaces were producing iron and steel in the county. Together they consumed an estimated one thousand cords of firewood every week as charcoal. It is difficult for us to imagine such prodigious demand. The hills were gradually cleared, as landowners learned how to make charcoal. Today, a walk through re-grown woods can reveal telltale circular pits where charcoal was manufactured throughout the county. This activity slowed to a halt, however, as the economic depression tightened.

An economic revival was desperately needed in Rockbridge. At least part of that need was met, and it happened at Cornwall. Although timber is a renewable resource, the process requires two to four decades of growth. The Whitmer and Steele Lumber Company of Pennsylvania had used up its current sources of timber and was looking for virgin forests. The Blue Ridge Mountains at the eastern edge of Rockbridge County still held an abundance of big trees, largely untouched, especially where they grew on remote slopes too steep to be reached for profitable charcoal production. Whitmer and Steele knew how to harvest logs from formidable terrain. It had perfected the operation in other states, albeit among gentler mountains. The secret lay in narrow-gauge railroad tracks carefully graded to penetrate virtually every hill and hollow. In Pennsylvania the system relied on gravity alone to bring out the logs. Although a slightly

^{*} George West Diehl, whose name is quite familiar to all who love the history of this area, told me something a half-century ago. It impressed me, and I remember the amazing details. Dr. Diehl said he was having a well drilled for his beautiful residence, Dundee Plantation, located just west of Short Hill. When the drill had penetrated some one hundred feet deep into the earth, clear water was suddenly struck. The driller attempted to measure the flow, but it was far beyond his capacity to gauge. Then he lowered the device to the very end of the cable, but never touched bottom. His cable was more than seven hundred feet in length. Millions of gallons of fresh water must be there, in an underground lake rivaling the depth of Scotland's Loch Ness. We do not know how many more such priceless reservoirs lie beneath the county.

different style would be used in Rockbridge, the earlier technique deserves our attention. It was referred to as "wildcatting timber."

Here is how it worked: A track made of wood or steel or both was laid into the deep forest on a gentle grade uphill from the sawmill. Switchbacks and bridges were required to negotiate terrain. Horses and oxen dragged massive tree trunks to this track where they were rolled onto a railroad device consisting simply of two sets of heavy iron wheels, one double set at each end. The logs created a connecting frame for the eight wheels. Two men would climb aboard this free-wheeling monster, knock out the chocks, and begin rolling toward the mill, thundering downhill for miles. The only semblance of control was a rudimentary brake on one set of wheels. With tons of green logs aboard, the descent was so treacherous it could well be called foolhardy. Only a death-defying daredevil would commit to such a job. Yet volunteers came forward without hesitation. When two or more of these rigs occupied the track simultaneously, races and challenges would begin. Hardened lumberjacks were eager to prove their unconcern for danger. The mountains shook from the rattling steel, the challenging shouts of the exulting crews, and the occasional spectacular crash. When such an enormous mass left the tracks, the rugged terrain was scarred as hurtling logs and machinery plowed a new path down the mountainside. Wreckage was mostly non-recoverable. Death was frequent. When rolling loads succeeded in the trip to the mill, the logs were dumped into a millpond. Draft animals pulled the empty wheel assemblies, or "trucks," back up to the loading sites, called "landings," where the routine began anew.

By 1910, steam engines had proved their value in the timber industry, and the wildcatting era came thankfully to an end. Steam power brought control. At first, the engines were used only for pulling the empty trucks up to the landings because owners were unwilling to risk their expensive engines on the downgrade. Gradually, however, the steam locomotives were furnished with dependable gears, making it feasible to hold logging cars in place as they moved down the track toward the mill. Danger and death were reduced, although not eliminated. Runaway teams, falling timber, exploding boilers, and wrecked locomotives still made for unwelcome headlines. To this day, production of lumber involves significant hazards.

Whitmer and Steele began plans to locate in Cornwall. Although the economic depression was heavy upon the county, these strong men were optimistic. They were not "developers" in the sense of those others who had come and gone. The businessmen of the Steele family, who ultimately bought out the Whitmers, were extremely careful, intelligent, and experienced. More important, they were scrupulously honest and made no fan-

tastic claims. They promised only what they knew they could deliver. The Steeles represented a vital breath of fresh air for the disillusioned citizens of Rockbridge County in 1914. Many of these citizens had fallen victim to smooth promoters and vowed, "never again."

A proven commercial railroad was in operation at Cornwall and uphill from the village lay vast stores of timber. Water was abundant. There was only one problem: The mill needed a millpond. The mill's center would have to be located one mile downstream, where the manageable, westward-flowing Whites Creek could be dammed just before it emptied into South River. The Norfolk and Western rail track crossed the river at that point, creating a slow-down curve ideal for industrial sidings. Here is where the new mill would be constructed and "New Cornwall" would emerge.

The name chosen for Rockbridge's new industry was "South River Lumber Company." Heavy construction began in March 1916 with knowledgeable crews brought in from Pennsylvania. These were men who understood the timber industry, who had done all this before. The company first built eighteen sturdy homes and two boarding houses for the newcomers. Scores of local men, grateful for jobs, were added to the payroll. The positive economic impact on Rockbridge was immediate and the impact was enduring. Imagine the relief: Here was a new industry, sorely



FIGURE 2
Chestnut logs being hauled to the South River Lumber Company at Cornwall, undated.

needed in those shaky times, actually arising in plain view and paying dependable wages. Still smarting over their earlier losses, local bankers and businessmen were at first skeptical. As the industry progressed, however, they learned to trust, then respect, and finally admire the South River Lumber Company. The names of those who who came and stayed included Crissman, Badger, Swanson, Clevenger, Thompson, and Steele. My father, Reuben Franklin Douty, was one of the Pennsylvanians. He married the local schoolmistress, Mary Flotelle Coffey, and eventually put down roots in Rockbridge.

Large steam boilers arrived from Pittsburgh to create power for the sprawling mill, using coal and wood as energy sources. A massive band saw, new to the industry, was carefully set in place. It would be capable of milling 85,000 board feet of lumber a day. Circular saws were being phased out after their promising fifty-year history, because band saws cut faster and created a thinner cut, or "kerf," yielding less sawdust and thus wasting considerably less wood. The millipond was built, complete with steam-powered elevators capable of forcing logs twenty-four feet up to the milling deck. Massive buildings took shape, fitted with the latest equipment, all designed to turn trees into finished lumber.

A schoolhouse was placed in the center of the residential area, so that no schoolchild was out of sight or sound of home. The company constructed a large, secure general store within sight of the mill. It was never a "company store," and Wilmer Supply moved down from Old Cornwall and set up retail business in the new building. Marvin Methodist Church appeared across the river, and McCutchen Presbyterian Chapel was built between Old and New Cornwall. The village was humming with energy and buoyed by high spirits.

The biggest challenge remained getting logs from the mountains to the mill. Another railroad was needed. Specifically, a forty-two-inch gauge logging railway to connect with the Norfolk and Western track would be built. From this connection near the mill site, the rails would probe deep into the forest. Grading, blasting, and bridge-building commenced. The rail line followed South River for its first mile and then turned up Irish Creek.

Pennsylvania crews initially carried out surveying for this new rail-road, but South River Lumber Company soon hired a Rockbridge County surveyor, Douglas E. Brady. That distinguished family name has never faded from Rockbridge history. I was privileged to know Douglas Brady during his final years. His son, D. E. Brady Jr., whom we knew as Pat, offered me valuable encouragement when I contemplated writing this history. The Brady family has made significant contributions of knowledge and leadership in the entire Rockbridge area.

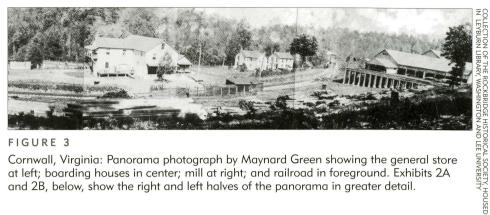
Douglas Brady quickly proved the value of his mathematical and engineering skills. The northern surveyors returned home, leaving Brady in full command. His task was formidable. He designed fifty-seven miles of rail grades and lived to see the entire track completed. That is an astonishing achievement, considering the mountainous terrain. Steam locomotives began pushing their way smoothly into wilderness haunts, before the unbelieving eyes of reclusive settlers who thought they had defied every encroachment of civilization. The logging project had begun. The year was 1917.

Cornwall timber crews learned the names of hills and hamlets: Big Bend Creek, Yankee Horse Ridge, Norvall Flats, Panther Mountain, Porters Fields, Montebello, Coffey Town, Crabtree Falls, Nettle Creek. Many of the shy natives, especially the younger generation, welcomed the lumber company. They could easily appreciate the new roads, the new jobs, and in some cases new husbands. A partial list of some local names would include Clark, Lilly, Whitten, Heslep, Fauber, Floyd, Tyree, Lawhorne, Wilmer, Cash, Thomas, Gibson, Greene, and Humphries. The South River Lumber Company had enormous respect for strong families, and made every effort to be fair with these people. Local workers were vital to the success of the industry.

World War I took some of the men in 1917-19, but the mill was able to stay in production. Many of the veterans returned to Cornwall at war's end. Franklin Douty, recovering from war wounds, moved away to a farm he bought in Pennsylvania. For several years he and Mary lived there, where their first children, Stafford and Max, were born. Then came the Great Depression, inflicting another kind of wound. The family moved back to Cornwall, where there was welcome, almost life-saving employment. The Douty family grew to include my twin sister and me, born in one of the original eighteen houses.

By 1925 the South River Lumber Company had reached the peak of its production. More than two hundred families were on the payroll. Five locomotives were in service. From Cornwall, the rail tracks had reached over the summit of the Blue Ridge into Nelson and Amherst counties. Thousands of huge logs, mostly chestnut and oak, were cut down and sectioned by means of the two-man crosscut saw. The logging trains brought massive loads to the mill, where they were unloaded into the pond. Why was a pond necessary? Floating logs can be moved and sorted in water, regardless of their size. Skilled lumberjacks wearing spiked boots and wielding strong pikes could walk atop the heavy tangle and guide the day's chosen logs over to the elevator for milling.

South River Lumber Company bought at least eight thousand acres of timberland in order to begin unfettered operation. As the company's



Cornwall, Virginia: Panorama photograph by Maynard Green showing the general store at left; boarding houses in center; mill at right; and railroad in foreground. Exhibits 2A and 2B, below, show the right and left halves of the panorama in greater detail.



FIGURE 3A



FIGURE 3B

reputation for honesty grew, owners of mountain forest gradually became willing to negotiate sales of timber alone. This made expansion easier, since the cost of land was eliminated. The Cornwall company gained permission to harvest timber from the vast holding of the Buena Vista Extract Company. It was a fortuitous overlapping of industries. The Extract Company used tree products to manufacture chemicals instead of lumber. The owners had dreamed of building a railroad for access into their mountain acreage, but the cost was simply too high. Now the South River Lumber Company would do it for them, and pay handsomely as well. The logging trains pushed ever eastward and upward, bringing to the Cornwall mill large trees, many of them chestnut, which only a few years earlier had been unreachable.

The American chestnut was by far the largest and most valuable tree in our eastern forests. I discovered a 1920 manuscript written by one Charlie Thompson, who apparently practiced medicine in the South River area. Thompson wrote: "I heard a United States Forester say before the chestnut blight struck, it was the finest body of chestnut timber in The World!"3 Chestnut trees soared more than a hundred feet into the air. Stumps measuring ten feet across were not uncommon. The wood was light, easily worked, and durable. Split chestnut rail fences stand even now, having withstood more than a century of storm and sunshine. Chestnut was made into furniture and firewood. The bark produced acid for tanning leather, and the lumber made excellent flooring, framing, and siding. Heavier timber was milled into railroad crossties. In addition, the trees produced nuts by the tons, far sweeter and richer than the Chinese variety we see today. Children and adults gathered them as a source of winter income, hauling the nuts in heavy farm wagons to the depot at Cornwall. Farm animals were fattened on chestnuts, and wild turkeys, deer, bear, squirrel, and grouse fed plentifully as well. Settlers found new ways to serve them, even using chestnut flour for baking.

By the mid-1920s, the chestnut boom came to an end. A devastating blight eventually reached every tree. For years, as late as 1950, the great white skeletons stood out on the green mountainsides, their strong roots deep in the soil, all dead.

We can hardly overstate the catastrophic enormity of the chestnut blight. Chestnut trees had represented approximately fifty percent of marketable forest abundance. Now, their blossoms would no longer give springtime mountains a creamy glow and heady fragrance. The prized clear honey would no longer grace tables, and millions of honeybees simply perished for lack of raw material. Many of the dead trees became home to small, drilling insects, which made woodpeckers happy. Some of the skeleton trees were cut and processed into lumber. The blight and

boring insects combined to give the world one last gift: "wormy chestnut" lumber.⁴

But the South River Lumber Company was fortunately a step ahead of the chestnut blight. The lumber operation had met most of its goals. The timber had been largely harvested and the mill closed in 1940, according to plan.

Yet enormous stockpiles of cured lumber had been growing. The Great Depression had been taking its toll. From 1930, sales of the finished product had come to a virtual standstill, in parallel with the nation's economy. Millions of board feet of prime lumber remained unsold in the yard. Chestnut boards sixteen inches wide and twenty feet long — overabundant, straight, and well cured — remained carefully stacked and covered for years. We can only dream of such lumber today. If available, it would be priceless. But in the years between 1937 and 1940, this beautiful wood was practically given away to clear the storage area. Where did it go? For the most part it went to West Virginia, to the coal mines. One may yet find traces of the chestnut boards, used as flooring in the muddy mines.

The fifty-seven miles of steel rails were taken up. The industrial buildings were brought down. The millpond was drained. One of the successful ventures of Rockbridge had run its course. A few concrete foundations remain at the mill site, but the only visible reminder deliberately left in place is the rusting steel cab of a locomotive, resting a few yards west of the Norfolk and Western tracks.

The legacy of South River Lumber Company is significant. Cornwall village thrives as a residential community. The solid homes built for Pennsylvanians are occupied, some of them by descendants of the early loggers. The Whitmer-Steele virtues of honestly and diligence have been passed on to them and to other residents of the county. Level-headed citizens absorbed the remarkable example. They understand more clearly how some of the grandiose and promising schemes can evaporate and vanish overnight. Other, more modest ventures can plod stubbornly forward without fanfare, and bring about much good.

Smaller sawmills thrive in the county, harvesting once more some of the same land owned by the South River Lumber Company. None, however, build railroads. Motor trucks and bulldozers use the carefully graded roadbeds laid out by Douglas Brady more than eighty years ago. One of today's lumbermen is Bruce Clark. Bruce operates a sawmill near Raphine, only a few miles west of South River. His ancestor is Joe Clark, a pioneer on Irish Creek several generations ago. Joe Clark must have been quite an unforgettable character. His name is the title of a song that is sung worldwide. I first sang "Old Joe Clark" in the Virginia Music Camp more than fifty years back and still remember one verse:



FIGURE 4
Cornwall railroad, re-created by the National Park Service on the Blue Ridge Parkway.

Oh I went down to Old Joe's house, and Old Joe wasn't home. I ate up all of Joe's ham meat and throwed away the bone. 'Round and around, Od Joe Clark, round and around we're gone. 'Round and around, Old Joe Clark, and bye, bye Lucy Long.

Little did I realize that the song may have come from Rockbridge County. Today, Bruce Clark maintains the mountain music tradition with fiddles, banjos, guitars, and other instruments, together with square dancers, at his sawmill most Friday evenings. Bruce jokes that his ancestors viewed those first Pennsylvania surveyors as something of a threat, possibly sent into the backwoods to interrupt the family's marketing of "liquid herbs." As those fears proved groundless, the Clarks eventually became the most prominent family name on the lumber company payroll.

In recognition of the logging industry's impact on the history of Rockbridge, the National Park Service has placed a reconstruction on Yankee Horse Ridge, where a short segment of South River Lumber Company railroad has been restored on the original bed. It can be viewed from the Blue Ridge Parkway at Milepost 34.3, a few miles south of Whetstone Ridge (Figure 4).

The marker tells today's travelers that more than a hundred million board-feet of lumber were transported to the mill on such a railway. A hundred million board-feet: it boggles the mind. How much lumber is that? At least seventy thousand typical three-bedroom homes could be built from such a lumber pile — although Cornwall's lumber was not used exclusively for home-building. Some of the it went into construction of factories and warehouses; many trainloads were used as prop and shoring timbers in mining operations. Rockbridge County's forest products penetrated the nation.

The large general store, no longer used for retailing, stands beside the tracks at Cornwall, as does one of the original boarding houses. Marvin Church was swept away in the flood caused by Hurricane Camille in 1969; a new building was built on higher ground, east of South River. The vast forest has been renewed and restored, allowing a continuing harvest of timber. The land is now owned largely by the federal government, as part of the huge Washington and Jefferson National Forest. It remains open to the public for hunting, fishing, hiking, camping, and limited commercial activity. The interlacing railroad grades are welcome to the Forest Service, which understands the cost of building fire roads. Douglas Brady's careful work is there for those who pursue secluded hikes. Visitors can enjoy scenery deep in hemlock forests, far more wild and extensive than on the popular Chessie Trail. Brooks tumble through the gorges, sparkling pure, the habitat of native trout. Wild turkey, ruffed grouse, deer, and bear thrive in the thickets beside the path.

Here is your gift from the South River Lumber Company, which made it accessible.

Notes

- 1 Greg Mock, "Virginia's Shenandoah Valley" (American Geographic Publishing, Helena, Montana, 1990).
- Stuart Moore, "Greater Lexington 1890," Proceedings of the Rockbridge Historical Society, Volume 5 (Rockbridge Historical Society, Lexington, 1961), p. 74.
- 3 Charlie Thompson, "Reminiscences" (manuscript, Leyburn Library, Special Collections, Washington and Lee University, 1920).
- 4 Lynn Coffey, "Backroads," December 2002 and January 2003 (Love, Virginia).

Building From Faith: A History of Saint Patrick's Catholic Parish, 1873-2003

James M. Morgan Jr.

ACH OF YOU no doubt has heard of or seen Saint Patrick's Cathedral on Fifth Avenue in New York City. Lexington does not have so grand an edifice, but does have a similarly named church that honors the well-known early Irish bishop of that name.

The Catholic Diocese of Richmond has two such named churches: Saint Patrick's Church in Richmond, appropriately located on Church Hill, and ours. Another Saint Patrick's was located in Norfolk but burned on December 7, 1856, when an arsonist set fire to a neighboring building. Both Washington, D.C., and Baltimore have also had churches of the name; in fact, almost every U.S. Catholic diocese and archdiocese has a parish or church named after our patron saint.

The Saint

Saint Patrick, at birth named Succat – "clever in war" or "war-like" — never served in any military capacity as far as is known. His father was a Roman tax collector; his grandfather is reported to have been a Christian monk.

Much of the written word concerning his life appears to be opinion or conjecture:

- Either he was born in Brittany in France or near present-day Carlisle in Cumbria, on the northwest coast of England.
- Either he was born in 390 A.D. or 30 years later.
- Either he drove the snakes from the Irish shores or he did not.
- Either he was buried in Downpatrick in northwestern County Mayo, or beside the still waters of the River Shannon in County Offaly west of Dublin, or somewhere else.

Succat has been reliably reported to have been captured as a child by

marauders from Ireland who made him return with them as a slave to their country. He was forced to live in poverty and hunger, working as a shepherd and a swineherd, feeding himself on roots and herbs. He is said to have prayed constantly. He eventually escaped and was taken aboard a ship at Wicklow on the Irish Sea, which brought him

General James M. Morgan Jr., emeritus dean of the faculty and professor of civil engineering at Virginia Military Institute, became a communicant at St. Patrick's when he entered V.M.I. three months before Pearl Harbor. He is the author of a formal history of the parish, from which this article is adapted. Aptly, this paper was delivered at the Sheridan Livery Inn in Lexington, on January 26, 2004.



FIGURE 1
The patron saint.

to mainland Europe. He joined a monastery near Tours, France, and was ordained a priest; in time, he was consecrated a bishop by Pope Celestine I, who bestowed on him the name Patricus.

He was ordered to return to Ireland and landed back at Wicklow. He preached to and converted thousands of Irish, ordained many priests, and founded numerous churches and monasteries. He is said to have died on March 17, and the subsequent mourning period was known as "twelve days of lamentation." Many depictions show a man of stern visage; there is no doubt he was a man of strong faith.

According to the Legionaries of Christ, a Roman Catholic congre-

gation of priests founded in 1941, which today has more than 500 priests and 2,500 seminarians, Saint Patrick prayed often, and he is reported to have said, "the love of God and his fear came to me more and more, and my faith was strengthened." Further, Patrick would "get up for prayer before daylight, through snow, through frost, through rain and the intense prayer was the soul of his ministry and the source of his courage"

First Attempts to Establish Catholicism in Virginia

In 1568, thirty-nine years before the founding of Jamestown, a Jesuit-led expedition from Florida attempted to bring Catholicism to Virginia. Arriving by sail in the Chesapeake Bay, the transports entered the James River, landed south of present-day Williamsburg, marched northward, and settled on the York River near Queen's Creek, some seven miles west of Yorktown. All but one of the party perished. The sole survivor, Aloncito Olmas, was rescued in 1572; the rescue force sailed back to Florida, ending the Spanish attempt to found a mission in what is now Virginia.

The Catholic presence in Virginia grew slowly after the founding of Jamestown in 1607. When a Jesuit priest, the Reverend John Carroll, was appointed bishop of Baltimore in 1788, the Catholic population in the mid-Atlantic had grown to 15,800 in Maryland, 7,000 in Pennsylvania, and 1,000 in Virginia. Alexandria, Martinsburg (now in West Virginia), Norfolk, Richmond, and Winchester all had small Catholic populations.

Westward Growth in Virginia

Shortly after 1800, two significant parishes were organized in the western part of Virginia, one in Lynchburg and the other in Staunton, reflecting the westward development of canals and railroads. The church populations grew somewhat more rapidly after passage of the Virginia Statute of Religious Freedom in 1786, which granted free exercise of worship.

The first bishop of the Catholic Diocese of Richmond was Patrick Kelly, appointed in 1820. His spiritual jurisdiction covered a large area — from the Eastern Shore to the Ohio River — encompassing what are now the states of Virginia and West Virginia. He had been the president of Saint John's College in Ireland and arrived in eastern Virginia in 1821, remaining in residence in Norfolk for two years. As far as is known, he never visited Richmond, and returned to Ireland in 1823. During his brief stay he encountered much parishioner discontent over the establishment of new parishes and the actual building of churches. He had never encountered such involvement of congregations, known as "lay trusteeism," in Ireland.

The Diocese of Richmond remained without a bishop for almost twenty years, until a priest from Martinsburg was consecrated in 1840. He served for ten years and then returned to Wheeling (now West Virginia) after successfully petitioning the Vatican to divide the original Diocese of Richmond into two segments by establishing the Diocese of Wheeling. The third bishop of Richmond, John McGill, served from 1850 to 1872.

Founding of Saint Patrick's Parish in Lexington

Bishop McGill was succeeded in 1872 by James Gibbons, under whom Saint Patrick's parish in Lexington became a reality.

Before a parish was formally established in Lexington, Catholics had attended Mass either in private homes or in the Lexington Fire (or Engine) House at the northeastern corner of Randolph and Washington Streets, now the location of the Lexington-Rockbridge Chamber of Commerce and the Lexington Visitors Center. One of the private homes was the Edward Hefrin residence at 207 Randolph Street.

In 1873, a parish was formed in Lexington, and the man given primary credit in this effort was John Sheridan, about whom more later. Construction of the original church began the same year at 109 Henry Street. The one-eighth acre plot measuring fifty feet along Henry Street and a hundred feet deep was purchased from Mr. and Mrs. Jacob Fuller for \$285. The cost of the structure, furnished with pews for a seating capacity of seventy-five, was \$2,934, slightly less than two dollars a square foot. The number of parishioners listed in the chancery archives in 1874 was eighty-three.

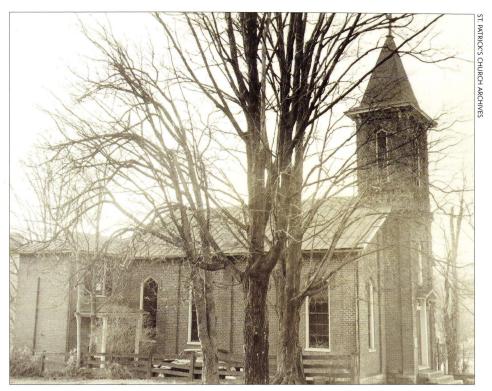


FIGURE 2
First home of St. Patrick's Church, dedicated in 1874 at Henry and Randolph Streets.

Bishop Gibbons visited Lexington in 1874 and noted in his diary:

July 19, 1874: Dedicated the new Church of St. Patrick's just completed in Lexington, Rockbridge County, and appointed Rev. Fr. Murray its pastor, who built the church. Father Murray will have charge of Rockbridge, Botetourt and Roanoke Counties. A very large concourse of people was present in and around the church. The edifice is of brick about 31 by 50 feet and is a very handsome structure.

Gibbons later reported to his superior, the archbishop of Baltimore, that he had "dedicated a handsome church in Lexington, Virginia, a Presbyterian hotbed." Three years later, in 1877, Gibbons was elected archbishop and thereafter resided in Baltimore.

Four priests served as pastors at St. Patrick's from 1874 to 1892: the Reverends Thomas Murray, Thomas J. Hasty, J. W. Lynch, and Lawrence Kelly. During those years, parish strength rose to a high of 133 in 1893. Father Lynch, locally known as a "fire and brimstone" preacher, was reassigned to Roanoke in 1889, and three years later Father Kelly was reassigned to St. Joseph's Church in Clifton Forge, leaving St. Patrick's without a pastor. Thereafter, the parish population dropped precipitously, to

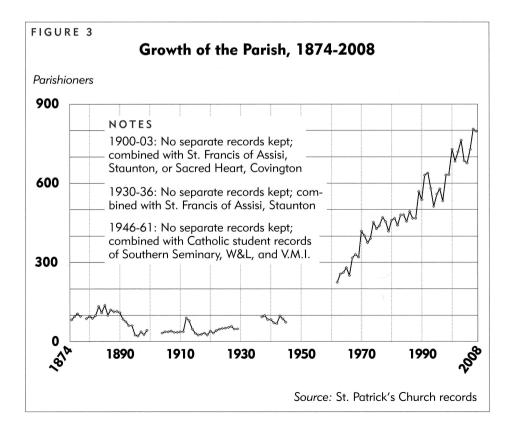
just twenty-six by 1898. It has been reported that some Catholics from the parish followed Father Lynch to Roanoke. (Figure 3 shows the growth of the congregation over the years.)

In effect, the parish was without a pastor from 1893 to 1946. During the interim, priests from nearby churches irregularly visited — most often from St. Joseph's in Clifton Forge, Sacred Heart in Covington, and Saint Francis of Assisi in Staunton. The maximum recorded parish population in Lexington during those years was ninety-nine in 1938.

Reverend Aloys G. Selhorst and a New Building

After an agreement between the Catholic order known as the Society of the Precious Blood (C.P.P.S.) and the Most Reverend Peter L. Ireton, bishop of Richmond, the Reverend Aloys G. Selhorst was assigned to Saint Patrick's in 1946, becoming the first of seven members of his society who would serve as pastor through 1979.

Father Selhorst had been born in Ohio, was ordained in Carthagena, Ohio, and served three years as an Army chaplain in the Pacific theater during World War II. Almost immediately after arriving in Lexington, and with approval of Bishop Ireton, he began searching for a site for



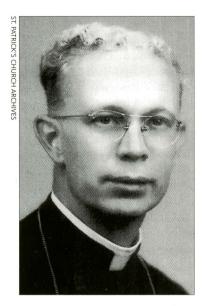


FIGURE 4 The Reverend Aloys G. Selhorst, pastor, 1946-56.

a new church building. He had the fore-sight to purchase the Gassman property at 221 West Nelson Street, where our present church stands, about a half-mile from the old church building. The lot fronts 153 feet on Nelson Street, is 205 feet deep, and covers approximately three-quarters of an acre. The property is now surrounded on three sides by Washington and Lee University.

The pastor was responsible for raising funds for the new building, and ground was broken for the building on April 27, 1952, He visited the site daily from June 4, 1952, until May 6, 1953, when the building was completed. The church was dedicated on October 11 by Bishop Ireton in an impressive formal ceremony.

Early in the fund-raising campaign, Father Selhorst received public congratulations and best wishes from Margaret Dur-

ham Robey, president of Southern Seminary Junior College in Buena Vista; Francis P. Gaines, president of Washington and Lee; and General Richard J. Marshall, superintendent of Virginia Military Institute. National co-chairpersons of the successful fund drive, which raised more than \$100,000, were Jean Smith Augustine of New Haven, Connecticut, a 1938 graduate of Southern Seminary; Walter A. McDonald of Columbus, Ohio, a 1910 graduate of Washington and Lee; and Colonel J. Addison Hagan of Norfolk, Virginia, a 1916 graduate of V.M.I. The actual cost of construction was about one-half again as much as was raised in the campaign, and the full debt was not paid off until the mid-sixties.

In a recent history of the parish, I wrote the following about Father Selhorst: "Every current, past, and future member of this church owes or will owe a lasting debt of gratitude to this highly religious and resourceful man who was principally responsible for the beautiful church in which we now worship."

Built of multi-colored Catawba stone laid in a coursed ashlar manner, the structure looks much today as it did fifty years ago. A statue of Saint Patrick, holding a pastoral staff in his left hand and a raised shamrock in his right, adds a special touch to the front of the structure.

Since its opening, the building's interior has been extensively renovated and remodeled — first in 1987 and again in 1995, following a serious fire which destroyed precious Mass vessels, ecclesiastical vestments,

church decorations, candles, and candle holders. Just before the year 2000, serious deterioration was noticed on the outside stonework, and interior walls had also experienced moisture leakages. The church repaired the exterior mortar joints and cracks between the sidewalks and buildings, in addition to resealing all the stained-glass windows to prevent future water damage. Currently, the old Gassman home, now the Parish Hall, is undergoing renovation and remodeling. The total cost of all improvements between 1953 and 2000, including the installation of modern air conditioning and an upgrade to the heating system, has exceeded \$600,000.

Sale of the Original Church

To help reduce the parish's original construction debt, Father Selhorst received permission from the bishop to sell the original church building. It was first offered for sale at \$20,000; when no interest was shown, the price was reduced to \$15,000, and the building was finally sold during the 1956 Christmas season to the Lexington Telephone Company, which, coincidentally, occupied the site at the corner of Randolph and Washington Streets, where Mass had been first offered in the old Lexington fire or engine house.

During the period when the original building was for sale, Father Selhorst received the following note from the chancellor of the diocese,



FIGURE 5
Groundbreaking for present church building, 1952.
Far left: Father Selhorst; foreground, Bishop Ireton.

Father Justin McClunn: "Bishop Ireton told me to let you know that the theologians are so unanimous on the point that he just will not be able to OK its sale to a Protestant Congregation for purposes of worship." Interestingly, after being used for three years as a storage facility, the telephone company sold the building to the Lexington Baptist Church, which retained title for another three years.

Today, the original Saint Patrick's Church is the Gospel Way Church of God in Christ, and an attractive bulletin board in front of it proclaims: "Exalt Ye The Lord Our God And Worship At His Footstool For He Is Holy."

Hundredth Anniversary of the Parish

The hundredth anniversary of St. Patrick's parish was celebrated on March 16 and 17, 1974, coinciding with Saint Patrick's presumed date of death. Acting Richmond Bishop Walter F. Sullivan officiated at the Saturday early-evening Mass, which was followed by an impressive dinner and dance in Washington and Lee's Evans Dining Hall. Present at the celebration were John Sheridan's grandson, James Sheridan, then owner of Hamric and Sheridan Jewelers, and members of his family. James's mother, Mrs. C. W. Sheridan, the oldest living parishioner, was honored. For the centennial, John Sheridan's grandniece, Ruth S. Holland, wrote the first parish history.

John Sheridan

John Sheridan, born on March 15, 1847, in County Meath, Ireland, immediately northwest of Dublin, arrived in the United States at the age of four. Except for his military service in the Civil War, he lived in Lexington from age fourteen until his death on May 29, 1929, at eighty-two. Sheridan is rightly considered the father of Saint Patrick's parish and, as an Irishman, may well have suggested its name. A number of his direct descendants live in our area.

In 1862, when he was fifteen, he volunteered for Confederate service at Churchville in Augusta County. The youngster served in Company C, 14th Virginia Cavalry,* which consisted of fourteen companies. His cavalry experience influenced his later life.

The livery stable at 35 North Main Street in Lexington was designed

^{*} During Sheridan's active service, the 600-man regiment saw frequent action in Virginia and West Virginia and was with General J. E. B. Stuart's cavalry force at the Battle of Gettysburg at the extreme left of the Confederate line. On the retreat to Virginia, the 14th guarded prisoners and a long wagon supply train. Sheridan was captured at the Battle of Droop's Mountain in West Virginia on November 6, 1863, by Union General William Averell's forces, and spent one year, six months, and six days as a prisoner of war before returning to Lexington.

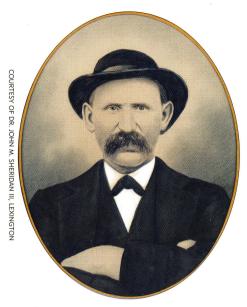


FIGURE 6 John Sheridan, 1847-1929: father of St. Patrick's Church, photographed c. 1900

and constructed for him in 1887. He had established a smaller stable at the site in 1879, at age thirty-two, fourteen years after his return to Lexington at the end of the Civil War.

His livery business carried the United States mail and operated a stagecoach line connecting Lexington, Staunton, and Hot Springs, in addition to boarding, renting, and selling horses. Today, in the main dining area on the first floor of the building is a large, attractive, wall-size depiction of a Sheridan coach on the road to a destination.

Immediately behind the livery was the Sheridan Ice House, some seventy-five feet from the intersection of Henry and Randolph Streets. It had a freezing engine

room, a freezing tank, and an ice house.

Colonel J. T. L. Preston, often referred to as the "Father of V.M.I.," owned considerable property east of Main Street, including acreage traversed by Randolph Street. He sold a number of parcels for "a certain sum of money" on July 30, 1863, to George W. Shields; not unusually, that section of Lexington became known as Shields Hill. In time, Shields built two dwellings on the west side of Randolph. The houses changed hands several times and, ultimately, John Sheridan, on November 27, 1887, purchased the dwelling at what is now 112 North Randolph for \$1,115. He lived there until May 1926, when he sold the property. (Subsequent owners of 112 North Randolph found unique uses for the structure. In 1970, J. B. Lewis Jr. purchased the property and converted it into a funeral parlor. Today, it is "The Piano Place," where both piano and guitar instruction is offered.) Sheridan moved to a much larger brick residence at 201 Randolph, at the corner of Massie Street, less than a block away but on the opposite side of the street. (The second property remained in the Sheridan family well into the twentieth century.)

As a former cavalryman, John Sheridan did not like to walk. His long-time home at 112 North Randolph Street was one and a half blocks from both Saint Patrick's original church and his livery stable, and less than one block from his ice house. Small wonder he was so successful.



FIGURE 7 St. Patrick's Church today.

Henry Boley, in *Lexington In Old Virginia*, published in 1936, wrote: "The Catholic Church was never large in Lexington, but has always been well represented. John Sheridan, its outstanding member for many years, was one of, if not the most charitable citizens who ever lived in Lexington. Thousands of good deeds graced his long and successful life."

In the closing chapters, Boley further commented: "The author desires to name some of those whom he remembers with affection and gratitude, who added richness to the social, intellectual, political and spiritual life of Lexington since the turn of the century and who have passed on to their reward." And, yes, there in a list of 144 Lexingtonians stands the name of John Sheridan.

Sheridan continued a highly successful business until the Model T Ford caused such a serious decline in the carriage business that he finally sold the livery building to the Rockbridge Steam Laundry in 1919. He had conducted a thriving business at this site for forty years. Laundry operations required more space for modern equipment, and in time the original building was enlarged eastward toward Randolph Street.

The laundry ceased operation in 1970 and some three years later the structure was purchased by three local businessmen, Thomas C. Bradshaw, Charles L. Harrar, and Carlson R. Thomas, who transformed the main floor into an arcade of specialty shops known as Old Main Street. Finally, in 1994, Ugo and Gina Benincasa purchased Old Main Street and three years later converted it into today's popular and well-known dining establishment, aptly called the Sheridan Livery Inn. The exterior of the old livery remains much as it was in the late 1880s, but the interior has been beautifully upgraded.

Sheridan died in 1929 and, appropriately for a Confederate veteran, rests in peace in the Stonewall Jackson Cemetery, approximately a hundred feet from the general's statue. His prominent headstone bears the names of five other Sheridans also interred in his plot.

He was truly a man of faith and perseverance.

25

Sources

Henry Boley, Lexington in Old Virginia (Garrett & Massie Publishers, Richmond, 1936).

Thomas C. Bradshaw, private communication, January 26, 2004.

Buena Vista News, March 17, 1975; December 2, 1975; October 8, 1953.

Catholic Virginian, October 9, 16, and 23, 1953; March 15 and 22, 1974; January 21, 2002; September 21, 2002; December 19, 2002; June 9, 2003.

Deed book, Rockbridge County Courthouse, Jacob Fuller and Wife to Bishop Gibbon, page 128, May 31, 1873.

Deed book, Rockbridge County Courthouse, page 258, April 10, 1948.

Robert J. Driver Jr., 14th Virginia Cavalry (H. E. Howard Inc., Lynchburg, Virginia, 1988).

Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol. 20 (William Benton Publisher, Chicago, 1957).

Gerald P. Fogarty, S.J., Commonwealth Catholicism: A History of the Catholic Church in Virginia (Notre Dame, Indiana, University of Notre Dame University Press, 2000).

Janet B Hewitt, ed., Roster of Confederate Soldiers, 1861-1865 (Broadfoot Publishing Co., Wilmington, North Carolina, 1995).

Legionaries of Christ, letter, Cheshire, Connecticut, 2004.

Lexington Gazette, June 12, 1874; July 10, 1874; August 14, 1874.

News-Gazette, May 19, 1967; February 20,1974; March 6 and 20,1974; October 21, November 25, and December 2,1987; April 12,1955; May 22, 2002.

Royster Lyle Jr. and Pamela Hemenway Simpson, *The Architecture of Historic Lexington* (University of Virginia Press, Charlottesville, 1977).

Microfilm Record, 14th Virginia Cavalry, CSA. Richmond, Virginia Public Library.

News-Gazette, October 21, 1987.

Richmond Times-Dispatch, June 16, 2003.

Roanoke Times, October 7, 11, and 14 and December 29, 2002.

Rockbridge County News, October 8 and 15, 1953.

Rockbridge Weekly, January 22, 1992.

John Magruder Sheridan, M.D., private communications, 2003 and 2004.

Virginia Military Institute, Lexington: Registers of Former Cadets, 1927-2000.

The Great Lee Chapel Controversy and the 'Little Group of Willful Women' Who Saved the Shrine of the South

Pamela Hemenway Simpson

N 1922, an editorial in the *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot* declared, "The South has but one Lee and that Lee has but one tomb — that enclosed in the small brick mausoleum constructed against the rear wall of the Washington and Lee Chapel." The editorial went on to criticize the university's plan to enlarge the chapel, but the editorialist's simple combination of "Lee," "tomb," and "chapel," identified all the essential elements for the making of a shrine.

In 1922, in the name of preserving that shrine, Washington and Lee University officials proposed tearing down the chapel and replacing it with a larger, grander building deemed more fitting as a memorial to house the Lee tomb. The proposal unleashed a storm of protest that has since become known as the "Great Lee Chapel Controversy." For nearly two years, well-meaning groups debated the meaning of commemoration and how a building might embody historical memory — or not. An analysis of that debate reveals much about the memorialization process, about early efforts at historic preservation, about differences between early-twentieth-century "progressive" and "conservative" views, and about the differences in men's and women's approaches to power. This essay explores how Lee Chapel came to be identified as the Shrine of the South and how a small group of local women preservationists managed to save it.

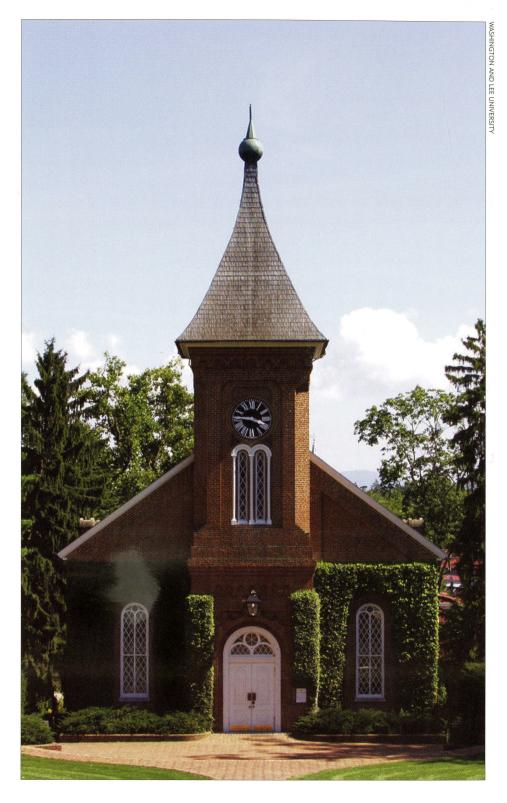
How Lee Chapel Became the Center of Attention

In 1922, many buildings were associated with Lee. His home at Arlington was still standing, though part of a national cemetery. His family home at Stratford was an important historical landmark that linked the Lee fam-

ily with both the Revolutionary and the Civil Wars. The house in which Lee lived for the last two years of his life and where he died was a key element on the Washington and Lee campus. Why, then, was it the university chapel that would become the Shrine of the South?

The obvious answer is that Lee was buried there: The burial sites of saints and the places where their

Pamela Simpson, trustee and threeterm president of the Rockbridge Historical Society, is the Ernest Williams II professor of art history at Washington and Lee University and co-author, with Royster Lyle, of *The Architecture of Historic Lexington* (1977, 1999). Longtime head of W&L's art department, she earned a B.A. from Gettysburg College and her Ph.D. from the University of Delaware. This paper was delivered in Lee Chapel on March 22, 2004.



relics remain often become shrines. Yet evidence emerges from the 1922 controversy to suggest that while the tomb was venerated for most of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the chapel building itself was not. That circumstance was to change as a result of the debate over the university's plans for "reconstruction" of the building.

A History of Lee Chapel

Washington and Lee University traces its origins to Augusta Academy, a small preparatory school founded by Scots-Irish Presbyterians in 1749. Later, during the American Revolution, it renamed itself Liberty Hall Academy. After the war, when George Washington endowed it with a generous gift of canal stock, the grateful school changed its name again, to Washington College. By 1783, it was granting baccalaureate degrees, and in the early nineteenth century, it developed an impressive Greek Revival campus on the edge of the small Valley of Virginia town of Lexington.³

In 1865, the board of trustees elected the defeated Confederate General Robert E. Lee to be president — apparently without consulting him as to whether he would consider the job. To their surprise and delight, Lee accepted. He later commented that it was the only offer he had received that allowed him to serve his country rather than exploit his name. In his acceptance letter, Lee said that it was "the duty of every citizen to do all in his power to aid in the restoration of peace and harmony." During his five years as president of Washington College (1865-70), Lee helped to change the once-sectarian classical academy into a modern, innovative university.

Although the school was no longer associated with the Presbyterian Church, the Christian faith was still held basic and chapel attendance was a core element in college life. The institution urgently needed a new chapel building because so many young men had enrolled in "General Lee's College," as it came to be called, that the old chapel room on the colonnade could no longer accommodate them. Early in 1866, accordingly, Lee recommended to the trustees that a new chapel be built.⁵ The board accepted the proposal and by the following year, the chapel was finished.

The question of who actually designed the chapel has long been debated. The board of trustees minutes refer to a "plan prepared by President Lee." In 1922, a retired professor at the school claimed that the new chapel had been designed and supervised by George Washington Custis Lee, Lee's son, who was teaching at the nearby Virginia Military Institute. In 1909, Custis Lee wrote a friend that the design for the chapel had come

FIGURE 1 (FACING PAGE)
Lee Chapel; photograph by Patrick Hinely.

"out of book" and that it had been used because it was "simple and comparatively inexpensive." Against all this is a letter from an engineering

professor at V.M.I. named Thomas H. Williamson, who wrote to his daughter in 1866, "I have been thrown a good deal with General Lee lately. The buildings Committee at the College got me to design the new chapel . . . and I have made all the working drawings and written all the specifications all of which I had to confer with the General and explain to him."

Lee, his son Custis, and Williamson were all trained engineers, and were probably all involved in the planning for the chapel, but the Williamson letter leaves little doubt that he should be credited with the creation of the design. Williamson had introduced a course on architecture at V.M.I. in 1848 and had even written a textbook for it.8 The chapel he designed draws heavily from the Romanesque style and was probably influenced by James Renwick's 1849 Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. The Smithsonian had been the focus of an 1849 book by Robert Dale Owen called Hints on Public Architecture, Containing, among Illustrations, Views and Plans of the Smithsonian Institution. With numerous plates, Owen presented the Smithsonian and its details. Williamson was well aware of the book: It was in the V.M.I. library and he quoted from it in his own textbook. It may have been Owen's Hints on Public Architecture to which Custis Lee referred to when he said the design came from a book. While the letter from Williamson to his daughter clearly establishes him as the architect, it was not discovered until 1943, so the debate about the chapel's architect continued for a large portion of this century, with many claiming Robert E. Lee's or Custis Lee's authorship.9

The Lee Memorial

Lee was also responsible for another addition to the campus during his tenure as president: his own house, designed by another V.M.I. professor, who also used an architectural pattern book as a source. Completed in 1868, it was here that Lee died in October 1870.

The university mounted a grand funeral and Lee's body lay in state, guarded by students, before he was laid to rest in the basement of the chapel. Even while the ceremonies were under way, officials were planning a suitable memorial. The newly created Lee Memorial Association commissioned a life-size marble statue of Lee by Richmond sculptor Edward V. Valentine in 1871. Valentine was a natural choice; less than a year earlier, during a weeklong visit to Lexington in May 1870, he had made a life portrait of Lee for which he modeled a bust and took detailed measurements of Lee's head. The sculptor also measured Lee's horse, Traveller, indicating that he anticipated an equestrian statue as well.

The image Valentine created for the Memorial Association, however, was of Lee asleep on his camp bed. A monument to Queen Louisa of Prussia in Charlottenburg by the German sculptor C. D. Rauch appar-



FIGURE 2
Robert E. Lee's funeral,October 1870, with the Lee Chapel at center right; photo by Michael Miley.

ently served as a model for the idea of a recumbent, sleeping figure. A much-fingered photograph of the statue survives in the Valentine papers. According to Valentine, it was Mrs. Lee herself who suggested the idea of presenting Lee asleep, not in death.¹¹

Five months after receiving the commission, Valentine presented a plaster model for approval. The unveiling of the completed stone carving, made from a five-ton piece of Vermont marble, drew crowds to Valentine's Richmond studio in April 1875. Much admired by all who saw it, the statue was crated and shipped to Lexington on April 13. The Memorial Association encountered great difficulty, however, in raising the \$15,000 cost of the statue and the \$12,000 needed for the mausoleum addition. In 1877, the effort was greatly aided when Baltimore architect J. Crawford Neilson offered his services to design the chapel addition free of charge, but it still took another six years to raise the money to build it.

In June 1883, dignitaries from all over the South came to Lexington for the dedication of the Lee Mausoleum. The gleaming white marble statue dominated a memorial room on the main level. The mausoleum was one level below, in the chapel basement, where Lee's office was also preserved as he had left it. The college students and V.M.I. cadets took turns guarding the statue and welcoming a growing number of visitors.

Plans for a New Lee Chapel

During the last years of the nineteenth century, the statue and tomb were objects of veneration, but there is evidence to show that such was not the case for the chapel building itself. In 1922, a student named John Glenn, who had attended Washington College from 1877 to 1879, recalled that



FIGURE 3

Mausoleum addition to the Lee Chapel, extreme right, 1883; photo by Michael Miley.

The newly constructed Newcomb Hall is to the left of the Colonnade.

no one ever referred to the building as "Lee Chapel"; he did not remember "anyone in Lexington" looking on the chapel with special veneration. In fact, he remembered it as an "exceedingly unattractive brick building" that was "entirely out of harmony with the old buildings of the University." He concluded: "There is nothing about the building to make it a worthy memorial." ¹²

On the centennial celebration of Lee's birth in 1907, the Lee Memorial Association broached the subject of improving the chapel building. It was reported that the visiting dignitary Charles Francis Adams Jr., noted historian and author of several admiring essays on Lee, had said to a companion upon leaving the building, "The only reproach to General Lee's memory is this chapel which he allowed to deface his campus." ¹³

Custis Lee was consulted about the family's feelings in the matter and said, "There will be no objection, I am sure, on the part of any member of General Lee's family to anything the authorities may decide to do to the chapel." But because of the Bankers' Panic of 1907, nothing came of the Memorial Association's plans, at least not right away.

Thirteen years later, however, the United Daughters of the Confederacy entered into a contract with the university to provide a custodian for the chapel and an endowment to pay her. By this year, there were apparently some 1,500 annual visitors and the student/cadet guardianship was unable to accommodate the volume. The agreement brought the United Daughters of the Confederacy into a direct role in the care of the chapel, a development of considerable significance in its subsequent history.

In 1921, Washington and Lee's president, Henry Louis Smith (Fig-

ure 4) gave an impassioned address to the general convention of the U.D.C. in St. Louis, calling for the complete "reconstruction" of the chapel "from the foundation to the roof." He claimed the old building was a fire hazard, that it was unsafe, and that it endangered not only the statue and tomb but also the university's art collection, which had come to be housed in it. The building was so unattractive, he complained, that it disgraced the sacred memory of Lee. The national U.D.C. responded, voting to raise \$100,000 to reconstruct the chapel.

President Smith had already secured the approval of the university's board of trustees, and he thought he had the support of the Lee family as well, though subsequent events would prove him wrong. Smith asked the university's architects, Flournoy and Flournoy of Washington, D.C., for several proposals that would preserve the statue, tomb, and office, but also more than double the size of the building, essentially replacing it with a grand Neo-Georgian structure with a 1,200-seat auditorium¹⁶ (Figure 5). One of the pressing needs at the university, according to Smith, was a place large enough to seat the entire student body. He also believed that a new design would be more fitting as a memorial and more in sympathy with the classical architecture of the campus.

The Great Lee Chapel Controversy

Smith announced the plans in 1922 and launched a fundraising campaign to bring it about. But much to his dismay, he almost immediately encountered a tide of opposition, and it rose steadily. Smith wrote to Mary Lee, wife of trustee Robert E. Lee III, Lee's grandson, in hurt bewilderment: "A few daughters of the Confederacy in Lexington have suddenly determined to block the plans of the Trustees and the UDC to reconstruct and fireproof the chapel. They have called a meeting in the absence of their two chief officers, have passed urgent resolutions against touching this historic building, have gotten the ultra conservative editor of one of the town papers to take the leadership in the



FIGURE 4
Henry Louis Smith, president of
Washington and Lee University, 1912-29.

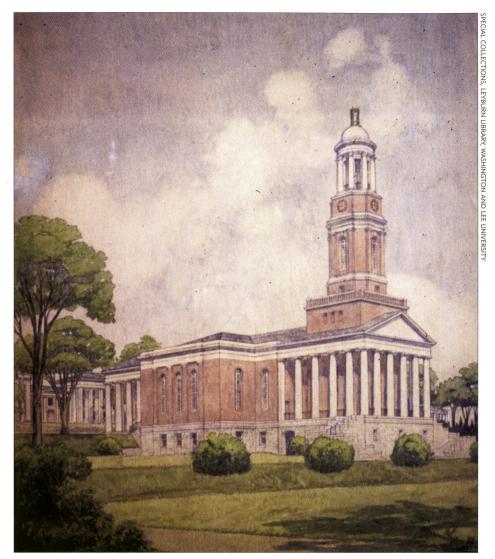


FIGURE 5
Proposal for Lee Chapel reconstruction and enlargement, 1922, Fluornoy & Fluornoy.

movement, and have sent his editorial and their resolutions to every chapter of the UDC in the United States."¹⁷

The rector of the board of trustees, William A. Anderson, a Civil War veteran and noted Virginia politician, also expressed surprise at the sudden insurrection when he wrote a friend that, acting on some "hallucination," a few local women were making a "commotion," adding that he could not "give a satisfactory diagnosis" or explanation consistent with what he knew to be the ladies' "lovely character and recognized intelligence and good sense." ¹⁸

In Lexington, the Mary Custis Lee Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy had indeed organized to oppose the university's plans. The chapter, founded in 1895, had more than a hundred members by 1922, including some of the most prominent women in town. Alice Marian Miller White (Figure 6) led the opposition effort and organized a letter-writing campaign. 19 President Smith claimed that she had done it "in the absence" of the local chapter's officers, but in reality, there was little dissent within the group.

Another of the leaders was Jeannie Hopkins (Figure 7), niece of Matthew W. Paxton, editor of the *Rockbridge County News*. The



FIGURE 6 Alice Marian Miller (Mrs. Reid) White.

newspaper's office manager, she used her influence to enlist her uncle's aid. It is evident from subsequent events that the women adopted the newspaper as their public voice, funneling material to Paxton, who gladly supported their cause and became their spokesperson. The chapter also won the support of the Virginia State U.D.C., that of its president, Anne Norvell Otey Scott, and, most important, that of Mary Lee, the second wife of General Lee's grandson and namesake.

The two sides waged a bitter campaign based mostly on letter-writing, newspaper editorials, printed pamphlets, and countless instances of personal politicking. Unable to understand what was happening, the men in authority at the university called on the national U.D.C. to bring the troops into line. National President Lenora Rogers Schuyler tried. In several letters, she scolded the Mary Custis Lee Chapter for its opposition, writing that if local chapters were allowed to take this unorthodox method of opposing the national group, the U.D.C. would "not be able to accomplish anything of importance."

Late in the summer of 1922, Schulyer and Bessie C. Rogers, head of the U.D.C. committee charged with raising the funds for the chapel project, came to Lexington to confer with President Smith and Rector Anderson. Smith and Anderson reassured the women that there were only a few dissenters and that they could be easily quelled, but Schuyler and Rogers were not so sure. Mrs. Rogers later wrote to Anderson that she was



FIGURE 7
Jeannie Hopkins.

heartsick over the problems and concluded, "So you see that 'little group of willful women'. . . have held up the work and are making no end of trouble."²¹

The local women were indeed making trouble. Their letter-writing campaign was filled with impassioned rhetoric. The chapel was "a most holy procession" whose "sacred atmosphere" had been created by tradition. "Spare, keep and guard the chapel," wrote Mary Lee, "for in spite of Dr. Smith, the chapel is the shrine and not the tomb and mausoleum alone."²²

Here was the key: Before the controversy, attention focused on the statue, mausoleum, and office, but now that the chapel was threat-

ened with demolition, those associations were transferred to it. "This little chapel represents a period in which General Lee lived in Lexington," wrote one defender. "It represents the courage, fortitude, endurance of the South's great hero, General Lee who was the designer and practically the builder!" 23

The persistent belief that Lee actually designed the chapel seems to have arisen from these 1922 arguments, which tried to associate him with the building in every way possible. Anne Norvell Otey Scott, the president of the Virginia U.D.C., claimed that "Lee Chapel is more identified with General Lee than any other building in the world. It was built through his efforts, under his supervision, with the gifts of an impoverished people. Lee worshipped there daily."²⁴

President Smith and the trustees countered the women's arguments with their own, evoking Lee's name to defend their plans. They called on the "sacred trust" to create a building that would have architectural dignity worthy of Lee's memory and of his tomb. They claimed that Lee's spirit was present in the university he had created and not in the actual bricks of what was clearly an ugly building. In their propaganda they claimed that the chapel was "erected during a period when American architecture had reached its lowest ebb." ²⁵

The chapel's defenders countered that telling them that the building was ugly had as much effect as "criticism made to a man about his mother's countenance."²⁶ It didn't matter if she was ugly or not; you loved her anyway. The chapel, however humble, was filled with hallowed memories and must be left untouched.

At the U.D.C.'s general convention in Birmingham, Alabama, in November 1922, the leaders of the Lexington chapter and the Virginia State delegation introduced a resolution calling for preservation of the chapel. But the national U.D.C. stood behind the college authorities, and Lenora Schuyler ruled the convention with a determined hand. The convention defeated the Virginia resolution. A Birmingham newspaper reported that when the votes were counted, some of the Virginia delegates wept, while others leapt to their feet and cried, "We have not yet begun to fight!"²⁷

Smith's victory in Birmingham was hollow, however, and he knew it. After a year of continuous, rising controversy and a debate that he characterized as reaching "depths of falsehood and personal hostility." Smith felt that compromise was necessary if the project were to go ahead.²⁸ Early in 1923, he traveled to Boston to consult with Ralph Adams Cram, famed architect of ecclesiastical and collegiate buildings. They conceived a plan that would leave the chapel intact while adding a new building at its rear and taking down the back wall of the mausoleum to open the statue vault to the new structure. Smith quickly had his architects develop the scheme and then further consulted with Fiske Kimball, noted restoration architect and head of the architecture school at the University of Virginia. The National Fine Arts Commission also approved the plan. Smith proudly presented the compromise in a news release that was published in newspapers across the eastern United States, including the New York Times on March 23, 1923, as "The Final Solution of the Lee Chapel Problem" (Figure 8). But while Smith had secured the approval of the national U.D.C. executive committee and of Mary Lee, he had not won over the Mary Custis Lee Chapter or the Virginia State U.D.C., all of whom reiterated their demand that the chapel not be changed in any way. The proposed addition, they pointed out, would "mar the dignity and tragically impair the historic and inspirational service of the chapel as it is and as it was when General Lee worshipped and presided within its sacred precinct."29

The women launched a renewed letter-writing campaign that gained the backing of a number of national and international dignitaries. A "building like the Lee Chapel has really become the property of the American race and whatever you think of the fitness of the building, it really ought to be beyond our power to touch it," declared the British dramatist John Drinkwater.³⁰ Letters of opposition also came from Congressman Henry St. George Tucker, Lady Nancy Astor (the Virginia-born member of the British Parliament), the Colonial Dames, the Sons of the Confederacy, and, finally, from former President and Mrs. Woodrow Wilson.³¹



FIGURE 8
"Final Solution" proposal for the Lee Chapel, 1923

In January 1924, Smith and his trustees admitted defeat. They spent the \$6,000 that had been raised on fireproofing the building and left the chapel unchanged. But Lee Chapel had gained something in the controversy: It had become the focal point of Lee veneration. Neither the house where he lived and died nor any other building would ever be as closely linked with him as this chapel. It was now the "Shrine of the South."

Analysis of the Debate

What can we learn from the Great Lee Chapel Controversy? One obvious lesson is that association with a distinguished person was more important than architectural style in early preservation work. The women defenders readily conceded the argument that the chapel was unattractive and out of keeping with the other buildings on the campus. But the associations with Lee were so strong that they trumped any architectural criticism.

President Smith and the trustees also valued and used the Lee associations, but they linked them to specific objects — the statue, the tomb, and the office — rather than to a building that they claimed had been put

up cheaply and quickly out of expediency. Rector William Anderson made that point in a letter to Bessie Rogers when he said the chapel was built with "scant and inadequate means" and was now "utterly inadequate" for the purpose for which it had been designed.³²

Smith and the trustees also argued for a more abstract ideal: Lee's legacy as living on in the university he had created. The tomb and the statue represented the spiritual force of Lee's presence, Smith wrote. It was imperative that the entire student body should be able to see them. "Since we cannot possibly preserve both [the spirit and the too-small chapel], we have concluded that the hovering spirit is of more value than brick and mortar and that it is greater to conserve General Lee's influence for the future than this building which represents the past." 33

The "innovators" asserted that Lee had been a forward-thinking educational leader who would have embraced the opportunity to improve the buildings on the campus. Trustee John W. Davis wrote: "Those who would leave the chapel unchanged are influenced by their reverence for the traditions clustered around it Those who think a change imperative are thinking of the spiritual influence on the students yet to come. One view looks to the past, the other to the future." He concluded: "I cannot help feeling that if Lee himself could speak in the matter he would say, 'I choose to stay with the boys."³⁴

President Smith, Lenora Schuyler, the trustees, and their supporters thought that they were offering a "more fitting" memorial, one that was grander and more architecturally attractive. Its Beaux Arts-inspired Neo-Georgian forms were the dominant style of the period for college campuses. The architect Ralph Adams Cram had created a central campus in the style for nearby Sweet Briar College only a few years before. The style was also popular at Harvard and Princeton. By this standard, President Smith and his friends represented progressive, modern thinking while the local women seemed sentimental, nostalgic, and conservatively rooted in the past.

The controversy is equally revealing for what it demonstrates about gender roles and approaches to power. Smith and his colleagues epitomized the white, male elite. They were accustomed to power, and to manipulating organizational structures to achieve their goals. Smith enlisted the national leadership of the U.D.C. as well as recognized authorities in architecture and art for support. He repeatedly cited their professional expertise in seeking to legitimize the project. In contrast, the ladies formed a grass-roots network, turning to sympathetic men who could help make their protest heard.

Smith and his supporters were clearly surprised by what had happened. Privately, they belittled the women, dismissing their opposition

as stemming from "hallucinations" and "willfulness." The rector of the board, trying to be generous in his reading of the situation, supposed that the women were acting inconsistently with what he knew to be their true character: Such "lovely, intelligent, sensible" women were not expected to behave this way, though he could not "diagnose" why they did. The implication was that they were ill, and references to "delusions" and "hysteria" were frequent. Meanwhile, Anderson, the board rector, praised President Smith for having "borne himself manfully." 35

According to Smith's and Anderson's view, the women were subversive. Not only did they challenge the male authorities in their community; they even started a mini-civil war within the U.D.C. Historian Fitzhugh Brundage has written that groups such as the U.D.C. took leadership in the period from 1900 to 1920 as the keepers of southern memory. At a time when women were given little opportunity for public roles, such groups gave them a voice. In preserving the monuments to such male leaders of the past as Lee, they could uphold traditional patriarchy even while challenging the tradition of female subservience.³⁶ The women of the Mary Custis Lee Chapter did just that. They believed so strongly in their ideal that they were willing to ignore the pronouncements of distinguished architects, powerful men, and their own national organization. In the end, they won because they refused to give up.

One more point deserves to be made. It is tempting to use modern ideas about "uppity women" refusing to bend to male power structures to cast these women as feminist heroines. The idea would have shocked them. These were not feminists. Many of them even had deep-set ambivalence about female suffrage. What they defended was not their right to

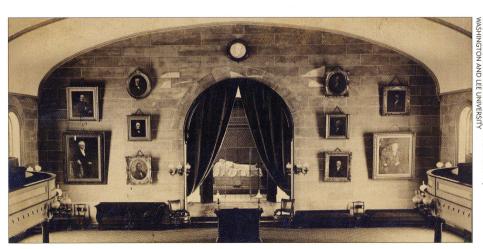


FIGURE 9

Interior of the Lee Chapel, with the Recumbent Statue by Valentine at the center, about 1890; photograph by Michael Miley.

challenge authority, but instead the very conservative position that we have come to know as the Lost Cause. James Lindgren and other scholars have observed that, in the face of modernist change, white, Anglo-Saxon Americans such as the Mary Custis Lee Chapter used history and its monuments as a means to assert their control over the past. Lindgren called it the "Gospel of Preservation."³⁷ In Lost Cause rhetoric, Robert E. Lee became a saint-like hero. The warrior-knight effigy of Valentine's reclining statue and the sacred reliquary of the chapel building were the visual embodiment of their hagiography.

George Orwell once observed that he who controls the past controls the future. The women of the Mary Custis Lee Chapter eventually did just that by making themselves the guardians of Lee Chapel. President Smith's abstract ideas about Lee's spirit living on in his university may have made for some fine speeches, but it was cerebral and sterile compared with the emotional appeal of an actual building that Lee had built, used daily, and was buried in. Thus the women who controlled the past did indeed control the future. They galvanized feelings about the importance of the structure. They successfully transferred the Lee associations to it, even perpetuating the myth that he was the architect. They made the chapel itself the shrine.

Lee Chapel, Preserved

In the end, the defenders prevailed. The chapel remained (Figure 9), and Smith and the trustees were left merely to do some repairs. The new attention brought to the chapel, however, inspired the creation of a more formal museum display in the basement in 1927. Working with the



FIGURE 10 Interior of Lee Chapel today; photograph by Patrick Hinely.

U.D.C., whose members continued as the building's guardians, university officials placed various items of Lee memorabilia on display, including the bones of his horse, Traveller.³⁸ The mount that had carried Lee all through the Civil War had outlived him by only a year and had been buried in a ravine behind the campus. In 1875, probably in anticipation of placing the bones on display at the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition, they were dug up, though they never actually went to Philadelphia. In 1907, they were assembled and put on display in the natural history museum on campus, where they remained until they were moved to the new Lee Museum in the chapel basement.

A more ambitious restoration of the chapel took place in 1960. This time, the idea was to preserve it, not to tear it down. With a \$376,000 grant from the Ford Motor Company Fund, university officials completely refurbished the building. The well-known Boston firm of Perry, Hepburn, Shaw and Dean, which had supervised the restoration of Colonial Williamsburg, served as consultants.³⁹ Using contemporary standards of restoration, they replaced most of the structural elements with modern materials, the old wooden rafters with steel, and the wooden basement floor with concrete, reinforcing the columns with steel, rebuilding the walls to make them true, and adding air conditioning, a sprinkler system, and modern wiring. They did it all without visible changes to the surfaces seen by visitors. The museum display in the basement was completely refurbished and Traveller's bones, which were put in storage during the restoration, were eventually reburied outside the mausoleum walls in 1971.

As extensive as the 1960s renovations were, no restoration lasts forever. In 1997, the university raised \$1 million to update the heating, ventilation, and electrical systems, to make the building accessible to handicapped visitors, and to modernize the basement museum display. Traveller's gravesite was also landscaped and refurbished. The renovated chapel opened again in May 1999, in time for the college's 250th-anniversary celebrations.

Lee Chapel continues to be a place of pilgrimage and a site for certain rituals even to this day (Figure 10). Some V.M.I. cadets approaching the building salute, signaling their continued homage to Lee. Each October, the chapel bells ring out on the anniversary of Lee's death. In January, on Lee's birthday, the university community takes time out to gather in the chapel for a Founders' Day ceremony. Inaugurations and graduations take place on the lawn in front of the building. Every year, some 50,000 visitors still come to see this "priceless spiritual and historical possession," this "Shrine of the South." Few may realize it, but they can see the chapel today because of the determined efforts of a "little group of willful women" who in 1922 fought to save it.

Notes

The author acknowledges the previous work on this subject by Washington and Lee's official historian in the mid-twentieth century, Ollinger Crenshaw, published in his General Lee's College (Random House, New York, 1969), and Winifred Hadsel ("How Mary Custis Lee Chapter Saved Lee Chapel," UDC Magazine, April 1999, pp. 11-15). Parts of this story also were published in The Architecture of Historic Lexington (Royster Lyle and Pamela H. Simpson, University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, 1977), and in "The Lee Chapel Wars" (Pamela H. Simpson, Washington and Lee Alumni Magazine, January 1986, pp. 8-11), as well as in Monuments to the Lost Cause, Women, Art and the Landscapes of Memory (Cynthia Mills and Pamela H. Simpson, eds., University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville, 2003).

- 1 Norfolk Virginia Pilot, 1922, clipping in "Chapel Controversy" file, Washington and Lee University, Leyburn Library's Special Collections (henceforth W&L/LSC).
- 2 Referred to as such in "The Great Lee Chapel Debate," an unpublished paper by Matthew W. Paxton Jr.; given to the Fortnightly Club, Lexington, 1961, W&L/LSC.
- 3 Crenshaw, *General Lee's College* is the best history of the college. Lyle and Simpson, *The Architecture of Historic Lexington*, has a section on its architecture.
- 4 Lee, acceptance letter, in Trustees' Papers, W&L/LSC.
- 5 Board of Trustees' Records, January 1866, W&L/LSC.
- 6 G. W. C. Lee to D. C. Humphreys, 1909, in Trustees' Papers, W&L/LSC.
- 7 On January 4, 1943, John A. Graham, Williamson's great-grandson, sent a copy of this letter to Colonel William Couper, historian at the Virginia Military Institute. A copy of the letter, dated October 12, 1866, is in the V.M.I. Museum.
- 8 Thomas H. Williamson: An Elementary Course on Architecture and Civil Engineering (Samuel Gillock, Lexington, 1850).
- 9 Lyle and Simpson, The Architecture of Historic Lexington, pp. 158-162.
- 10 Gerard M. Doyon, "The Recumbent Lee Statue in the Lee Chapel," *Washington and Lee Alumni Magazine*, March 1983, pp. 3-6; Pamela H. Simpson, *American Sculpture in Lexington*, (exhibition catalogue), duPont Gallery (Washington and Lee University, Lexington, 1977), pp. 32-33; Christopher R. Lawton, "Myth and Monument: The Sculptural Image of Robert E. Lee and the Ideology of the Lost Cause," M.A. thesis, University of Georgia, 2000. Valentine (1838-1930) was the South's foremost sculptor after the Civil War. A Richmond native, he studied with Thomas Couture and Francois Jouffroy in Paris and August Kiss in Berlin before returning to Richmond in 1865. In May 1870, he asked Lee, who was visiting in Richmond, if he could take measurements for a portrait bust. Lee agreed and offered to sit for Valentine in Lexington. Valentine did the portrait study during his visit, June 7-11, 1870.
- 11 Doyon, "Recumbent Lee," p. 5.
- 12 John M Glenn, letter to *Baltimore Sun*, September 30, 1922, clipping and letter in "Chapel Controversy" file, W&L/LSC. Glenn also mentioned that a V.M.I. professor designed the chapel, indicating that contemporaries knew of Williamson's role. Glenn cited it as further evidence of why the building was unimportant.
- 13 Quoted in pamphlet published by Washington and Lee University, 1922, in "Chapel Controversy" file, W&L/LSC.
- 14 Custis Lee to D. C. Humphreys, 1909, in Trustees' Papers, W&L/LSC.

- 15 Henry Louis Smith, speech to the U.D.C. National Convention, St. Louis, 1922, in Anne Norvell Otey Scott Papers, W&L/LSC.
- 16 The plans are in W&L/LSC. See Pamela H. Simpson, *Architectural Drawing at Washington and Lee* (exhibition catalogue), duPont Gallery (Washington and Lee University, Lexington, 1978), p. 32.
- 17 Smith to Mary Lee, August 21, 1922, in Anne Norvell Otey Scott Papers, W&L/LSC.
- 18 Anderson to Mrs. G. Tracey Rogers, October 5, 1922, copy. See also letter, Anderson to Joseph John Allen, September 20, 1922, for similar statement. In "Chapel Controversy" file, W&L/LSC.
- 19 I use the women's first names in this essay, but most of them normally went by their husbands' names. Alice White was married to a prominent local doctor and always signed her letters as Mrs. Reid White. Both her husband and son were Washington and Lee alumni and her husband's grandfather was on the board of trustees.
- 20 Lenora Rogers Schuyler usually identified herself as "Mrs. Livingston Rowe Schuyler." She wrote to the Mary Custis Lee Chapter, August 28, 1922: "I did not suppose when receiving Mrs. White's letter that any act would be taken by any chapter contrary to the prescribed method [for appeal]. . . . Without full knowledge of the situation, a chapter has placed itself in opposition to the expressed will of an entire organization; this action gives me much pain, for anyone can see if chapters pursued this method with the work undertaken by the organization, we could not be able to accomplish anything of importance. . . . " In the Anne Norvell Otey Scott Papers, W&L/LSC.
- 21 Rogers to Anderson, September 27, 1922. She paraphrased Woodrow Wilson's famous political epithet, "a little group of willful men," frequently but erroneously said to have been his characterization of Henry Cabot Lodge and other opponents of the League of Nations. (See Gene Smith, *When the Cheering Stopped*, William Morrow & Company, New York, 1964, p. 53.) She signed this letter Bessie C. Rogers, though she used "Mrs. G. Tracey Rogers" on the letterhead. In "Chapel Controversy" file, W&L/LSC.
- 22 Mary Lee to Mrs. Scott, November 10, 1922, in Anne Norvell Otey Scott Papers, W&L/LSC
- 23 Mrs. J. Taylor Ellyse to Smith, November 14, 1922, in Trustees Papers, W&L/LSC.
- 24 Scott speech to Virginia U.D.C., 1922, in Ann Norvell Otey Scott Papers, W&L/LSC.
- 25 Pamphlet published by Washington and Lee University, 1922, in "Chapel Controversy" file, W&L/LSC.
- 26 Marietta Minnegerode Andrews, in *Rockbridge County News*, April 5, 12, 1923.
- 27 Quoted in Winifred Hadsel, "How Mary Custis Lee Chapter of the UDC Saved Lee Chapel in 1922-1923," paper presented to Virginia Division of U.D.C., Staunton, September 27, 1997. Copy of paper supplied to the author.
- 28 Smith to Anderson, October 1922, in Trustees Papers, W&L/LSC.
- 29 Scott to Smith, October 17, 1923, in Anne Norvell Otey Scott Papers, W&L/LSC. The Virginia Division had voted its opposition to the plan on October 4, 1923.
- 30 Drinkwater to Mrs. Moore, November 7, 1923, letter in "Chapel Controversy" file, W&L/LSC.
- 31 Crenshaw, General Lee's College, p. 303.

- 32 Anderson to Rogers, October 5, 1922, in "Chapel Controversy" file, W&L/LSC.
- 33 Smith to Wilmer, November 20, 1922, in Anne Norvell Otey Scott Papers, W&L/LSC.
- 34 John H. Davis to Latane, November 10, 1922, in "Chapel Controversy" file, W&L/LSC.
- 35 Anderson to Rogers, October 5, 1922, in "Chapel Controversy" file, W&L/LSC.
- 36 Fitzhugh Brundage, "White Women and the Creation of a Southern Public Memory, 1865-1920," paper presented to Women in Preservation Conference (Mesa Verde, Arizona, March 1997). Copy of paper supplied to the author.
- 37 James M Lindgren, *Preserving the Old Dominion* (University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, 1992), pp. 1-12. Lindgren's book is a history of the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities. He argues that the "Gospel of Preservation" was a means of asserting white, Anglo-Saxon, elite history as *the* history of Virginia. That sometimes meant the exclusion of African-American history as when the A.P.V.A. refused to allow a plaque at Jamestown to mark the arrival of the first Africans in the country.
- 38 W. Donald Rhinesmith, "Traveller: 'Just the horse for General Lee,'" *Virginia Cavalcade*, Summer 1983, pp. 38-39; Stephanie E. Terwell, "Lee Chapel: Just One Symbol of Robert E. Lee" (student paper prepared for Pamela H. Simpson, April 1996), W&L/LSC.
- 39 Terwell, "Lee Chapel," p. 13. The Lynchburg firm of Clark, Nexsen, and Owen had charge of the project.
- 40 The third week in January brings not only Robert E. Lee's birthday, but also those of Stonewall Jackson and Martin Luther King Jr., a coincidence that in Virginia has until recently resulted in the third Monday being named Robert E. Lee, Stonewall Jackson and Martin Luther King Jr. Day a juxtaposition that seems to reflect the sometimes uncomfortable ambiguity of the South's continued ties to traditionalism.



When the Lights Came on in Lexington . . . And Rockbridge County

George Pryde

OULD YOU find your way around on a moonless night without streetlights, headlights, or even flashlights?

Somehow people did just that, and did so for almost a cen-

tury after Lexington was founded.

What was it like to live in the dark?

Virginia Tech professor Roger Ekirch spent more than sixteen years studying the effect darkness had on people in pre-industrial society. He tells of the fears and superstitions engendered by darkness as well as the camaraderie of men and women gathering around a candle, an oil lamp, or a fireplace to spin tales — or spin some yarn. The pre-industrial age is generally considered to have ended by about 1830. But for Lexington and perhaps many other Virginia towns, that "dark age" lasted considerably longer, until well after the Civil War.

Electricity Comes to Lexington

The first record we have of any attempt to light Lexington's streets comes from an 1847 letter to the *Lexington Gazette*, forerunner of today's *News-Gazette*, in which unnamed citizens plead:²

We ernestly [sic] call the attention of our "City Fathers" the Mayor and Council to the necessity of lighting the streets of our benighted town. The convenience and comfort it would afford would more than compensate for the small outlay called for, or the additional tax is [sic] would be necessary to levy A few lamps, similar to those used on the grounds of the University and a small outlay for oil and a lamplighter would light our way and not lighten our pockets very much. Gentlemen, think of this earnestly.

This impassioned plea went unheeded for a quarter century. Finally, in 1873, Lexington's town council authorized its streets committee to "purchase twenty street lamps and have them located at the most suitable points on the main streets of the Town, provided the cost does not exceed \$500 in purchase of Lamps, Posts, Coal Oil, & running the same for twelve

A native of Wyoming and longtime resident of the New York City area, George Pryde was educated as a mechanical engineer, but spent his professional career in advertising and marketing. Since retiring in 1996, he has indulged a life-long fascination with history, including a special interest in how technology has affected our lives. A version of this paper was presented at the Society's May 24, 2004, meeting at the George C. Marshall Museum.

months."³ Soon afterward, J. William Breedlove was hired as Lexington's first lamplighter, at a salary of \$125 per year.⁴

The lamps were obviously considered a success, as only a few months later the town decided to increase the number of lamps from twenty to forty-eight.⁵

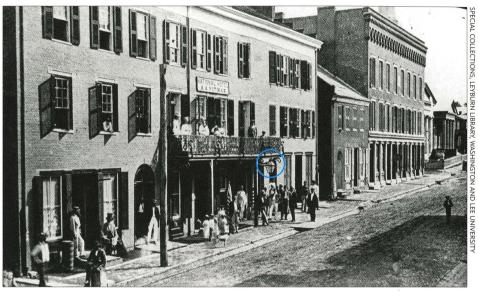


FIGURE 1 National Hotel, about 1885, photographed by Michael Miley.



FIGURE 2
Methodist Church group, photographed by Michael Miley.



FIGURE 3
Main Street, Lexington, photographed by Michael Miley.

These first Lexington street lamps were probably similar in appearance to the two reproduction street lamps now in front of the Stonewall Jackson House. A Michael Miley photograph (Figure 1) from the 1880s shows what may have been one of the original lamps, in front of the old National Hotel on North Main Street.

In the mid-1880s, the original oil lamps were replaced by improved lamps made of stamped metal and furnished with round glass chimney-globes. Like the earlier lamps, they were mounted on poles at street corners and in front of churches and other public places. These lamps appear in a number of photographs, the clearest of which is a Miley photo of a Trinity Methodist Church group (Figure 2). They are quite similar to the portable oil lanterns still used today for camping and emergency lighting.

The cover photo of Henry Boley's local history, *Lexington in Old Virginia*, shows Main Street in the 1880s, with two of the metal lamps visible. (Figure 3). Boley described the oil-lamp era:⁶

Before the advent of electricity into the town, there stood on each street corner picturesque oil lamps, and it was the small boys' delight to follow the lamplighter, with his little ladder, as he would light up

the streets and dispel the approaching darkness. The lights were few and far between, but as everyone, including the night watchman, was supposed to be at home by nine o'clock, at which time peace, silence and sleep settled on the community, lights were little needed.

Picturesque, perhaps, but not everyone thought of the oil lamps fondly. From the beginning, there were problems. By the late 1880s, nearly every town council meeting included a discussion of dissatisfaction with the oil lamps or, more often, the lamplighters themselves.

The first recorded mention of electric lighting occurs in early 1887, when town council resolved to form a special committee "to consider the propriety of substituting the Electric Light for that now used in lighting the Town"⁷

A few weeks later, the Committee on Electric Lights recommended the "Thomson-Houston System of Electric Lights" and asked for a special vote on an \$8,000 bond issue to finance it. Just a week later, however, the proposed ordinance was annulled by a council vote of four to two, only eight days before the scheduled vote. (Ballots had already been printed.) This seems to have been a rather heated meeting. E. L. Quisenberry, one of the two council members who voted against repealing the ordinance, tendered his resignation. But the resignation was tabled and later ruled "not accepted," and he remained in office.

A year passed without further action on bringing electricity to Lexington. Then, in April 1888, a Mr. W. N. Ruffin of the Thomson-Houston System of Electric Lights addressed the council. His proposal, details of which were not recorded, was discussed, then tabled because "in view of the large indebtedness of the town and the uncertain and insufficient supply of water, it is not deemed expedient to incur any expense in [changing] the system of lights now in use." It is unclear whether the reference to the water supply concerned boiler feed water for a coal-fired power plant or river flow for a hydroelectric plant.

Over the next year and a half, several proposals and petitions for schemes to electrify Lexington were presented to the council. An organization calling itself the Lexington Electric Light and Power Company appeared before the council at least twice, as did "Dr. J.T. Forbes and C.B. Guyen, representing themselves and others." On at least one occasion a petition "signed by some of the taxpayers and citizens of the town" urged action. All these proposals were voted down, tabled, or withdrawn. The reasons cited by the council were financial: already high taxes created a reluctance to budget for electric lighting.¹¹

Meanwhile, problems with the oil lamp system continued. The town council minutes for November 6, 1890, 12 reported that "Lamplighters F____ and N____ having been fired by the Mayor [J. W.

FIGURE 4 Professor David C. Humphreys (1855-1921) at home, about 1895, photographed by Michael Miley.

Houghawout] for dereliction of duty," the matter was referred to "the Committee on Lights."*

Did "The Case of the Lazy Lamplighters" rekindle Lexington's interest in electric lights? Quite possibly. Just a month later, and for the first time in about eighteen months, the council took action on the subject: "On motion it



is ordered that the Committee on Water and Lights be requested to get all information concerning electric lights and report to the council as soon as practicable."¹³

Several factors had converged by the end of 1890 to bring Lexington, after nearly four years of dithering about funding, to address the need for electric power seriously:

- Urban electrification, launched with Thomas Edison's 1882 Pearl Street power plant in Manhattan, was happening all over the country.¹⁴
- It was happening nearby: Buena Vista had begun electric service on June 4, 1890.¹⁵
- The short-lived boom started in 1890 by the Lexington Development Company, while it left few lasting marks, had at least spurred interest in municipal infrastructure improvements. A 1959 Rockbridge Historical Society program commented: "The 'boom' activity in this sleepy little village pointed out the absence of phones, electric lights and other gadgets which were the hallmarks of cosmopolitan life, and we find discussion and planning of these utilities which before long produced results." ¹⁶
- Washington and Lee University needed better access to electric power.
- Lighting by oil lamps continued to be a vexing problem.

^{*} I have withheld the names for fear that someone who has lived here much longer than I might be embarrassed to learn that a disgraced Lexington lamplighter was in the family tree.



FIGURES 5, 6
Goshen truss bridge designed by David Humphreys.

The Committee on Water and Lights was apparently not able to gather enough information to satisfy the council. In January 1891, Council asked the committee to "employ an expert and make report of all information practicable in reference to lighting the town by electricity and make report at the earliest possible moment."¹⁷



The expert selected was David C. Humphreys, professor of engineering at Washington and Lee (Figure 4). Humphreys was a logical choice. For some years, he had served Lexington as de facto town engineer. When streets, sewers, or water lines were put in place, Humphreys was called on to draw the plans. His skills included bridge design — his name appears on the truss bridge over the Maury River in Goshen (Figures 5 and 6) — which was recently rebuilt after years of neglect. He also designed the pedestal on which sculptor Edward Valentine's statue of Stonewall Jackson was erected in 1893 in Stonewall Jackson Cemetery.

When asked to lend a hand with electrification, Humphreys's first action was an appearance before the council, apparently an oral presentation, for which he was given "a vote of thanks for his full and satisfactory report on the subject of Electric Lighting." ¹⁸

On May 5, 1891, Humphreys and Washington and Lee physics professor S. J. Moreland brought a detailed written proposal to the council. A copy of this report exists at W&L¹⁹ (Figure 7), though the original has apparently been lost.

The **Humphreys-Moreland** proposal called for a direct current (DC) dynamo, a power station, and electric distribution lines to power up to forty arc lamps of 2,000 nominal candlepower each.* separate alternating current (AC) dynamo would power up to 700 incandescent lamps of 16 nominal candlepower (about 50 to 60 watts) each.²⁰ The DC system would power Lexington's street lights, and the AC setup would provide electricity for homes, businesses, schools, and churches.

Two alternatives were offered: a coal-fired steam power plant, to be located at the corner of Henry and Randolph Streets, and a hydroSpecial Collections

Copy Act

So the Hon-Diagor and Down Council of

Lexington Na.

Pleptort

Solution Sighting

Scaington Va.

Serington Va.

Lexington Va.

Burnell S. 1891.

FIGURE 7
"Report on Electric Lighting of Lexington, Va.," 1891.

electric plant to be built on a dam in the Maury River. The water-powered version would be costlier to build but cheaper to operate, as no fuel cost would be incurred. Humphreys and Moreland unhesitatingly recommended the water-power option, and the council agreed.

Humphreys and Moreland were paid fifty dollars for their proposal, and subsequently were hired to draw up a plan for placing 37 arc lamps in Lexington. A blueprint copy of this plan resides in the W&L archives.

Most of the arc lights were to be located, as might be expected, at the principal intersections in downtown Lexington. Along Main Street, they were to be spread out from Sellers Avenue at the south to near Hook Lane at the north. One light was to be at Jordans Point, then still a locus of manufacturing and warehousing. Just one light was allocated for W&L, to be mounted over the center of the Colonnade. V.M.I. also rated a single lamp, to be situated over the Washington Arch of the barracks. A lamp to be placed on Letcher Avenue at the boundary between the two schools would, in effect, be shared by the two institutions.

By May 1892, Thomas W. Shelton and W. H. Waddell, together with unnamed associates, had formed or were in the process of forming the Lexington Electric Light and Power Company and were asked by the town council to draw up a contract to implement the Humphreys-Moreland proposal.

^{*} For arc lamps, the term "nominal candlepower," now obsolete, was arbitrary. The measure "2,000 c.p." was typically applied to arc lamps using 450 watts. Incandescent lamps used three to four watts per c.p.

In May, the contract was presented and approved at a specially called council meeting. The Lexington Electric and Power Company was awarded an exclusive grant for ten years to provide "a power of not less than 50 nominal 2000 c.p. Arc lights and 700 nominal 16 c.p. incandescent lights . . . and shall be completed and furnishing lights not later than January 1st, 1893." The company was also to provide thirty-seven arc lamps as specified in the blueprint, and would charge Lexington \$1,500 a year for power and maintenance.

Commercial and residential rates for incandescent lights were based not on kilowatt-hours, electric meters being not yet available, but on the number of lights used. For businesses with three to five lamps, the rate would be \$1.25 per month per lamp. For 21 or more lamps the rate would drop to \$0.75 per month per lamp. Residential rates were to be slightly lower: \$1 per month per lamp for three to five lamps. Electricity was to be provided only six hours per day on weekdays, from 4 to 10 p.m. and on Saturdays from 4 p.m. to midnight. There would be no service on Sundays. Water power was free. So why wouldn't the company simply run its generator around the clock? Perhaps that would have meant additional wear and tear on the water turbines and dynamo, or additional labor costs. Then again, perhaps the company simply believed all good citizens would be tucked in bed and have no need of lights after 10 p.m.

What is clear is that electricity was expensive. We can't easily imagine paying, even with today's money, a dollar a month for each light bulb, and for light to be provided only a few hours a day. In the 1890s, paying several dollars a month for such a limited amount of light must have seemed an enormous outlay, enough to deter all but the most affluent residents.

Yet there was great interest in Lexington's plans to electrify. A 1940-era reprint of an 1892 newspaper article reported: 22

Lexington is to be lighted by electricity, and this before many months. A syndicate of Baltimore gentlemen recently purchased the franchise granted some months ago by the town of Lexington to Messrs. Waddell and Shelton to install an electric light plant in the town. A charter was granted by Judge McLaughlin under the name of the Lexington Electric Light and Power Company with a capital stock of \$30,000. This has been subscribed. The company has purchased from the Lexington Manufacturing Co. the first dam below the point for \$5,000. The dam is to be used to furnish power and the hands are now at work under the supervision of E. R. Caricoff lowering the dam three feet."

The dam was Reids Dam, also known as Ross Dam or Emores Dam, located about a mile and a quarter downstream from Jordans Point, where the Lexington Manufacturing Company was located. The dam and



FIGURE 8
Remnants of Reids Dam.

its boat lock were once used to allow canal boats to navigate the Maury River as far as the Lexington docks at Jordans Point. ²³ Presumably "lowering the dam" refers to altering only a small section of it in order to create a head of water to power the turbines. Remnants of Reids Dam and its lock can still be seen today from the Chessie Trail (Figure 8). The generating equipment was apparently located on the center of the dam, which was breached by a storm several decades ago, possibly Hurricane Camille in 1969. No remnants of the equipment are visible today, although parts of the iron or steel towers carrying the electric lines to downtown Lexington, a mile and a half from the dam, are reportedly still visible.

The target date of January 1, 1893, came and went, and on January 5, the power company was granted an extension until February $2.^{24}$

At last the electric arc lights were turned on, and on February 9, the *Lexington Gazette and Citizen* proclaimed, "Lighted by Electricity — The Lexington Electric Light Company turned on the lights on Friday night last . . . our streets at night are lighted almost as well as by day."²⁵

A newspaper clipping, dated only "1893," announced that "Lexington is now lighted by the brilliant glare of the electric light" and reported favorable public reaction to the street lights, although some people seem to have been a bit taken aback by the "brilliant glare." The article also reported on unsuccessful attempts to "turn on the incandescent lights in the buildings."

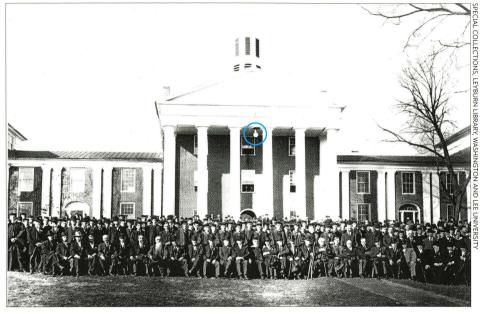


FIGURE 9
Colonnade at Washington and Lee University, about 1895; photograph by Michael Miley.

The arc lights can be seen in a number of photos taken in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, including those reproduced here (Figures 9 and 10). They remained in service until 1940, when they were replaced by modern street lamps, apparently of the sodium vapor type (Figure 11).²⁷

Just when the incandescent lights were turned on is not recorded,

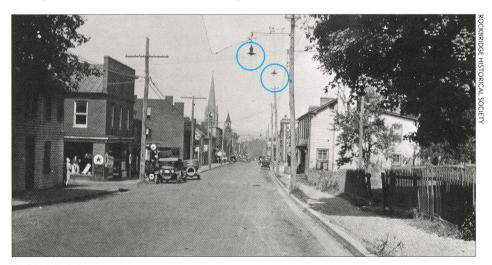


FIGURE 10 Looking north on Main Street.

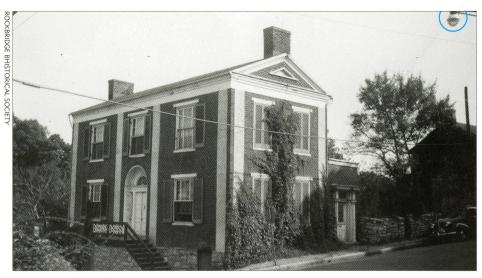


FIGURE 11
Campbell House, East Washington Street, early 1940s.

although it was likely just a few days after the arc lights. Acceptance of the incandescent lights was quite slow, due no doubt to the high operating cost. Nearly a decade after the power became available, the Sanborn insurance map (the standard resource for measuring fire-insurance risk) reported only one Lexington business with electric lights: John Sheri-

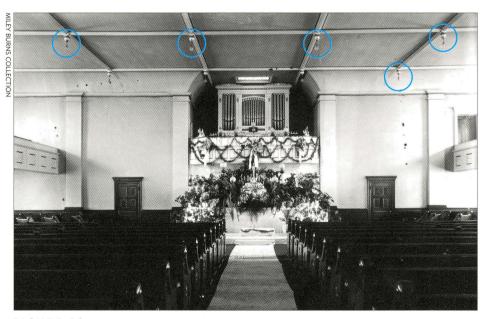


FIGURE 12
Lexington Presbyterian Church in the 1890s; photograph by Michael Miley.

dan's ice plant on Randolph Street. V.M.I. had electric lights in "all major buildings," but W&L only in Newcomb Hall; the administration building on the Colonnade and Lee Chapel were still lighted by oil lamps. The Ann Smith Academy was reported simply as having "no lights." Only two churches, Lexington Presbyterian and the Methodist Church on Main Street, had electric lights. Fancy light fixtures were unknown at this early stage of electrification; bare bulbs were the norm (Figure 12).

Yet by 1913, two decades after the coming of electricity, most Lexington businesses had electric lights, as did all churches except St. Patrick's and the Methodist (colored) church. The hospital, located in Stonewall Jackson's house on Washington Street, had electric lights but "no fire apparatus." 28

In early February of 1893, when electricity became available for lighting Lexington's streets, businesses, schools, churches, and a few homes, the word electricity essentially meant lighting; there were no other significant applications. But that was about to change. Later that month, the World's Columbian Exposition opened in Chicago. One of its most popular exhibits was the futuristic "kitchen of tomorrow," featuring an electric coffee-maker, stove, and chafing dish. Soon would follow the electric vacuum cleaner, refrigerator, washing machine, iron, and, in 1907, when Nichrome wire was perfected, the toaster.

Thus electricity took its place on the list of Lexington's civic improvements, which have included:

1794 Volunteer Fire Department (the first in Virginia)

1801 Canal boat service

1873 Street lamps (oil)

1883 Railroad service

1893 Street lamps (electric)

1893 Business and residential electric service

1897 Telephone service (chartered in 1889)

1911 Sidewalks

1922 Street addresses numbered

1931 Natural gas (the first city in Virginia; V.M.I. had gas lighting from 1853 to 1893)

1995 Public Internet Service

I have not been able to learn when Lexington first got sewer mains or telegraph service. Many towns had telegraph service by the time of the Civil War, but Lexington apparently did not, judging from the oft-told story that the town first learned of the Battle of Manassas (July 21, 1861) a few days after it took place when a letter from Stonewall Jackson (who earned his nickname at that battle) was received in Lexington by his minister, the Rev. William White.

Electricity Comes to Rockbridge County

Rural folk, especially farm families, readily understood how electricity might make their lives easier and more profitable. But in Rockbridge County, as across the nation, country folk had to wait nearly a half century or more for public electric power to reach them.

As one historian of rural electrification has written, "the rural people of America [were] not to know electricity. They were told that, for them, it was not a commercial proposition. There was no profit in it. And because there was no profit, there were no lights for rural people. Sadly, what electricity did for them was to illuminate difference A great gulf developed. Two nations, two classes, two centuries. One of light, one of darkness. One backward, one enlightened."²⁹

For decades after Lexington's electricity was turned on, Rockbridge County residents continued to rely on oil lamps for lighting. A few homes, churches, farms, and stores did have their own electric generators, commonly called "light plants" or "Delco plants," after the Dayton Engineering Laboratories Company division of General Motors, the best-known generator manufacturer. Light plants were very expensive — typically \$300 to \$600 in the 1920s for plants that generated only about 850 watts. For the same amount in today's dollars, we can buy emergency generators with an output of 5,000 to 8,000 watts. Modern standby generators are so

much cheaper because they generate 120-volt or 240-volt alternating current that can directly power our appliances in an electric outage. In contrast, early generators produced a direct current that had to be accumulated in a bank of storage batteries before it could be used — batteries that cost as much as or more than the generator itself.

The first movement toward electrifying Rockbridge County began with the creation of the Rural Electrification Administration, or R.E.A., one of the best-known New Deal projects.

The father of the R.E.A., Morris Llewellyn Cooke (1872-1960), was trained as an engineer and specialized as a consultant to public power and conservation projects.



FIGURE 13 Morris Llewellyn Cooke, 1872-1960, father of the Rural Electrification Administration.

In the late 1920s, his progressive ideas caught the attention of the New York governor, Franklin D. Roosevelt. When F.D.R. became president, Cooke (Figure 13) became his principal adviser on power and conservation issues.³⁰

Early in 1935, Cooke, with F.D.R.'s backing, sent a memo to key Washington officials arguing the need for rural electrification. Cooke designed his memo to be read and fully comprehended in only twelve minutes, figuring perhaps that that was the maximum attention span of his audience. He laid out the problem succinctly:

What is the Task? Of the six million farms in the United States over 800,000 are "electrified" but only about 650,000 have "high line" service. The balance have individual Delco plants, expensive to operate and limited as to use. Over 5,000,000 farms are entirely without electric service.

Cooke's "12-Minute Memo," as it came to be known, did electrify his audience. Support for a Rural Electrification Administration grew and, on May 11, 1935, President Roosevelt signed Executive Order No. 7037, creating the R.E.A.

While Morris Cooke is considered the father of rural electrification in America, the father of our local electric cooperative — Bath, Alleghany, Rockbridge Counties, or BARC — was Col. J. L. Montague. (Figure 14). Credit is also due to J. S. Knowlson, a Chicago businessman with ties to Bath County, who saw the need for an R.E.A. cooperative in Bath and its neighboring counties. He contacted the R.E.A. in Washington, which in

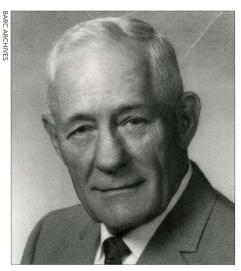


FIGURE 14 Col. J. L. Montague, father of BARC.

turn wrote to Montague, the Bath County extension agent. Montague immediately began planning an R.E.A. cooperative in the area. In a whirlwind of activity between January and April 1938, Montague studied federal R.E.A. requirements; contacted local leaders: conducted community meetings; prepared applications for a charter and a loan from R.E.A.; helped potential customers get right-of-way easements; collected \$5 membership fees; and, on April 19, got a BARC charter approved by the R.E.A. In July, BARC received its first loan grant from the R.E.A.³¹

Construction of BARC's first line, connecting the Goshen substation of Virginia Electric and Power Company, or Vepco, to Bath County, began on January 2, 1939. Two weeks later, work started on the Rockbridge County line, running from Goshen along Brattons Run to Kerrs Creek, and from there to Fairfield via Turkey Hill.³²

BARC's first line was energized on March 9, 1939. A. H. "Mutt" Cauley, who worked for BARC from 1938 until his retirement in 1978 as BARC manager, recalls: 33

A great delegation of people gathered. This was a big celebration. We were going to go on for the first time. Some R.E.A. people were here from Washington, two or three of them We hooked up Cyrus Tyree down here, the big brick home. He was the Number One. John [McLaughlin] was on the board, he was a local supervisor. So he was Number Two meter. Then we went out to the restaurant, the Rhododendron Lodge. Mr. McCall, he was the owner. He had a little old six-volt Delco generator — six volts! He could turn three or four lights on. That's all he had. But in the dining room he had one of those old-fashioned — we call them nickelodeons — the old record players. He got excited and said, "I'll bet that music will sound a lot better on this." And he went over and he pushed a couple of buttons — and the smoke just poured. A hundred and twenty volts on six-volt motors and the controls just burned out. That was only the third meter we hooked up and I said, "Let's quit, boys. We've had enough excitement today!"

Within six months, electricity had penetrated some of the further reaches of Rockbridge County, with a power line along Balcony Road reaching Arnolds Valley. 34

But only about a third of Rockbridge County had been electrified when World War II halted BARC's line construction because key materials such as copper wire, creosote for utility poles, and gasoline for crew vehicles were no longer available, and much of the available manpower had been drafted into military service. In any case, there was no longer much incentive to build power lines, as production of most household electric appliances was halted. After the war, BARC construction resumed and was substantially completed by 1950.

When electricity came to Lexington in 1893 it had a single application: lighting. Decades later, when Rockbridge County finally got electric power, an assortment of electric appliances was now available.

When electricity first reached rural homes, what appliances were they most likely to buy? To answer this question, surveys were conducted in the 1930s and '40s. No research was apparently done here in BARC's area, but surveys around the nation and in electric cooperative areas near us showed results so consistent that we may confidently extrapolate them

FIG

URE	15	
		Electric Appliances Used in Rural Homes
		Composite Results of Four Surveys

Appliance	Ohio Farmer (Magazine), 1937	REA Survey, 1938	Curtis Publishing Co., 1938	Shenandoah Valley Electric Coop,1949
Radio	88.0%	86.2%	92.1%	94.4%
Electric iron	93.5%	80.5%	91.9%	93.7%
Washing machine	86.9%	47.0%	90.1%	80.2%
Refrigerator	36.5%	25 .6%	41.0%	76.3%

Source: Allen James Berry, "Rural Electric Cooperatives in Virginia" (unpublished master's thesis), University of Virginia, 1951, Alderman Library Special Collections

to Rockbridge County. Findings from several of these surveys are shown in Figure 15.

Radios and irons topped the popularity partly because they were affordable: a good radio could be purchased for ten dollars or less and an iron for about five dollars. The radio was a much-loved link to the out-

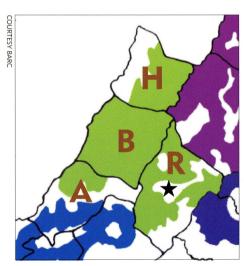


FIGURE 16

BARC service area in green

B = Bath County

A = Alleghany County

R = Rockbridge County

H = Highland County

★ = Lexington

side world that brought weather reports, crop price information, general news, and, of course, family entertainment to the country home. For the rural housewife, an electric iron represented freedom from the drudgery of flatirons that had to be heated on a hot stove even on a blistering summer day.

Washing machines were more expensive, but nearly as popular as radios and irons. Refrigerators, also coveted, were priced beyond the reach of many homes until postwar prosperity made them more widely affordable.

Today, BARC serves about 80 percent of Rockbridge County homes outside Lexington; the balance are served by Dominion Virginia Power, Vepco's successor. BARC also provides electricity to all

35

of Bath County and parts of Highland and Alleghany counties. (Figure 16). With about fifty full-time employees and an annual payroll of more than \$2 million, the cooperative purchases in excess of \$8 million of electric power yearly for distribution to its members.³⁵

Topics for Further Investigation

- When electricity came to Buena Vista
- History of lighting at Washington and Lee University
- History of lighting at Virginia Military Institute
- Sociological impact of delay between lighting towns and rural areas
- Demographic impact: Is Lexington's "sprawl" in recent decades due more to cars — or to rural electrification?

Notes

- 1 Joyce and Richard Wolkomir, "When Bandogs Howle and Spirits Walk," in *Smithsonian*, January 2001, pp. 39-44.
- 2 Withrow Scrapbook, Volume 1, in Special Collections, Leyburn Library, Washington and Lee University.
- 3 Minutes of Lexington Town Council meeting of September 15, 1873, in the record books at Lexington City Hall.
- 4 *Ibid.*, December 5, 1873.
- 5 Ibid., March 16, 1874.
- 6 Henry Boley, Lexington in Old Virginia (Garrett & Massie, Richmond, 1936), pp. 213-14.
- 7 Minutes of Lexington Town Council meeting, February 14, 1887.
- 8 Ibid., March 23, 1887.
- 9 *Ibid.*, April 1 and April 8, 1887.
- 10 Ibid., April 14, 1888.
- 11 Ibid., various dates between September 7, 1888, and November 21, 1889
- 12 Ibid., November. 6, 1890.
- 13 Ibid., December 4, 1890.
- 14 Richard A. Pence, ed., *The Next Greatest Thing* 50 Years of Rural Electrification in America (McArdle Printing Company, Silver Spring, Maryland, 1985).
- 15 H. Russell Robey, "As I Remember It," no publisher or date given (c. 1980)
- 16 Stuart Moore, "Greater Lexington 1890," in *Proceedings of the Rockbridge Historical Society, Vol. 5*, p. 79.
- 17 Minutes of Lexington Town Council meeting, January 15, 1891.
- 18 *Ibid.*, February 19, 1891.

- 19 D. C. Humphreys and S. J. Moreland, *Report on Electric Lighting of Lexington, Virginia*, March 5, 1891, in W&L Trustee Papers, Special Collections, Leyburn Library, Washington and Lee University.
- 20 William Kent, *The Mechanical Engineer's Handbook*, Sixth Edition (John Wiley & Sons, Passaic, New Jersey, 1902), p. 1,044.
- 21 Minutes of Lexington Town Council, specially called meeting, May 9, 1892.
- 22 Withrow Scrapbook, Volume 1, in Special Collections, Leyburn Library, Washington and Lee University.
- 23 W. E. Trout III, *The Maury River Atlas* (privately published, 1992), p. 15.
- 24 Minutes of Lexington Town Council meeting, January 5, 1893.
- 25 Lexington Gazette and Citizen, February 9, 1893, in microfilm files at Rockbridge Regional Library, Lexington.
- 26 Withrow Scrapbook, Volume 9, in Special Collections, Leyburn Library, Washington and Lee University.
- 27 Lexington Gazette, March 22, 1940, in microfilm files at Rockbridge Regional Library, Lexington.
- 28 Sanborn Insurance Maps, June 1902 and May 1913, Special Collections, Leyburn Library, Washington and Lee University.
- 29 Pence, Next Greatest Thing, p. 11.
- 30 D. Clayton Brown, *Electricity for Rural America: The Fight for the REA* (Greenwood Press, Westport, Connecticut, 1980), pp. 23, 35.
- 31 "History of BARC Electric Cooperative," undated manuscript, BARC archives, Millboro, Virginia.
- 32 Ibid.
- 33 Author's recorded interview with A. H. Cauley, March 3, 2003.
- 34 Lexington Gazette, "Arnolds Valley Boasts of New Improvements," October 13, 1939, in microfilm files at Rockbridge Regional Library, Lexington.
- 35 Virginia, Maryland & Delaware Association of Electric Cooperatives, 2003 Membership Directory.

The Franklin Society and Library Company

Richard C. Halseth

HIS WAS a most fascinating and rewarding research project about a debating society and semi-private library company. I probably spent far too much time working on it but it was extremely interesting; I felt I was in a time warp going back almost 200 years in the social and economic history of Lexington and Rockbridge County. The records of this Society are very comprehensive, so it is like one-stop-shopping in Washington and Lee University's Special Collections, the repository of ledgers, correspondence, minutes, and such of this organization that was a mirror image of the communities' issues and position on subjects ranging from the frivolous to the very meaningful.

Predecessors

Debating was a very popular activity. In the late 1700s and early 1800s, forty debating societies developed along the Atlantic coast. The model for Virginia's library companies emerged in Philadelphia in 1731, when the young Benjamin Franklin and associates started the Library Company of Philadelphia, which is still functioning. The first notable library company in Virginia, the Alexandria Library Company, was established in July 1794. Although Lexington was far from the eastern metropolitan areas, the combination of Washington College and a predominantly Scots-Irish population with a keen interest in learning generated great interest in exchanging views on various subjects in a way that required knowledge together with powers of oratory. The first such group in Lexington was the Belles Lettres Society, formed in 1800 by a few influential men seeking intellectual improvement through weekly discussions of selected questions. In 1806, they changed the name to the Union Society, in 1807 to the Republican Society, and in 1808 to the Literary Society of Lexington. All were in fact the same group, and there are some who believe that it

was the predecessor of the Franklin Society, but I cannot find a connection other than purpose.

The Lexington Library Company was formed in 1801. It had twenty-one subscribers, each paying ten dollars a year in dues and three dollars for the purchase of books. In 1818, the organization tried to combine with the Franklin

A graduate of Michigan State University, Dick Halseth was an advertising executive with Ford Motor Company and vice president of Hachette-Filipacchi Publishing. A lifelong student of the Civil War, he moved to Lexington in 1997. Dick has lectured widely and written segments for several encyclopedias and magazines. This paper was presented on July 26, 2004, in the George C. Marshall Museum's Pogue Auditorium.

Society and Library Company, but the groups never came to terms. The Lexington Library Company lasted until March 25, 1825, when its books were sold at public auction, where some were reportedly purchased by the Franklin Society.

All this is background on the interest in intellectual development in a rural community of perhaps some 600. I am impressed that such a small community would have the interest it did.

Birth of a Proud Institution

On August 31, 1811, the Franklin Society was created. It lasted until March 11, 1891, eighty years. The Franklin Society became one of the longest-lived groups of its nature in the country — a significant accomplishment, particularly since it had to overcome myriad challenges.

In 1870, the minutes of the Society's annual meeting noted: "Everyone knows that the Franklin Society is an Institution of which Lexington, or any other town, may well be proud. That it has not only fulfilled (as has well been said) the expectations of its most sanguine friends, but has diffused innumerable benefits & blessings amongst its members & sown them broadcast upon all within the sphere of its influence." Over its many years, some of them very difficult, this was a very successful organization.

The charter members included many famous names from Lexington history that you will recognize:

- Andrew Hays, President
- Hyacinth Cruisolle, Treasurer
- Anderson Hutchinson, Secretary
- Cornelius Dorman
- Thomas L. Preston
- James McDowell
- William Ross
- Sterling Neblett
- Samuel Walkup

It is worth noting that none of these members had participated in the previous debating groups in Lexington.

The 1811 preamble to the "Rules Regulations and Bye Laws" read: "We the members of the Franklin Society desirous to improve our minds, cultivate friendship, and promote the public good, do form ourselves into a permanent society for which we ordain and establish this constitution." I think it is important to emphasize the three reasons for the Society: "improve minds"... "cultivate friendship"... "promote the public good."

In the beginning it was just "The Franklin Society," named for Benjamin Franklin. The constitution called for two members to recommend a subject for the following week's debate; each member was assigned a side

and all were expected to participate. (I think this is interesting, as one may have had to defend a position he didn't agree with. That in itself is important, as it requires that participants try to understand and defend views that may be opposed to their own. That certainly promotes understanding.) The constitution also required that one member be elected each year to give an oration in commemoration of the anniversary of American independence.

The debate rules strictly prohibited indecent or disrespectful language. Members could speak only twice on a subject, unless permitted by the president. No spectators were allowed at these debates, at least in the early years.

Most interesting were the rules that banned whispering, private discourse, or noise; reading; standing, coming in, or leaving; and walking around the room. Each was a breach of conduct and subject to a fine. One member was fined for winding the clock during a debate. These were clearly no-nonsense debates among gentlemen. Yet fines were a good source of income, every week there were a number of fines, as the meeting records note. If a member failed to take part in the debate, his fine was $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents. And the club was serious: If a fine was not paid by the next meeting, the member was suspended, and if not by the meeting after that, the member was expelled.

The fine for being absent at the beginning or end of a meeting was 12½ cents for members and a whopping 25 cents for officers. Those who joined were expected to attend each week or have a very good excuse. One of the more interesting excuses from 1835, according to the Society's records, came from an unidentified member: "Having been cited to appear at the Franklin Society tonight and give excuses for absences, and as it will be out of my power to attend, I wish you would say to the Society that three meetings I was sick, one I was absent in the country six miles from town, and for the other absences my excuse is that since the attempt to burn my house, I have been so uneasy that I have not nor will I leave home at night."

The illness excuse is understandable. The distance issue is interesting, as the Society excused anyone who lived more than a mile from town. But the last excuse leaves one wondering if a vandal was on the loose or if Indians were lurking.

There were other interesting excuses, three of which I will share with you:

- "My excuse is attending Masonic Meetings."
- "Forgetfulness." (Jacob Ruff was getting on in years.)

And J. T. L. Preston missed the 1869 annual meeting because, as he said, "My health requires that I should be in the open air as much as possible and Saturday is my leisure day."

Before one could become a member, he had to "promise on honor to demean myself as an orderly member of the Society, to make no remarks with derision or contumely concerning any observation made or act done in Society except to a member. To disclose no punishment inflicted, censure imposed or accusation preferred therein, neither whilst I am a member nor thereafter; to give true excuses for absence, and further that I will support the Constitution of laws of the institution whilst I continue a member there of." (This is the 1816 version of the oath, but it remained essentially unchanged through the life of the Society.) This was an agreement among gentlemen neither to deride any idea, nor ridicule any position, nor let the general public know of any hand-slapping.

In 1811, the meetings convened on Saturday evenings at dark or at the lighting of the candle, and the courthouse bell would be rung at that time. The early meetings of the Society were held at the courthouse and, for a while, at Washington Hall at Washington College.

The first debate took place on September 7, 1811, just one week after the constitution was adopted. The question was, "Is Dueling Justifiable?", and the vote was three to three. The president exercised his power to break ties and voted in the negative.

On November 15, with about two months of debates behind them, the members found that the constitution was not working for them, so they drafted another. I love the preamble: "We, the members of the Franklin Society, now an organized institution having experienced many inconveniences from the obscurity and imbecility of this constitution; and in order to remove these evils, and continue the social institution on a permanent basis, do ordain and establish this constitution and nullify the old." There were only minor changes that I can find, but it must have made a stink for the members. The new constitution had sixty-four signatures. The Society was growing and the debates continued.

Before the year was out, members debated a variety of subjects, including, "Should the right of suffrage be unconstrained in Virginia?" That question was answered with a unanimous no. "Should capital punishment be inflicted in any case?" The yes votes were nine and the noes were two. This issue is still debated today among the entire populace.

In 1812, the Society got to the more academic, when it discussed whether Brutus was justified in murdering Caesar. The vote was eleven in the negative and three in the affirmative. After debating the more timely issue, "Would a declaration of war by the U.S. against Great Britain be politic?", there were thirteen hawks and only two doves. Then a very inter-

esting question was posed: "Would it be good policy & consistent with the spirit of the American people to exterminate the Indians that have been committing the murders on our citizens?" Nine were in favor and three were against. Again I find the subjects interesting, as almost 200 years have gone by — and yet many of the issues have a familiar ring to them.

The Society's Library

In order to keep abreast of state, national, and foreign news, the Franklin Society early on decided to subscribe to a number of newspapers, including the *Boston Patriot*, the *Philadelphia Aurora*, the *Baltimore Weekly Register*, the *Baltimore Federalist Republic*, and the *Charleston Courier*. The record books indicate that there were problems in getting the papers through the postmaster and delivery was inconsistent.

But newspapers alone were not enough to make for an informed and knowledgeable membership. Greater resources and information were needed for the debaters, and on May 15, 1813, after fewer than two years in existence, the Society resolved to create a library. Three weeks later, on June 5, members approved the library rules, and on June 14, they selected twenty-three books to inaugurate a library that would eventually grow to some 3,800 volumes. It was at this time that the name was changed to The Franklin Society and Library Company.

Tickets were issued to those eligible to borrow books. Each library shareholder (and every member was required to be a shareholder in the library in the early years) owned a ticket redeemable for a book. His ticket would be returned to him when he returned the borrowed book.

The Society also offered twenty shares to Washington College students who came from outside Rockbridge County. Each share cost \$3 plus semiannual dues of fifty cents. Washington College was allocated five shares at no initial fee but with the stipulation that the college would pay the semiannual dues. A Washington College student wishing be borrow from the library had to ask the president for one of the five college tickets. Thus started a long association with Washington College that continues to this day.

The library rules stated that books were to be let out for one week for every hundred pages. A book of, say, 150 pages would be rounded up so it could be lent out for two weeks.

Of course there were fines: twenty-five cents a week for late returns. If a member re-lent a book, he was fined between twenty-five and seventy-five cents. If a book was returned damaged, the minimum fine was twenty-five cents; the maximum fine was the value of the book. If the damaged book was part of a set, the fine was the cost of replacing the entire set plus 50 percent. These were surely very stiff penalties for the times.

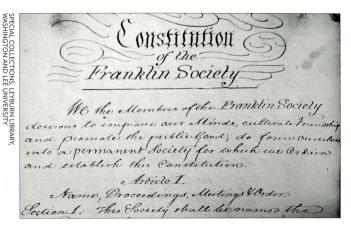


FIGURE 1 First Constitution of the Franklin Society, 1816.

During the early years, the society president would appoint a member to be librarian for a year, and there was a substantial fine if he declined the post. About 1830, the organization realized that this was a significant responsibility and major inconvenience, so members voted to establish it as a paid position. At the end, the librarian's salary was more than \$100 a year.

By 1816, the Franklin Society and Library Company was gaining strength. It adopted yet another constitution (Figure 1) and applied to the Virginia legislature for incorporation. Papers of incorporation were conveyed on January 30, 1816, and were renewed twice: once in January 1850 and again in January 1870.

An Eclectic Membership

In the Franklin Society's eighty years, it enrolled 728 members, according to one Washington and Lee researcher. We know that they came from a wide range of backgrounds and occupations. We also know that, in keeping with the times, they were all white males. Their occupations included lawyer, sheriff, printer, governor, preacher, U.S. Senator, merchant, mechanic, novelist, farmer, clerk of the court, stonemason, delegate, college president, college professor, military officer, hatter, tanner, and others I have not room to list. The list included all the influential members of the community and some not so influential, like the stonemason who was given a share of stock for services rendered.

There were, over the years, three types of memberships, stockholders, honorary and debating. There were never more than fifty stockholders, of which five were represented by the shares allocated to Washington College. *Stockholders* were expected to attend weekly meetings and the annual stockholders meeting in January. Stockholders had library privileges.

Of course there were *honorary memberships*, bestowed on a limited number of special individuals such as Robert E. Lee. Honorary members

had all the privileges of stockholders except that of voting. (In an 1881 letter, a professor of history during Lee's time as president noted that to the writer's knowledge, General Lee never attended a debate but did use the library — an observation supported by the Society's records of books lent. A review of Lee's loan ledger shows that Mrs. Lee and their daughters borrowed books too, mostly novels that were then becoming increasingly popular.)

Then there were the *debating members*, who paid a nominal fee and were expected to attend every Saturday debate. These memberships totaled around a hundred in good times. Thomas J. (Stonewall) Jackson was a debating member, elected on March 26, 1853. He submitted his resignation a year later, but evidently it was not acted upon, as the records mention him in the next year as a member.

In October 1862, the *Lexington Gazette*, in describing the membership of the society, noted: "It has amongst its members, representatives of almost every occupation in the town and country. The farmer, the mechanic, the doctor, the professor, the lawyer — all mingle here in one common brotherhood." John Varner, the last librarian of the society, noted in the Franklin Society Record Books: "In this hall men have been trained who have known no superiors in the pulpit, in the legislative halls, at the bar, on the bench, and on the stump, and they have ever acknowledged the debt they owe to the Society and fondly recall the pleasant recollections which the mention of the name suggests."

All told, the Franklin Society was quite an institution — all the more impressive because it was in a small though obviously vibrant and progressive community.

The Society's Finances

So how did the Franklin Society manage its operations and stay alive for so many years? Let's look at the sources of revenue and their expenses. In the beginning, income was generated by the sale of stock. Stockholders and debating members paid dues, usually semiannually. Then there were those nasty fines that sooner or later most members had to pay. Another source of revenue was contributions in the form of books given by individuals to the library.

The main source of income, however, was rent. Although early meetings were held in the courthouse and at Washington Hall, by 1826 the society was looking to construct its own hall. An ad-hoc building committee reported, on November 3, 1826, the availability of a lot and the estimated cost of building. Committee members had their collective eye on Samuel Dold's property on the northwest corner of Jefferson and Nelson Streets. This description is garbled, but in lay language, it is the current location

of the Palms Restaurant. The society planned to rent out the building in order to strengthen its own finances.

The committee further recommended that the society plan a neat building measuring twenty-five feet by thirty feet, and estimated the cost at \$600. It is not clear if this included land and building, as I never found a transaction record for land purchase. The committee contemplated two sources of funds: First, the Society received \$200 from a very wealthy Irish immigrant by the name of John (Jockey) Robinson, who, at this time was seventy-three years old. Robinson made a fortune as a distiller of whiskey, having previously been a weaver, horse trader and land speculator. He owned Harts Bottom, as well as 800 acres on the Cow Pasture River, and worked sixty slaves. He was a trustee of Washington College and when he died in 1826, he was the biggest benefactor to that institution other than George Washington. Second, thirty members might be persuaded to contribute five dollars a year for four years, yielding a total of \$600.

It was a few years before the land was purchased and the building erected. And, as always, actual construction costs bore no relationship to the estimate. The \$600 had become \$1,552.26. The stone and brickwork by Samuel Darst alone exceeded the original estimate. It took the society until 1835 to pay off the debt, and in the meantime book funds were diverted, and no new books were purchased for some time.

Figure 2 shows a rubbing of the cornerstone of the brick building known as Franklin Hall. With two stories and a basement, it was said to be of plain design. The society met on the second floor, where the library was housed. The first floor was leased out to individuals, groups and businesses. Some of these were Rockbridge Lodge, Wm. Kincaid, public schools, grocery/butcher, Marshall Society, Printer, Sons of Temperance and Judge John White Brockenbrough's law school. (Brockenbrough launched his school in Franklin Hall; General Lee eventually brought it under the academic wing of Washington College. In fact, the judge must have had some rowdy students, as the records shows that they damaged the facility, but he was reluctant to pay for repairs.)

In 1855, the society voted to enlarge the building at an estimated cost of \$1,295 or more. Board members personally guaranteed a loan

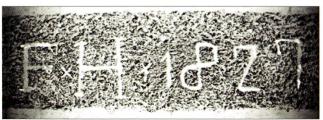


FIGURE 2 Rubbing from the cornerstone of Franklin Hall.

SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, LEYBURN LIBRARY, WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY

from the Lexington Savings Institution in the amount of \$625 and secured additional loans of \$200 and \$500 from Jacob Fuller and Robert White, respectively.

Once again the society found itself mired in debt. The facilities and maintenance created a real burden — a debt load that took many years to pay off. There were many years when the Franklin Society could not even make interest payments. The annual reports make interesting reading. They say that the society was in good financial health, an observation that reflects only routine operations and not the heavy debt. For years, the librarian pleaded for new books, but there were dry spells that lasted for years at a stretch. In 1856, the society sponsored four lectures by an O. P. Baldwin as a fundraising effort, charging members of the public twenty-five cents to attend and selling 606 tickets to the events. The events grossed \$151.50 and resulted in a net profit of \$21.37 after paying the speaker and covering his travel and subsistence.

The hall posed a major financial challenge. The lot needed to be fenced, the roof replaced, and the interior redesigned to accommodate tenants. From time to time, the Society needed to add bookcases, chairs, blinds, carpets, and the like. A hall that could generate revenue was the organization's strength — and the expense that went with it was its weakness.

One of the biggest problems was collecting rent, as tenants sometimes failed to pay or skipped town. One annual report noted that tenants "vanished under a cloud, or in some invisible way." But the problem also extended to the members themselves, who as a whole were deadbeats so far as paying dues and fines.

Beyond the costs associated with Franklin Hall, the society's major expenses went toward general operations, the librarian's salary, and the cost of publications. (I find the general operating costs to be of interest as they mainly included buying cordwood and candles — heat and electricity, in today's vernacular.)

The other major expense was for the purchase of publications and books. How the library ever got to 3,800 books is a marvel because the society was always using library funds to pay off real-estate debt. Books were purchased in spurts, depending on how much was left after paying debts. There were several periods, approaching ten years, during which the library saw no new books other than those that may have been donated by members.

The Debates

Its library and landlord activities notwithstanding, the Franklin Society remained primarily a debating society. Meetings were carefully recorded, with the results of each debate noted in the form of votes for or against the question. Missing, unfortunately, is information about who said what. I wish there had been a court reporter on hand, as the debates must have been extremely interesting.

In 1862, the *Lexington Gazette* said, "The sentiments of this venerable institution are generally a good index of the sentiments of the town." As I noted earlier, there was a degree of socio-economic diversity in the society, but I am comfortable saying that its members were the influentials of the community.

All in all, there were some eighty years of weekly debates — perhaps 3,500 or more. I sampled enough years to get a taste of the subjects and the feelings of the society.

In 1971, Whit Morrill, a history student at Washington and Lee, wrote a paper on the Franklin Society's debates from 1811, the year of its founding, to 1820. His paper gives insight into some of the society's deliberations. Having been formed during an era of declining diplomatic relations with Britain, the society appropriately addressed that issue, for example voting in favor of a trade embargo against Britain and France. Members discussed on three occasions whether to increase the size of the American navy, voting the first two times against the idea and the last time for it. They were in favor of being prepared for war, but Whit Morrill's assessment was they thought it would be a land event, not naval. Society members also felt it was appropriate to deploy the Virginia militia overseas. On June 17, 1812, Congress declared war with Great Britain — but three days later, still unaware of the vote in Washington, the society also voted in favor of war, thirteen to two.

During this period, the Franklin Society also debated the fate of Napoleon, voting in 1812 and again in 1815 that the allied Europeans were not justified in their alliance against Bonaparte. On very close ballots, the members decided two times out of three that Napoleon was basically a productive presence in the world. The society supported the American invasion of Canada in 1812, but was against annexation of that country. Members also looked at the nation's relationship with Spain and its territories, and voted a preference that Florida remain in Spain's hands rather than be ceded to the British.

The topic of slavery was much discussed between 1811 and 1865. Members generally felt that the institution was disadvantageous to the Union and inconsistent with the concept of liberty. Yet they were opposed to the education of slaves and against reimbursement to owners whose slaves were executed. Society members favored the colonization of slaves, voting three times for schemes that would send them out of the country to Liberia or elsewhere.

Other issues of the period included the establishment of a national

bank of the United States; import duties; suffrage for women, soldiers, and others; military service exemptions; and immigration policy. As a whole the society believed in equal rights for Catholics in Ireland, capital punishment, property assessments for funding schools, providing a poor house, the legality of stills (but not drunkenness), and the proposition that marriage is conducive to happiness. In the 1850s, interesting debate subjects included the origin of the species, religion, education, transportation, politics, and personal relationships.

One of the longer debates in the society's history took place in 1847: It started on January 30 and lasted until April 24. The subject was, "Should the people of western Virginia delay any longer in taking steps to bring about a division of the State?" The decision was seventeen against and seven in favor.

Another long and controversial debate started on February 26, 1854, on the question, "Is it good policy in Washington College to confine itself to the Presbyterian denomination in the selection of professors?" The vote was eleven in the negative and only one in favor of the policy. This discussion continued until June 3, when another vote was taken, this time with thirteen voting against and one in favor. At one point seventy-three members were present, which must have set an attendance record. And the debates must have been heated, as there were more than the usual numbers of fines levied for misconduct.

A note appended to the June 3 minutes was signed by George Junkin, president of Washington College; John W. Fuller, Franklin Society librarian; and three other members, all of whom were obviously concerned with the discussion and the vote. The note reads, "We believe that equity, law and good policy require the Trustee Board and Faculty of Washington College to be principally and chiefly Presbyterians, but that cases may occur, as they have occurred from its foundation, when it may be politic and right for other than Presbyterians to be elected as members of the Board and of the Faculty. This has always been practice of the College and we think no absolute rule to the contrary would be good policy." This is the only occasion I ran across that gave any indication of an individual member's position on a subject.

Deliberations during the 1850s included a number of lighter questions. "Does falling in love enlarge or contract a man's heart?" yielded a vote that was not unanimous. "Is not the extravagance in dress indulged in by both sexes, at the present day, exceedingly detrimental to society?" brought a close vote in the affirmative. And the question "Is single life an unnatural institution?" was answered with a resounding yes.

As one would expect in the late 1850s and until the Civil War began in 1861, many debates concerned relations with the northern states.

The society debated such questions as "Will the Union be dissolved?" with twenty predicting no and eight yes.

When asked, "Should Virginia secede if the country elects a Black Republican?", twenty-four voted no and only four yes. The question of seceding if New York Governor Seward were elected ended in a closer no vote, seventeen to twelve. And finally, when asked "If Lincoln is elected and the cotton states secede, should Virginia go with them?, only twelve members voted, of whom nine said no. Generally Lexington citizens were optimistic that war could be avoided and they were trying to find a way to maintain the Union.

On April 13, 1861, the question chosen for the next meeting was, "Is there any compromise that would justify Virginia's remaining with the northern states without the cotton states?" Even as this meeting was taking place, Virginia was in process of leaving the Union. On April 21, Major Jackson and his V.M.I. cadets left Lexington for Richmond. The next Franklin Society meeting did not occur until September 30, and by then the question was moot.

Meetings were held irregularly during the four years of war, but those that did take place covered such topics as inflation, which was out of control; regulations of the government in Richmond; feeding the poor, a growing problem; trade policy; and European recognition of the Confederacy.

The society thrived during the post-war Reconstruction years, and debates covered such topics as bankruptcies resulting from the war; the use of black labor; education of the freed slaves; ramifications if President Johnson were to be impeached and run out of office; and, again, immigration and suffrage.

After 1870 and until the demise of the society, members discussed railroads, problems with the Indians out west, blacks, and public schools and religious teaching. They also continued to debate issues that are familiar to us today: "Should there be a new Courthouse?", with a close yes vote of nine to seven; "Is modern dance prejudicial to church influence?",

voting no, eleven to nine; and "Ought the Franklin Society to admit ladies as debating members?", with an even closer no vote, ten to nine.

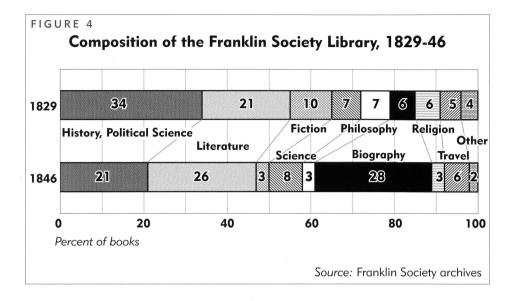
The Founding Father

No discussion of the Franklin Society would be complete without noting the man who probably single-handedly kept it all together. John W. Fuller (Figure 3) was born in Lexington on March 3, 1797. His father was a saddle-maker on Main Street, and John followed in his footsteps.



FIGURE 3 John W. Fuller, 1867.

SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, LEYBURN LIBRARY, WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY



John had limited education but was a member of the society when it was chartered in 1816.

John W. Fuller became an institution in Lexington. In 1823, he was designated the Franklin Society librarian and was disappointed that the position was uncompensated. In 1830, when the librarianship became a paid position, he signed up for it and held the post until his death in 1876, serving a total of forty-six years. After his death, the society began its decline, lasting only another fifteen years.

Fuller saw the library grow from fewer than 200 volumes in 1823 to about 3,800 volumes at his death. At first, the library was kept in three bookcases in his father's shop. An unbroken record of his annual reports to the society, located today in the Washington and Lee University library, makes for interesting reading. Fuller jealously promoted the library and Franklin Hall, yet kept a good sense of humor about the society's affairs and the state of the holdings. His reports are full of appeals for better lighting, comfortable seating, carpeting, blinds for the windows, and, of course, books for the library. Every year he reported on the books purchased or donated and the number of books lent out.

During the first fifteen years of his tenure the composition of the library changed significantly, as demonstrated in Figure 4. The biggest changes were in history and political science, fiction, and biography. I am sure that this reflected Fuller's sense of the members' evolving interests.

In 1878, after Fuller had died, another analysis (which this time included magazines) showed that fiction had become by far the most popular category, a dramatic change from the earlier years.

In terms of books lent from 1830 to 1875, there are several interesting items to note. During the early years, the number of books checked out grew steadily until 1843. The slowdown occurred because few new books were added to the library, owing to the society's stressed financial picture. Growth resumed in mid-century, when book purchases resumed. The next decline began in 1862, during the war, but just six years later, loans reached a record high of 1,000. From then on, it was downhill.

Fuller almost annually admonished the board to buy books and commented on the level of membership, quality of the debates, and the like. He chided members to participate, noting the benefits of public debating. In short, he was the society's heart and soul. He even took on Judge Brockenbrough about the damage his law students wrought on Franklin Hall, demanding that he pay for repairs.

John Fuller was a feisty gentleman whom I first ran across during research on Hunter's Raid. If it weren't for Fuller's protection, the Franklin Society library might not have existed after 1864, when the Yankees destroyed the libraries at V.M.I. and Washington College. John Fuller stood in front of Franklin Hall and single-handedly kept the Union soldiers out. Nary a book was taken.

In the annual librarian's report on January 17, 1865, he reported, "After the Yankees left here I endeavored to collect the books which had been taken by them from the various libraries and scattered in the Town and country. I succeeded in collecting over six hundred volumes many of which were without known owners. I suppose our Society becomes the owner until called for and identified." He actually ran a newspaper ad in July 1864, asking citizens to gather up books from the surrounding area roads.

Decline

When John Fuller died on November 7, 1876, the Franklin Society, to honor his forty-six continuous years of service as librarian and sixty years of membership, paid for his funeral.

With John Fuller gone, the society began to lose its moorings. John Varner took over as librarian and served capably in the position, but he was no John Fuller in influence on the group. Various reasons have been given for the decline and fall of the institution. Times were changing; the railroad had come to Lexington; communications were improving, bringing the outside in; books were increasingly available at other libraries, such as those at V.M.I. and W&L.

Encumbered by debt and declining revenues, the society leased out its building on February 4, 1887, to the Y.M.C.A. for fifteen years. The Y. took on the society's indebtedness and paid taxes and insurance as rent.

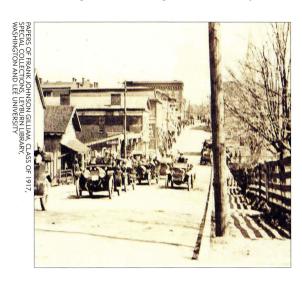


FIGURE 3
Franklin Hall (center-left of the photo, immediately behind the utility pole), looking east on West Nelson Street, circa 1915. Photographer unknown.

In effect the Y.M.C.A. took over the society, but the society retained title to its assets and continued to hold meetings. Not four years later, the Y.M.C.A. found that it could not make a go of it and opted out of the arrangement.

The Franklin Society resolved at its annual meeting on January 17, 1891, to turn its library over to Washington and Lee with certain provisions: W&L was to assume all Franklin Society debts; pay shareholders \$50 apiece and allow them continued use of the library; establish a \$300 Franklin Society scholarship for a Rockbridge county man; and mark and preserve the society's books and records. W&L still honors the Franklin Society scholarship, and in the 2003-04 year, it was awarded to a deserving Rockbridge County female student.

On March 11,1891, the trustees of Washington and Lee accepted the offer, and the Franklin Society ceased to exist. Its books were placed in the regular stacks of the library until 1940, when librarian Richard Shoemaker removed them and placed them in the library's Special Collections, where more than 2,000 volumes reside today.

As a postscript, Washington and Lee also acquired the building at Jefferson and Nelson Streets as part of the deal and kept it until about 1907. (Figure 4 shows the building at about this time.) In 1915, it burned as part of a larger fire at that location.

Professor Charles Turner, one of a handful of writers on the Franklin Society, wrote in 1956: "The Society reflects a real cultural effort in a wide-awake community which had need to study important issues and instruct its lawmakers. It was a sort of 'platonic academy.' And it made Lexington a kind of Florence to which Lorenzo de' Medici or even Benjamin Franklin might have felt honored to be invited."

Cyrus McCormick and the Rise of the Megacorps

Barry Machado

N A SENSE, this paper was foreordained nearly forty years ago. As a graduate student at Northwestern University in the late 1960s, I frequently studied in Deering Library, then a magnificent but aging gift from the son of William Deering, Cyrus Hall McCormick's arch-rival in business. Upon my arrival in Lexington in 1971 to join Washington and Lee's history faculty, some of my first encounters on campus were with Cyrus McCormick. After all, there was his prominent bronze statue, astride the front lawn ever since 1932, and which from afar I mistook for Robert E. Lee. I'll return to this confusing monument later. Then there was the university's old library, which had been renamed in 1941 in McCormick's honor in gratitude for his and his family's benefactions. I spent a lot of time in its main reading room finishing my dissertation.¹

So, as you can see, this paper has had a long gestation period. While the labor has been pleasant, it still gives me great relief to deliver this talk in the twilight of my teaching career.

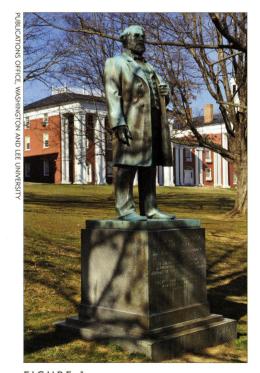


FIGURE 1
Cyrus Hall McCormick statue, front campus, Washington and Lee University.

Irony in American Business History

The subject of Cyrus McCormick and his transformational invention calls forth innumerable ironies and unintended consequences in American history. Here are but a few: a Southern slaveholder² elevates the Northern states, through the production of surplus grain and the creation of surplus labor, to a decisive industrial and manpower advantage in the Civil War.3 Thanks largely to McCormick's "Virginia Reaper," for instance, the North exported 200 million bushels of grain to Europe during the Civil War; by lightening the labor of all grain farmers and straightening their bent backs, a well-intentioned Virginian⁴ accelerates his nation's urbanization and industrialization. These forces, in turn, shatter his beloved agrarian



FIGURE 2
Cyrus Hall McCormick, undated; engraver unknown.

way of life and transform farmers into a quaint, vanishing breed.

Rather than explore more fully the ironic and the unintended elements that inform McCormick's life and legacy, certainly worthy subjects, this paper will address a topic of more immediate contemporary significance. We would all agree, I think, that giant corporations wield enormous power in the America of today. Criticism and praise abound. Only the historical perspective seems to be missing. So, I ask: How did these megacorps come into existence? More specifically, how do Cyrus McCormick and his enterprises instruct the curious as to the reasons for the emergence of big business in America at the end of the nineteenth century?

Cyrus McCormick, Business Visionary

In his lifetime, Cyrus McCormick did nothing less than revolutionize agriculture and define an entirely new industry. He brought an end to centuries of harvesting grains by hand — with sickle, scythe, and basket. In doing so, he became a millionaire,⁵ the acknowledged giant of the new farm-machinery business, and a household name around the world.

But why was it McCormick, and not someone perhaps more likely, who satisfied a long-standing need for labor-saving machinery on the farm, who substituted animal muscle for human muscle? Setting McCormick apart from his rivals and competitors, and putting him in the van-

guard of change, was his fluency in the languages of invention, marketing, and organization,⁶ a rare combination of gifts. As few have done, he successfully brought his invention, the first practical mechanical reaper, to market. To do so, he had to pioneer new methods of selling, advertising, and distributing his product. There was no one to imi-

Barry Machado, professor emeritus of history at Washington and Lee University, earned a B.A. from Dartmouth and a Ph.D. from Northwestern University. An expert in business history, political reform movements, and foreign and military affairs, he was director of research for the undergraduate scholarship program at the George C. Marshall Library for twenty years. He delivered this paper on September 26, 2004, at McCormick Farm in Raphine.

tate. He would be the businessman whom others would imitate, a model, in fact, for the automobile industry of the future.

The distinguished business historian Richard Tedlow has written that among nations, "America has been the best in starting and nurturing companies." With this claim I have no quarrel. Tedlow went on to write what is, with one quarrel, a superior book "about what Americans do best — founding and building new businesses," a study of seven men who "broke old rules and made new ones, who built new worlds, who were determined to govern and not to be governed." On his elite list, the "best of the best," are Andrew Carnegie, George Eastman, Henry Ford, Thomas Watson, Charles Revson, Sam Walton, and Robert Noyce. Charles Revson? Nail polish over the reaper? Cosmetics over farm machinery? Now, really, Professor Tedlow! With Tedlow's selections I do have a quarrel. Cyrus McCormick deserved to be included.

McCormick's entrepreneurial genius revealed itself in many interrelated ways. Let us call it "the McCormick System." His was a new business culture, an expression of Southern ingenuity, in contrast to the more heralded Yankee ingenuity found in William Deering and John Deere. McCormick's novel techniques overthrew the tradition of "caveat emptor" and substituted trust, accountability, brand recognition, and customer good will.

To enlarge the market for his machine, McCormick introduced some ingenious devices. One powerful inducement was his so-called "free trial": a written warranty with every sale, promising a full refund if the product performed unsatisfactorily. A related inducement was his "installment buying plan." In 1849, he sold his \$120 reaper to farmers on these terms: \$30 down on delivery before harvest and the remaining \$90, plus 6 percent interest, by December 1. Shipping and freight costs, by the way, were at the purchaser's expense. Clearly, McCormick was willing to take large, unprecedented financial risks in order to market his product.

But it was not nearly the gamble one might think. McCormick the Calvinist, a man who later endowed a theological seminary, understood well the dark side of human nature. He seems to have factored large accounts receivable into his calculations of price and profit. From 1849 until 1858, overdue and unpaid bills ballooned to over \$400,000 — potentially disastrous, had he not been making a profit of about 150 percent on every reaper sold. Moreover, he standardized his hefty profit margin by setting a price that was publicized, fixed, and non-negotiable. There was neither haggling nor bargaining with the customer nor any special rebates. Everyone paid the same price.

Another of McCormick's innovations was the "field trial," an especially effective piece of advertising and promotion in rural America. Mc-

Cormick arranged public contests, free of charge to spectators, against rival manufacturers. In fact, McCormick invested heavily in advertising of all kinds. He even published a trade magazine circulated by his network of agents that achieved a large readership among farmers. He entered numerous state fairs and exhibitions to demonstrate "Old Reliable." The prizes and awards he won, at home and abroad, helped make "McCormick" a brand name long before branding was a bedrock of corporate marketing strategy. The resulting popularity permitted McCormick to charge more for his machines as well as pay his agents lower commissions.

In the early years, McCormick created a network of trained agents tied to him by exclusive contracts and territories. They ordered, received, delivered, and repaired the reapers his company made. Later, in the 1880s, the regional agents working on commission were replaced with salaried managers who oversaw franchised dealers. The organization was first-rate.

The Rockbridge County native also knew how to adapt the ideas and inventions of others to his commercial advantage. His invention inspired others whose ingenuity was greater than his. With all ensuing technological improvements, he tenaciously kept pace: Atkins's Self-Rake Reaper, the Marsh brothers' Harvester, Withington's Wire Self-Binder, and Deering's Twine Self-Binder. He was inventor and borrower, too. Bill Gates might be Cyrus McCormick reincarnated; the similarities in their strategies and tactics are striking.¹⁰

As William T. Hutchinson, McCormick's biographer, has persuasively pointed out, "His days as an inventor closed with his patent of 1847," that of the original reaper. Thereafter, he shrewdly purchased patents, patent rights, and licenses from others, paying royalties when necessary, while his expert attorneys battled his rivals in never-ending courtroom "patent wars." His years in business were awash in litigation. He was undaunted.

McCormick's most inspired decision, which was made in 1847 at the age of thirty-eight, was to move the center of his operations westward, from the Shenandoah Valley to Chicago. He realized that the future of the reaper would be found in the Great Plains and on the western frontier. By getting there first, he "scooped" a big chunk of the domestic market. This, too, was a big gamble, for Chicago was then a far cry from the railroad hub that it later became. His reaper preceded the railroad into Chicago by three years. In fact, he established his production facility in Chicago before the telegraph, canals, and railroads had arrived in that town of 17,000. McCormick bet on its future and won the lottery. His company's growth and that of Chicago intertwined for the rest of the century. Owner of Chicago's largest manufacturing plant, Cyrus McCormick emerged as its first big industrialist.

McCormick's move to the "prairie market" ended his company's



FIGURE 3
McCormick plant in Chicago, c. 1907; unidentified photographer.

era of decentralized sub-manufacturing that had been characterized to a troubling degree by inadequate supervision, unreliability, and poor quality control in places like Brockport, New York, and Cincinnati. Centralization of production in Chicago enabled constant supervision, improvements in manufacturing processes, and economies of scale. Because McCormick's innovations in marketing and sales had already solved many of the most difficult problems in the mass distribution of his reaper — how to penetrate a national market of farmers — his first Chicago factory was able to attack the problem of production on a grand scale. When mass production could be integrated with mass distribution, the megacorp made its debut in the farm machinery sector. The road to International Harvester was illuminated.

McCormick's First Chicago Factory

Between 1848 and 1871, McCormick regularly enlarged and improved his Chicago plant, which had ready access to water and rail transportation. With woodworking and ironworking departments, as well as a paint shop, and with docks on the Chicago River for receiving raw materials and shipping finished products, it was built to control costs. At first, some parts of the 1,200-pound reaper had to be manufactured elsewhere: sickles in Massachusetts, guard fingers in New Jersey, iron castings on the other side of Chicago. Raw materials arrived from all over the country and the world: white ash lumber from Michigan, pig iron from Pittsburgh and Scotland, steel from England. But the story of the next half-century was one of what the business world now calls vertical integration: lowering costs by eliminating more and more outside suppliers and middlemen. By 1870, McCormick was producing 10,000 machines a year at his Chicago factory.

Contingency in American Business History

The year 1871 marked an important turning point in the history of the partnership Cyrus McCormick had established with his two brothers, William, who managed the finances, and Leander, who supervised manufacturing. The Great Chicago Fire in October of that year proved both a terrible misfortune, as the original factory complex burned to the ground at great financial loss, and a perverse twist of good luck.

Contingency can be a powerful force in the life of an institution. Without "the Fire," one can readily imagine a far different fate for C. H. McCormick & Bros. By relocating and rebuilding in a visionary fashion, and making allowance for prodigious future growth, McCormick obtained additional advantages over his competitors by employing the most up-to-date equipment, greater economies of scale, and wholesale efficiencies.

By 1884, the new and vast 230-acre "McCormick City" employed 1,400 workers in a main factory building ten times the size of its predecessor. The McCormick Harvesting Machine Company, which replaced the old partnership in 1879, operated furnaces and foundries; produced its own iron; ran sawmills and the largest twine mill in the world; and even manufactured its own bolts and nuts. The company also purchased mines and forests to assure steady supplies for its furnaces and sawmills. In time, nearly every part of McCormick's harvesting machines would be made at this complex. ¹² "McCormick City" anticipated Henry Ford's colossal River Rouge Complex by twenty-five years. All that was needed to transform "McCormick City" into the Rouge Complex, in fact, was another technological breakthrough: the moving assembly line.

"McCormick City" liberated supply. Production doubled between 1870 and 1880. Between 1880 and 1884, when Cyrus McCormick died and his son Cyrus Jr. took control of the company, output nearly tripled. By 1891, annual output approached four times its 1880 level. 13

The Creation of International Harvester

America's very first outbreak of "merger mania" occurred between 1898 and 1902. During that span, 212 major consolidations took place in American industry. One of those mergers involved the McCormick Harvesting Machine Company, which, in 1902, combined with its chief competitor, William Deering & Co. (remember that library at Northwestern), and three smaller rivals to create the megacorp International Harvester. With assets of \$110 million and control of 85 percent of U.S. production of harvesting machines, I.H. was "a virtual monopoly." By 1909, it was the fourth-largest corporation in America and the largest farm equipment company in the world. This corporate behemoth rested securely on foundations put firmly in place by the McCormicks, father and son. In recog-

nition of their central role in the creation of International Harvester, the McCormick family received 43 percent of the new company's stock and Cyrus Jr. became its first president.

According to Alfred Chandler, the dean of business historians, the initiative for the merger came from U.S. Steel and the Morgan bankers who dominated that corporate giant. Elbert Gary, head of U.S. Steel, feared that the individual McCormick and Deering firms would build their own steel rolling mills, thereby depriving him of lucrative contracts and valu-

able customers. Gary's concerns coincided with a readiness on the parts of William Deering and Cyrus McCormick Jr. to halt, once and for all, the fierce, cutthroat competition that troubled their industry.¹⁴

Memory, History and Myth

Let us return to that confusing statue on Washington and Lee University's front campus. Not only is the bronze casting susceptible to mistaken identity, but the chiseled inscription on its stone base also highlights the gap between histori-



FIGURE 4
Detail, Cyrus Hall McCormick statue, front campus, Washington and Lee University.

cal truth, on one side, and selective memory and myth-making, on the other. Here's the salient part of McCormick's epitaph:

He Liberated Agriculture Befriended Education and Advanced the Cause of Religion

This is how his admirers once preferred to remember the farmboy from the Valley of Virginia. Missing here, and in need of inclusion, is another line:

Furthered the Rise of Big Business

As to why it was omitted in 1932, and why so few people associate the megacorps of modern America with the name McCormick, I have my theories. But you will have to invite me back to present Part Two. In the meantime, just as contemporary Londoners are instructed about another technology, far removed from McCormick's reaper, I ask you all to "Mind The Gap," the gap between history and myth in our study of the past.

Notes

- The richest source on Cyrus McCormick's (as well as his family's) association with both Washington College and Washington & Lee University remains Ollinger Crenshaw, *General Lee's College* (Random House, New York, 1969), pp. 169-71, 182, 193-95, 201, and 348. Despite never attending a single meeting, McCormick was a trustee of the college from 1869 until his death in 1884. McCormick's own gifts to the college totaled \$20,000 (more than \$450,000 in today's dollars), an amount dwarfed by the \$350,000 (more than \$7 million) that his widow and descendants subsequently donated. Consult, also, William T. Hutchinson, *Cyrus Hall McCormick: Harvest, 1856-1884* (D. Appleton-Century, New York, 1935), p. 292.
- 2 Cyrus's father, Robert, had nine slaves. On the eve of the Civil War Cyrus owned "three or four" slaves, whom he hired out to his Walnut Grove neighbors while he lived in Chicago. See William T. Hutchinson, Cyrus Hall McCormick: Seedtime, 1809-1856 (New York, D. Appleton-Century, 1930) p. 17; Hutchinson, Harvest, p. 38.
- 3 Herbert N. Casson, Cyrus Hall McCormick: His Life and Work (A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, 1909), p. 192.
- 4 Although his brother Leander was more nostalgic about their native state than he was, making "long annual visits" to the Shenandoah Valley of his youth, in 1880, Cyrus was elected the first president of the Virginia Society of Chicago. Hutchinson, *Seedtime*, p. 37 (fn. 1).
- 5 At the end of Cyrus McCormick's life, his personal fortune was reckoned at \$10,000,000. In 1890, the interests of Leander and his son Hall in the McCormick Harvesting Machine Co. were bought out by Cyrus Jr. and his mother for \$3,250,000, thus ending their involvement with the business well before the creation of International Harvester. Hutchinson, *Seedtime*, pp. 642, 749.
- 6 Chapter Two, "A Legacy in the Heartland," in Barbara Marsh, A Corporate Tragedy: The Agony of International Harvester Company (New York, Doubleday, 1985), pp. 15-34, and Chapter Three, "Cyrus McCormick," in Harold C. Livesay, American Made: Men Who Shaped the American Economy (Little Brown, Boston, 1979), shed abundant light on McCormick's business innovations. Alfred D. Chandler Jr., The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business (Belknap Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1977), pp. 305-07, 402-03, and 406-11, details McCormick's role in the "managerial revolution" that swept American industry in the late nineteenth century.
- 7 Richard S. Tedlow, Giants of Enterprise: Seven Business Innovators and the Empires They Built (Collins, New York, 2001), p. 1. McCormick did qualify for inclusion in Daniel Gross, Forbes Greatest Business Stories of All Time (John Wiley, New York, 1996); see "Cyrus McCormick's Reaper and the Industrialization of Farming," pp. 22-38.
- 8 Casson, p. 80.
- 9 Marsh, p. 23; Hutchinson, *Harvest*, 249.
- James Wallace and Jim Erickson, Hard Drive: Bill Gates and the Making of the Microsoft Empire, (HarperCollins, New York, 1992), pp. 117, 135, 269, 342, 352, 381, and 390.
- 11 Hutchinson, Seedtime, p. 360.
- 12 Casson is especially informative about the development of "McCormick City."
- 13 Chandler, pp. 306-07.
- 14 Marsh, pp. 4 and 41-42; Chandler, pp. 408-09.

Forgotten Pedagogue: Francis H. Smith, V.M.I., and the Mission of Educational Reform

Bradford A. Wineman

F FRANCIS H. SMITH, first superintendent of the Virginia Military Institute, endeavored to leave any legacy, it was that of educational and social reformer.

Once he established a successful "modern" curriculum and discipline system at V.M.I., Smith made it his mission to foster reform in every institution of learning willing to try it. Already established as a mathematics textbook author when he arrived at V.M.I. in 1839, Smith expanded his influence on education by writing several pamphlets that promoted his own philosophy of curriculum and discipline at every level of schooling. Smith also engaged in extensive letter writing, creating an intricate network with other reform-minded teachers who shared similar ideas regarding math and science education. Many of Smith's West Point professors, such as Charles Davies and Albert Church, as well as fellow alumni, including Benjamin S. Ewell and Dennis Hart Mahan, wrote to him frequently to discuss new math techniques and disciplinary issues or to exchange teaching advice.

Although historians of antebellum higher education identify this era as one of academic stagnation because of archaic classical curriculums

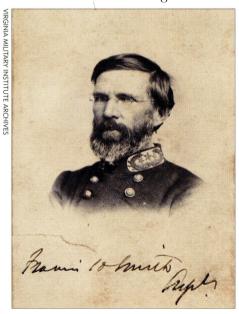


FIGURE 1
Francis H. Smith.

and ecclesiastical control, Smith's actions challenge this assertion, as he guided a complex intellectual exchange among fellow academics, particularly those in the South, who were concerned with promoting a more modern, disciplined and practical educational system.

As an 1833 graduate of the United States Military Academy, Smith greatly respected the unique educational reforms of that institution's famous and innovative superintendent, Colonel Sylvanus Thayer. Known as the "father of West Point," Thayer laid the intellectual and pedagogical foundations that remain in place to this day. When he arrived at West Point in 1817,

Thayer redefined it on the twin pillars of a science-based curriculum and a rigid disciplinary system. In class, he focused on practical subjects for his budding military professionals, such as engineering and the hard sciences, in contrast to civilian institutions, which centered on the classics. Thayer also revolutionized teaching by emphasizing student recitation rather than instructors lecturing.

The rigors of the classroom were reinforced by a comprehensive system of rules and regulations that constantly monitored cadets' behavior, curtailed their reckless adolescent tendencies, and shaped their personal values. The success of his system soon brought Thayer a national reputation as a ground-breaking pedagogue and strict disciplinarian who enjoyed the respect of his faculty and cadets alike.¹

Smith Embraces Rules and Regulations

Smith, as a West Point cadet, experienced Thayer's unique pedagogical system first hand, and embraced much of it as his own when he himself became superintendent of a military academy. Knowing that they were well versed in the Thayer system, Smith hired several West Point graduates as permanent members of the V.M.I. faculty during the antebellum period: Thomas H. Williamson (class of 1833), William Gilham (1845), and Thomas J. Jackson (1846).

As other states in the South saw V.M.I.'s success, they, too, sought West Point alumni to be superintendents of their own state military academies. These men in turn sought out Smith as the leading expert in implementing the structure and curriculum that had made his military school thrive. West Point graduates such as Richard Colcock (1842) at the South Carolina Military Academy, Arnoldus Brumby (1835) at the Georgia Military Institute, Tench Tilgham (1832) at the Maryland Military Academy, and William T. Sherman (1840) at the Louisiana Seminary of Learning and Military Academy all wrote to Smith seeking his advice and guidance on issues ranging from curriculum and examinations to uniforms and discipline.

Bradford A. Wineman graduated from Virginia Military Institute in 1999 with a B.A. degree in history. He earned his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in history at Texas A&M University. He has taught history at V.M.I. and at the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, and now teaches at the Marine Corps Command and Staff College in Quantico, Virginia. He delivered this paper on November 22, 2004, in Lejeune Hall at the Virginia Military Institute.

Smith also maintained a dialogue with West Pointers at civilian institutions, including Daniel H. Hill (1842) at neighboring Washington College and Benjamin Ewell (1832) at the College of William and Mary, which was discussing incorporating much of Thayer's pedagogical methodology.²

Many other school administrators who did not seek Smith's ad-

vice directly nevertheless benefited from his influence when he placed his graduates in teaching positions at the dozens of institutions modeled after his own.³ Just as V.M.I. chose to rely on West Point alumni for its early faculty members, several of the new military academies forming throughout the South recruited V.M.I.'s graduates as professors. Smith so successfully sought to populate the faculties of these newly created institutions with his best former students that, by the 1850s, nearly every major military school in the South employed at least one V.M.I. alumnus. Schools such as Georgia Military Institute, Western Military Institute (in Tennessee), Kentucky Military Institute, and North Carolina Military Institute all welcomed some of V.M.I.'s most accomplished graduates, handpicked by Smith to carry his pedagogical ideas and reforms. These institutions benefited not only from the talents of his graduates who, having been in the system themselves, could now help to incorporate it into their instruction firsthand, but also from Smith's advice through correspondence. Smith even sent his own nephew, Francis W. Smith, to assist William T. Sherman in building a military academy in Louisiana.4

Smith always encouraged his graduates to go into teaching — ideally, in schools and academies in Virginia. The state government required students who received free tuition (known as "state cadets") to repay their education by serving as a teacher within Virginia, and through tireless work, Smith made V.M.I. the most popular source of educators in the Old Dominion. Schoolmasters from throughout the state bombarded him with appeals for Institute graduates. Smith believed that by working to improve Virginia's educational system and advance the state intellectually and economically, he fulfilled the state's mandate that V.M.I. should operate for the benefit of society as a whole.

Many of Smith's graduates took the initiative to establish or lead their own preparatory military schools in Virginia on the model of V.M.I., with the counsel of their former superintendent. After helping to convert the esteemed Norfolk Academy into a military school, John Bowie Strange (V.M.I., 1842) left in 1856 to create his own preparatory military academy near his boyhood home in Albemarle County. He wrote to Smith several times during his school's inaugural year, inquiring, for example, about the best sources for the accoutrements necessary to outfit a corps of cadets, including dress caps, overcoats and swords. Once classes began, Strange turned again to his mentor to supply him with teachers to instruct in mathematics, English, and tactics, and advice on cadet discipline and finances. When creating a new military school in Maryland, John S. Gamble (1848) consulted Smith regarding the procedure of operating a summer training camp before fall classes. John Henry Pitts (1844), founder of the Rumford Military Academy, near Richmond, praised Smith for his

assistance. Writing, in 1849, "To you my former instructor I may pardonably play the egoist especially as I attribute my success to your system of discipline and mode of instruction which first formed my character and then raised my school." Cadet Charles Williams approached Smith with an advertisement in 1852 that sought a teacher to take over a new academy being established in his hometown of Culpeper Courthouse. Williams asked the superintendent to support his effort to have himself and fellow classmate Henry Whiting awarded leadership of this new school. Smith wrote a flattering letter of introduction to the town, explaining how his two graduates would put the academy in "high standing" and possibly "organize the boys in a little military corps" if the town desired.⁸ A year after his V.M.I. graduation, Edward C. Edmonds (1858) wrote to thank Smith for a copy of his report on European education, which influenced the curriculum at Danville Military Academy, where Edmonds was principal.⁹ Smith also inspired graduates James J. Phillips (1853) and Titus V. Williams (1859) to establish the Chuckatuck Military Academy in Nanesmond County and the Jeffersonville Military Academy in Tazewell County, respectively. 10 Schools established by some other Smith protégés did not last long: James L. Bryan (1843), founder of the Petersburg Military Academy, abandoned his school to pursue a career in the Episcopal ministry, while a yellow fever epidemic in Louisiana forced Valentine Saunders (1842) to close his Baton Rouge Military Institute shortly after it opened.

A Pedagogical Philosopher

Smith's contributions to education were not confined exclusively to the development of purely military schools. He did not see the military academy, as an institution, as the sole answer to educational reform. The key rested in the fundamental pedagogical elements that he had labored so hard to cultivate in his college: discipline, adherence to a scientific curriculum, quality in teaching, and moral development. Francis H. Smith's greatest contribution to the pursuit of higher learning came in his belief that these basic tenets of military education should be inculcated into every academic environment, regardless of the scholastic level. Two of his most noted pamphlets promoted this philosophy and his plan for enacting it: The Regulations of Military Institutions as Applied to the Conduct of Common Schools (1849) and College Reform (1851). To Smith, a place of learning, whether a university or an ordinary schoolhouse, did not need to have a military identity or be a replica of V.M.I. in order to achieve effectiveness. He emphasized this point when introducing the goal of his essays: "It is not the design of the following pages to exhibit views of mere theorists who have written on the art of teaching. Adopting the system which

has been so successfully introduced into Virginia Military Institute as the basis upon which an efficient system of instruction and discipline for schools and academies may be framed, the design will be to show what modifications are necessary for this purpose, and to enforce the views which will be presented by arguments derived from actual experience."11

In essence, the two pamphlets provided a practical guide for incorporating the basic tenets of Smith's educational strategy. Both followed the same outline, presenting guidelines for faculty standards, course of study, mode of instruction, and discipline. All schools THE

REGULATIONS

OF

MILITARY INSTITUTIONS,

APPLIED TO THE

CONDUCT

OF

COMMON SCHOOLS.

PT

FRANCIS H. SMITH, A.M.,

SUPERINTENDENT OF THE VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE.

NEW YORK:

JOHN WILEY,

161 BROADWAY: AND 13 PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON.

1849.

FIGURE 2
Title page, The Regulations of Military Institutions as Applied to the Conduct of Common Schools, 1849.

could function most efficiently by promoting a recitation system of learning, a scientific curriculum, a demerit system, and a code of conduct. Reform meant discipline, because fostering good student behavior promoted better learning; together with a practical curriculum, it would ensure students' success after graduation.

In his pamphlets, he balanced philosophical musings with detailed instructions in such areas as how to use the blackboard, enlist the help of parents, calculate a student's general merit score, and administer semester examinations. Always a proponent of detailed instruction, Smith also provided several examples in appendices of such administrative documents as special reports (for disciplinary offenses), weekly class report tables, semester merit rolls, and demerit book entries. He distributed the pamphlets among all who might be interested in his educational innovations: professors, teachers, parents, politicians, and friends. They epito-

mized his philosophy on teaching that he had developed after more than a decade in the classroom, guiding students about to begin their teaching careers, and after corresponding with other educators.

It did not take long for Smith's innovations to win over a growing population of educators willing to try his ideas. Several school superintendents and teachers, particularly his former students, incorporated his program in their curriculum and disciplinary systems. William H. Harrison (1845) accepted a position as principal of the Amelia Academy and informed Smith that he thought "very strongly of remodeling my own school upon the plan of the Military Institute" and requested V.M.I. graduates to assist him. 12 When called upon to "rescue" the Richmond Academy, Smith explained to the headmaster he could trust his plan, as it had been successfully adopted at preparatory schools such as the Norfolk and Staunton Academies with noted success. 13 He also implemented his reforms in both of the local Lexington schools, "with most decisive beneficial results."14 Larger colleges such as William and Mary also experimented with Smith's system. His old West Point friend Richard S. Ewell had been appointed president of the college and sought to expand the curriculum, improve discipline, and increase stagnating enrollment; Ewell even contemplated converting the institution into a military academy on the V.M.I. model. He followed Smith's advice closely during the first years of his presidency and succeeded in achieving his goals.¹⁵

In short, the basic tenets of Smith's plan, as articulated in his pamphlets, could be adapted to just about any institution of learning regardless of size, affiliation, or age of students. His influence became that much more profound than other reformers who concentrated solely on colleges or common schools.

Smith did not share his wisdom with V.M.I. and West Point graduates alone. His reputation as an educational innovator drew advice-seekers from the broader academic world. Richard S. Burke, principal of the Richmond Academy, received advice from Smith on how to reorganize his mathematics department to more effectively teach higher levels of math. The Reverend John P. McGuire of the Theological Seminary of Virginia became fascinated with Smith's disciplinary system and sought him out for advice on how to better the behavior of his own students. Smith replied to him in 1854: "I would inquire whether you might not introduce into the H[igh] school the system of responsibility which exists in our Military Schools by dividing your dormitory into sections of boys, 2 or 3 of these sections again combined into a division under a more advanced boy and the whole under the supervision of a teacher acting in alteration with the adjuncts. Many private schools have introduced this system with great effect and under such an arrangement I think it is pos-

sible I might be able to furnish you with an assistant."¹⁷ When the Reverend William Meade of the Episcopal High School in Alexandria asked Smith about the duties and qualifications needed for his new principal, he noted the need for the man selected to take on duties of both instruction and government, much like the commandant of a military school. Instead of explaining his entire philosophy, Smith encouraged Meade to "ride up and see the system at work here you would understand it better and appreciate it."¹⁸

V.M.I. Graduates As Smith's Evangelists

Even institutions that did not seek Smith out directly for advice benefited from the legion of graduates that V.M.I. sent out into the academies and colleges throughout the South. "It is perfectly feasible to make the reorganization of your Academy upon the basis which you propose and if you can place the matter in the hands of one of our best graduates you will find the system to work admirably," Smith wrote to George Dame, probably a teacher at Episcopal in Alexandria.¹⁹

Several of his graduates arrived at their new teaching positions armed with Smith's literature and personal mandate to apply his system. Smith advised one graduate: "If you go there [Fairfax Court House] you had better organize your school as early as possible upon the basis of my pamphlet with energy into the matter." Whether as a result of direct advice or of having absorbed the system outlined in his pamphlets, nearly all of Smith's teacher-graduates entered their new positions armed with the knowledge needed to apply his philosophy.

With a wide variety of talent at his disposal and requests to help fill numerous teaching vacancies, Smith did his best to match the skills of each individual graduate with a particular school's needs. He sometimes asked those cadets demonstrating exemplary ability to remain at the Institute as adjunct instructors in lower level courses for up to two years. If the situation allowed, he attempted to send graduates back to their home counties or to academies whose religious affiliation matched their own. He occasionally even sent his former students to be tutors for private families. Smith understood that if he kept schoolmasters pleased by providing high-quality teachers, his reputation would continue to build throughout the state. V.M.I. graduates were especially sought after because of their ability to teach a wide range of subjects. Much to Smith's satisfaction, many presided over classes in math, natural philosophy, chemistry, and, in the handful of advanced schools that offered it, even engineering.

Smith proved equally effective at helping staff faculties at schools embracing the still widely accepted classical curriculum. He reluctantly

VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE ARCHIVES

placed cadets who knew classical languages from their pre-V.M.I. education into positions in which they were expected to teach Greek.²⁴ That he steered graduates to such institutions suggests that Smith purposely hoped that they could reform them by promoting a more scientific curriculum from the inside. This effort also proved true at the college level, when he secured positions for his students as mathematics professors at traditionally classical colleges such as William and Mary and Hampden-Sydney.²⁵

Not all of Smith's job placement activities resulted in ideal situations for the graduates. Finding the right man for the right school was sometimes a hit-or-miss endeavor. With dozens of requests for teachers swamping him every month, many from newly established academies, Smith found it increasingly harder to determine which opportunities were promising, and which were not. Occasionally he found himself steering his graduates away from bad situations.²⁶ Not only did he encounter this problem at some military schools corrupted by poor leadership; other alumni placed in local academies occasionally encountered problems of their own and appealed to Smith for help. Complaints ranged from dealing with difficult headmasters, to not being allowed to teach the classes they wanted, to the overwhelming workload of teaching.²⁷ Smith identified many of these challenges as simply the growing pains experienced by every young teacher. But unless a situation proved desperate, he usually encouraged frustrated graduates to remain where they were for the present.²⁸ He advised a frustrated graduate in 1845 to "let well enough [alone].... Stick at your present employment and post until you can command by your age and experience a better position."29

Even students who never finished at V.M.I. received assistance from

29

COLLEGE REFORM.

Each professor and assistant professor should give daily marks indicating the proficiency of the student upon the lesson. The grade of marking may be scaled as follows: for a perfect recitation, give 3, and 0, where there is a total want of preparation. Intermediate numbers would indicate relative merit, as by the annexed table.

SCALE OF MARKING RECITATIONS.

	BEST.	G00D.	INDIFFERENT.	BAD.	WORST.
-	3	21 21 21	2 11 11 11	1 # 1 1	0

FIGURE 3
Scale of Marking
Recitations.

Smith when they sought teaching positions. William R. Galt, a Norfolk native and University of Virginia graduate, was awarded a position at a Winchester, Virginia, academy after a shining recommendation from Smith: although the young man was not a V.M.I. alumnus, Smith wrote, he was "still a good teacher." In 1855, he wrote recommendations for two exceptionally gifted former students at Hampden-Sydney College, where Smith had previously taught.³¹ Smith concerned himself most with placing young men with outstanding ability, even if they were not exclusively his own. This commitment to deploying only the best talent in order to improve the overall education system also meant giving less-than-enthusiastic recommendations for his own students if he believed they did not have all the proper skills to teach effectively. Smith recommended James Henry Waddell (1855) only for elementary English because of his low class standing.³² In a handful of other instances, Smith fumed over the prospects of having to place a cadet he believed unworthy to command a classroom. He refused to make any effort to find positions for irresponsible cadets, such as one to whose guardian he wrote, "How could I recommend him as a teacher when confidence was wanting in his principles of duty here?"33 Like all college presidents. Smith desired to see his graduates succeed but in at least this instance, it could not come at the cost of what he considered the higher purpose of the Institute.

Even after they began their teaching careers, many still relied on Smith's advice. They inundated their mentor with questions about how to be most effective in the classroom. This is where Smith was at his best, guiding them in the intricacies of pedagogy. He enjoyed urging graduates such as George Patton (1852)* to promote the use of integral calculus and monomials and Stephen T. Pendleton (1848) to "make your boys finished scholars and spare no labor for this end and awaken sprightly manner in their demonstration and explanation."³⁴ He advised flexibility in their own scholarship, telling one graduate to study branches other than his specialty during his off-time to make himself a better teacher — and more marketable.³⁵

Smith understood that a schoolmaster's success often depended on his actions beyond the classroom. He advised Benjamin Ficklin (1849) to pursue friendly relations with the community around his academy while avoiding local politics. He explained: "You will find it best to keep aloof from all local quarrels. Your object should be to enlist the cooperation of all, without giving offence to any but be careful to give your academy a strictly moral tone." Smith pleaded with his graduates, above all, to right the wrongs of the state's education system, particularly in the cat-

^{*} His grandson, George S. Patton Jr., attended V.M.I. in the class of 1907, mostly to honor the family tradition. He left after a year for West Point.

egories of discipline. He impressed upon Pendleton the "importance of a strict order and subordination in a school and cleanliness to progress in studies. I visited a school house a few days ago and I am sure I should not survive an attack of hysteria were I to be confined to it for 24 hours. Noise and want of neatness may always be prevented by demerit and when the list of demerit amounts to a given number, instantly discharge the offender — it matters not whose son he may be."³⁷

Some of the advice was given in less-than-ideal circumstances. On hearing rumors that two of his graduates had failed to maintain proper discipline in the Staunton Academy they jointly operated, Smith chastised them for forgetting everything he had taught them. He wrote the pair sternly in 1848:³⁸

You will recollect that in the "hints on teaching" which I gave to your class I suggested to you to establish a system of demerit. You will find this the most successful mode of governing your boys in school. Fix definitely those offence or negligences which are to be punished make each boy write his excuse, this will be a good exercise in composition and when he has 50 or 75 demerit in any quarter, require him to leave school. You will find it indispensable to your success to be punctual yourselves in every duty for example will do more to form habits of punctuality in your scholars than all the precept in the world. You will of course understand the motive which I have in writing to you; No complaint whatever has been made to me, but it has been suggested that your school might be improved in the two points to which I have adverted. Should you ever need advice or cooperation, you know you can always command it in writing to me."

Smith impressed on his graduates the need to present good examples of character and habit to reflect favorably not only on their own academies but on himself and V.M.I. Just as he had monitored their behavior as cadets, he now carefully watched over their careers as teachers. Ever the paternal figure, he enjoyed sending unsolicited notes of encouragement to balance those that offered advice and guidance, facilitating the transition from cadet to colleague. Briscoe G. Baldwin (1848) received warm tidings from Smith when he began teaching at Staunton Academy: "Let me express the hope that in your new home you will not lose sight of us but will as your time allows you favor me with a letter. I cannot promise to be a regular correspondent, but I will endeavour to let you see that I value such evidences of remembrance." "39

He often tried to talk his alumni into considering teaching their life's career. He wrote to William Mahone (1847), "I am pleased to learn that you are still actively and I have no doubt, profitably engaged in the duties of instruction. I hope the experience which you will have attained in it will induce you to continue yet longer at it." Once a favorite graduate

I. MORAL QUALIFICATIONS.

- 1. The teacher must not only be free from all immoral practices, but his influence and habits should be favorable to virtue. More is taught by example than precept, and the rules of a school will be stripped of much of their sanction, if the practices of the teacher be opposed to them. The young do not discriminate, with respect to age and circumstances, between the teacher and the taught; and if they do, they find it difficult to understand why a moral rule should not be equally binding upon the one as the other. Let the teacher, then, "practise what he teaches." The soldier will follow his commander in every duty; he rarely leads.
- 2. The teacher should be a gentleman. This qualification implies a disuse of all coarse and vulgar language, and a strict conformity, in manners, to all the rules of courtesy and politeness which prevail among gentlemen.
- 3. The teacher should be neat in his person and dress. This requisite is implied in the preceding; but it so often happens that persons who are gentlemen by birth and education, are negligent in this respect, that the special attention of the teacher is drawn to it. It may be a question whether this direction does not interdict the use of tobacco. It certainly does while in the school-room.

FIGURE 4
Moral Qualifications.

did commit to a career in education, Smith drew him into the broader intellectual circle by encouraging him to exchange ideas, textbooks, recommendations, and the like with like-minded teachers at other institutions.

A handful of graduates embraced Smith's call to education so intensely that they created their own schools. Many received assistance from Smith that often exceeded simple advice on teaching techniques. When an alumnus intended to create a new academy, Smith often alerted the delegate of the county to solicit support. He William D. Stuart (1850) opened a school in Richmond affiliated with the Episcopal church, Smith wrote the leaders of the congregation to ask their "special care and patronage." Through Smith, graduate Edward T. Fristoe (1849) found fellow alumnus Alexander C. Jones (1850) to assist him in establishing a new grammar school in Surry Court House, Virginia. Smith also provided testimonials used to promote new institutions founded or supported by his graduates such as the Chuckatuck Academy, Danville Academy, and Hampton Male and Female Academy. An official recommendation from someone of Smith's stature often helped his graduates as much as any advice he could give.

Smith's Graduates and the Democratization of Education

Historians agree that the democratization of schools, particularly colleges, represented the greatest change in education during the antebellum

VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE ARCHIVES

OFFENCES.	DEMERIT.
Profane language,	10
Irreverence in religious exercises,	5 to 10
Disorderly conduct,	5 to 8
Absent from class duty,	3
Want of preparation in lessons,	3
Late at class-call,	1
Talking in lecture-room,	2 to 5
Abuse of college property,	5 to 10
Neglect of police in room,	3
Neglect of personal neatness,	3 to 5
Visiting during study hours,	5.
Absent from college,	5
Absent at night,	8
Using tobacco,	. 5
Spitting tobacco juice on lecture-room	n floors, 5
Noise in college,	5 to 10
Not rising at prescribed time,	3
Not retiring at prescribed time,	3
&c. &c.	

FIGURE 5
Offences and demerits.

era. Although not a college graduate himself, President Andrew Jackson's election to the presidency accelerated that progression. Historian Frederick Rudolph notes that "Jackson came to symbolize the fundamental changes that were taking place in American society during the years when the American college . . . was wrestling with the problem of being an institution cradled in privilege in an age that insisted upon being democratic."45 V.M.I. and other military academies followed this national trend with the creation of programs that provided free tuition to indigent but talented young men, in the hopes of creating a Jeffersonian "aristocracy of talent" by widening the opportunity for education. This philanthropic approach to admission carried one inherent problem: How could applicants be evaluated without modern-day methods of assessment such as report cards or standardized tests? V.M.I.'s Board of Visitors and Smith set a minimum level of entrance standards, requiring potential matriculates to have a basic knowledge of mathematics and English skills. Still, any system in that era that sought students from the lower ends of the socioeconomic scale often drew young men who had experienced substandard schooling. Finding a lad with potential proved to be an imperfect science, leaving Smith with the uncertainty of not knowing exactly what kind of talent he would be getting when any given academic year began. He acknowledged to the board and parents that a good number of students who failed were poorly prepared.⁴⁶ This outcome frustrated Smith, because most of these ill-prepared students brought the right attitude and work ethic, but did not have the time to catch up to those who arrived from better educational backgrounds.

In confronting this problem, Smith benefited from the increasing number of schools founded by V.M.I. alumni or populated with alumni on the faculty. Many of these schools would eventually send their students to the Institute. Many young men who applied to V.M.I. had been schooled under Smith's educational philosophy, at least to some degree. Virginia preparatory schools such as the Fleetwood Academy, Rappahannock Academy, and Winchester Academy, among others, routinely sent students to V.M.I., many carrying recommendations from the V.M.I. graduates.

Conversely, when an applicant fell short of V.M.I.'s admissions standards, Smith often encouraged him to attend one of the V.M.I.-influenced academies before reapplying. He especially recommended Norfolk and Rumford Academies, presided over by John B. Strange (1842) and John Pitts (1845), respectively.⁴⁷ He encouraged several young men from Tidewater who were not admitted to V.M.I. to seek out Strange for tutoring , particularly in mathematics, in order to get themselves up to standard.⁴⁸

Still, the system was not foolproof. In 1856, a V.M.I. graduate suggested creating a catalog of Institute cadets listing their early schools as a means of promoting the reputations of those academies, many of which had Institute alumni on the faculty. Smith rejected this idea, believing that such a list might embarrass cadets with poor grades or a high number of demerits.⁴⁹

In any case, the rapport between Smith and these feeder schools remained strong. The principals of the Yale and Rappahannock Academies, neither a V.M.I. alumnus, sent their sons to the Institute.⁵⁰ This tight relationship almost created a controversy for Smith in 1849, when an applicant complained that V.M.I. chose a student from favored Rappahannock Academy despite the former's better qualifications.⁵¹ While this accusation remains the only one of favoritism leveled at Smith, it remains a near-certain fact that any student recommended by a V.M.I. graduate had a better chance of achieving admission.

V.M.I. teachers became so popular and successful that many academies developed similar, self-perpetuating monopolies of graduates. William Couper's history of V.M.I. identifies the Norfolk Academy as an example of this cycle of hiring Institute graduates: "Many V.M.I. graduates taught there and among the names we find those of John B. Strange, '42; . . . John S. Gamble, '48; Robert Gatewood, '49; George M. Edgar, '56; and Henry A. Wise, Jr., '62. These men directed the instruction of Norfolk youth for about a quarter of a century."⁵²

When graduates wrote to V.M.I. announcing openings in schools they had just established, Smith actively sold them on the benefits of hiring more Institute alumni. He explained to William Forbes, president of Stewart College in Clarksville, Tennessee, that "should any accident occur to yourself he [Robert Gatewood, 1849] can take temporary charge of the Math Dept and having been instructed by Major Gilham is also fully prepared on the course of Chemistry and Natural Philosophy."⁵³ In 1851,

he convinced Forbes' classmate, the superintendent of Norfolk Academy, John Strange, that appointing Thomas Upshaw (1851) "will add greatly to the popularity of your academy." John Pitts at the Rumford Military Academy requested graduates from Smith on three occasions in the 1850s. In short, V.M.I. alumni created their own informal network in Virginia education, much as West Point graduates had established one on a more national scale. ⁵⁵

Smith even went so far as to intimidate schoolmasters into maintaining a V.M.I. presence in their academies. He explained to George Butler, headmaster of the Rappahannock Academy: "I consider Mr. Jones (1848) a young man of fine talents and fully qualified for the duties now discharged by Mr. Mahone. I hope you will not have occasion to lose Mr. Mahone and as a consequences that Mr. Jones will remain where he is. Changes in schools are injurious not only to the young men themselves but to the schools."56 Because Smith controlled an active system of teacher placement and kept close contact with the network of his graduates, he had an inside track on any position that might open in a given academy. When George Robertson (1848) inquired about finding a position, Smith replied, "I had written to Finney [1848] who is now teaching in Loudoun who expects to relinquish his school and recommended you for the place."57 As state cadets served their required two years of teaching, Smith could replace them, if they chose to leave, with a new crop of graduates, maintaining a cycle of V.M.I. alumni on the faculty.

Effectiveness of Smith's System

Smith's system worked. Statistics demonstrated a sharp increase in college enrollment in Virginia's colleges, and of all the states in the Union, the Old Dominion had the highest percentage of its total population in college. He attributed both of these accomplishments to the influence of V.M.I. alumni teachers and to the schoolmasters who had adopted Smith's teaching reforms as proposed in his pamphlets.⁵⁸

Smith never viewed himself as promoting a personal agenda. On the contrary, he viewed himself as a patriot, serving the will of the people. Smith treated the ever-growing popularity of the Institute and its contributions as a mandate from all Virginians to continue his efforts at educational reform. He reinforced this belief to the state legislature in his 1848 Annual Report:⁵⁹

In lieu of pecuniary compensation, an educational basis was given to the new establishment, which has been expanded from year to year, by the force of public sentiment, until now it seems as if upon the V.M.I., had devolved a conspicuous part in the great work of reforming the elementary education of the state. In this work she is now actively engaged, not by attempting to introduce some new theory of popular education; but by the silent and certain influence resulting from the annual distribution of a corps of well-trained native teachers among our people. We see this influence in the material which is annual seeking admission to the benefits of the institute. We see it again in the increasing demand for more and more teachers; and we may now anticipate what it will be when some twenty years have passed, and the system, now only partially introduced, shall have reached every county and every neighborhood in the state."

He continued:60

Instead of confiding public arms to a hired soldiery, the state has submitted the defence and protection of her sons, educated in sentiments of intelligent patriotism and public virtue. . . . [Virginia] has substituted the educated and intelligent student taken, in all cases, from among her own children and made them the guardian of her means of defence; and by educating them, and by sending them forth as instructors throughout the commonwealth, she has made even the means of defence less necessary. The moral power of an intelligent and disciplined corps of young men, annually sent forth to mix in the affairs of society, will exercise the greatest influence in maintaining respect abroad and peace at home."

Smith's accomplishments in promoting his ideas for educational reform add a new perspective to any evaluation of military schools as a category. Although V.M.I. was martial in its structure and operation, Smith saw its purpose as primarily pedagogical. While many schoolmasters and college presidents endured an everyday struggle to keep their institutions afloat, Smith enjoyed the rare opportunity to shape not only his own school but dozens of others through literature, correspondence, and the influence of his graduates. His reforms did not find their way into every classroom, but schools that adopted his scheme demonstrated a muchappreciated improvement in the areas that he believed were most critical to the progress of education.

In each Annual Report he submitted to the Board of Visitors and subsequently to the state, Smith enumerated, with great emphasis, the number of V.M.I. graduates who were engaged in teaching in the commonwealth. Typically about half of living alumni were educators or had been at some point in their careers. Smith continued to impress on politicians in Richmond that it was principally education, not military preparation, that would advance Virginia socially, politically, and economically, allowing it to lead all the Southern states. Moreover, he argued, this sense of identity — forged by intellect and not arms — would allow Virginia, and presumably the entire South, to create a sense of independence from the North and from Europe.

In sum, Virginia and the South, by providing their own teachers, could promote their own ideas, values, and culture. This is how Smith envisioned his legacy and how his institution stood at the vanguard of the movement, achieving distinction not primarily for its military strengths but for its contribution to the intellectual renaissance of the state that it so loyally served.

Notes

- 1 Stephen Ambrose, *Duty, Honor, Country: A History of West Point* (Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1999), pp. 62-105.
- 2 Richard W. Colcock to Francis H. Smith, July 6 and October 5, 1849, in Superintendent's Incoming Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives; Smith to Richard W. Colcock, June 7 and November 1, 1849, and February 4, 1851, in Superintendent's Outgoing Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives; Smith to Peter F. Stephens, May 28, 1860, in Superintendent's Outgoing Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives; Arnoldus Brumby to Smith, August 28 and November 23, 1850, July 22, 1852, and August 1858, in Superintendent's Incoming Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives; Tench Tilghman to Smith, January 7 and January 14, 1852, in Superintendent's Incoming Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives; Smith to Daniel H. Hill, March 21, 1854, August 29, 1859, and February 4, 1860, in Superintendent's Outgoing Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives; Richard S. Ewell to Smith, April 4, 1844, in Superintendent's Incoming Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives; John F. Marszalek, Sherman: A Soldier's Passion for Order (Free Press, New York, 1993), p. 125.
- Jennifer Green, "Books and Bayonets: Class and Culture in Antebellum Military 3 Academies" (Ph.D. dissertation, Boston University, 2002), p. 5. The incoherent structure of antebellum higher education often causes confusion when determining the educational level of an institution. Schools, particularly military ones, used the terms "academy" and "institute" interchangeably for both preparatory schools and colleges. Without a standardized public school system, parents sent their sons to college whenever they believed their children would be adequately prepared. Nevertheless, two general categories of schools can be identified during this period, although the line differentiating them is, as Green notes, "often hazy." Preparatory academies for boys and teenagers provided a basic introductory education (the "3 Rs"), while colleges attracted more-experienced adolescents, provided an advanced education, and conferred diplomas. Smith promoted his reforms in, and sent graduates to, both types of institutions. Whether teaching at an academy for young boys or at a military college formed on the model of their alma mater, V.M.I. graduates employed what Smith considered universal devices of educational reform, scientific curriculum and military discipline to improve the new institutions they served. Smith's graduates, because of their experience and training, were coveted by military schools of all sizes and educational levels throughout the antebellum period. The majority of V.M.I. graduates who taught in military schools, however, typically served in state military institutions throughout the South or in small preparatory military schools in the state of Virginia.
- 4 F. W. Smith, like many of its other instructors, left the college to serve during the Civil War. The Board of Trustees had elected him superintendent in 1865. Sadly, Smith had been mortally wounded on April 6, just days before the surrender at Appomattox, and the board did not receive this news until after his election to the position.

- John Bowie Strange to Smith, March 21, June 23, and September 26, 1856, and April 1, 1857, in Superintendent's Incoming Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives; Smith to John Bowie Strange, March 25, 1856, in Superintendent's Outgoing Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives.
- 6 Smith to John S. Gamble, April 4, 1850, in Superintendent's Outgoing Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives.
- 7 John H. Pitts to Smith, August 29, 1849, in Superintendent's Incoming Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives.
- 8 Smith to James C. Green, March 20, 1852, in Superintendent's Outgoing Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives.
- 9 Edward C. Edmonds to Smith, October 7, 1859, in Superintendent's Incoming Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives.
- 10 Smith to James J. Phillips, July 26, 1854, in Superintendent's Outgoing Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives; Edgar C. Knight, ed., *Documentary History of Education in the South Before 1860*, Volume 4 (University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1953), p. 239.
- 11 Francis H. Smith, *The Regulations of Military Institutions as Applied to The Conduct of Common Schools* (John Wiley, New York, 1849), p. 6.
- 12 Walter H. Harrison to Smith, March 6, 1846, in Superintendent's Incoming Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives.
- 13 Smith to Trustees of Richmond Academy, August 4, 1849, in Superintendent's Outgoing Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives.
- 14 Smith to Walter H. Harrison, March 16, 1846, in Superintendent's Outgoing Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives.
- 15 Smith to Richard S. Ewell, December 31, 1850, in Superintendent's Outgoing Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives; Richard S. Ewell to Smith, December 28, 1850, and September 9, 1852, in Superintendent's Incoming Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives.
- 16 Smith to Richard S. Burke, July 5, 1843, in Superintendent's Outgoing Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives.
- 17 Smith to Reverend John P. McGuire, May 31, 1854, in Superintendent's Outgoing Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives.
- 18 Smith to Reverend William Meade, June 21, 1852, in Superintendent's Outgoing Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives.
- 19 Smith to George Dame, December 23, 1852, in Superintendent's Outgoing Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives.
- 20 Smith to Charles Derby, August 14, 1849, in Superintendent's Outgoing Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives.
- 21 Smith to Oliver White, June 8, 1848, in Superintendent's Outgoing Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives.
- 22 Smith to Alexander C. Jones, November 16, 1850, in Superintendent's Outgoing Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives.
- 23 Smith to William N. Wellford, June 7, 1849, in Superintendent's Outgoing Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives.

- 24 Smith to William F. Lockwood, August 14, 1849, in Superintendent's Outgoing Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives.
- 25 Smith to Walter H. Harrison, February 25 and March 18, 1851, in Superintendent's Outgoing Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives; Smith to James Blankenship, February 15, 1856, in Superintendent's Outgoing Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives.
- 26 Smith to John Bowie Strange, September 12, 1845, in Superintendent's Outgoing Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives; Smith to Richard H. Simpson, December 28, 1848, in Superintendent's Outgoing Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives.
- 27 Smith to Robert Gatewood, June 22, 1850, in Superintendent's Outgoing Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives.
- 28 Smith to Thomas O. Benton, September 14, 1850, in Superintendent's Outgoing Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives; Smith to Thomas A. Harris, July 28, 1851, in Superintendent's Outgoing Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives; Smith to Charles Derby, May 25, 1849, in Superintendent's Outgoing Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives.
- 29 Smith to John Bowie Strange, September 12, 1845, in Superintendent's Outgoing Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives.
- 30 Smith to David W. Barton, August 28, 1850, in Superintendent's Outgoing Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives.
- 31 Smith to Richard G. Fain, November 16, 1855, in Superintendent's Outgoing Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives.
- 32 Smith to Henry Harding, July 12, 1855, in Superintendent's Outgoing Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives.
- 33 Smith to David May, February 6, 1856, in Superintendent's Outgoing Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives.
- 34 Smith to George S. Patton, January 8, 1855, in Superintendent's Outgoing Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives; Smith to Samuel T. Pendleton, October 7, 1848, in Superintendent's Outgoing Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives.
- 35 Smith to Thomas B. Robertson, February 6, 1849, in Superintendent's Outgoing Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives.
- 36 Smith to Benjamin Ficklin, August 6, 1849, in Superintendent's Outgoing Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives.
- 37 Smith to Samuel T. Pendleton, October 7, 1848, in Superintendent's Outgoing Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives.
- 38 Smith to Alexander C. Jones and John S. Gamble, December 5, 1848, in Superintendent's Outgoing Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives.
- 39 Smith to Briscoe G. Baldwin, March 16, 1850, in Superintendent's Outgoing Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives.
- 40 Smith to William Mahone, January 23, 1849, in Superintendent's Outgoing Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives.
- 41 Smith to Robert T. Woods, March 11, 1851, in Superintendent's Outgoing Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives.
- 42 Smith to William D. Stuart, July 27 and September 23, 1853, and July 24, 1855, in Superintendent's Outgoing Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives.

- 43 Smith to Alexander C. Jones, July 22, 1850, in Superintendent's Outgoing Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives.
- 44 Smith to James C. Councill, June 20, 1859, in Superintendent's Outgoing Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives; James C. Blankenship to Smith, July 1, 1854, in Superintendent's Incoming Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives.
- 45 Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University: A History* (Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1962), p. 202.
- 46 Smith to M. Dupuy, October 8, 1851, in Superintendent's Outgoing Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives; Smith to J. D. Price, July 18, 1854, in Superintendent's Outgoing Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives.
- 47 Smith to James M. Moody, December 6, 1851, in Superintendent's Outgoing Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives.
- 48 Smith to P. C. Johnson, February 1, 1849, in Superintendent's Outgoing Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives; Smith to Richard H. Chamberlaine, March 19, 1850, in Superintendent's Outgoing Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives; Smith to Charles R. King, August 11, 1852, in Superintendent's Outgoing Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives.
- 49 John H. Pitts to Smith, March 13, 1856, in Superintendent's Incoming Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives; Smith to John H. Pitts, March 17, 1856, in Superintendent's Outgoing Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives.
- 50 Smith to Peter R. Thornton, April 30, 1849, in Superintendent's Outgoing Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives; Smith to R. Henry Glenn, May 14, 1850, in Superintendent's Outgoing Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives.
- 51 Smith to William R. Mason, July 17, 1849, in Superintendent's Outgoing Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives.
- 52 William Couper, *One Hundred Years of V.M.I.* (Garrett & Massie, Richmond, 1939), Volume I, p. 231.
- 53 Smith to William Forbes, December 21, 1850, in Superintendent's Outgoing Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives.
- 54 Smith to John Bowie Strange, July 10, 1851, in Superintendent's Outgoing Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives.
- 55 Green, "Bayonets and Books," pp. 206-58. In this chapter, Green identifies an informal network created by V.M.I. graduates who went on to become teachers, but analyzes their relationships only in a socio-economic context and gives little attention to their academic exchanges.
- 56 Smith to George G. Butler, July 5, 1849, in Superintendent's Outgoing Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives.
- 57 Smith to George W. Robertson, December 13, 1849, in Superintendent's Outgoing Correspondence, V.M.I. Archives.
- 58 "Progress of Education in Virginia," in *Southern Literary Messenger*, March 1857, pp. 162-67.
- 59 V.M.I. Semi-Annual Report, July 1848, V.M.I. Archives.
- 60 *Ibid*.



The House Mountain Tragedy of 1846

Douglas J. Harwood

OT TOO LONG AGO, the late Henry Clark and his boy got in a gunfight with one of their neighbors up on Irish Creek. The fight was about a pig. And sheer cussedness.

With that in mind, it is not beyond the realm of possibility that a killing on the saddle between the peaks of Big House Mountain and Little House Mountain in the winter of 1846 was caused by a squabble over a cow. And sheer cussedness.

At least that's what one of the neighbors said.

James Anderson had a bad reputation; there's no doubt about that. He got caught in a bear-trap once while he was trying to steal some corn from the Sniders out in Rockbridge Baths. Tried the same thing again and was whipped for his troubles.

In the summer of 1846, James Anderson was getting ready to bean Joseph Robinson with a rock. Why? Who knows? Sheer cussedness probably had something to do with it. Fortunately for Mr. Robinson, John Pettigrew got in the middle of it, grabbed Anderson's hand, and knocked him down.

In court a couple of years later, James Smith said he had told Anderson to cut it out as Pettigrew had him on the ground. Anderson calmed down a bit. Pettigrew let him up.

Some time after that, Smith said, James Anderson's cows went through a fence, got into Pettigrew's cornfield, and wrecked it.

Mrs. Anderson went down to Smith's house and asked Smith and his wife, Nancy, to go with her and get the cows out of an old house they'd taken over after Pettigrew had shooed them into it.

Mr. Smith, speaking for himself and his wife, declined the invitation. Mrs. Anderson, instead of taking a hint, went on a tear. "She abused Mrs. Pettigrew as a mean woman, and said that she could see her heart's blood, and was not done with it yet."

On that cheery note, Smith's wife went part of the way back into the saddle of House Mountain with Mrs. Anderson. And on the way, Mrs. Anderson embellished her chilling little oath. "She said she could see Mrs. Pettigrew's heart's blood run as free as she ever saw anything in her life."

Doug Harwood is editor of the monthly *Rockbridge Advocate*, which he founded in 1992. A 1974 graduate of Washington and Lee University with a major in journalism, he has always been fascinated by Rockbridge history, especially if it is unusual and bizarre. He presented this paper on January 31, 2005, in Washington and Lee University's Evans Hall.

A couple of months later, in October, 1846, the old house where Pettigrew had stashed the Anderson's cows was burned. And if Smith is to be believed, when he asked James Anderson about the fire, Anderson replied. "You all will see in a short time, the other house will go the same way."

Maybe a neighborly dispute over a cow did start it all. Maybe it was jealousy.

Or maybe it was something else.

I suppose if John Pettigrew and his wife, Mary Ann Moore Pettigrew, had been among the prominent citizens of the county, we'd know pretty much everything there is to know about them and about just what happened on the night of December 16, 1846.

But they weren't. And what little we do know about them stems mostly from a horrible tragedy that happened in the saddle of House Mountain on the night of December 16, or the morning of the 17th, in 1846.

Today nothing remains of the Pettigrew cabin — not a ruined foundation or chimney, not a marker, not anything. We don't even know exactly where it was in the saddle.

We can speculate a bit about the lure of the mountain, where the growing season is a few weeks longer than it is at lower elevations and where land prices, because of the isolation, were lower than they were down in the valley.

But what brought the Pettigrews to Rockbridge County at all remains a bit of a mystery.

They arrived from Campbell County a few years before the tragedy. Just when, we don't know, but there was talk of a fall from social and financial grace that preceded the move.

We do know that John Pettigrew had a job at Tom Alphin's distillery, about six miles away from the Pettigrew cabin as the crow flies.

And we know that the Pettigrew cabin could be seen from at least three other cabins.

Beyond that, we also know that a few days before the fire, John Pettigrew left his cabin along with his eldest daughter, Rachel. They apparently left on a Sunday, though one account pushed it forward to Wednesday. Some accounts said they had gone to visit some friends, but just whom those friends were remains a mystery. By other accounts, John left to go to work at Tom Alphin's whiskey mill.

Just where Rachel stayed — and where John stayed — are mysteries. In any event, on that December Tuesday, after Rachel and John had, by most accounts, left, a neighbor saw the Pettigrew cabin, smoke rising

from the chimney. Nothing remarkable.

On Wednesday, it began to snow. And snow. And snow. Three feet of the stuff in all, by most accounts. As the snow was ending on Thursday afternoon, another neighbor saw what looked like the cabin on fire. He didn't think much about it. The Pettigrews had talked about moving, and the neighbor figured they had done just that, setting fire to the cabin before they left.

On Sunday afternoon, James Smith's dogs began barking, and he went outside to see what the trouble was. He heard someone hollering in distress. It was John Pettigrew. "He seemed to be out of breath, walking through the snow. He called and asked me to get some fire and go with him . . . that his house was burned and his family was all frozen."

Smith got "some fire" — presumably coals or embers — and went with John. When they got near the remains of the burned cabin, Smith came upon the gruesome sight that must have greeted Pettigrew when he arrived home after walking for hours through the snow.

He found the house burned and the bodies of Mrs. Pettigrew and five children lying close by. Mrs. Pettigrew was sitting on the end of some bed clothes, leaning forward, with a slit-bottom chair tilted forward against her back. Her head was leaning forward, bent over her only son, John, eight years old, who lay across her lap, dressed in only a shirt.

Judith, the next-eldest girl after Rachel, lay on her side, four or five yards from her mother, one leg stretched out through the rungs of a chair and the other drawn up. She was in her nightdress and was wearing a pair of shoes. She was fourteen.

The next girl, Margaret, who was twelve, was sitting on a log leaning against a stump, her head hanging forward, her left foot under her, and her right foot stretched down in the ground and frozen in it. The ground had to be chopped with an ax to free Margaret's foot.

The other two girls, Letitia, ten, and Mary Elizabeth, six, lay at the root of a stump with their faces on the ground, opposite each other. They were in their nightdresses and shoes.

There were no human tracks near the bodies. A set of animal tracks coursed back and forth to the spring. The Pettigrews' dog had made them during a few quick runs for water. It was obvious from the tracks that the dog had, aside from those runs, stayed with the bodies.

The bodies were blackened with ashes and dust from the burned-out cabin. One man said they were the color of iron.

Word of the ghastly scene quickly got out, and before the day was out there were fifteen or twenty men on horseback at the scene, and another dozen or so came with wagons to haul the bodies away.

Hugh Wilson was one of the men with a wagon. Two years later he recalled the snow drifting in the House Mountain saddle. He remembered the frozen bodies and the strange scene, with clothes blowing about in the snow — some within reach of the bodies. He remembered seeing a feather

bed about a hundred yards away from the smoldering ruins of the cabin. He remembered seeing the Andersons' cabin, looking all cozy about 400 yards away. And he remembered hearing dogs barking in that cabin.

But there was no sight of the Andersons.

Other witnesses had other memories. Polly Robinson, for instance, went up to the Pettigrew cabin before the bodies were taken away. She remembered seeing Mrs. Pettigrew sitting on a bed that was burned. Polly figured the bed must have burned before Mrs. Pettigrew got on it. Near the girl who sat on the log was a basket of eggs, Polly remembered. The basket and the egg shells were burned on the side facing the house.

A coroner's inquest took place the day after the bodies were discovered. The coroner, Samuel Moore, had the bodies examined by two doctors, Wilkenson and Rogers.

"There were two wounds on Mrs. Pettigrew," they reported. "One was on her temple. The other on her throat. The wound on the temple was a bruise, apparently produced by the stroke of a stick. The neck seemed to have been grasped by a hand as to produce strangulation."

The conclusion: Mrs. Pettigrew had been murdered. There were no conclusions about what caused the deaths of the children.

The Andersons were likely suspects. There had been that spat over the cow. There was Mr. Anderson's general reputation, which was not good. And there was the matter of some linens that were found in the Anderson cabin — linens that neighbors had first seen at the Pettigrew cabin. (James Anderson later swore that the linens, a coverlet and a table-cloth, belonged to his wife, Mary.)

The Andersons didn't exactly cooperate with the investigation.

While the bodies were being chopped out of the snow and ice, James Anderson left for Billy Brain's place, a few miles away, and then went on to Augusta, where he stayed for a week or two. Mary Anderson and her two daughters were apparently still home when the Pettigrew bodies were being carted down the mountain; Mary told one woman who stopped in that the Pettigrews had been killed.

But within a few days, the entire Anderson family left the county. Just where they went is not known. Two years later, they turned up in New Castle, about thirty miles southwest of House Mountain, in Craig County. A certain Mr. Tilson, who apparently was boarding them, told them he had gotten a letter from Rockbridge saying that the Andersons had murdered a family, and that he'd better leave or he'd be abused. Confronted with the allegation, Anderson replied that if he had murdered a family, he was "as good as the people of New Castle or Bedford."

Just what that meant, who knows? But the odds are good that at least some of the people of New Castle and Bedford had heard about the kill-

ing. The Andersons were illiterate, but it would have been hard to avoid some talk. After all, the tragedy was serious news.

The *Richmond Enquier* had reported it under the simple headline, "Awful Casualty":

It has never before been our duty to publish the account of so awful an accident, as that, the details of which have just been related to us: the facts as we can learn them from the neighbors are there: During the last week, Mr. John Pettigrew, a decent and Industrious citizen of our county, left his house in company with his eldest daughter upon a visit to some of his friends at a distance, his wife and five other children remaining at home. On Sunday he returned and found his house burnt to the ground, and upon looking around he discovered all of that family which he left in fancied security lying dead together at a short distance from the ruins of his house. They were all partially burned, but it is supposed that they must have frozen to death after they fled the house, as the burns were not supposed to have been severe enough to have caused death. What a reception for this poor laboring man! Instead of finding, as he expected, that family, the comfort of his Life, nestled together around the family fireside, he finds them a heap of blackened and stiffened corpses. It is heart sickening in the extreme, and we hope that it may be long before we shall be called upon to record such another casualty.

P.S. Since the above was in type we have learned that these unfortunate persons were very slightly burned, and that the whole of them were found within fifteen or twenty feet of the ruins of the house,

The *Valley Star*, published in Lexington, said, under the headline, "A Shocking Calamity":

On Thursday night last, the house of a Mr. Pettigrew in the hollows of the House Mountain, about seven miles from this place, was burned to the ground. The next morning Mrs. Pettigrew and five children were found burned and frozen to death. The corpses of the children, we understand, were lying strewed around the mother in the snow and she, in a leaning attitude over her infant child, as if striving to protect it from the cold. The husband and one of the children were absent from home. The dreadful calamity happened the night after the terrible snow storm mentioned in another article in this paper, We never have heard of such a melancholy occurrence as this taking place in our normally quiet community. A whole family swept away in a single night, perishing in the fire and the snow, remote from any other habitation, with no human eye to witness the sufferings and cries for relief, and awakening no doubt from the soundest sleep, to find themselves enveloped in flames. None are left to tell the particulars of their melancholy end, but the origin of the fire is supposed to have been accidental. The family we learn are poor, but quite respectable. How strongly does this melancholy case appeal to our sympathy,

especially on behalf of the child, who was spared from the same death as the others by absence from home. Let those who are protected from the severities of winter by an abundance of the world's goods remember the poor, and watch over the comforts of the lonely survivors of this ill-fated family.

The *Lexington Gazette*'s version of the story was the only one to hint at murder, though its accounts of the coroners' report do not completely agree with the version of the report that was later introduced in court.

A Mother and Five Children Dead!

The feelings of this community were never more severely shocked then when, a few days since, it was announced that a mother and five children were found within a few feet of the ashes of a cabin, cold and stiff in death. The name of the family was Peticrew.* They removed to this county about two yeurs since, from Campbell. They were once in easy and prosperous circumstances, but misfortune had stripped them of their all; and they sought and found an humble home amid the mountains of Rockbridge. No one would be with them long without discovering that they had seen better days, and they soon gained for themselves the respect and sympathy of all the virtuous and good who made their acquaintance.

Mr. John Peticrew, the husband and father of this unfortunate family, was absent some miles from home, pursuing his weekly toil as a day laborer, and owing to the deep fall of snow which occurred on Wednesday night, did not, as was his custom, seek his home on Saturday night, but deferred it until Sabbath morning. When within a few hundred yards of the fatal spot, as the writer is informed, he picked up on the snow a half-burnt sheet of paper, which he immediately recognized as belonging to himself. Fears were, at once excited, and with trembling heart he hastened to see whether the tale this half-burnt sheet had told him were true. He soon saw the chimney, but the house was gone. A few steps more brought him in sight of the lifeless remains of wife and children. They were lying near each other and from 10 to 15 feet from the ashes of their dwelling. What must have been the feelings of the husband and the father with such a scene before him?

It is generally believed that the burning occurred on Wednesday night — the night of the snow storm. The house was seen on Wednesday, and no traces discoverable in the snow to tell that it happened after the storm. The house was situated between the two House Mountains, and within three or four hundred yards of another, but not within sight. Mr. Peticrew was himself the first to discover this awful calamity and his sad bereavement.

^{*} Various documents contain variant spellings of the name.

The dead bodies were removed on Sabbath evening to the house of Mr. William Wilson, where an inquest was held by the coroner, Mr. Samuel R. Moore, on Monday. The verdict in the case of Mary Anne — the wife and mother was, in substance, that she came to her death by violence — whether accidental or inflicted by the hand of some person unknown is uncertain. A wound was discovered on the side of her forehead and extending behind the ear, as if inflicted by a blow from a stick. Marks of violence were also discovered on her throat, knees and legs.

The verdict in the case of the children, Judith Anne, Margaret June, Letitia, John Thomas and Mary Elizabeth — the youngest of whom was about six years, and the oldest 14, was that they came to their death by freezing. These were all deposited in the same grave on Tuesday the 22nd, at Old Oxford Church — attended by a throng which evinced the deep sympathy that was felt by the community for surviving friends in this sore affliction.

A meeting was called forthwith, and measures taken to erect a monument over the cold remains of the mother and children which should tell to posterity the sad tale, over which so many wept that day.

The eldest daughter of Mr. Peticrew still survives. She was at her grandfather's on the night of the sad catastrophe.

FTER THE INITIAL BURST of stories, which were reprinted in papers all over the state and beyond. the catastrophe vanished from the record. In August 1848, nearly two years alter finding his family dead in the snow, John Pettigrew died — legend has it from a broken heart — and was buried at Oxford.

Another two-and-a-half years passed. And then, in March, 1851, there was this, as recorded by the Gazette:

Arrest for Murder

Jas. Anderson, his wife, and two daughters were arrested last week in Botetourt County and committed to jail in this place under the charge of committing a murder in this county about five years ago. The circumstances are these. A family named Pettigrew, living in the neighborhood of the House Mountain, consisting of a mother and five children were found dead in the winter of 1846. The house in which they resided was burned down and the corpses frozen when found. Marks of violence were found on the mother and the eldest daughter, but none on the rest.

Those marks consisted of a scar on the side of the head and the print of fingers on the throat of the mother and similar marks on the throat of the daughter. A deep snow fell on the night the event is supposed to have happened, but no snow was found on the corpses and

no tracks around the place of occurrence. Several neighbors resided within a half and three quarters of a mile off, to whose residence there existed no obstruction unless is was the snow of this occasion. Suspicion fell on this Anderson family at the time. They then resided within three quartets of a mile of the place. The matter has slept for five years now and the evidence which led to the arrest of these parties will be developed at their trial at the April term of our monthly court.

The only account of what led to the arrest is found in a newspaper article from 1902, which says that Anderson had confided in a man named Andrew Taylor, and that Taylor had blabbed to a man named Wilson, and that Wilson had passed the story along to Sampson Moore, who was Mrs. Pettigrew's brother.

(Taylor, Moore, and three Wilsons testified for the prosecution during the trial. Billy Brain, to whose house Anderson had initially fled, was never called as witness. Neither were the Alphins, who ran the distillery between Short Hill and House Mountain where John Pettigrew said he was working when his family died. Rachel Pettigrew, the sole survivor of the family, did testify, though what she said in court was not recorded. Most later accounts say that she had left home with her father in order to stay with her grandmother, who was ill; she was not with him when he returned to the cabin to find his family slain.)

As for a possible motive, there were the wandering cows. And there were claims of thievery. Sampson Moore had discovered one of his sister's blankets in Anderson's cabin — so he said.

If Anderson had anything to say about the cows, it was not recorded. But a sworn statement by James Anderson dismissed the stolen blanket and linen claims.

Anderson said he had witnesses who would say "that one coverlet and one table cloth. which it is alleged, was the, property of Pettigrew. was the property of . . . [Anderson], and that the said articles of property was in the possession of and was the property of . . . [Anderson] several years previous to the time when the said Pettigrew's house was burned and his family came to their deaths. and that the said coverlet was woven by . . . [Nancy Anderson] and that said table cloth was presented to his said wife by Peggy Chandler "

The trial, initially set for April 1851, was delayed a month so that Anderson's witnesses could be rounded up.

Two of the state's witnesses, Thomas Moore and Sampson Moore, were brothers-in-law of John Pettigrew. And before Pettigrew moved to Rockbridge with his family in 1844, the Moores had been involved in a fight of their own with Pettigrew.

It was all about money, and it began in Campbell County, following the family to Rockbridge. The long and short of it was that Pettigrew claimed his father-in-law, Predham Moore, owed him \$10,000, and Predham Moore said he didn't.

Dueling suits were filed in Rockbridge County Circuit Court — Predham Moore versus John Pettigrew and others and Pettigrew versus Predham Moore and others — in addition to an earlier suit filed in Campbell County.

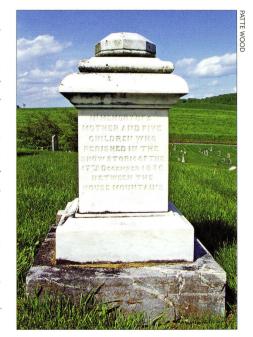
The records concerning the suits are a little murky. but apparently Pettigrew bought a pair of judgments against Predham Moore from the estate of a John Hancock in the late 1830s.

In a deposition, a friend of Pettigrew testified, "I heard Mr. Pettigrew say that he had bought the claim [against Moore] . . . for the benefit of Mr. Moore to keep peace between him and his son and said that if that was all the debts he had named to him he would have money enough left to buy him a right smart plantation; and he didn't charge him anything for what he had done for him."

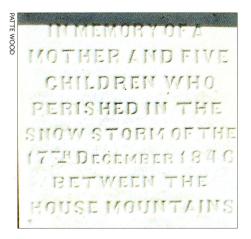
But Predham Moore claimed Pettigrew bought the judgments — worth roughly \$3,000 — for fifty cents on the dollar with money from payments which Moore had already made on those judgments. And Pettigrew, whatever his intentions might have been when he bought the judgments, had the sheriff seize Moore's seven slaves when Moore defaulted. (The slaves were Tom, age fifty; Amy, twenty-five; Sarah, fourteen; Susan, eight; London, six; Ben, three; and Amy, an infant.)

Moore apparently managed to halt the auction of the slaves. But the dispute dragged on for several more years. It finally ended in April 1846, seven months before the horror in the saddle of House Mountain.

There is nothing in the record to indicate that the Andersons were connected with the Pettigrew—Moore squabble. But the family was apparently split over the suits, with two of Pettigrew's brothers-in-law, Thomas and Camel,* siding with him, and with a third brother-in-law, Sampson Moore, against him. And



 ^{*} That was really his name.



five years after Pettigrew's family was found dead in the snow, it was Sampson Moore who told the authorities that James Anderson had confessed to a friend of a friend.

James and Mary Anderson were indicted, charged with the murders of the Pettigrew children, as well as that of their mother. There is nothing in the official court records of the Andersons' trial — other than a boiler-plate allegation in the indictments that the Andersons were pos-

sessed by the devil — that sheds any light on why Anderson would have wanted to kill the Pettigrew family. Nor is there anything in the court records to confirm newspaper accounts that the Anderson children were ever formally charged with anything in connection with the alleged murders.

The trial began on April 16, 1851, and lasted six days. The Andersons hired three lawyers: Samuel Letcher, L. F. Paxton, and Robert Doyle. There is no record of what the lawyers were paid, or who paid them. The jury was sequestered for the entire trial, which was nearly unheard of in Rockbridge in those days.

Three newspapers published basic accounts of the trial. Two of those newspapers dropped tantalizing hints about the reportage in the third, but if a copy of that third account, in the *Rockingham Register*, still exists, it cannot be located.

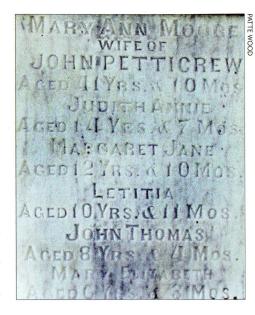
The Lexington Gazette article said:

This mysterious and deeply interesting trial for murder was commenced at the term of our Superior Court, on Wednesday the 16th inst., in which James Anderson and his wife were arraigned for the murder of the Pettigrew family on the night of the 16th of December, 1846. The trial was closed on Tuesday, the 22nd inst., and the verdict of the jury rendered, that Jas. Anderson was guilty of murder in the first degree, and his wife acquitted thereof. A new trial was applied for on behalf of the prisoner and granted by the judge, and the venue changed to the County of Bath.

The testimony proved that the house in which the deceased resided was seen standing Wednesday evening, the 16th of December, 1846, at about dark — that a large light was perceptible on the same night, in the direction of the house, between the hours of seven and eight o'clock — that the next morning the chimney of the house was discovered remaining, by a witness some distance off.

That it commenced snowing on the evening of December 16th, 1846 at sundown and continued until about 10 o'clock the next day, that the snow was about three inches deep between the hours of six and eight o'clock that night, and sixteen inches deep when it ceased the next day.

That the dead bodies of the deceased, six in number, were found in a frigid state on the morning of the ensuing Sabbath. That the ground was entirely clear of snow for twenty-five feet beyond the house in the direction of the dead bodies, and that the location of the



bodies was about fifteen feet from the foundation of the house, and about ten feet from the edge of the snow towards the house. But the bodies were not burned. Nor were any tracks to be found either in the snow or where the ground was clear of snow around the burnt house. The burning of which may have made the ground soft by the melting of the snow, No snow was found upon the bodies or upon any of the articles carried out of the house, Wearing apparel and bed clothes wore found there, but the bodies were only partially dressed and entirely unprotected by the bed clothing. Some of them were in a recumbent position and others prostrate. The foot of one of them was sunk in the ground and frozen tight. No marks of violence were found upon any of them except the mother, who had a wound upon her temple and impressions upon the neck similar to those made by pressure from the hand.

The eyes of the oldest child, a daughter about 16, were stretched open, and cast as if looking back. The countenances of the rest indicated no apparent marks of disfiguration. The testimony tended to show that the night was not remarkably cold, particularly in the early part, and that the houses of several neighbors were accessible, some of them within a half-mile, and some three quarters of a mile off.

We make the above narration of mysterious circumstances merely in deference to the corpus delicti, and with an impartial hearing as to the hypothesis of the guilt or innocence of the prisoner. We have heretofore announced our intention of publishing the proceedings of the trial in full, but inasmuch as the prisoner is to have a new hearing, we are constrained from a sense of justice to refrain from such publication now.



A certain anonymous correspondent, however, of the *Rockingham Register*, has furnished that paper with a garbled report of the testimony purporting to be from the records of the examining court, which is going the rounds of our exchange papers, and which was brought to the notice of the court publicly, and such an exposition made of it as to leave the author in a most unenviable position.

The *Valley Star*, owned by one of Anderson's lawyers' brothers, added:

We refrain from publishing the testimony in the case for the reason that we desire the accused — degraded and debased as he is — to have a fair trial before another jury composed of men who will know nothing of the facts except as narrated to them by the witnesses.

We will express no opinion as to the guilt or innocence of Anderson. A jury of twelve impartial men, after hearing the evidence in the case and the arguments of counsel, were unanimous in their opinion that the Pettigrew family came to their death by the hand of felonious violence, and that Anderson was the guilty felon. A judge who bears the character of a profound lawyer, and an honest man, set aside the verdict upon the ground that the deceased died of accidental freezing and no murder has been committed.

One damning piece of evidence came from a witness who said that when the ruined cabin where Pettigrew had kept Anderson's cows burned, Anderson said, "You all will see the other house go the same way."

Another came from a witness who said that when the party came to haul the bodies away, Anderson had emerged from his cabin, drunk, and shouted for them to go away, saying he hadn't "finished."

James Anderson's second trial was set for the September 1851 term of court in Bath County, far beyond the pens of any newspaper correspondents. It was delayed for a full year. In the end, eighteen witnesses were summoned, including Rachel Pettigrew, the surviving daughter. Three of Anderson's witnesses didn't show up at all. Two of the Commonwealth's showed up drunk and were jailed for it. Aside from a notation in the Rockbridge court record that was sent to Bath, there is not the slightest indication in the official records as to what happened at the trial. That notation reads, simply, "We the jury find the prisoner not guilty"

Two weeks after the trial, one of Anderson's attorneys was arrested for gambling in a card game on the streets of Lexington. By then, his client had left town and moved to Craig County.

Three years after the trial, in December 1855, Rachel Pettigrew married James G. Reynolds and set up housekeeping on Kerrs Creek. They had two daughters, Mary Ann and Sarah. But before the younger was born, James Reynolds died. Ra-



chel never remarried, and raised her two children. She lived to a ripe old age, seventy-eight, and in her later years lived in Collierstown with her daughter, who had married John Mackey Knick. Rachel died in 1908 and was buried in the Collierstown Presbyterian Church Cemetery.

Her father, mother, four sisters, and brother are buried in the Oxford Cemetery nearby. The monument that marks their graves is the second erected in their honor. Legend has it that the first was blasted to smithereens by lightening in 1902, but a spoilsport newspaper account said that it was made of wood and simply rotted away.

In any case, the monument doesn't mention murder. It says:

In memory of a mother and five children who perished in the snow storm of the 17th December, 1846, between the House Mountains.

Mary Ann Moore, wife of John Petticrew, Aged 41 yrs. & 10 mo.

Judith Annie, aged 14 yrs. & 7 mo.

Margaret Jane, aged 12 yrs. & 10 mo.

Letitia, aged 10 yrs. & 11 mo.

John Thomas, aged 8 yrs. ars & 4 mo.

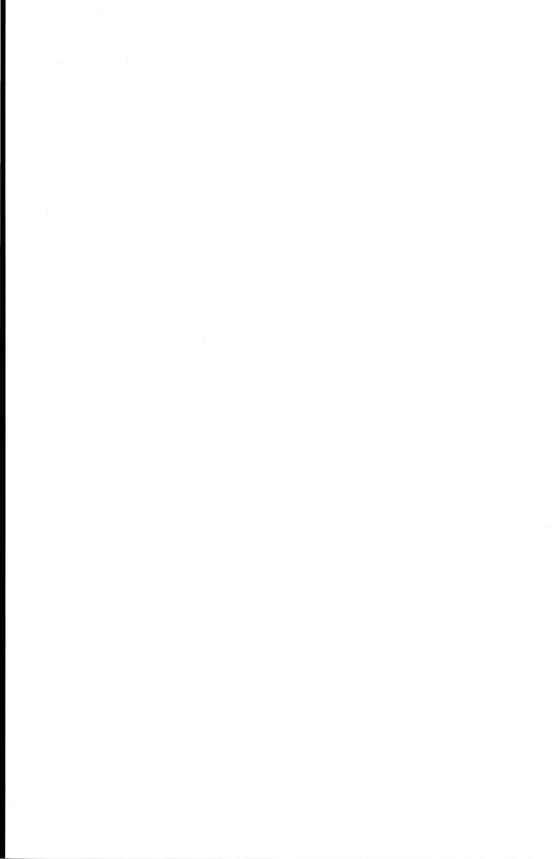
Mary Elizabeth, aged 6 yrs. & 3 mo.

The husband and father on his return three days after the sad event was the first to discover that his house was in ashes and his wife and five children cold in death.

John Petticrew

Feb. 1805, Aug. 1848

This monument was erected by a sympathising community in 1847 Replaced by the citizens of Collierstown & Buffalo



Receiving the Poor: The Rockbridge County Poorhouse, 1870-1927

Mary Ellen Henry

HE PAUPERS are well cared for & well fed and humanely treated," concluded one superintendent of the poor at the end of the nineteenth century. He spoke for a number of his colleagues across Virginia who were in charge of the many and various institutions known euphemistically by the state as "The Place of General Reception." "Almshouse" was the preferred name for a local facility that took in the indigent in the eighteenth through twentieth centuries in America. That name emphasizes the charitable aspect of the institution, but "poorhouse" more graphically designates the place, labels who went there, and, some would say, characterizes the treatment they received. "Poor farm" is perhaps an even more accurate term, as that is what most of these facilities were in fact. Rockbridge County called its institution the "Poor House" for most of its existence, changing the name to the more benign "County Farm" only in the early twentieth century.

Charles J. Brawley was forty-three years old in 1860 when the census enumerator listed him as the "Agent for the County Poor House & Farm" in Rockbridge County.³ His wife and sixteen-year-old daughter helped him in that endeavor, probably doing most of the cooking and providing nursing care for the sick and elderly. Brawley would see the institution through the years of war and Reconstruction, retiring at last in his sixties in 1881. His years of service speak to a well-run institution, as the annual report to the county board of supervisors in 1878 attests:⁴

In the said sum of \$1084.32 expended as the place of general reception is included the superintendent's salary of \$500.00 the salary of the physician to the Poor-House of \$100. And the salary of the Clerk of \$20.00. The item of \$410.87 reported received from other sources than levy is the proceeds of the sale of surplus produce raised on the Poor House Farm.

These figures indicate that the county spent \$444.32 on pauper in-

mates after staff salaries. That sum was offset by the farm income, which put the institution in the red by a modest \$33.45. Brawley took care to note that, under his tenure, the farm itself was almost self-sustaining. Not only did it provide

Mary Ellen Henry, an honors graduate of Colby College, received her Ph.D. from the American University in 2006. Her dissertation was titled, "Refuge from Want?: Virginia's Almshouses, 1870-1930." An earlier version of this article was presented at the Society's meeting of May 23, 2005, at the Rockbridge County Courthouse.

all the food necessary for the forty-four inmates who lived there, but it secured enough income at market from its crops nearly to breakeven.

C. J. Brawley had a right to be proud of his farm management, for not many such rural institutions in Virginia could make the same claim in the hard years of recovery from the war. From the county's perspective, Brawley was doing a good job.

Virginia's Poorhouses: The Early Years

That job, however, encompassed more than merely making the farm profitable. The mandates of a poorhouse were that it should provide shelter for a community's neediest citizens; redeem its inmates, whenever possible, through honest labor; and, finally, be self-sufficient. County officials wanted to aid the poor, but without unduly taxing the citizenry. The balance between responsibly handling public funds and concern for the needs of the poor was often a delicate one. While very few rural poor farms were self-sustaining, farm management was perhaps an easier challenge than the management of the county paupers. Their physical condition and reduced circumstances often precluded their ability to work; redemption or rehabilitation by dint of labor was thus beyond the reach of many inmates.

Rockbridge County's nineteenth-century relief policy fit within the commonwealth's approach to the problem of the poor who had arrived aboard the first ships from England. The Elizabethan Poor Law of 1601 had established the pattern of workhouses complemented by "outdoor relief," or assistance provided to those not living on the poorhouse premises. The Virginia Assembly passed its first act for the establishment of workhouses in 1646, although no such building actually appeared. By 1661, "an act was passed which authorized each vestry to raise the necessary funds for the care of the poor by means of proportionate levies and assessments." The Anglican Church in Virginia fulfilled this responsibility until the Revolution, when its duties were transferred to municipal governments. Before independence, counties without parishes had sometimes appointed overseers of the poor to perform the duties of a vestry; the concept became a working model for other communities. In 1785, an Act of the General Assembly completed the transition by mandating the popular election of the overseer of the poor.⁶

The overseers had the power to designate superintendents of the poor, who would be in charge of the day-to-day operation of the almshouse. Each county was divided into districts, usually four or five, with an overseer in charge of each. Rockbridge County had six: Lexington, Natural Bridge, Buffalo, Kerrs Creek, Walkers Creek, and South River. Overseers, who received an annual stipend of twenty dollars during the

late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, had the power to determine who would receive county charity, either "outdoor" relief in the form of medicines, groceries, firewood, and sometimes cash or, if the case warranted, "indoor" relief at the poorhouse. A punitive aspect of the institution was also apparent. Indigent citizens who had committed a misdemeanor or were unable to pay required fines were remanded there by the court with the idea that they would work off the debt. More often, the person petitioned or was recommended to a district overseer of the poor to receive county charity at the poorhouse. This system remained in place until the appointment procedures were modified in 1942 and subsequently abolished as the state worked to consolidate and close its almshouses. While the poor-relief policy in Virginia devolved from the English poor law, its fullest expression came in the nineteenth century in the many and various county institutions officially known as places of general reception.⁷ After emerging in the eighteenth century, the almshouse arrived in communities across Virginia in fits and starts. By the 1870s, however, almost every city and county government supported such an institution.

The Rockbridge Poorhouse

What was Rockbridge County's poor farm remains today on Poorhouse Road off Valley Pike Drive, north of Lexington. It appears to have been on the same site since 1829, a date that fits with the rising tide of benevolent reform in the country as a whole, when a variety of institutions appeared, including asylums, orphanages, and poorhouses.⁸

In addition, 1829 was the year Virginia began requiring each locality to report annually to the general auditor on the funds spent in support of their poor. Whether persuaded by prevailing arguments for poorhouses or not, Rockbridge County established its poor farm in that year. According to a survey of the property completed in 1909, the land was originally divided into three tracts, 309 acres in all, "conveyed By Henry McClung to Overseers of the Poor, Nov. 4th 1829."

The farm consisted of a variety of typical farm structures, houses for the superintendent and farm workers, and dormitory buildings for the paupers. The extant superintendent's house is a white Victorian clapboard structure with a peaked roof, built in 1903 after a fire burned the original, and situated atop a steep hill that affords a panoramic view of the surroundings. ¹⁰ The survey map indicates several large structures, labeled "Paupers Quarters," at the bottom of the hill, on both sides of the public road running to and through the property. Two more-modest buildings were set aside for tenants, while nine farm buildings are indicated by black rectangles. Two blocks of considerable size on the map probably

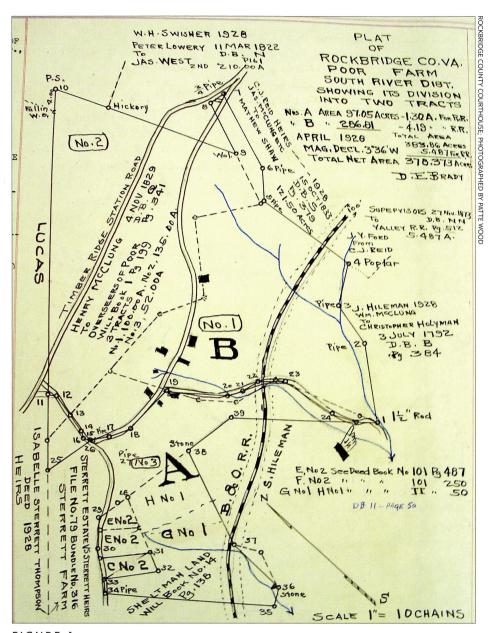


FIGURE 1 Layout of the Rockbridge Poor Farm at the time of its sale at auction on September 28, 1928.

indicate barns or stables. The lower portion of the property is cut by the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad track, traversing the rutted farm road via an arched bridge built in the early 1870s. All that remain today of the inmate building are rudimentary portions of the foundations.¹¹

These dormitory buildings would have housed an average of forty to fifty inmates in any given year from the 1860s to the end of the century. All indications are that inmates were segregated by sex. It is not clear whether arrangements were made for families with children. Generally, the children aged five and below stayed with the mother, while older boys would be housed with the father. Segregation by race is indicated in the following letter dated June 5, 1867:¹²

To the Worshipful County Court of Rockbridge

The undersigned President of the Overseers of the Poor for the County aforesaid, respectfully asks the Court now in Session to make an App[r]o[pr]iation of Five hundred for to enable the overseers to erect additional buildings at the poor house for the accommodation of the Freedmen, the number is increasing, and their [sic] is not room for them at the Poor House. About 2 years ago the Court ordered the overseers to erect new building for the accommodation of the Freedman. But now it is absolutely necessary that some new Buildings should be erected and we can make a beginning with the sum asked.

Respectfully,

John Wallace Prest

A pattern of building cabins as a means to house the indigent was a not-uncommon practice and, as seen here, a financially necessary expedient. A survey conducted by Virginia's Board of Charities and Corrections describes a visit to the farm in December 1908, giving us, forty years later, an idea of the living conditions:¹³

A frame building containing twelve rooms for white persons; capacity,

four paupers to a room. Heated by stoves; not lighted "except in sickness."

No water in building

Plans have been made to build a new frame house as quarters for colored people September 15 — A new house containing eight rooms for colored paupers, capacity of four each, erected.

The Spartan living conditions are confirmed by the observation that stoves were lighted only when

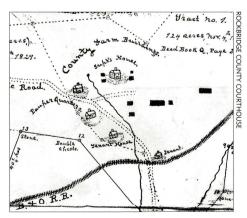


FIGURE 2 Sketch of key building locations, January 1909.

an inmate was ill. December in Rockbridge can be chilly, to say the least. On the other hand, many paupers were too incapacitated to work, suggesting "sickness" was more common than not.

The new structure for blacks was smaller than the one for whites, even though, according to the annual reports, "colored paupers" made up a third to a half of the poorhouse population in the late nineteenth century.¹⁴ The county experienced a significant out-migration of blacks between 1900 and 1910, and the smaller building completed in 1908 may have been in response to the decreasing black population in the county as a whole.

Whether prompted by the state or not, the county made capital improvements to the poorhouse property during these years; certainly the simple living conditions of the dormitories continued to improve in the early twentieth century. In his 1910 Board of Charities and Corrections report, the superintendent wrote of plans for "putting [a] bathroom in each building." The 1911 report mentioned an outlay of \$600 for "water installed in buildings"; a follow-up report in 1912 noted "no special need except water conveniences to building occupied by negroes, which will be done this summer." For a rural farm to have such modern conveniences as indoor plumbing at this time may have had as much to do with the ready supply of water in a reservoir on the property as with the will of the county to provide such amenities.

In addition to the dormitories, provision seems to have been made for the care of the sick. While much of the confinement of the ill would have occurred in individual rooms, those with contagious diseases would have required isolation. By far the most virulent cause of death during this period was consumption. The case of Liz Robinson, a twenty-four-year-old black woman, was not atypical. She first came to the Rockbridge County Poorhouse in the summer of 1887 and stayed two months. She returned in March and again in December for a month each time. Finally, she returned on April 29, 1889 — and was dead five days later. 18 Of thirty-nine women who died in the Rockbridge facility between 1887 and 1910, eight died of consumption after brief stays. At the other end of the life cycle, the considerable number of births occurring at the poorhouse in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, with a number of repeat mothers, suggests that some accommodation may have been made for lying-in. At a minimum, it is clear that the Rockbridge County Poorhouse carried out a significant hospital function well into the twentieth century.¹⁹

Just who were the paupers served by the Rockbridge institution? Residency requirements made sure that the poorhouse was for Rockbridge citizens, not for transients. During the 1880s, Rockbridge County averaged fifty-three inmates a year. Of that number, females always outnumbered males, in some years by two to one. The consistent presence of

older widows on the rolls as well as young mothers with two and three children indicates the particular vulnerability of women.

A window into the world of the Rockbridge poor opened with the 1880 census and is made even clearer by the annual reports of Superintendent Brawley for that year. Along with the vital statistics of birth, race, marital status, and occupation, the 1880 census enumerator had a number of categories under the general heading of "health" to address as well. Uniquely, he was to note if the person was blind, deaf and dumb, idiotic, insane, or "Maimed, Crippled, Bedridden, or otherwise disabled."²⁰ In addition, if the person being counted was unable "to attend to ordinary business" because of some illness or disability, the census-taker was to describe his or her condition. This they did with varying degrees of accuracy. Certainly, the almshouse inmates provided a major share of those afflicted with debilitating conditions.

The Annual Report of the Overseers of the Poor, usually prepared by the superintendent of the poor, gave his take on the condition of his charges with respect to their ability to work on the farm during the preceding year. Health was mentioned, if at all, only in relationship to the amount of labor an individual could provide. On June 30, 1880, Superintendent Brawley reported a total of thirty-six inmates, compared with thirty-two recorded by the census taker on June 16. Twenty-five were white; eleven were "colored." Twenty-one were female, fifteen male. Most had resided at the poor farm for more than a year. Almost all shared the common denominator of illiteracy. Twelve of the women were either unmarried or widowed; seven were small girls under ten, including infants. Brawley characterized women forty-five and above as "old," although only Betsy Moore, at seventy-five, would be called old today. Although she was "old and worn out," Brawley listed her as "cooking a little." Another Betsy, however, was "old and diseased" at fifty-five, suffering from syphilis and completely unable to work. Caroline Cunningham, forty-five, despite suffering "Epilepsy badly," was able to offer up twenty-five days of "knitting some."

Along with these women was the family of John Vantudor, forty-three years of age, a laborer suffering from paralysis. No cause was given for his disability, but it is likely he suffered some work-related accident, perhaps falling from a roof. His ill fortune brought both him and those who depended on him to the poorhouse. His wife, Martha and their four small children, a boy and three girls ages ten and under, were listed with him. When Martha wasn't nursing him or taking care of the children, she did "general housework" for one hundred days. A mark of their respectability was that the family was allowed to stay together as a unit despite the father's inability to work; the children were not summarily boarded out in the county, as was often the case.

Other inmates with chronic illnesses, predominantly epilepsy and syphilis, fill the rolls. One or two cases listed as paralysis may actually have been advanced syphilis as well. Often, infectious diseases such as tuberculosis or smallpox appear in the poor farm register; none were noted in 1880, however. Then there were the blind: one forty-year-old white woman and three black men in their seventies.

Single mothers also appear. Nancy Phillips, "nearly blind" herself, was there with her small daughter, Nannie, and despite her affliction was able to do "a little of all kinds of housework" for 200 days. Nancy Ingram was just twenty-five and had given birth to Charley. She paid back the institution with sewing and housework for a hundred days once she was back on her feet. Margaret Eckard, thirty years old, a widow, was accompanied by her four-year-old daughter, May. The census enumerator listed her as an epileptic, but Brawley noted only that she was "rather simple." Whatever the case of her disability, she gave 200 days of work of "all kinds." Jane Terrell, a thirty-year-old black single mother with two small girls, was there only temporarily. Her name appears in the census dated June 16, but she was gone by the time Brawley filed his report on the 30th. In contrast, Ginny Johnson, a black woman, and her two small daughters were longtime residents, and she cooked for the maximum 300 days. She also had a son, Joseph Carpenter, a mulatto "boy raised on the place" who worked as a farmhand.21

Then there was Jerry Kelly. An Irishman, he had the distinction of being one of the few non-native Virginians on the rolls. Brawley characterized the seventy-year-old as "crippled," while the census taker labeled his disability as "rheumatism." Regardless, he was able to garden for a hundred days to earn his keep. The other inmate of foreign birth, Thomas Forsyth, was an English cabinetmaker who had fallen on hard times. Since he was married, his crippled condition with "sore leg" must have been more than his wife could cope with, so he came to the poor farm. That his profession is acknowledged as well as his ability to read and write set him apart as one of the worthy poor.

Physical disability often brought the impoverished to the poorhouse, but mental disability did as well. The census categories of "insane" and "idiotic" covered a wide range of abilities and disabilities of mental illness and retardation. For example, the census taker listed one white teenage male as "simple" but then checked the column for "insane" rather than the one for "idiotic." Likewise, a thirty-one-year old black male was "partly insane." Were these paupers so profoundly retarded, as later-twentieth-century observers might have deemed them, that they were unable to care for themselves or do any work about the place? Brawley described both men as "idiots." Again, the term had a broad connotation in the

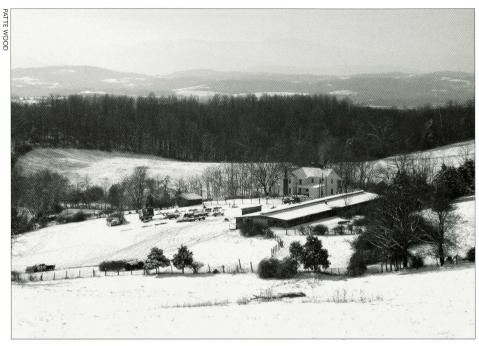


FIGURE 3
The Rockbridge Poor Farm site, circa 2005.

late nineteenth century, especially among lay observers, in contrast to the Binet-Simon scale developed in the early twentieth century to describe levels of retardation scientifically. By that measure, the lowest category, idiot, included anyone with the mental capacity of a two-year-old.²²

Superintendent Brawley seems to have developed his own ideas of mental abilities, based presumably on his practical knowledge of inmates during his long tenure. In his annual reports, he used the terms "simple," "idiot," and "crazy." How Brawley distinguished between those he called "simple" and those "not smart" is difficult to discern. Not all illiterates were characterized as "simple" or "not smart." Ability to work gives few clues, either. One "rather simple" thirty-year-old widow with a four-yearold daughter was able to do 200 days of "all kinds" of work and another "not smart" thirty-one-year-old woman labored for 300 days in the dairy and as a washerwoman. The tasks at which these women were put were certainly more labor-intensive than mentally challenging. Brawley's point in labeling them in his annual reports seems to have been motivated by a desire to assess the condition of the inmates. These women, in addition to lacking family support, suffered mental inabilities that were further proof that they were unable to take care of themselves and were thus also "worthy" of the county benevolence.

Also worthy through no fault of their own were those whom Brawley described as idiots. This term as he used it seems to indicate an inability to work. Neither the thirty-one-year-old Robert McClure, "colored," nor the nineteen-year-old William (Boo) Foundling, "white," worked during Brawley's tenure as superintendent.²³ McClure had been living at the poorhouse since at least 1870; Foundling made his first appearance in the 1880 records, but may have been born at the institution. Both men spent the rest of their lives at the poor farm, each dying well into his sixties.

Women listed as feeble-minded, however, posed a perplexing problem centering on their role as mothers. Rose Rhea first came to the Rockbridge County Poorhouse at the age of nineteen to deliver a daughter. When she returned with the seven-month-old baby the following winter, the superintendent noted that she was "retarded." Pregnant again a year later, she returned once again and gave birth to another daughter in February. That spring, the elder girl, then two, was taken to live with a woman in Roanoke; the newborn left with her mother in May. They were back for two months in July before another family took both in. Then in January, they abruptly returned, whereupon Rose was "taken under arrest and confined in Lexington for 90 days for cruelty to her child." What happened to her daughter is not clear, but she would have been bound out* at that point. The case certainly raises the question of Rose's fitness to be a mother.²⁵

Add to the question of fitness the problem of inherited imbecility. Lucy Turner, a young white woman, delivered a son in April 1901. Shortly after, she and the boy were taken by a county family. In 1903, however, they were returned to the poor farm, where Lucy remained until May 1914, when she was taken to the Virginia Colony for the Epileptic and Feebleminded, a recently established state asylum in Lynchburg. In the intervening years she gave birth to three and possibly four more children. The eldest was "given to Rev. Maybe[e] of Richmond," who ran the Children's Home Society and often accepted white children for placement through his agency. Another son went to a Rockbridge family and the third died at age three in 1915 after Lucy had left the poorhouse. Whether her conceptions were consensual or forced, the problem for the superintendent was how to stop her.²⁷

The mentally ill were another proposition altogether. Western State Hospital had been established (as Western Lunatic Hospital) in 1828 in Staunton, and superintendents of the poor regularly passed off difficult

^{* &}quot;Binding out" was the practice of placing children whose parents who were judged incapable of supporting them or bringing them up with families in the community that agreed to educate the children and teach them a trade or skills. Typically boys would remain with these foster families until age twenty-one and girls until eighteen.²⁴

inmates to this facility when they could. Four women from Rockbridge County, two white and two black, remained in the poorhouse for an average of three months before being transferred to the state hospital. Their children, when they had them, were sent to private homes in the county.²⁸

George Byrd, however, was a vexing problem. He was a single white male, about forty-eight. A carpenter by trade, Byrd was also literate. Brawley listed him simply as "crazy" and added the notation, "comes and goes at will." Whatever the nature of Byrd's supposed insanity, he must have been sufficiently harmless to himself and others for Brawley not to have taken a more aggressive tack by locking the fellow up. Nor did his condition apparently warrant his being sent to the state hospital in Staunton. Presumably, Byrd had family or some other means of sustaining himself when not at the poorhouse. As much as that behavior may have annoyed the superintendent, it was tolerated.²⁹

In many almshouses, long residency was commonplace. William Foundling was a long-standing member of the poorhouse community in Rockbridge County, living there until his death at age sixty-five in 1923. His age would indicate that he received tolerable care. The story of Boo Foundling's death, however, suggests a tragic accident compounded by lack of oversight at a critical moment. While his death certificate lists "apoplexy," the entry in the register tells another tale: "Billie Boo, white, 65. Died by falling from barn floor to feed room do [sic] supposed to have apoplexy on Jan 7th, 1923." That the keeper of the register felt compelled to get the story straight suggests that he wished to accord Foundling some measure of dignity in death. He would be buried on the farm in a grave marked only by a stake with a number on it.³²

Mary Alexander was another longtime member of the Rockbridge poorhouse community. She arrived with her ailing husband in 1891. He died within six months, and Mary remained until her own death some thirty-three years later. For many years she was the cook for her fellow inmates. In the end, she too, was buried on the farm.

Just exactly how well was Rockbridge County able to provide for its inmates? Superintendents across the commonwealth constantly juggled budgets in providing decent care for the indigent. While annual reports give some indication of spending, the quality of care is difficult to determine. Because expenses for both indoor and outdoor relief rose over time, one can argue that the county's response to its neediest citizens was positive rather than begrudging. For example, in Rockbridge County, the levy jumped from \$1,040.79 in 1880 to \$2,482.82 the next year. Since the levy was based on the previous year's expenses, the year 1880 must have been a turning point of sorts for the generosity of the board of supervisors toward the county poor. Superintendent Brawley also reported that

in 1881, a total of \$1,190.97 was spent at the poorhouse alone and an additional \$1,969.25 in the six county districts, with Lexington showing the sharpest increase in relief spending, at almost \$1,000. Medical care spending at the poorhouse was up as well, almost \$370 above the regular annual salary of \$100 paid to an attending physician. Brawley cited the "effects of extreme drought" as well as spending by the district overseers, "over which the Supt. has no control." Budget increases continued to rise, averaging \$3,725 a year over the decade, with most of the additional expense incurred for outdoor relief in the districts. Indoor relief at the poor farm itself leveled off at an average \$1,500 a year over the same period. Of that amount, \$500 was the superintendent's salary, \$100 was the physician's, and \$20 went to the clerk, who handled all the paperwork. The remaining \$880 would have paid the costs of running the farm and tending the inmates. Budget increases alone and additional and tending the inmates.

Adequacy of food never seemed to be an issue. Even in tight times, the farm ran a surplus and earned money from crops sold at market. Thanks to the garden, dairy, hogs, and often sheep, food for the inmates literally grew on the place.

Brawley died in 1881, and his successors tended to focus their remarks to the county board of supervisors on repairs and upkeep, rather than on specific needs of the inmates. On the other hand, costs incurred keeping the farm buildings and equipment in good order may have reflected the superintendents' desire to provide an orderly environment for the daily care and maintenance of the inmates.

James Alexander became superintendent after Brawley's death. Social work began to emerge as a profession around this time, but the success of a rural superintendent of the poor hinged on a man's ability to manage the farm, not on his ability to care for inmates. Those duties usually fell to the farmer's wife and family as well as to the paupers themselves, all of whom were required to work whenever able.

Alexander was not to have an easy time of it, especially when disaster struck in the fall of 1885. He strongly suspected arson in a fire that destroyed both the barn and the granary, and lamented in a long report to the board of supervisors:³⁵

The cost of maintaining the poor for the current year will probably cause a greater expenditure of money than the past year on account of the unfortunate and disastrous fire which occurred on the night of 29th Oct. last, completely destroying the barn & granary & the better part of their contents. And also on account of an epidemic (cholera) which is prevailing among the hogs.

Some of the cost of rebuilding and replacing lost equipment would be offset by an insurance policy the county had taken out. But the loss of hay, fodder, oats, wheat, and other crops was undeniably a harsh financial blow. Costs did rise that year, by about \$500, but Alexander managed to recoup about \$150 in market profit.³⁶ No mention is made in his annual report of how these events may have affected the inmates' care and quality of life. All we know is that the census remained remarkably stable, suggesting perseverance even in times of trouble.

Alexander oversaw the rebuilding of the barn. In 1887, however, his job was taken by S. W. Wilson, who wrote dolefully to the board of supervisors, describing the extraordinary expenses he had had to face in his first year. Referring to himself in the third person, Wilson speaks in the practical language of a bureaucrat:³⁷

He calls attention to the fact that the amount expended at the Place of General Reception was considerably greater than it should ordinarily be due to the fact that when he entered upon the duties of his office July 1, 1887, he did not find thereon any supplies of consequence except a small wheat and corn crop, the cholera having killed all the hogs on the farm except two.

The aftermath of the fire and hog epidemic continued to resonate. The new granary needed equipment as well. As if these maintenance issues weren't enough, the number of inmates spiked to sixty-five. The long-term residents were joined by a number of transient, single white males, as well as by pregnant women with small children and one rather large black family of eight.

Despite these stresses to the system, Superintendent Wilson managed to exert fiscal discipline. An act of the General Assembly relieved him of the duty of reporting outdoor relief in the six county districts. Accordingly, the levy for the poor farm itself dropped to \$760, with medical expenses of \$164.12. Most notably, the farm took in \$999.46, leaving the books in the black with a balance of \$56.78.38 Whether these managerial accomplishments pleased his superiors or not, Wilson was replaced in the early 1890s by H. A. Lackey. Lackey's short tenure saw decreasing rolls but increasing expenses, and he in turn was replaced in the mid-1890s by O. B. Dunlap.

Dunlap oversaw a period of remarkable prosperity at the farm, scrupulously documented in his annual reports. He detailed all the crops grown, those consumed on the farm, those sold for the benefit of the paupers, and a steady increase in value of livestock, which enabled a thriving dairy operation to supplement the income from hogs and crops. At the same time, the number of inmates was steadily rising. One particular cohort was the number of pregnant women, both single and married, who arrived at the poorhouse to deliver their children and then stayed on to recover. (They repaid their cost by spending time on domestic duty or



FIGURE 4 Poor Farm site, circa 2005.

farm chores.) Because a number of women returned for second and third births, the reputation of the poor farm in the poor community must have been positive, at least for lying-in.³⁹

What the county was willing to spend in medical fees gives us a better idea of how Rockbridge saw its collective responsibility toward its impoverished citizens. As the rolls show, physical and mental disability, not to mention accidents, often required the services of a doctor. Accordingly, county almshouses employed physicians, usually one, to attend the poor. Sometimes local doctors would "bid" for the position, stipulating an annual salary. The arrangement in Shenandoah County in 1884 was typical:⁴⁰

Appointed Dr. D.D. Caster as physician at the Beckford Parish for the year. For \$75 he will attend there once a week and attend all paupers within a 2½ mile radius of the almshouse. He's to provide all services and medicines.

Dr. Caster and his rural contemporaries did not have the benefit of pharmacies or druggists, as doctors in more urban centers often did. The medical profession at this time was more in the business of heroic therapeutics aimed at curing disease than the simple amelioration of symptoms. Physicians carried what was admittedly a limited pharmacopoeia of emetics, purgatives, sedatives, unguents, and the like in the ubiquitous doctor's satchel.

In addition to the designated physician to the poor, other doctors in the county paid numerous house calls on paupers — as the many medical bills submitted to the Rockbridge county board attest. For example, in 1885, the county spent \$613.48 on medical expenses, only about \$100 of which was for the county physician. The additional \$500 was distributed in the six districts. ⁴¹

In the panoply of services that local doctors provided, it is highly likely that they shared the increasing demand for obstetrics at the poorhouse with county midwives. At the time, physicians were usually called only if a birth proved troublesome. Nor did a doctor's presence ensure a successful outcome for mother or child. Babies nevertheless proved a steady business at the Rockbridge County Farm.

Between 1887 and 1910, seventeen black women and twenty-six white women delivered children at the farm. Three of the blacks and five whites returned to deliver second children, and in three cases, their third. The length of stay was slightly shorter for blacks than for whites, averaging three-and-a-half months per birth against four months. At the extremes, the maternal stays varied from two weeks to as much as several years.⁴²

The attraction of the almshouse for lying-in and birthing may be explained by the general fear of childbirth during the period. Women who could afford it preferred giving birth in their own homes with family gathered around. But for poor women, often on their own, the poorhouse offered the only certain medical help during delivery and nursing.

Rockbridge seemed to favor the mother over the child. Mary Miller successfully delivered a baby boy, Harry, in the winter of 1889. She returned with him two years later for a period of lying-in and, on June 19, she delivered another son, Jonathan, who died two months later. After another month, she and Harry were taken in by a local family. Allice Bryan's and Sally Hues's experiences were bleaker. Arriving at the almshouse in late 1898, Allice remained until she gave birth to a girl, Viola, on February 15. When the child died ten days later, Allice did not linger; she left the poor farm on March 1. On February 14, Sally Hues, a black woman, had delivered twins "born dead." Unlike Mary and Allice, Sally had not come to the institution until ten days before her delivery. Her status as a poor woman of color may well have jeopardized the pregnancy, if only by keeping her away from the institution until the last possible moment. In many of these cases, only the mothers and their children are recorded in

the register, suggesting that the women may have been unwed, which may have made the poorhouse attractive for birthing because social stigma weighed less heavily there in general.

Life on poverty's edge may also be seen in the case of one young mother's struggle to keep her family together. Rebecca Thompson, thirty-three, came to the Rockbridge institution for the first time with her two sons, ages five and two, on November 23, 1887. Although there was no state law regarding the status of children in the almshouse, the practice in Virginia was to find private homes for children who were five and older and who could not be supported by a parent. Accordingly, on December 12, Samuel, the five-year-old, was "taken by Trent Seibert to raise." 43

Also at the poorhouse at the time was a man named John Nuckols, eighty-five. He left in early December, but apparently not before coming to an understanding with Rebecca Thompson, whom he returned to marry on February 1, 1888. The marriage enabled her to leave the poorhouse and recover Samuel from the Sieberts. Rebecca appeared again three years later, in the spring of 1891, to deliver another son, Joseph. Both older boys were with her, and they all left together. In December 1894, she returned with Joseph and Samuel only and, in May 1895, delivered another boy, Walter. By then, she must have been a widow again, for Samuel now twelve, was again sent off, this time "taken by Andy Mines" in early January, less than a week after their arrival. A year later, Rebecca left with her two remaining boys and married Walter L. Harlow on May 6, 1896. In August, she and the boys returned for a week's stay at the farm, leaving when her husband came for them. By December, she was back again and delivered another son, Lewis, on January 12, 1897. The mother and three boys were joined by the father, who worked on the farm doing chores for two months in 1899. By this time, young Walter had reached the mandatory age of five, so he was "taken by H. M. Coffey" in May. Whether the family was able to retrieve him is unclear. The Harlows returned briefly in 1900 before disappearing from the rolls entirely, apparently to try to make a go of it in Clifton Forge. For a period of almost ten years, the Rockbridge poorhouse had offered a safety net of relief and obstetric services on which Rebecca, as well as many others, had come to depend.

If women were often in precarious positions, children were even more vulnerable. Without parents able to support them, they were, like Samuel Thompson, bound out in the local community or put up for adoption. Very young children, those under five, were most likely to be adopted as this document, dated March 4, 1871, testifies:⁴⁴

To the Honorable Judge of Rockbridge County Va:

The undersigned respectfully sets forth that she is the mother of a female child aged 13 mos. and being in straitened circumstances and unable to properly care for the same and having the opportunity of apprenticing the child, with a view to its adoption, I would respectfully ask the consent of the court to have the child bound out according to law to R.C. Walton.

Yours,

Rebecca J. Strickler X her mark

The document was prepared for the illiterate Rebecca, who seems to have acquiesced in the process in hopes of giving the little girl a better chance. Unwed mothers or recent widows such as Rebecca Thompson Nuckols had few options for their offspring. Those children without any parent or legal guardian could even be removed from the county. For example, in the early 1900s, the Rockbridge superintendent placed a number of white children with the Rev. Maybee of Richmond, who arranged adoptions through his organization, the Children's Home Society. 45

Such agencies were a hallmark of major changes afoot in the development of social welfare services across Virginia. Progressive Era reformers had begun to reexamine the role of institutions such as orphanages, jails, and almshouses. One such reformer took on a central role: the Reverend Joseph T. Mastin, a Methodist minister who arrived in Richmond in the 1890s to run the finances of the Methodist Orphanage Home. Dr. Mastin had a gift for fiscal discipline combined with an understanding of the problems facing the poor that he had developed during his years of circuit riding around the state. He was convinced that orphanages should be replaced by foster care, that jails ought to be replaced by work farms for the reclamation of juvenile delinquents, and that the poorhouses simply needed to go. He believed that establishing institutions to address specific physical and mental conditions was a more appropriate means of aiding indigent citizens than the catchall county almshouse. Sanatoriums for the tubercular, colonies for the epileptic and feeble-minded, and schools for the deaf and blind would get at the root causes of poverty and alleviate them, he said. County almshouses would become obsolete. The portion of the community not served, namely the old and infirm, would be brought together in new, consolidated institutions known as district homes, operated on a quasi-hospital model that provided the typical medical needs of the elderly.

Mastin's proposed realignment of social services promised to relieve counties of the expense of running almshouses — as well as cash from the sale of the poorhouse property. Counties faced with decreasing numbers



FIGURE 5

Main Poor Farm house — the superintendent's home — as it stands today.

in their almshouses found the state's arguments for closing them appealing. District Homes would be situated in existing congressional districts. While the state had no authority to compel counties to abandon their almshouses, the General Assembly had enacted a consolidation law in 1918 making the district home concept a viable one. 46 The Department of Public Welfare, which grew out of the original Board of Charities and Corrections, then launched a campaign to persuade the counties to abandon their poorhouses in favor of district homes. Despite the strength of the argument on both humane and financial grounds, it would be another eight years before the first consolidation occurred (in Northern Virginia). Rockbridge County joined with others in the Tenth Congressional District in the second consolidation, in 1927.

While the decade from 1910 to 1920 had witnessed a number of physical improvements at the Rockbridge facility — notably, running water and toilets in the dormitory buildings — the inmate population declined to an average of twenty-six per year, down from thirty to forty in the late nineteenth century. The farm continued to pay its own way and was described by state visitors as "practically self-sustaining." ⁴⁷ By the time the county closed its poorhouse, the census had dropped to only nine. Long-term residents who had made the institution their home, such as

"Boo" Foundling and Mary Alexander, died in the early 1920s. The value of the land itself and the quality of nursing care that would be offered by a prospective new facility became serious considerations.

The Valley consolidation in which Rockbridge participated was spearheaded by Augusta County's board of supervisors, which, in May 1926, made initial inquiries of the Department of Public Welfare. In June, an agent from the department briefed six potential partner governments: the counties of Albemarle, Alleghany, Augusta, Bath, and Rockbridge, together with the city of Charlottesville, which joined the consortium just before the opening of the institution. Each participant was to make a capital outlay based on its population in the census of 1920. By that measure, Rockbridge was responsible for 20 percent of the overall cost, Augusta for 33 percent, and Albemarle for 26 percent. Bath and Alleghany came in at 6 percent and 15 percent, respectively. Initially estimated at \$40,000, the project costs soared by more than double, to \$83,125, by the time the Waynesboro home opened. The price escalated because the state estimate had been based on the purchase of a fifty-acre farm for about \$5,000, but the participants chose to buy a choice parcel of 145 acres in Waynesboro, intending to guarantee that the farm would remain self-sustaining in the long run. 48 Albemarle and Augusta bore the brunt of the financial burden, but Rockbridge County contributed \$15,185 to the enterprise, just about the amount at which the county poor farm was then valued.

The Waynesboro institution's first inmates entered on October 15, 1927.⁴⁹ Rockbridge County's share of the first-year operating expenses was \$2,808.96, a figure about \$1,000 more than the cost of running the poorhouse the previous year. But by then, that property had been rented out to defray the capital expenses of the district home; it would be sold at auction in the fall of 1928. There was no looking back.⁵⁰

Charles Brawley, O. B. Dunlap, and a succession of superintendents of the poor served the county of Rockbridge well. All were good farmers and managers. While they may have been astute judges of pauper character and humane providers of care, they were not trained as social workers. The late nineteenth century saw major changes in poor policy, with progressive reformers at the state level advocating county public welfare departments staffed by professionals. Poorhouses and the connotations they carried were to be replaced by district homes, foster care, mothers' aid, and services based on solid case-management techniques. Rockbridge County's poorhouse, a fixture for ninety-eight years, gave way in the face of these modern initiatives.

On August 17, 2009, Mary Ellen Henry died after a ten-year battle with multiple myeloma — three weeks after she put the finishing touches on this article. None of us knew that she suffered from anything other than a bounty of energy, ideas, and humor. She was quick to respond to queries, unfailingly agreeable, and in complete command of her material. Working with her was an editor's delight.

— Bob Keefe

Notes

From 1829 forward, Virginia state government required counties and cities to report annually on expenditures for the poor in their jurisdictions. Those records are in the Library of Virginia, referenced as LV in these notes, under Reports to the General Auditor, Overseers of the Poor. Catalogued by year, the reports are not necessarily complete for any given county or city.

- LV, Overseers of the Poor, Annual Reports to the General Auditor, Ledger 1897, Highland County, June 30, 1897.
- 2 *Ibid.* The term was used on forms issued by the auditor for counties and cities to report how much money each jurisdiction allocated for its poor citizens.
- 3 Eighth Census of the United States, Rockbridge County.
- 4 LV, Overseers of the Poor, Annual Reports to the General Auditor, Box 1945, Rockbridge County, November 30, 1878.
- Barbara Bellows, *Benevolence Among Slaveholders: Assisting the Poor in Charleston,* 1670-1860 (Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, 1993) p. 19. See also Marcus Wilson Jeregan, "The Development of Poor Relief in Colonial Virginia," in *Compassion and Responsibility: Readings in the History of Social Welfare Policy in the United States*, Frank R. Bruel and Steven J. Diner, eds. (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1980), pp. 36-53.
- Robert Hudson Kirkwood, "Fit Surroundings": District Homes Replace Almshouses in Virginia (Department of Public Welfare, Richmond, 1948), p. 6. Kirkwood suggests that the direct election of overseers of the poor, i.e., placing "the entire system of poor relief into a realm of partisan politics" (p. 25) was a cause for inadequate administration of the poorhouses. His argument points to the inability of untrained officialdom to meet the needs of the poor, sick, and elderly in any meaningful way. Training did not replace community status as a criterion for dispensing poor relief until the Progressive Era and the professionalization of welfare workers.
- 7 This designation appears on the reports of the Overseers of the Poor to the General Auditor instituted in 1829.
- David J. Rothman, *The Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic* (Little Brown, Boston, 1971) presents the story of benevolent reform during these years, while Michael B. Katz, *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse* (Basic Books, New York, 1986) specifically addresses the development of the poorhouse, outlining the arguments for establishing local institutions.
- 9 Map of an Inclusive Survey of the County Farm, Deed Book Q, 342, Rockbridge County Courthouse.
- 10 Staunton News Leader, April 13,1903, p. 3.

- 11 Meghan E. Steele, "In the Shadow of the Poor House: The Poor Women of Rockbridge County Virginia, 1870-1930," coursework presentation at Randolph-Macon College, Ashland (2001).
- 12 LV, Rockbridge County Circuit Court Records.
- 13 LV, First Annual Report of the State Board of Charities and Corrections (Super-intendent of Public Printing, Richmond, 1908), pp. 86-87.
- 14 One local historian described the county population at war's end as "a colored laboring class nearly one third as numerous as the white population." Oren F. Morton, *A History of Rockbridge County Virginia* (McClure Co. Inc., Staunton, Virginia, 1920), p. 139. By 1910, that percentage had decreased dramatically to "sixteen percent of the population" (Morton, p.146).
- 15 Second Annual Report of the State Board of Charities and Corrections (Superintendent of Public Printing, Richmond, 1910), pp. 168-69.
- 16 Third Annual Report of the State Board of Charities and Corrections (Superintendent of Public Printing, Richmond, 1911), p. 65.
- 17 Fourth Annual Report of the State Board of Charities and Corrections (Superintendent of Public Printing, Richmond, 1912), p. 66.
- 18 LV, Rockbridge County Records, Rockbridge County Register of Paupers, 1881-1924, pp. 1-3.
- 19 Mary Ellen Henry, "Neglected in Freedom," unpublished paper, American Historical Society conference (January 6, 2001).
- 20 Tenth Census of the United States.
- 21 LV, Annual Reports of the Overseer of the Poor, Box 1945, Rockbridge County, November 30, 1878.
- 22 State Board of Charities and Corrections, *Mental Defectives in Virginia* (Superintendent of Public Printing, Richmond, 1915), pp. 8-10.
- 23 The 1880 caretaker lists William Foundling as nine, but subsequent census data and his approximate age of sixty-two when he died in 1923 indicate he was probably nineteen or twenty in 1880.
- 24 Harriet Tynes, "The History of Poor Relief Legislation in Virginia, 1776-1930" (University of Chicago, master's degree thesis, 1932), p. 34.
- 25 Rockbridge County Register of Paupers, 1881-1924, p. 4.
- 26 See Steven Noll, Feeble-Minded in Our Midst: Institutions for the Mentally Retarded in the South, 1900-1940 (University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1995) and James W. Trent Jr., Inventing the Feeble Mind: A History of Mental Retardation in the United States (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1994) on the development of eugenics theory in the period. The notion of inherited idiocy coalesced during the 1880s and 1890s, finally achieving widespread acceptance in the early twentieth century. That development in turn prompted such state action as the establishment of the Feeble-Minded Colony in 1914 and laws to prevent the marriage of persons so designated.
- 27 Rockbridge County Register of Paupers, 1881-1924, p. 11. See also Noll, *Feeble-Minded in Our Midst*, pp. 11-26, on the development of institutions in Virginia.
- 28 Rockbridge County Register of Paupers, pp. 1-16.

- 29 LV, Annual Reports of the Overseers of the Poor, Box 1954, Rockbridge County, July 25, 1880; Rockbridge County Register of Paupers, 1881-1924; Tenth Census of the United States, Rockbridge County, June 16, 1880.
- 30 LV, Rockbridge County Records, Rockbridge County Register of Paupers, 1881-1924, loose papers pressed between pages.
- 31 Ibid., p. 206.
- 32 Interview with Mack McCrowell, August 15, 2001. Mr. McCrowell, owner of the former poor farm property at the time he was interviewed, recalled that a number of wooden posts marked fifty to sixty graves. Presently overgrown and inaccessible by vehicle, the graveyard is located beyond the public road on the next hill over to the south of the main house and at the end of the visible pasture. Mr. McCrowell's grandmother, Mrs. E. F. A. Champagne, purchased the farm for \$11,800 from the county through her son and agent, O. M. McCrowell, when it was put up for auction in September 1928. The farm had been rented before the sale.
- 33 Rockbridge County Records, Rockbridge County Register of Paupers, 1881-1924, pp. 1-16; LV, Annual Reports to the General Auditor from the Overseers of the Poor, unnumbered box, Rockbridge County, June 30, 1881.
- 34 *Ibid.*, Box 1945, Rockbridge County, June 30, 1878; Box 1953, August 30, 1879; Box 1954, July 25, 1880; unnumbered box, June 30, 1881; Ledger 1877-85, August 15, 1885; Ledger 1884-88, October 30, 1886, and June 30, 1887; Ledger 1888-89, June 30, 1888, and June 30, 1889.
- 35 Ibid., Ledger 1884-88, Rockbridge County, October 30, 1886.
- 36 Ibid., Rockbridge County, June 30, 1887.
- 37 *Ibid.*, Ledger 1888-89, Rockbridge County, June 30, 1888.
- 38 Ibid., Rockbridge County, June 30, 1889.
- 39 Henry, "Neglected in Freedom."
- 40 LV, Shenandoah County Records, Board of Supervisors minutes, 1884-96, November 24, 1884.
- 41 LV, Annual Reports to the General Auditor, Overseers of the Poor, Ledger 1877-85, Rockbridge County, August 15, 1885.
- 42 LV, Rockbridge County Records, Register of Paupers at the Rockbridge County Poorhouse, 1881-1924.
- 43 *Ibid.*, p. 1.
- 44 *Ibid.*, loose papers in the Register.
- 45 *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 14-15.
- 46 Arthur W. James, *The Public Welfare Function in Virginia* (State Department of Public Welfare, Richmond, 1934), p. 64.
- 47 LV, Report of the State Board of Charities and Corrections, First to Ninth, 1908-1917, (Superintendent of Public Printing Richmond).
- 48 Arthur W. James, *The Disappearance of the County Almshouse in Virginia: Back from Over the Hill* (State Board of Public Welfare, Richmond, 1926), pp. 40-42.
- 49 James, Public Welfare Function, pp. 66-75.
- 50 Ibid., pp. 70-73.

An Extraordinary Woman: Sally McDowell Of Col Alto

Thomas E. Buckley, S.J.

OME OF YOU may be wondering how a Jesuit priest who teaches church history in a school of theology in California ever got involved with the nineteenth-century woman who, before the Civil War, owned the historic house known as Col Alto. Let me explain how I met her.

About twenty years ago, I was working on a book on church-state relations in Virginia. In the course of my investigations, I stumbled over divorce. As Yogi Berra said, when you come to the fork in the road, take it.

While working my way through the boxes in the petition collection at the Library of Virginia, checking out requests for Sabbath laws, the incorporation of churches, chaplains in the state legislature, and so forth, I kept running into petitions from men and women asking the General Assembly to grant them a divorce.

That amazed me. From the Revolution until the mid-nineteenth century, people went to the legislature — not the court — to obtain a divorce.

What kind of issue is divorce in a society that claims to separate church and state? Is it religious, moral, legal, or some combination of these? I became fascinated by the stories these documents told about people's lives and struggles. So I put the church-state book on a back burner and concentrated instead on divorce. The petitions are wonderful documents, each in its own folder with accompanying affidavits from family and friends as well as other information. Sometimes a single file holds more than a hundred pages. Each person had his or her own story to tell, and the stories cut across lines of race, religion, class, and gender. Most divorce petitions detail tragedies — adultery, abuse, incest, alcoholism, and the like.



Sally McDowell

Every possible human problem is there in the record. Clearly, we moderns haven't invented anything.

From the petition collection, the legislature's journals, and the books and newspapers of the time, I could put together most of the story of legislature divorce. Yet for all the hair-raising stories, the divorce petitions were public records. They did not necessarily reveal the private feelings of the inner person. To get at that experience, I needed something more personal.

And then I discovered the McDowell Family Papers in the University of Virginia's Alderman Library. They had only been recently opened to researchers. Civil War historians had used some of the wartime correspondence with permission, but I think it is safe to say that no one had ever read through the boxes of family papers, and especially a trove of letters between Sally McDowell and John Miller. I had found the story I needed for the last chapter of the book on legislative divorce.¹

In addition to Sally and John, I met a whole family and read its mail. Parents and siblings, aunts, uncles, and cousins provided the context for this extraordinary woman whose baptismal name was Sally Campbell Preston McDowell. Sally was the daughter of James McDowell and Susanna (or Susan) Smith Preston. The McDowells and the Prestons were among the first families to move into the Shenandoah Valley in the eighteenth century, part of the Scots-Irish migration from Ulster to America. Sally's grandfather, James McDowell (1770-1835), owned Cherry Grove Plantation, south of Fairfield in Rockbridge County, and was county sheriff. His son, James McDowell Jr., was born in 1795 and educated first at Washington College and then at Yale before graduating from the College of New Jersey, now Princeton University, in 1817. The next year, he married his first cousin, Susan Preston. The newlyweds initially lived in Kentucky, but, in 1823, moved back to Rockbridge, where James began construction of Col Alto.

In 1831, James McDowell launched his career in state government as a member of the House of Delegates. He served off and on as a delegate

and, in 1842, was elected governor, a position he held for the next three years. Shortly after leaving the governorship, he became a member of the U.S. House of Representatives, in which he served until his death on August 24, 1851.

McDowell was a progressive Democrat. He broke with many in his party in his opposition to nulThomas E. Buckley, S.J., is professor of modern Christian history at the Jesuit School of Theology and the Graduate Theological Union in Berkeley, California. He earned his Ph.D. from the University of California at Santa Barbara and is the author of "If You Love That Lady Don't Marry Her": The Courtship Letters of Sally McDowell and John Miller, 1854-1856 (Missouri, 2000). Father Buckley delivered this paper at Col Alto on July 25, 2005.

lification in 1833. Though a slaveholder, he favored a program of gradual emancipation and spoke out boldly in 1838 in favor of reconciliation between abolitionists and the advocates of slavery. As governor, he strongly advocated a statewide system of public education, but a conservative legislature rejected his proposal.

James and Susan McDowell raised a family of nine children, two boys and seven girls, at Col Alto. Their letters reveal a loving, companionable marriage, with a close-knit family and a deep religious faith rooted in their Presbyterian church. To read their correspondence is to realize that husband and wife respected each other as equal partners. For extended periods of time while James held political office or looked after family properties in Kentucky and Mississippi, Susan McDowell man-

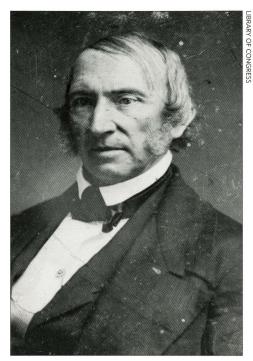


FIGURE 2 James McDowell, Sally's father. Daguerreotype by Mathew B. Brady, after 1844.

aged Col Alto and the ever-expanding family by herself.

Sally, the couple's eldest daughter, was a prime concern even when money was tight. In December 1835, Susan McDowell wrote to her husband urging that Sally be sent to Washington, D.C., to complete her education: "This is the seed time with our elder children, which will never return." James McDowell evidently agreed, for the next month Sally went to live with Aunt and Uncle Benton — James McDowell's sister, Elizabeth, and her husband, Thomas Hart Benton, senator from Missouri. Other relatives were close at hand, and the letters reveal the blessings, and sometimes challenges, of a large extended family. Among these relatives were another of James McDowell's sisters, married to William Taylor, a Virginia congressman from Rockbridge (whom James would eventually succeed), and one of Susan's sisters, the wife of the Rev. Robert Jefferson Breckinridge, pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church in Baltimore and a major force in Presbyterian circles.

Like most members of Congress at the time, the Bentons lived in a Capital Hill boarding house and ate in a common dining room with the other residents. One of Sally's dining companions was Francis Thomas, a bachelor congressman from Maryland, twenty years her senior.

Sally's letters to her parents describe the adventures of a young woman coming of age. During her first year in Washington, tutors provided her education. Lessons in French and dancing and the guitar were followed by trips to Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York. After a year with the Bentons, she moved to the Georgetown Female Seminary for more formal coursework, and her younger sister, Mary, joined her there. Sally liked her studies and developed what she called "a penchant . . . for metaphysics." She warned her family, "I think I will soon begin to do, think, and say everything abstractly."

Much of her education took place outside the classroom, however, and it transformed the country girl. Some experiences were jarring. Shortly after her arrival, Uncle Benton took her to a theater, where Sally found herself almost mortally embarrassed by the vulgarity and low level of the comedy. "I never in all my life felt as uncomfortable," she wrote to her mother. "If I am ever caught in a Theatre again to see a comedy, it will certainly be when I'm fast asleep." In reality, however, she wanted to see everything. Watching a circus parade on the street, she had to crane her neck to view the elephant ridden by several men.

At a splendid White House reception, Senator Benton introduced Sally as his "neice" [sic], and she became an instant sensation. Friends of her father came up to introduce themselves. She met the "Genrl" — Andrew Jackson — who presented her to "the royal family," as she wrote. Vice President Martin Van Buren (the "Little Magician") squired her about for an hour and made her feel "queenly going through the crowded room." It was a heady experience. She wrote to her mother about that evening: "The whole was a fairyland upon earth — a combination of enchantment, — The variety, glitter, beauty, [and] exquisite taste of the lady's dresses. — The brilliancy of the chandeliers. The politeness, kindness and attention of the gentlemen — all seemed to make the enchantment more enchanting." She clearly loved Washington, and the political arena of Congress fascinated her.

During Sally's years in Washington, one gentleman paid her particular attention. When she left the Benton home to move to the Georgetown Female Seminary, Francis Thomas, her erstwhile Capitol Hill dining companion, gave her a "handsome book of engravings . . . as a kind of memento." Sally was "glad," she wrote, "to find that there are some persons in this world who, besides my own relations, desire to 'have a place in my memory.'" By the time she returned to Col Alto, Thomas had become what Aunt Eliza Benton called Sally's "old friend." But more than friendship had developed. When Sally finished her formal education and

left the capital in 1839, Thomas began an earnest courtship of the impressionable young woman, and Sally responded. A glamorous life in Washington appealed much more than quiet retirement at Col Alto.

Sally's infatuation with Thomas alarmed James and Susan McDowell. When the politician came to Lexington to press his suit, Susan wrote her husband that "the sound of his voice . . . rings through my ears as a death bell to all my fondly cherished hopes." She preferred an encounter with "a rattlesnake" to an interview with the Maryland congressman. Fearing that Thomas's overly serious, suspicious person-

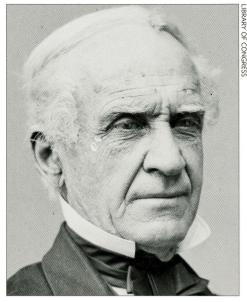


FIGURE 3 Francis Thomas, c. 1860

ality would produce an unhappy marriage, Sally's parents did not approve of the match. But ultimately they yielded to their eldest daughter's wishes, and, on June 8, 1841, shortly after her twentieth birthday, Sally married Francis Thomas at Col Alto.

The couple lived in Frederick, Maryland. Before the summer ended, Sally had begun to realize the enormity of her error. During the courtship period — perhaps as a carrot to Sally and the McDowell family — Thomas had invited Sally's cousin and childhood friend, Robert Taylor, to join his law firm in Frederick. Now, as Taylor joined the newlyweds in their parlor, the two cousins laughed and talked animatedly while a silent Thomas glowered from a distance. Jealous to the point of paranoia, Francis repeatedly accused Sally of improper behavior, and finally forced her to charge Taylor with making amorous overtures, a charge that both cousins knew was false. A bewildered, angry Taylor quit the firm and retired to Virginia.

But Sally's situation only grew worse. Thomas's jealousy simply shifted to other men whom Sally might encounter. When one of his own relatives, Dr. William Tyler of Frederick, a physician in his fifties with a wife and grown children, came to treat Sally for a tooth and gum infection, the friendly banter between doctor and patient convinced the congenitally suspicious husband that they were sexually intimate. Thomas was particularly watchful of his wife's conduct at dinner parties and social gather-

ings. After such events, his wild accusations and angry outbursts left Sally increasingly despondent and frightened. Repeatedly, Thomas threatened to send her home to Lexington. Then his whole manner would suddenly change, and he would beg forgiveness for his behavior and promise to change. Instead, his tirades escalated with each new episode.

In September, while Thomas was off campaigning for governor, Sally suffered a miscarriage. When he returned home, he accused her of deliberately aborting a child conceived with her cousin. Yet he pledged absolute forgiveness if she would only admit her sinful conduct. Desperate for some measure of domestic peace, she finally yielded to his bullying, only to experience utter rejection. When she immediately retracted her confession, Thomas flew into a violent rage. Isolated in Maryland and reluctant to inform her parents or family of her traumatic situation, Sally McDowell Thomas became, within six months of her marriage, an emotionally battered wife.

Thomas won the governorship, and the couple's final private crisis occurred shortly after his inauguration on January 3, 1842. They had lived in Maryland's Government House for only about a week when, in another jealous frenzy, Thomas summoned Elizabeth McDowell Benton to Annapolis to hear his charges against her niece. Returning quickly to Washington, she explained the situation to her husband and to Senator William Preston of South Carolina, another of Sally's uncles. Springing to their niece's defense, the family patriarchs informed her parents of Thomas's "derangement." This time, his predictable change of heart came too late. James and Susanna McDowell rushed to Baltimore on the train, scooped up their daughter over their son-in-law's frantic objections, and brought her home to Col Alto. The collapse of her marriage humiliated Sally Thomas deeply, and she withdrew into her protective family circle.

Governor Thomas did not endure the separation quietly. He attacked his estranged wife in the press and public conversations, accusing her of adultery with assorted men. Periodically he wrote Sally or her father, who was now Virginia's governor, insisting on a personal interview and demanding redress for his grievances, or alternatively, begging that she return to him and let the past be forgotten. On one extraordinary occasion, Thomas traveled through the Valley of Virginia, ostensibly to visit Sally at Col Alto. At a coach stop in Staunton, he encountered his father-in-law returning home from Richmond. For an awful moment, it seemed that the mortal enemies might be sharing a stage. After they traded harsh words and McDowell attacked Thomas with his umbrella, bystanders intervened. But the violent exchange between the chief executives of neighboring states created a public sensation. An outraged Thomas swore vengeance, and his public attacks on the McDowells culminated in a fifty-two

page pamphlet, vividly recounting the imagined crimes that his wife and certain of her relatives and friends had committed against him.

Until now, Sally had been unwilling to consider divorce because the public nature of the legislative process promised massive embarrassment. She dreaded the exposure, despite the cogent arguments of her father and others that only such action could both vindicate her character and free her legally from any claims Thomas might make against her. But the "Statement of Francis Thomas," published in 1845, persuaded her to act, and she began composing a narrative of her marital troubles to be presented as part of a divorce petition to the Virginia legislature.

After a Richmond court verified her version of events, the assembly speedily approved a divorce bill in the early days of 1846 and, in an extraordinary move, even restored her maiden name. The next month, in response to a petition from their former governor, legislators in Annapolis followed suit.

Henceforth, she would be styled as "Mrs. McDowell." The "Mrs." branded her a divorcée. Though her situation as the injured party brought widespread sympathy from the "enlightened and virtuous," it made no essential difference in her social status. Prejudice against divorce fixed her reputation. One Virginia legislator remarked, after noting all she had suffered at Thomas's hands: "How deplorable her condition. So young and with such prospects to have such a destiny." The stigma she bore as a divorced woman became intrinsic to her identity in Southern society. No wonder then, that from the very beginning of her marital separation, Sally retired from social life. Apart from a single visit to some relatives in nearby Fincastle, she remained at Col Alto, with her mother as her only confidant. She rejected her father's pleas that she join him in the Executive Mansion in Richmond, and refused her Uncle William Preston's invitations to visit her kin in South Carolina. Years passed before she was willing to leave Lexington.

Meanwhile, her former husband continued his attacks on several fronts, with increasingly reckless behavior. His bizarre charges against ever-changing targets destroyed his credibility along with what had once been a promising political career. Over the years, a growing number of Marylanders came to regard Thomas as an embarrassment. Polite society increasingly ostracized him. Seemingly undaunted by public disapproval, Thomas continued his assaults until finally his lawyers refused to represent him any longer. Their client, they explained, was the victim of massive delusions.

Though she emerged victorious, those traumatic years had extracted an enormous emotional price from Sally. Her courtship letters a decade later demonstrate its impact. The publicity surrounding Thomas's charg-



FIGURE 4 Col Alto, 1902.

es and the divorce made her name a household word and gave her a notoriety she despised. Then her mother died in the autumn of 1847, leaving Sally, at age twenty-six, the guardian of her youngest sister, Lilly, and the manager of Col Alto — for her father was now a United States congressman. Shortly after his gubernatorial term ended, the Virginia assembly had elected him to replace his recently deceased brother-in-law, William Taylor. Following her mother's death, Sally experienced an intense religious rebirth that strengthened her Presbyterian faith, gave fresh meaning to her life, and left her with a deep awareness of her new responsibilities. With her father immersed in politics and her older brother, James, a physician in St. Louis, she oversaw the plantation and cared for her younger sisters and brother. Then, when her father died unexpectedly in 1851, Sally became the functional head of her family, even to the extent of buying Col Alto from her siblings.

This was, after all, the sensible, practical thing to do. Col Alto was her home, and she could manage the farm through an overseer. She had no future elsewhere. Though Frank Thomas periodically annoyed her with letters proposing reconciliation, Sally usually returned them unopened, on the advice of her uncle, Virginia Governor John Floyd. For emotional support and encouragement, she depended upon her sisters and brothers; an extensive network of aunts, uncles and other relations; and a wide

circle of trusted friends, male and female. Some, such as her "Cousin John" Preston and his wife, "Cousin Sally," lived close by in Lexington. There she was a familiar, welcome presence in the town's parlors, stores, and Presbyterian Church.

She managed Col Alto carefully and capably. Her siblings looked to her for advice and direction. In sum, by the time she approached her mid-thirties, Sally McDowell had achieved a respected position in antebellum society. Throughout the tragedy of her early adulthood she had maintained her dignity; now, as the innocent victim of a deranged husband who had robbed her maidenhood and destroyed her prospects for marital happiness, she emerged as an icon for her extended family and the upper strata of Southern womanhood.

Into this carefully managed, emotionally controlled world strolled John Miller in the summer of 1854. Pastor of the Arch Street Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia and a widower with two young children, he was on vacation at the Alum Springs, near Goshen in northwest Rockbridge County. They had known each other in Frederick when he was pastor there. Now, on the path up to the house, John proposed a courtship.

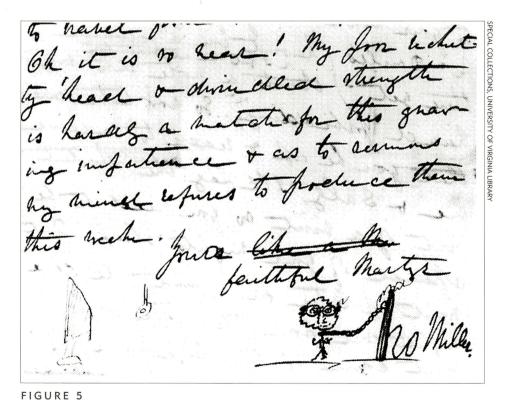
Sally was horrified. No divorced woman could entertain the prospect of remarriage as long as her first husband was alive. But John disagreed, and he was persistent. Dark-haired, slightly built, and of medium height, perhaps even a mite shorter than Sally, he was physically unimposing. But he was animated, intelligent, witty, and emotionally committed. He was descended from a distinguished Presbyterian family; his father, Samuel Miller, had formed, along with Archibald Alexander of Lexington, the first faculty at Princeton Theological Seminary when it was organized in 1812.

Though Sally initially rebuffed the proffered courtship, the letters soon began, at first hesitant, cautious, and extremely proper. Over months and years, however, they gradually expanded into intimate explorations of their evolving relationship and the problems their love entailed. They met only a few brief times. More than three hundred miles apart, they spoke to each other through their pens, sometimes as often as five and six times a week. They exchanged all the thoughts and emotions one would expect of a couple in love, but the age, background, and intelligence of the correspondents give the letters extraordinary depth and maturity.²

Sally McDowell and John Miller also faced an unusual concern in mid-nineteenth century America. The "moral question," as they styled it, surfaces repeatedly in their letters. McDowell's divorce bill left her legally free to remarry, but she questioned whether she was morally free to do so during Thomas's lifetime. Equally important in her mind, could she marry a man whose ministry might be jeopardized by his relationship

with her? Miller dismissed her concerns, but she proved prescient when leaders in his congregation ultimately forced his resignation over the issue. Finally, their families and close friends found the prospect of her remarriage socially worrisome and warned against it. What the law allowed, society and propriety forbade. One of John's relatives told him when she learned he was wooing Sally, "If you love that Lady, don't marry her." In other words, marrying her would destroy her reputation.

Perhaps the most interesting dimension of their correspondence is found in its portrayal of gender relations among elite women and men in the mid-nineteenth century. Sally McDowell's letters offer the unusual feminist perspective of a divorcée whose single status left her free to manage her own affairs and responsible for the care of family and slaves. Yet she lived in a society that regarded women as essentially dependent, and divorced women as tainted goods. Though in many respects John Miller's attitudes and values were thoroughly traditional, he nevertheless honored Sally's independence, respected her judgment, and sought in marriage not dominance but a companion and soul-mate. His letters bristled with emotion, while her responses were more guarded. Constantly reaffirming his undying passion and begging her response, Miller slowly wore



"Your faithful martyr" — letter from John Miller to Sally McDowell

down McDowell's defenses. As she probed her own inner world of love and rejection, her letters proved a cathartic experience through which she gradually overcame the limitations imposed by a patriarchal society, her recurrent depression, and, most important, the anxieties resulting from her first marriage and the stigma she bore from the divorce. Eventually, she matched in intensity his own emotional expression, and then prevailed over his fears for her social position. Her self-revelations ultimately led to their marriage at Col Alto on November 3, 1856.

Following a leisurely journey to visit Miller's friends and relations, the newlyweds settled at Col Alto. He transferred easily into the Presbytery of Lexington and ministered on alternating Sundays to congregations in nearby villages. He also assumed responsibility for overseeing 500 acres and six slaves. Letters to his brother demonstrate a newfound happiness. His children now had a mother again, and over the next years they welcomed four new sisters and brothers.

Though Abraham Lincoln's 1860 election sent rumbles through the Old Dominion, the Millers, like many of their neighbors, initially opposed secession. But after Fort Sumter and Lincoln's call for troops to suppress the rebellion, the Millers followed, in Sally's words, "our natural and proper allegiance" and went with Virginia. From his Fairfield congregation Miller recruited a company of soldiers that eventually became the Second Rockbridge Artillery. He later served as an army chaplain and then accepted a pastorate at Second Presbyterian in Petersburg, where he found himself during the siege. One member of his congregation was Charles Scott Venable, Robert E. Lee's military aide, and the husband of Sally's sister, Cantey.

During the war, Sally and the children found a new home in Lexington, and in 1864 the Millers sold Col Alto. The new owners were James Massie, a professor at the Virginia Military Institute, and his wife, Sophanisba McDowell Massie, known as Nib, who was another of Sally's sisters. After the war, Miller purchased a farm near Petersburg with a "genteel" house and brought his family from Lexington. When Nib died in 1870, Sally came to Lexington for the funeral and wrote to John that "the glory of the McDowell has passed for ever" from Col Alto.

Miller resigned his Petersburg charge the following spring, and the family moved north to Princeton, where he invested his time in theological writing and ministering to various congregations in the area. While supporting her husband's work, Sally reared her children to adulthood, involved herself in church activities and charities, and wrote articles and poetry for newspapers and journals. Her last major effort, for which she had begun research four decades earlier, was an extended history of her father's political career. Over the decades of her marriage, her values had

deepened, not changed. As she wrote in 1886 to a nephew, extraordinary "vicissitude & agitation" had marked her life, yet she had personally experienced and could proclaim "God's wisdom & goodness." She and John had found that wisdom and goodness, especially in their marriage.

John and Sally Miller shared almost forty years of married life. John died first, on Easter Sunday, April 14, 1895, at the age of seventy-six. Ignoring a cold, he had been out in typical fashion, ministering to one of his congregations, when he developed pneumonia. He was buried beneath a gravestone of his own design: a huge white cross on which was inscribed the central tenets of his theological writing. The tributes at his death emphasized his kindliness, generosity, and love for the poor. Sally herself wrote of the loss of her "dear husband."

One week later, she died. After a service in which the president, the dean, and a professor from Princeton College eulogized her as an exemplar of Christian life, she was buried next to John. Though her passing was completely unexpected, an old friend, William Henry Ruffner, found in this final linkage of husband and wife "a beautiful fitness." As another friend wrote, "in few families are the relation of husband, father, wife & child so intimate, so tender and loving."

Notes

- 1 Thomas E Buckley, S.J.: *The Great Catastrophe of My Life: Divorce in the Old Dominion* (University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 2002).
- 2 Thomas E Buckley, S.J.: "If You Love That Lady, Don't Marry Her": The Courtship Letters of Sally McDowell and John Miller, 1854-1856 (University of Missouri Press, Columbia, 2000).

Virginia Race Records, Mormon Priesthood, And Indian Identity

Ruth Knight Bailey

Indians in Virginia's Racial Records, 1670-1963

N THE YEAR 1670, the English colony of Virginia decided to classify American Indians as free people of color. Later, in 1705, a colonial law stated that descendants of any Indian "should be deemed, accounted, held and taken to be mulatto." By 1793, Virginia required all free colored people to register with the state or else be sold into slavery or jailed. The remoteness of the Blue Ridge Mountains, however, made it possible for some people to be unaware of the registration requirements or to avoid visits from the sheriff. Nonetheless, in the 1830s, some Indians in Amherst County voluntarily registered as "free issue negroes" to avoid removal westward into Indian Territory.

Because of growing concerns about runaway slaves and a law that required local sheriffs to list all free colored people, involuntary registrations increased in the 1850s. Nevertheless, by the end of the War Between

the States in 1865, only a third of Amherst County residents who were required to register actually had done so.⁵

Most Anglos in the eastern United States had long preferred that Indians live somewhere else. Thus it is not surprising that Amherst Indians tended to keep their ancestry private by blending into the mountain cultures where they lived, whether or not they ever registered as free issues.⁶

Although Northern abolitionists harshly criticized Southern slavery before slaves were freed in the years 1863-65, most Northern free states had also passed comprehensive segregation laws well before 1860.⁷ In contrast, Southern slave owners had

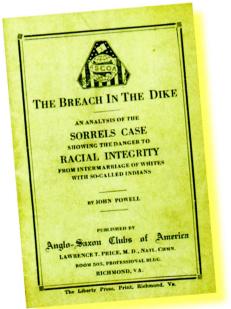


FIGURE 1
Incendiary pamplet denouncing the "racially mixed" marriage of Atha Sorrels, of Rockbridge County.

SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA LIBRARY

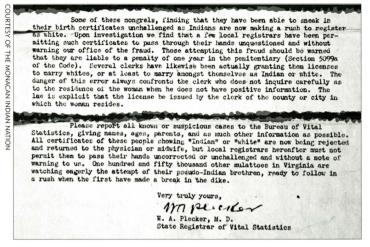


FIGURE 2 Letter from Dr. Walter A. Plecker, Virginia registrar of vital statistics, addressed to "Local Registrars, Physicians, Health Officers, Nurses, School Superintendents, and Clerks of the Court," January 1943.

consistently used frequent contact and association to maintain control of their slaves. It was only after slavery and post-war Reconstruction ended that Southern states followed the Northern example and enacted mandatory separation of white and colored races in order to maintain white control.⁸ For a few decades before 1860, free people of color — blacks and Indians — had formed their own communities without much intrusion from government. With the onset of Southern segregation, however, governments suddenly placed all free people of color into the same category as former slaves.⁹

In 1883, Sir Francis Galton, a cousin of the British naturalist Charles Darwin, introduced a new science he called "eugenics." Eugenicists applied Darwinism, based upon Darwin's theory of human evolution, to

Ruth Knight Bailey, J.D., teaches adjunct law classes at East Tennessee State University. She thanks the many people who offered information and encouragement, particularly those who shared their personal histories and family photographs. Special acknowledgement also goes to Gene Bailey, Sheila Coleman, Karen Voke, Emily Lawhorne Wagner, and Sarah Wilhelm.

Ms. Bailey presented this paper to the Society at its meeting of September 27, 2005, in the Main Hall of Southern Virginia University. An earlier version appeared in *CrossRoads: A Southern Culture Annual* (Mercer University Press, Macon, Georgia, 2004). This version, used with permission, contains updated text and new illustrations.

explain that suppression of "defectives" and "inferior races" was part of "natural selection" and the will of God.¹¹ Well-respected scientists stressed the need for increased reproduction among persons of superior human stock and the need for decreased reproduction, or even sterilization, among "inferior strains of humanity."¹²

The Eugenics Record Office, founded in 1910 in Cold Springs Harbor, New York, solicited massive family-history records from physicians, individuals, and local eugenics societies throughout the nation.

The office then encouraged and assisted local governments in locating communities in which "defectives" might be "breeding." 13

The 1880 Virginia census listed all Amherst County Indians who had registered as "free issues" before 1865 as "M," mulattoes, or "B," black, 14 but in the 1900 Census, all of the Amherst "M" notations inexplicably turned into "B." By the turn of the twentieth century, most Virginians thought Indians no longer existed in the Commonwealth. 16

In 1912, Dr. Walter Plecker became Virginia's registrar of vital statistics. With his assistance and the advice of some prestigious eugenicists, ¹⁷ prominent Virginians ¹⁸ successfully lobbied the Virginia General Assembly to pass the Racial Integrity Act of 1924, which required all Virginians to register according to race: "Caucasian, Negro, Mongolian, American Indian, Asiatic Indian, Malay, or any mixture thereof, or any other non-Caucasian strain." ¹⁹ It strictly prohibited whites from marrying people of any blood other than Caucasian.

Influential so-called First Families of Virginia, FFVs, some of which claimed Princess Pocahontas as a distant ancestor, successfully lobbied to include the exception²⁰ for those who were less than one-sixteenth American Indian.²¹ Plecker determined that any Virginian with Indian blood was really a "mixed-blood Negro" unless a Pocahontas exception could be proved — proof that was practically impossible for anybody other than FFVs. Furthermore, Plecker deemed any "mixture of blood" as the genetic cause of "defective children." In fact, light-skinned people with a few drops of "colored" blood ranked at the very bottom of Plecker's caste

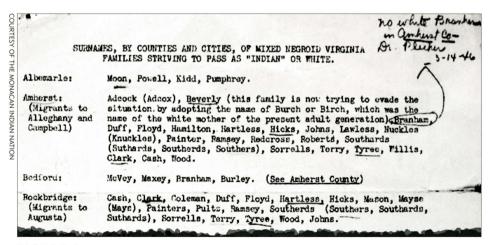


FIGURE 3

Bulletin from Dr. Plecker's office with suspect family names. Amherst and Rockbridge counties were key targets. Many of the Amherst names are from the Bear Mountain Episcopal mission. Many of the Rockbridge names originated in Amherst but had become Latter-day Saints in Rockbridge by the time this list was published.



FIGURE 4 Dr. Walter Ashby Plecker, January 1935.

system, because their existence seemed to flaunt a violation of the anti-miscegenation laws.²²

Previous anti-miscegenation statutes in Virginia had more flexibly defined "colored" as more than one-fourth Negro blood, and "Indian" as non-colored with more than one-fourth Indian blood.²³ The 1924 Racial Integrity Act raised the bar considerably by declaring that a person with any "discernable trace"

of any color other than white would be considered a "colored" person who posed a danger to the purity of the white race. Furthermore, the act required non-whites to register with local governments and pay a fee, 20 percent of which went into Dr. Plecker's coffers in Richmond.²⁴ There, government workers used state and colonial vital statistics, such as the antebellum registers of free colored people, to pinpoint locations in the commonwealth where descendants might be passing for white.²⁵ Because two-thirds of the Amherst Indians²⁶ had never registered as free issues in the first place, the act segregated descendants from each other because the Department of Vital Statistics labeled some as white and some as black.²⁷

Later in 1924, the county clerk in nearby Rockbridge County denied Atha Sorrells* a white marriage license. Sorrells sued him and won by proving that "colored" did not necessarily mean "Negro." She produced evidence to show that she had a distant Indian ancestor but no black ones, thereby falling within the legal exception for one-sixteenth Indian blood.²⁸

Plecker chose not to appeal the ruling, perhaps fearing that an appellate court could hold the Racial Integrity Act to be overly vague in its definition of "Caucasian." Instead, Plecker increased the intensity of his hunt for Virginians who might have a few drops of colored blood. He widely distributed John Powell's brochure, *The Breach in the Dike: An Analysis of the Sorrels Case Showing the Danger to Racial Integrity From the Intermarriage of Whites with So-Called Indians.*²⁹ Richmond bureaucrats under his direction used the antebellum Amherst registers to trace individuals named in it down through descendants who had dutifully obtained birth, marriage, and death certificates.

^{*} Sometimes spelled Sorrels.

Insisting on the support of white health workers, school administrators, and county officials, Plecker and the bureaucrats reporting to him actually changed notations on existing birth, marriage, and death certificates from "white," "Indian," and "mulatto" to "black." Plecker even wrote intimidating letters to mothers of newborns and ordered bodies exhumed from white cemeteries. He threatened local officials with the penitentiary if they issued "white" certificates against his wishes, and a few local officials went to prison over it. 31

In 1943, after some intense genealogical work, Plecker distributed widely a list of surnames to be subsequently classified as "Negroes by all registrars in the state of Virginia." He warned courthouse officials, health workers, and school administrators throughout Virginia to watch for "mongrels" who had changed their surnames or moved from Amherst to Rockbridge or other Virginia counties.³²

Modern-Day Indians in Amherst

In the early 1980s, Peter W. Houck, a medical doctor in Lynchburg, noticed that some of his patients had "copper skin, high cheek bones, and straight backs." These patients came from Bear Mountain in Amherst County. Dr. Houck's scholarly research, and his conversations with the people themselves, revealed a tight-knit community whose Native American identity had been completely lost to the dominant culture around it. Older individuals from Bear Mountain told Dr. Houck about their grandparents' speaking "fluent Indian." Many others maintained detailed knowledge of native medicines and other elements of their ancestry. These aboriginal people remembered their heritage, but had stayed quiet about it in public. Houck wrote a book about them. In 1989, Virginia recognized the Bear Mountain people as remnants of the ancient Monacan Indian nation.

Now some obscure Mormon-missionary diaries, church documents, and oral histories indicate that another tight-knit community with a similar history survives in nearby Rockbridge County.

Mormon Missionaries in the Blue Ridge, 1883-98

In its early days, from 1830 to 1846, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints ³⁵ was unique in that it was somewhat color-blind. The writings of Joseph Smith, the first president, did indicate that lineage mattered to God, with Israelites receiving covenant promises first and the descendants of Cain receiving them last. ³⁶ The early church nevertheless welcomed all converts, "black and white, bond and free." ³⁷ All people sat together in meetings, including the few free-black members. All faithful men held the lay priesthood, including at least two blacks. ³⁸

Then, in 1852, Utah governor and prophet Brigham Young asked the territorial legislature to pass "An Act in Relation to Service," legalizing slavery in the territory, though very few blacks lived there. In a statement to the legislature, Young also denied priesthood ordination to Negro Latter-day Saints.³⁹

As Reconstruction ended and government-sponsored segregation began in the South, 40 former abolitionists in the Northeast turned their full attention toward Mormons. Political cartoons in Republican newspapers began showing polygamous Mormons allying themselves with other dangerous minorities by marrying them and giving birth to mixed breeds of every ethnic origin. 41 Federal government officials accused Mormons of stirring up western Indians by promising them a restoration of ancient greatness. 42 Mainstream Protestant ministers accused Mormons of barbarism and immorality. 43

In that context, it must have been a relief for the elders to journey into the Blue Ridge Mountains and find a different set of challenges. On December 30, 1883, Elders⁴⁴ J. Golden Kimball and Charles Welch stepped off the Shenandoah Railway car at Riverside Station, three miles north of Buena Vista in Rockbridge County.⁴⁵ On January 11, 1884, in a hard rain, the two repeatedly waded the icy Pedlar Creek⁴⁶ as it wound along the remote tops of the Blue Ridge Mountains in Amherst County.* Eventually, they found the home of a referral named Mr. Mason. Glad to have arrived safely, Kimball wrote, "I could not stand erect in the house. They had two beds and nine of us to stow away. It was accomplished but how I cannot tell."⁴⁷

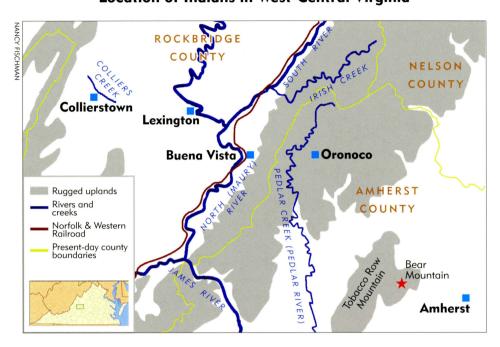
A few days later, the elders made their way to a nearby schoolhouse where they intended to preach. A "Dunkard exhorter" finished his prayer meeting and served them with a notice from the school commissioner forbidding them to use the facility. So they stood outside in the snow, singing hymns. Mason insisted that they spend another night with his family and urged them to visit "any time . . . night or day."⁴⁸

On January 20, 1884, twenty people, "who did not belong to any church," showed up to hear the elders preach. Appalachian uplanders often worshiped with obvious emotion.⁴⁹ Yet now they stood "without spirit" in the winter cold. After the elders had preached for more than an hour, not one person said a word about the sermon. Kimball was discouraged. Then, surprisingly, most of the people quietly asked the missionaries to call on them at home.⁵⁰

The elders discovered the craggy landscape dotted with tiny log houses, many belonging to members of the Mason family. One day, John

^{*} Although the waterway is now generally known as Pedlar River, the residents in the community at the top of the Blue Ridge, and the missionaries whose diaries recorded visits with them, spoke almost exclusively of Pedlar Creek.

Location of Indians in West-Central Virginia



Mason took Kimball and Welch up to the cabin of his parents, Peter Mason and Diannah Sorrells Mason. Fifteen family members gathered to meet them.⁵¹ That night, Elder Kimball wrote in his journal:⁵²

[A] stranger sight I never saw. He [Peter Mason] was seventy years old. [He] was born and raised at this same place (top of the Blue Ridge Mts). He was of Indian descent, his skin being almost as dark as an Indians. His hair was long and black. Mrs. Mason — his wife — was very old. She said what she thought and was somewhat of a doctress. They had seventeen children — twelve boys and five girls. Children and grandchildren about forty-two. Indian blood was discernable in most of their faces. Look which way you might — poverty was everywhere to be seen. They were but little ahead of the Indian people in education. None of them had ever belonged to a church of any kind.

If the elders had seen any indication that a group of Native Americans lived along Pedlar Creek at the top of the Blue Ridge, they would have sought them out as "chosen people," just as other elders had sought out the Catawba Indians in South Carolina⁵³ and the Cherokee Indians in North Carolina.⁵⁴ In the *Book of Mormon*, the Israelite prophet Lehi brought his family from Jerusalem to the Americas during Old Testament times. To Latter-day Saints, this made modern Indians a precious rem-

nant of one of the ancient tribes of Israel, who would gather in an American Zion to welcome the second coming of the Messiah.⁵⁵

Yet no Indian reservation existed in Amherst County, Virginia.⁵⁶ The area looked like a fairly typical Appalachian mountain community, except that the missionaries, who were familiar with western Indians,⁵⁷ clearly recognized these particular uplanders as Lamanites, ⁵⁸ one of the four main groups described in the *Book of Mormon* and a word Latter-day Saints often used to describe American Indians. ⁵⁹ Another visiting missionary, Elder Newell Kimball, even described Peter Mason as a "full-blooded Lamanite."

The Masons and their upland neighbors confused the missionaries by saying that they had never been baptized into any religion, but that they loved the Bible. In fact, Kimball said that Peter Mason "was deeply imbued with the doctrine of the Old Primitive Baptists." The old man asked the missionaries to come again and again, said he would like to be in their company all the time, and repeatedly "God blessed" them. Tears rose in Peter Mason's eyes when they read the Bible with him. But he felt no call to baptism. In the old upland way, he had to wait until God told him it was time, and not the other way around.⁶¹

"Mother Mason" healed the sick with herbal medicines. 62 The elders helped her by anointing ailing people with consecrated oil and by laying hands upon them. 63

"Father Mason" warned the elders not to visit Old Man Vest and his family because the Vests were "dangerous." All Latter-day Saint missionaries feared the mob violence that sometimes formed against them. Although the Ku Klux Klan and other mobs mainly targeted Negroes, they also terrorized people they considered "social deviants," including Mormons. 4 Yet in spite of Mason's warning, the missionaries climbed Stight Cove Mountain, at the head of the Pedlar near Oronoco, in the snow. Old Levi Vest "declared himself to be a great reasoner, reader of the Bible and a Lover of the Word of God." Kimball wrote that Vest was an "Old Iron Side Baptist, Hard Shell." Kimball hadn't had much luck baptizing "Primitive Baptists" in the past, but he didn't think Old Levi Vest or any of the Vest sons would hurt him, and they did not. 65

One day, Hannah Mason announced that she was getting baptized "on Monday at eleven o'clock." This was disquieting news to the elders. First, they were not entirely sure that she had studied long enough to understand the doctrine. 66 Second, it was dubious that most of the Masons could prove they were married; 67 Latter-day Saint rules forbade the baptizing of people living in sin. Elders Kimball and Welch finally brought up the delicate subject. Hannah and John said they could prove they had been married for seventeen years. 68 Then Peggy Sorrells told the mission-

aries that Marvel Mason had been living with her daughter without marrying her.⁶⁹

Although many in the neighborhood avoided recorded documents, others willingly procured the proper marriage licenses and baptismal certificates. ⁷⁰ It appeared to the missionaries that the white uplanders on Pedlar Creek assimilated with the Indians, rather than the other way around. Or perhaps they had had Indian ancestry all along. In any event, the "Mason neighborhood" on Pedlar Creek served as the hub of the community, and it also became a Mormon mission headquarters for the Virginia Conference of the Southern States Mission. ⁷¹ At the same time, the missionaries, directed by the centralized priesthood hierarchy, continually urged the Pedlar people to move to the American Zion in Utah and nearby territories. Households, including those of two Mason daughters and their families, ⁷² began to emigrate westward. ⁷³

As the months passed, a constant arrival of western elders moved from family to family along Pedlar Creek. One end of the Pedlar community came close to the Irish Creek community, in Rockbridge County, where the elders found more uplanders who opened their homes and their hearts to Mormonism. On February 15, 1888, Elder John W. Tate wrote his wife, telling her that several members from Irish Creek prepared to immigrate in the spring, provided they could raise the money. He added, "It is in the mountains we are called to labor, among the timber, hills, holes, and rocks. It is only the poor that will receive the gospel. There are no Saints in the valleys, people are better off down there and will not listen."

The Pedlar community in Amherst County and the Irish Creek community in Rockbridge touched a lofty tip of a third county, Nelson, where a group of "Campbellites" asked for rebaptism as Latter-day Saints. Milton Fitzgerald, their minister of sixteen years, led them west to Zion. Historic overlaps between some restorationist beliefs of these particular Christians and the Latter-day Saints may also explain why Mormon elders of the 1880s generally received a warmer welcome from religious people in the mountains of Appalachia than they received from mainstream Protestants in the valleys below. The same of the Indiana Protestants in the valleys below.

Industrial Boom and Administrative Change, 1890-1918

None of the Mormon elders of the 1880s predicted the dramatic political changes of the 1890s that would take them out of the mountains and into the towns down in the valleys. Change came for the missionaries when the Mormon priesthood ended its dominion over Utah politics, its support of plural marriage, and its intense efforts to gather the tribes of Israel physically. The federal government recognized Utah as the forty-fifth state in 1896, and Latter-day Saints began to assimilate into a more middle-class

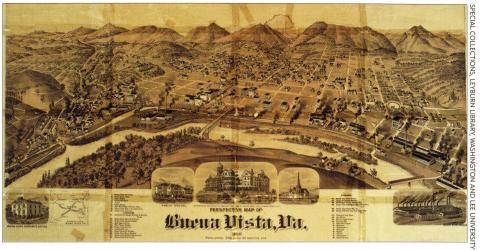


FIGURE 6 Buena Vista, 1891.

mode of American life.⁷⁹ At the same time, both industrialization⁸⁰ and segregation⁸¹ dramatically altered the lives of the Appalachian uplanders who had so kindly cared for the elders over the years.

For the people on Pedlar and Irish Creeks, the first indication of change came in the form of a new boomtown named Buena Vista, in Rockbridge County, at the foot of the Blue Ridge Mountains. Elder Edward J. Eardley, writing home on April 30, 1890, described developers grading streets and laying water pipes in what had been a "fertile plain devoted to agriculture." Two railroads brought guests to four spacious new hotels. The "splendid" Buena Vista Hotel sat high on a hill with a "charming view of the new town and the North River." The railway companies loaded their freight cars with goods from the newly built iron works and paper manufacturers along the river, as well as from the new tannery, saddle company, wagon firm, and fence supplier.⁸²

While valley people welcomed the booming job market, they expressed concern about the "influx" of laborers "from Amherst on the other side of the Blue Ridge." Townspeople described the new workers as "a rough, disorderly element, partly white and partly colored."⁸³

Beginning in 1895, Latter-day Saint elders shifted most of their missionary efforts from the Amherst County mountains into Buena Vista below.⁸⁴ Jobs brought some of the younger Masons down into town, where they continued to open their doors to the elders.

On December 22, 1895, Elder Thomas Romney and his companion visited the mayor of nearby Lexington at his "beautiful brick mansion" and had "a long friendly talk" with him. The mayor loved hearing Rom-

ney's stories about Mexico, and promised Romney that Mormons could preach on the streets any time they wanted and that the laws of the city would always protect them.⁸⁵

Later that same day, Elder Romney wrote, "We find in the east end of the city two or three families of Saints by the name of Mason who were baptized in Amherst County. . . . They are reported to be part niggar." Yet despite the "reports," Romney spent that night with one of the Mason families."

A couple of years later, Elder David Call's diary added that "some of the members" in Rockbridge County "are part nigar" and that "some of the leaders years ago baptized them through a mistake." Call wrote, "They said they was Indian but I don't." Call stayed overnight with Mormons near Collierstown, rather than with the Masons.⁸⁷

No previous missionary to Pedlar or Irish Creek had mentioned anything about black people. Neither did any of the copious records that had been sent to Salt Lake. The people did not look African American. Yet the rumors persisted. 88

In 1895 and 1896, President Elias Kimball, of the Southern States Mission, directed all Southern states missionaries to shift their emphasis from rural service to city service. He also told missionaries that members "should be restrained as much as possible from emigrating." He counseled mission-



FIGURE 7
Buena Vista Hotel, shown in a postcard postmarked in 1909.

aries to organize locally led "branches and Sunday schools" wherever there were enough members to gather into a small group. He wrote, "Select good men and ordain them priests to preside over the branches, and efficient instructors to take charge of the Sunday schools." Elders implemented this counsel throughout the uplands of Appalachia, usually ordaining local men whose families had faithfully harbored the elders for years. 90

The mission president's major shift of focus freed missionaries to spend the bulk of their time in more populated areas where prejudice against Mormons had lessened. Official church records show priesthood ordinations taking place for local men in various rural areas of Virginia during this time, complying with the mission president's instructions.⁹¹ Yet no ordinations took place in Amherst or Rockbridge Counties.

The church records for Amherst and Rockbridge Counties from 1897 to 1918 show a distinct pattern of growth that clearly took them into the "branch" or "ward" range:

- Between 1897 and 1912, elders established locally led Sunday schools in Collierstown (Colliers Creek), Oronoco (Pedlar Creek), Buena Vista, and Cornwall (Irish Creek).
- June 15, 1918: Five hundred people attended the Latter-day Saints meeting in Buena Vista. Missionaries wrote, "It completely blocked the street; much literature was disposed of and several invitations to homes were received by elders."⁹³
- July 13, 1918: "The Saints in Buena Vista are anxious to have a church built of their own," a missionary wrote. "They have subscribed over four hundred dollars for that purpose. The site chosen is in the Long Hollow near Brother Coleman's residence."
- August 24, 1918: The branch conference held in Buena Vista was so big that it filled the Star Theater twice.⁹⁵

Then, suddenly, in spite of the large numbers of people interested in Mormonism there, entries for Buena Vista, Cornwall (Irish Creek), and Oronoco (Pedlar Creek) disappeared from all official Latter-day Saint records. Regular entries abruptly ended in the Sunday school mission history. According to church records, church activity ended in and near Buena Vista, Virginia, in 1918. No entry appeared for any of the three locations in a 1921 list of all the Latter-day Saint branches and Sunday schools in Virginia. 97

The missionaries left. But where did the members go? Actually, the members did not go anywhere.

^{*} Congregations. Tiny Sunday schools could be conducted without priesthood, but where enough members existed to form a "branch" or "ward," local priesthood became a necessity.

Recognizing Legally Non-Existent People: 1932 . . .

Seventy-four years later, Will Southers told what happened. He said, "I remember the old men that started the church at Pedlar Creek and Cornwall. . . . They were mostly Masons and Colemans. . . . My dad and mother were baptized in 1912. Elder Turley baptized me in 1913 when I was fifteen years old. It felt real good. When the elders came, they preached about every night on top of the Blue Ridge Mountains." Will added, "What schooling I got was when we moved everything out of a room and had to pay a teacher to come." After trying for more than a year to get a schoolhouse through regular channels, Will and his father, Robert Southers, finally

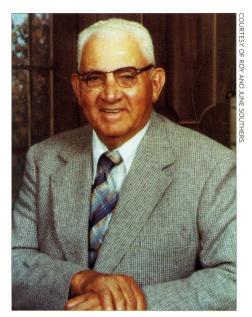


FIGURE 8
Will Southers.

built a school themselves on family land for Will's younger siblings. They used streetcar ties and logs they cut in their own sawmill. "Seventy dollars built it," said Southers, "and we had church there sometimes. . . . Jacob Mason was one of the head members. He worked at a factory in Buena Vista. He preached to us when there were no elders. He knew the Bible pretty good."

Years went by. And a remarkable thing happened, considering the highly centralized nature of the larger Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Although the existence of Latter-day Saint meetings in and near Buena Vista totally disappeared from official records before 1921, and local members say that infrequent visits by elders ended before 1923, 99 an Appalachian mode of Mormonism continued — completely on its own. 100

Myrtle Wilhelm Coleman, a great-granddaughter of Peter and Diannah Mason, said that in 1932, when she was nine years old, her family had "always belonged" to the church, but "at the time we didn't know anything about elders or anything." ¹⁰¹

Members met at each other's homes, or out under the trees, with Jacob Mason and others preaching. They read the Bible and the *Book of Mormon* with and to each other. They did not gather together every Sunday, but met often enough that they held together as a distinct religious community — even though families no longer lived along the same mountain



FIGURE 9

Mission program covers, 1930 and 1934. It was unusual for an elder to serve two missions in the same place. Though his call could have taken him anywhere in the East Central States, Alvin Poccock worked in Buena Vista both times.

creeks. Sometimes they visited other churches, but seldom joined them. 102

One day in 1932, nine-year-old Myrtle

Wilhelm watched as her Aunt Eva Southers made biscuits with "a rolling pin full of moonshine." An automobile with two young men in it stopped at the bottom of the hill. ¹⁰³ Will Southers said that the men made their way up through the field to the house he was building for his family. Southers stopped work on the floorboards. Recognizing the pair as Mormon missionaries, ¹⁰⁴ Southers wondered where they had been for the last many years.

Elder Alvin Pocock asked Southers, "How about us helping? And then maybe we can have a meeting on your new floor?"

Southers nodded assent.

Pocock added, "Do you think we can get a crowd?"

In retelling the story nearly sixty years later, Will Southers laughed out loud as he tried to describe the elders' faces when people kept arriving. People sat all over the house, porch, and hillside. Cars stopped to listen. Excited people wanted to hear more, so the elders preached from home to home and even up at the "school house on Pedlar Creek way up in the mountains." ¹⁰⁵

Pocock baptized scores of people in the South River near Cornwall¹⁰⁶ and just about anyplace else where he could do a full-body immersion. Will Southers said, "Elder Pocock baptized my wife, Lizzie, in the 'blue hole' from where they took the iron ore. They both like to drowned. I had told him not to step back. At first he didn't. He said what he had to say. Then he put his left foot back to baptize her. And they both went straight down out o' sight. I jumped in and grabbed her by one hand and him by the other."¹⁰⁷

Brigham D. Madsen, another elder in the East Central States Mis-

sion, knew Alvin Pocock during his second mission. Madsen later wrote¹⁰⁸ that Pocock

began to proselyte in an African-American community and eventually converted and baptized an entire congregation of about 150.... This was at the same time, of course, when African-American males were not allowed to hold the Mormon priesthood, a practice which was reversed in June 1978.... I never learned what the church officials in Salt Lake City in 1935 did about their new members or Pocock.

Indeed, church leaders in Salt Lake City faced an administrative challenge. After Latter-day Saints demonstrated obvious patriotism during World War I, they enjoyed increasing acceptance from the federal government and the Protestant mainstream. Many church members became rather Republican and middle class. 109

But without a revelation from God through the current prophet, the ban on priesthood for blacks could not be lifted.

It appears that boom-time townspeople in Buena Vista had tipped off the missionaries as to what they might find if they read the vital statistics in the courthouse: namely, that some of their members had been officially classified as black. Without local lay priesthood leadership, the central church in Salt Lake City could not authorize formation of a branch of that church in Buena Vista.



FIGURE 10
Latter-day Saints in front of the Long Hollow church house near Buena Vista, about 1944.

Early missionaries and local church members had considered the black priesthood ban irrelevant in this community, given that these were chosen people, descended from the Tribe of Joseph. 110 But before elders ordained these remnants of the house of Israel, the mission president had sent the elders out of the mountains, down into a society that classified the Pedlar and Irish Creek people differently. Apparently, the courthouse classifications swayed the elders. Although local people stayed with the church in the Appalachian tradition, they remained loyal to the Mormon model of lay priesthood authority, and waited for priesthood holders to come and perform baptisms.

Then, in the midst of the Great Depression, along came Elder Alvin Pocock and a tidal wave of baptisms and religious enthusiasm. Some of the older members argued against building a church house because of the cost and because they had gotten along without one for years. Robert Southers, however, went ahead and donated the land for a church building in Long Hollow, next to the Coleman home. Families sacrificed to donate money to the construction fund. Richard Clark, who owned a sawmill, sold lumber at a discount. Salt Lake City sent two elders to help. Will Southers said that Elder Burton knew what he was doing and worked hard, but the "other elder was off reading out in the shade." All the members worked on the new building. They lighted it with oil lamps and heated it with a coal stove. In the end, the building cost between \$400 and \$500.

On May 30, 1937, Elder Reid Tippitts wrote that the members in Buena Vista "have succeeded in building a chapel." Some 130 people showed up at Sacrament meeting that evening and sixty people attended Sunday school. Tippitts added, "They were very attentive, too. I quite enjoyed the day. But these people do present quite a problem. They claim

they are not Negro, but. . . . "113

In 1937, Latter-day Saint elders ordained nineteen-year-old Hansford Cash as branch president for the Long Hollow congregation. Although Cash's sister married into the Mason line, Cash had a white pedigree at the courthouse. Will Southers, though unordained, served faithfully as his counselor. Cash served thirteen years as the



FIGURE 11 Oella Wheeler Cash and Hansford Cash in 1941.

only priesthood-bearer in the whole congregation.¹¹⁴

Meanwhile, in 1934, William Eugene Larsen moved his voung family to Wavnesboro, Virginia, where, with his new Ph.D. from Purdue University, he worked for E. I. DuPont DeNemours and Company as a research chemist. After being officially called through the centralized priesthood hierarchy, Larsen led a Latter-day Saint Sunday school in his home and took services to members who lived in remote locations in the Blue Ridge Mountains. The Larsen-led Sunday school included blessing and administering the sacrament, 115 which required priesthood ordination. 116

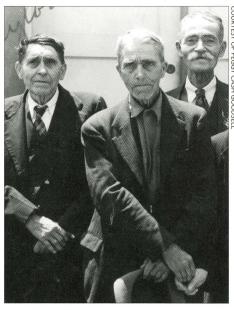


FIGURE 12 Esau, Jacob, and George Mason in the mid-1940s.

In the 1940s, two Irish Creek families named Clark moved into

Waynesboro. They held Sunday school, too, but without sacrament. The Clarks knew about the Larsens, but the Larsens did not know about the Clarks. After some traveling elders stumbled upon the Clarks and reported their existence, Eugene Larsen rented the American Legion Hall so that everyone could meet together. The congregation grew large enough to form a "branch," with Larsen as its president.¹¹⁷

Jim and Elijah Clark's father and mother had been baptized in 1911, and other Irish Creek relatives had been baptized before the turn of the century. Many Clarks had participated in home Sunday schools, though members partook of the sacrament only when priesthood-bearing elders visited from the Latter-day Saint communities elsewhere.

Now members of the new branch, the Clarks saw local priesthood bearers administering the sacrament every Sunday, and they saw local men laying healing hands on people. Soon Jim and Elijah Clark respectfully asked Eugene Larsen to ordain the worthy males in their family. Jim Clark was particularly concerned because his son Claude was nearly twelve years old, the age of first ordination. 118

Eugene Larsen, having heard the rumors about "colored blood" in the Buena Vista congregation, asked the mission president what to do to "clear the Clark family." The mission president assigned a missionary to search Clark genealogy. The missionary responded:¹¹⁹



FIGURE 13

Latter-day Saints in Waynesboro, 1951. Many of the people in the photo were Clarks, originally from Irish Creek in Rockbridge County (and named in Plecker's list of target families, Figure 3). Wayne Larsen and Claude Clark are the twelve-year-olds with large white collars at the far right. G. Douglas Larsen is the boy in the billed cap.

May 1, 1951

Dear Brother Larsen,

I made a trip to Amherst and in the court house there I was shown the marriage record of Joseph Anderson Clark and Mary Susan Clark, the parents of Jim and Elijah Clark, and they were married in 1906 as colored. May the Lord bless you in your efforts to solve the problems in your branch. I know they are discouraging.

Sincerely,

Elder Wm. S. Tanner

In 1992, Claude Edward Clark, by then an experienced attorney, reminisced about being twelve years old and Mormon in Virginia in 1950:

[It was] the week of my twelfth birthday. I was all excited. When you are twelve you receive the priesthood. I told my cousin [in Buena Vista] I was going to be ordained a deacon.

"No you're not," he said.

"What do you mean I'm not?"

"They don't give the priesthood to niggars."

"What's that got to do with me?"

And he wouldn't say any more. I guess he figured he'd said too much already. I found out later they refused him the priesthood. He was a couple years older. They refused him the priesthood! And sure enough, I didn't receive the priesthood when I was twelve.

Revealing Appalachian religious attitude, Claude added, "This is where I really criticize the [priesthood] officials in the Buena Vista area. . . . We have a way to find out anything we need to find out. [It is] a simple matter for a branch president [to go] in prayer to Heavenly Father. 'Should this person be allowed to hold the priesthood or not?' Where were their minds, their hearts, their spirits?" ¹²⁰

In that summer of 1950, when Claude turned twelve, Eugene Larsen was the Waynesboro branch president. He also served as district president over several other congregations in the mission, including the Long Hollow church in Buena Vista. In addition, he was the father of a boy who was a little younger than Claude. When Wayne Larsen was twelve, his father delayed Wayne's ordination because he did not want to embarrass Claude, Wayne's friend. Eventually, however, Eugene Larsen and other priesthood bearers called Wayne to the front of the congregation and laid their hands on his head. Claude Clark stood up, strode out the door, and did not look back. Claude's uncle, Elijah Clark, the congregation's clerk, wrote the newest ordination in the record book and remained in his seat. ¹²¹

In 1950, Joseph Anderson Clark, Claude's grandfather, still lived near Irish Creek at the edge of the National Forest land where his ancestors had lived. He knew about his Native American lineage. In fact, he became a Mormon in 1911 because he believed that people with the blood of Israel had special responsibilities to prepare for the second coming of the Messiah. 122

A couple of genealogical missionaries from Utah visited the

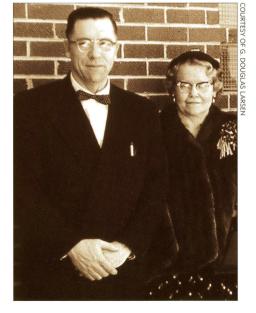


FIGURE 14 William Eugene Larsen and his wife, Tursell, in the 1950s.

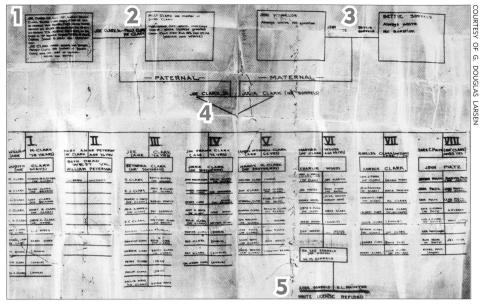


FIGURE 15

Courtroom exhibit, Sorrells v. Shields, Circuit Court of Rockbridge County, January 9 and 10, 1925. Atha Sorrells (here spelled Sorrels) used this family-history chart successfully to show that her supposedly "colored" ancestors were, in fact, Indian and white. In 1951, Joseph Anderson Clark used the chart for the same purpose. Key elements read as follows:

- 1. JOE CLARK, SR, born 1797 JOE CLARK owned slaves and bought Peter Curry the father of Daniel Curry who was sold at auction. (INDIAN and WHITE)
- 2. POLLY CLARK (NÉ CLARK) . . . was mother of JAMES CLARK [who bought a writ of] Mandamus for white marriage license - white license granted County Court order Book 1876 pages 137, 174 (INDIAN and WHITE)
- [Left box] JOHN WHITESIDE / Always white NO question
 [Right box] BETTIE SORRELS / Always white NO Question
- 4. [Left] PATERNAL / JOE CLARK JR. [Right] MATERNAL / JULIA ÇLARK (NÉ SORRELS)
- 5. ATHA SORRELS / R.L. PAINTER WHITE LICENSE REFUSED ON ACCOUNT OF ATHA SORRELS

Long Hollow church shortly after his twelve-year-old grandsons were denied the priesthood. Brother Clark took them to the Rockbridge County Court House. Although Clark had never attended school, by the time he was an adult he could read sufficiently to search through the dusty document boxes. Together the missionaries and Brother Clark found court documents pertaining to the 1925 Atha Sorrells case. They photographed the pages, creating a roll of microfilm that Clark took to President Eugene Larsen in Waynesboro. Clark showed him a court exhibit containing Atha Sorrell's family tree. He carefully identified Atha, her mother, and her maternal great-grandparents — Joe Clark Jr. and Julia Sorrels Clark — on the tree. He also used Atha's evidence to show that Ju-

lia's parents were classified as white and that Joe's parents were colored-Indian and white. He then proved that his own father was Joe Clark Jr.'s brother and his mother was Julia Sorrels Clark's sister, making them double first cousins with the exact same ancestors. 124 Joseph Anderson Clark had produced legal precedent indicating that "colored" was not limited to "Negro" in his family. President Larsen read the documents carefully. Then he looked Joseph Anderson Clark in the eye and said, "Brother, I believe you're right.125

Claude's "cousin's husband," ordained in 1951, was immediately called to the Buena Vista Branch



FIGURE 16 Mary Susan Clark and Joseph Anderson Clark in the 1950s.

presidency.¹²⁶ Alvin Coleman and Garvis Wheeler, both direct descendants of Peter and Diannah Mason, were also ordained that same day. So was Hansford Vest, the great-grandson of old iron-sided Levi Vest.¹²⁷

Hansford Vest credited his "Lamonite [*sic*] brothers" with "comprising most of the membership of the Church in Rockbridge County as late as 1940," and he listed "a few of them" as Masons, Colemans, Southerses, and Clarks. ¹²⁸ Both Alvin Coleman and Garvis Wheeler later served as branch presidents, and Coleman as a bishop. ¹²⁹ In 1957, Elder Claude Edward Clark served as the first full-time missionary from the Waynesboro Branch. ¹³⁰

From then on, the church record keepers in Salt Lake City kept detailed records of the Buena Vista congregation.

In 1996, Latter-day Saint businessmen from outside Buena Vista acquired the entire campus of Southern Virginia College, including the building that was once the "splendid," boom-time Buena Vista Hotel.¹³¹

At about the same time, Garvis and Juanita Wheeler, both from Buena Vista, participated in an unpaid Latter-day Saints mission, as retired couples often do. A distinguished member of their mission presidency told them that when he was nineteen years old, he had served a proselytizing mission in Buena Vista, Virginia. Excited to meet people from Buena Vista, this prominent priesthood leader asked Garvis Wheeler, the great-grandson of Peter H. Mason, "Are there any white people in the Buena Vista ward now? It used to be an all-black congregation."¹³²

Conclusion

For more than three hundred years, Virginia government officials chose the race and intrinsic value of certain named individuals and their descendants — thinking that these people, particularly those who might pass for white, posed a threat to the Caucasian populace.

In the late nineteenth century some Latter-day Saint missionaries visited Pedlar and Irish Creeks, at the top of the Blue Ridge Mountains. There they recognized residents as American Indians — precious remnants of ancient Israel — and baptized them. The dominant culture, however, had already rejected all Indian heritage in Virginia in what some scholars have called "documentary genocide." 133 When Latter-day Saint uplanders left the isolation of the mountains to take jobs in valley industries below, government classification of the members apparently influenced even the missionaries. Yet members and their descendants insisted upon their Indian identity. In 1951, one even used legal precedent to prove it. 134 Shortly thereafter, Latter-day Saint leadership ordained several of the old upland members — ordinations that took place at the height of racial tension in Virginia, sixteen years before the U.S. Supreme Court deemed the Racial Integrity Act unconstitutional, 135 and twenty-seven years before all races of men became eligible to receive the lay priesthood.136

Old diaries, church documents, and oral histories document this Rockbridge story of courage and faithfulness through a crucible created by race records.

Notes

- 1 Sherrie S. McLeroy and William R. McLeroy, *Strangers in Their Midst: The Free Black Population of Amherst County, Virginia* (Pointer Ridge Place, Bowie, Maryland, 1993), p. 4.
- Samuel R. Cook, Monacans and Miners: Native American and Coal Mining Communities in Appalachia (University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 2000), pp. 58-59, quoting William Walter Henning, ed., Statutes at Large: Being a Collection of all the Laws of Virginia (DeSilver, Philadelphia: 1823). See also Louise M. Hix, "Indians of Oronoco, Amherst County, Virginia" (St. Paul's Episcopal Church files, Bear Mountain, Virginia, 1941).
- 3 McLeroy and McLeroy, pp. 7, 18.
- 4 Indian Removal Act, Ch. 148, 4 Stat. 411 (1830); McLeroy and McLeroy, pp. 41-42.
- 5 McLeroy and McLeroy, pp. 18-19.
- 6 Ibid., pp. 9-10, 41-42.
- 7 These Northern segregation laws excluded Northern blacks from rail cars, omnibuses, stagecoaches, and steamboats, or sent them to separate compartments. Northern segregation applied to churches, schools, prisons, hospitals, and cemeteries. C. Van Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, third edition (Oxford

- University Press, Oxford, 1974), pp. 18-19. See also the Emancipation Proclamation and the Constitution of the United States, Amendment XIII.
- Woodward, pp. 18-25, 65-83, and 140. In 1896, the United States Supreme Court upheld a state statute segregating white and colored races in railway carriages, clearly setting a precedent for all states in the nation (*Plessy* v. *Ferguson*, 163 U.S. 537). Virginia enacted its own "separate but equal" statutes in 1902. These provisions added to the statutes that had been in place since 1691 to banish or imprison whites who intermarried with "negroes, mulattoes, or Indians." *Code of Virginia*, Chapter 4, §28 (1902); "Offences Against Chastity, Morality and Decency," in the *Code of Virginia*, (1847-48); Chapter 17.1 (1866); Title 54 (1873); Chapter CLXXXV, §§3786, 3788, and 3789; McLeRoy and McLeRoy, p. 4; and Karenne Wood and Diane Shields, *The Monacan Indians: Our Story* (Monacan Indian Nation, Madison Heights, Virginia, circa 1997), p. 27.
- 9 Cook, p. 65.
- 10 Mary V. Rorty, *Mormons and Genetics* (paper presented at the San Francisco Sunstone Symposium, 2003), citing Francis Galton, *Inquiries into Human Faculty* (MacMillan, London, 1883), pp. 24-25. See also Paulo Popenoe and Roswell Hill Johnson, *Applied Eugenics* (MacMillan, New York:, 1933) 217-227.
- 11 J. David Smith, *The Eugenic Assault on America: Studies in Red, White, and Black* (George Mason University Press, Fairfax, 1993), p. 2; Charles Benedict Davenport, *Heredity in Relation to Eugenics* (Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1913), pp. iv-vi; and Edward M. East, *Heredity and Human Affairs* (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1927), p. 235.
- 12 See, for instance, Edwin Grant Conklin, Heredity and Environment in the Development of Men, fifth edition (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1922); East; Samuel J. Holmes, The Trend of the Race: A Study of Present Tendencies in the Biological Development of Civilized Mankind (Harcourt Brace & Company, New York, 1921); Popenoe and Johnson; and Lothrop Stoddard, The Rising Tide of Color Against White Supremacy (Scribner, New York, 1920).
- 13 Davenport, pp. iv-vi. In the initial years of the eugenics movement, "defectives" included people deemed to be actual or potential criminals, "imbeciles," "insane," "feeble-minded," or paupers. Soon the eugenicists included "inferior races." See, for instance, East, pp. 157-204 and 235, and Popenoe and Johnson, pp. 281-97. The National Eugenics Record Office hired a eugenicist from Carnegie Institute and a professor from Sweet Briar College in Amherst County to study the Bear Mountain people. The resulting book, *Mongrel Virginians*, unfairly characterized the people as mentally defective and backward because of tri-racial mixed blood. Cook, p. 94; Peter Houck and Mintcy D. Maxham, *Indian Island in Amherst County* (Warwick House Publishing, Lynchburg, 1993), pp. 84-89; and J. David Smith, *Eugenic Assault*, pp. 83-88. See also Arthur H. Estabrook and Ivan E. McDougle, *Mongrel Virginians: The Win Tribe* (Williams and Wilkins Company, Baltimore, 1926).
- 14 Cook, p. 68.
- 15 *Ibid.*, pp. 59, 68, and 85.
- 16 Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show and western novels had popularized stereotypical Indian images, which looked nothing like Virginia Indians. Most Americans thought Indians lived only on reservations. See Cook, pp. 57-68; J. David Smith, *Eugenic Assault*; Hix; and Houck and Maxham.
- 17 Madison Grant wrote *The Passing of the Great Race* (Arno Press, New York, 1916) and *The Conquest of a Continent* (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1933). Harry

- H. Laughlin wrote *Eugenical Sterilization in the United States* (Psychopathic Laboratory of the Municipal Court of Chicago, Chicago, 1922).
- 18 Two particularly powerful lobbyists were John Powell and Earnest Cox. Powell, a well-known composer, was president of the Anglo-Saxon Clubs of America. Cox helped found that organization and wrote the book *White America* (White American Society, Richmond, 1925), pp. 13-57.
- 19 These categories meant descendants of white Anglo-Europeans, black Africans, yellow Asians, red Native Americans, brown East Indians, and brown Polynesians. Derryn E. Moten, "Racial Integrity or 'Race Suicide' Virginia's Eugenic Movement, W. E. B. Du Bois and the Work of Walter A. Plecker," in *Negro History Bulletin* (April 1, 1999), p. 6.
- 20 In the year 1614, British colonizer John Rolfe married Chief Powhatan's daughter, Pocohantas, at least partially "for the good of the nation." Cook, p. 57, quoting Sidney Kaplan, "Historical Efforts to Encourage White-Indian Intermarriage in the United States and Canada," in *International Science Review* (Summer 1990), pp. 126-32.
- 21 Acts of Assembly, Chapter 371, and Senate Bill 219, approved March 20, 1924.
- 22 Cook, pp. 66 and 104, and Wood and Shields, p. 26.
- 23 Code of Virginia, Chapter 17.1 (1866); Title 5, §49 (1887).
- 24 Acts of Assembly, Chapter 371, Senate Bill 219, approved March 20, 1924.
- 25 Cook, pp. 108-111; McLeroy and McLeroy, pp. 17-18; and Moten, p. 2.
- 26 In 1896, Edgar Whitehead described the Bear Mountain people in Amherst as Cherokee. Whitehead recorded their family stories of the 1830s, when clergymen first told the Bear Mountain Indian people to sit with the slaves in church or leave and they left. Their children were not allowed to attend white schools. In response to Whitehead's article, a few Methodist and Baptist home missionaries visited Bear Mountain for the first time in fifty years, but they never stayed. Finally, in 1908, the Episcopalians came to Bear Mountain and built a mission church, turning the log meeting-house into a mission school that served the community until 1963. Cook, pp. 85-93; pp. Houck and Maxham, pp. 93-94; and Wood and Shields, pp. 23-25.
- 27 Houck and Maxham, p. 81.
- 28 Sorrells v. Shields, Circuit Court of Rockbridge County, court documents dated November 1-15, 1924, and January 9-10, 1925. See also "Irish Creek Wedding Plans Rattled State's Race Law," *The Rockbridge Advocate* (March 2003), pp. 41-46.
- 29 (Anglo-Saxon Clubs of America, Richmond, circa 1925).
- 30 Cook, p. 109.
- 31 Ibid., p. 107, and Wood and Shields, pp. 27-28.
- 32 "Surnames by Counties and Cities of Mixed Negroid Virginia Families Striving to Pass as 'Indian' or White," with the cover letter from W. A. Plecker addressed to "Local Registrars, Physicians, Health Officers, Nurses, School Superintendents and Clerks of the Courts," January 1943.
- 33 Cook, pp. 57-68, and Houck and Maxham. See also Horace R. Rice, *The Buffalo Ridge Cherokee: The Colors and Culture of a Virginia* Community (BRC Books, Madison Heights, Virginia, 1991).
- 34 Houck and Maxham, pp. iv-vii.

- Originally, in 1830, the name of the church was "The Church of Christ." In 1838, its leader and prophet, Joseph Smith, said he received a revelation changing the name to "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints." The change emphasized the restoration of the primitive gospel of Jesus Christ and the relationship of Jesus Christ to members in the Latter-days. It also reflected the Biblical injunction to avoid being called by the "name of a man." "Saints" was a more Biblically appropriate nickname than "Mormonite" or "Mormon." Romans 1:7; 1 Cor. 1:2; Eph. 1:1; Eph. 4:12. See also Doctrine and Covenants 115:4; Book of Mormon, 3 Nephi 27:8; and B. H. Roberts, A Comprehensive History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Volume 1 (Deseret News Press, Salt Lake City, 1930), pp. 392-93. Latter-day Saints good-naturedly tolerate use of the nickname "Mormon." This article uses the terms interchangeably.
- 36 Joseph Smith, History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Volume II, second edition (Deseret News Press, Salt Lake City, 1948), pp. 436-40. See Armand Mauss, All Abraham's Children: Changing Mormon Conceptions of Race and Lineage (University of Illinois Press, Urbana, 2003), pp. 2-3.
- 37 Book of Mormon, 2 Nephi 26:33. In the 1830s, Missourians drove the Saints out of Missouri a slave state partly because the potential immigration of free black Saints was perceived as "tampering with slaves." Joseph Smith, History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Volume I, second edition (Deseret News Press, Salt Lake City, 1951), pp. 377-79, and Leonard J. Arrington and David Bitton, The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints (University of Illinois Press, Urbana, 1992), pp. 48-49.
- 38 Both Elijah Abel and Walker Lewis were ordained elders in the time of Joseph Smith. Abel was also ordained a seventy (the level of ordination higher than elder) and he served three full-time missions for the church. Newell C. Bringhurst, Saints, Slaves, and Blacks (Greenwood Press, Westport, Connecticut, 1981), pp. 35-53 and 90, and Lester Bush Jr., "Mormonism's Negro Doctrine: An Historical Overview," in Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought (Spring 1973), pp. 17 and 33.
- Brigham Young, statement to the Utah Territorial Legislature, February 5, 1852. See also Bringhurst, p. 25. Mormon doctrine condemned "human bondage" (Book of Mormon, Alma 27:9 and Mosiah 2:13; Doctrine and Covenants 98:5; 104:16-18, 83-84). Joseph Smith had once run for president on an anti-slavery platform, but the Saints deeply distrusted abolitionists. As a result, Latter-day Saints attempted to remain detached from both sides of the national controversy over slavery. By 1850, only twenty-four free blacks and sixty or seventy Southern-immigrant slaves lived in the isolated Latter-day Saint communities. Yet Mormons periodically bought Indian children out of the irrepressible Indian-Mexican slave trade so as to free them and nurture them. The Act in Relation to Service clearly protected the adoption of Indian slave children and it protected the few slave owners in Utah. Certainly, Young and his advisers remembered Missouri violence in the 1830s, directed against Mormon policies that appeared to welcome free blacks to that slave state. Historians speculate that the Act might have been intended to maintain Southern sympathy in a U.S. Congress that was becoming increasingly hostile to Mormon interests. They also speculate that the Act may have made Utah look more attractive to Southern converts. Possibly Governor Young wanted to defend Utahans against Republican writers from back East who accused Mormons of miscegenation that produced "an inferior race of people." Most devout members of the Church avoided speculation because they believed that Brigham Young spoke for God. In any event, the official ban againt blacks' priesthood stayed in place until a revelation removed it in 1978. Arrington and Bitton, pp. 150-51, and Bringhurst, pp. 54-56, 66-68, 99-100, 110, 126-30, and 225. See also O. Kendall White Jr., "Boundary Maintenance, Blacks, and the Mormon Priesthood," in *The Journal of Religious Thought* (Fall-Winter 1980-81).

Joseph Smith's early translations of some Egyptian papyri, canonized in 1880, were used to explain the priesthood denial. Pearl of Great Price, Abraham 1:1-27; Moses 7:8, 12, 22. See Mauss, pp. 238-41. Smith's translation lined up with a large body of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century European writing that interprets *Genesis* 4:15 to mean that the Lord marked Cain and his descendants with black skin. By the mid-nineteenth century, these writers interpreted Genesis 9 to mean that Noah's son, Ham, married one of Cain's descendants and thereby perpetuated the black race and its curse. Stephen R. Haynes, *Noah's Curse: The Biblical Justification for Slavery* (Oxford University Press, London, 2003), pp. 15-16 and 99, and Mauss, p. 238.

The *Book of Mormon* told of a curse upon the Lamanites as well. The *Book of Mormon* promised that repentance would lift the curse to offer full salvation to all people, "black and white, bond and free." *Book of Mormon*, 2 *Nephi* 26:25, 30:6.

- 40 Garth N. Jones, "James Thompson Lisonbee: San Luis Valley Gathering, 1876-78," in *Journal of Mormon History*, (Spring 2002), p. 228. See Woodward, pp. 31-65.
- 41 Davis Bitton, "Troublesome Bedfellows: Mormons and Other Minorities," in *The Mormon Graphic Image: Cartoons, Caricatures, and Illustrations, 1834-1914* (University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City, 1983), pp. 75-94. Brigham Young encouraged Anglos and Indians to intermarry, and emphasized real marriages rather than concubine arrangements. Mauss, p. 64.
- 42 Leonard J. Arrington and David Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints* (University of Illinois Press, Urbana, 1992), pp. 156-157; Garold D. Barney, *Mormons, Indians, and the Ghost Dance Religion* (University Press of America, Lanham, Maryland, 1986), pp. 69-228; Lawrence Coates, "The Mormons and the Ghost Dance," in *Dialogue, A Journal of Mormon Thought* (Winter 1985), pp. 89-111; Givens, *By the Hand of Mormon* (Oxford University Press USA, New York, 2002), p. 96; and Gregory E. Smoak, "The Mormons and the Ghost Dance of 1890," in *South Dakota History*, (Fall 1986), pp. 269-94. See *Book of Mormon*, title page; *2 Nephi* 6:13-18; 2 Nephi 9:1-3; *2 Nephi* 30:3-6.
- 43 Arrington and Bitton, pp. 177-179. See also Horace Bushnell, *Barbarism: The First Danger: A Discourse for Home Missions* (American Home Mission Society, New York, 1847), pp. 5-27; Newell Kimball journal, May 11, 1884 (Archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, Salt Lake City, hereafter cited as "L.D.S. Archives"), April 27, 1884; Joseph Bourne Clark, *Leavening the Nation: the Story of American Home Missions* (Baker and Taylor Co., New York, 1903), p. 238; and Platt Ward, ed., *Methodism and the Republic: A View of the Home Field, Present Conditions, Needs and Possibilities* (Board of Home Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Philadelphia, 1912), p. 89.
- 44 Although a missionary might be young in years, the title "elder" indicated priesthood rank and call to mission work. Arrington and Bitton, pp. 206-07.
- 45 J. Golden Kimball journal, December 30, 1883, University of Utah archives, Salt Lake City.
- 46 They had struggled through the mud to get up and over the ridge of the mountains to Oronoco (J. Golden Kimball journal, December 30, 1883). A few months later, Elder Joseph Underwood Eldredge wrote that the missionary "diagram" he used to get up to Pedlar Creek was "about as comprehensive and useful as a map of the Valley of Jehosephat." He described Oronoco as "merely a post office," noting that people lived "in a scattered condition in the woods." Michael W. Eldredge, ed., *The Mission Journals of Joseph Underwood Eldredge, Virginia Conference of the Southern States Mission* (Mill Creek Press, Salt Lake City, 1992), entries dated November 3 and 4, 1884.

- 47 J. Golden Kimball journal, January 11, 1884.
- 48 Ibid., January 13, 1884.
- 49 For example, Elder Joseph Underwood Eldredge described a woman at a revival "crying and rocking herself as [he had] seen a female Indian do when grieving for dead friends." (Joseph Underwood Eldredge journal, August 23, 1885). J. Golden Kimball described "incoherant prayers which were mixed up with groans and moans" (J. Golden Kimball journal, January 13 and March 5, 1884). See also Newell Kimball journal.
- 50 J. Golden Kimball journal, January 20, 1884.
- 51 Ibid., January 23, 1884.
- Ibid., January 23, 1884. In 1992, Alvin Woodrow Coleman and Garvis Wheeler 52mentioned several people who had remembered their great-grandfather, Peter H. Mason, when he was very old. All described Peter Mason as an "Indian" with long, straight, "coal black" hair that "hung down to his hips." Alvin Woodrow Coleman and Garvis Wheeler, interviews by author, December 27, 1992. Family legends differ as to whether Peter Mason was an adopted Indian baby raised by Mary Mason or whether he was actually Mary's son. Donna Huffer, Fare Thee Well, Old Joe Clark: History of the Clark Family of Rockbridge County (self-published, n.d.), p. 330. Jay Hansford C. Vest connects Peter Mason to a Tuscarora/Nottoway Indian of that surname who lived near the Fort Christiana reservation in the early 1700s. Vest points out that Mason had "likely a mixed blood from an Indian mother and a non-Indian father at some point" in his ancestry, making bloodlines difficult to trace. Letter to author, June 19, 2009. See also Jay Hansford C. Vest, "From Nansemond to Monacan: The Legacy of the Pochick-Nansemond among the Bear Mountain Monacan," in American Indian Quarterly (Summer and Fall 2003), pp. 781-806; Jay Hansford C. Vest, "The Origins of the Johns Surname: A Monacan Ethonogenesis," in Ouarterly Bulletin of the Archeological Society of Virginia (March 2005), pp. 1-14; and Jay Hansford C. Vest, The Bobtail Stories: Growing Up Monacan (State University Press of New York, Albany, forthcoming).
- 53 Nearly all members of the Cawtawba nation joined Mormonism in the 1880s. See Charles M. Hudson, *The Catawba Nation* (University of Georgia Press, Athens, 1970); Jerry D. Lee, "A Study of the Influence of the Mormon Church on the Catawba Indians of South Carolina" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1976); and *Columbia South Carolina Stake Fortieth Anniversary* (Columbia, 1987), pp. 11-14 and 199-204.
- 54 Andrew Jensen, Encyclopedic History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City, 1941), p. 821; and Columbia South Carolina Stake Fortieth Anniversary, pp. 13-14 and 201, quoting the Deseret News, July 31, 1885. See also E. S. [initials only], "In the Hands of the Lawless: A Missionary's Experience in North Carolina," in the Deseret News, April 20, 1887.
- 55 Latter-day Saints believed that people of Israelite lineage had special responsibility to gather together to welcome the second coming of the Messiah. They thought the Tribe of Judah would gather in Jerusalem to welcome the Messiah, who was of the lineage of Judah. The Messiah would also appear in the Western hemisphere, however, as he had done in *Book of Mormon* times. Native Americans, who had descended from the Tribe of Joseph through Manasseh, had a special responsibility to welcome the Messiah. White gentiles with "believing blood" could be "adopted" into Israel as part of the lineage of Joseph's son, Ephriam, and help with the American welcoming. See *Genesis* 9; *Galatians* 3:7; Givens, *By the Hand of Mormon*, pp. 67-69; and Mauss, pp. 2-4 and 43.
- 56 But see Hix, Houck and Maxham, Rice, and Wood and Shields.

- 57 See Arrington and Bitton, pp. 145-58, and David J. Whittaker, "Mormons and Native Americans: A Historical and Bibliographical Introduction," in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* (Winter 1985), pp. 33-64.
- 58 Newell Kimball journal, May 11, 1884. The fact that several missionaries who visited Pedlar Creek did not mention skin color with regard to the Masons indicates that they did not consider them black. The elders mentioned black skin so often in other communities that they surely would have mentioned it in this one had they seen it. See, for example, Joseph Underwood Eldredge journal, 1884-85; Newell Kimball journal, 1882-84; and Peter Peterson journal, 1888-89 (L.D.S. Archives).
- 59 See Givens, By the Hand of Mormon, pp. 99 and 127.
- 60 Newell Kimball journal, June 4, 1884.
- 61 J. Golden Kimball journal, January 23-24 and March 3, 1884. Peter H. Mason was finally baptized on May 21, 1888. International Genealogical Index, L.D.S. Ordinance Records, FamilySearch.org. It was commonplace for Appalachian uplanders to wait years for baptism or to never opt for it. Deborah Vansau McCauley, Appalachian Mountain Religion: A History (University of Illinois Press, Urbana and Chicago, 1995), pp. 14-17, 21, and 101.
- 62 J. Golden Kimball journal, January 24, 1884; Newell Kimball journal, June 2, 1884.
- 63 J. Golden Kimball journal, January 24, 1884; Peter Peterson journal, December 1 and March 20, 1889.
- 64 "Mormon Elders Reported Murdered by Masked Men in Tennessee," Deseret Evening News, August 12, 1884, and "What a Man from Evansville Learned in Tennessee," Deseret Evening News, September 2, 1884. Heather M. Seferovich, "History of the Southern States Mission, 1875-1898" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1996), pp. 123-37; William Whitridge Hatch, Mormons in the Southern States: A Century of Religious Bigotry, Murder, and Civil Mayhem, 1831-1923 (self-published, 2003); Columbia South Carolina, p. 215, quoting an article from the New York Sun, July 26, 1887 ("KKK Raid on Mormon Meeting near Augusta, Georgia"); J. T. Heniger, correspondence, *Deseret News*, February 7, 1884; Newel Kimball journal, April 27 and May 18, 1884; Henry Charles Eddington journal, February 26, 1887 (L.D.S. Archives); Peter Peterson journal, November 29-30, 1888, and July 28, 1889; and Thomas C. Romney journal, February 24, 1898 (L.D.S. Archives). See also Milo A. Hendricks' letter to Josiah Burrows, December 23, 1887 (published in the Desert Evening News, February 10, 1888) and John W. Tate, letter to his wife, Lizzie (December 23, 1887), in possession of descendent Barbara Jo Lee Baldwin). These letters describe mobsters near Irish Creek in Rockbridge County seriously injuring Elders Tate and Hendricks by blasting them with doublebarreled shotguns. They also threatened to cut the elders' hearts out with razors.
- 65 J. Golden Kimball journal, March 5, 1884. One should not confuse Appalachian Mountain Baptists with members of mainstream Baptist denominations. Historian J. H. Spencer wrote in 1885 that the various sects of Baptists in the Appalachians had "seceded" from the "real" Baptists even though they hung onto the name. McCauley, p. 23, citing J. H. Spencer, A History of Kentucky Baptists from 1769 to 1885, revised and corrected by Mrs. Burrilla B. Spencer (J. R. Baumes, Cincinnati, 1885; reprinted by Church History Research and Archives, Gallatin, Tennessee, 1984).
- 66 J. Golden Kimball journal, January 24, February 3, and February 4, 1884.
- 67 Ibid., January 29,1884.

- 68 *Ibid.*, February 3, 1884.
- 69 *Ibid.*, February 18, 1884. From the context of Kimball's journal, it appears that Marvel Mason was the "Mr. Mason" who initially assisted Elders Kimball and Welch on Pedlar Creek.
- 70 Index to Ward Record of Members and Children of the Virginia Conference of the Virginia Conference of the Southern States Mission, 1875-1930, hereafter "Index of Members" (L.D.S. Archives).
- 71 J. Golden Kimball journal, January 17, 1884, and Peter Peterson journal, October 4, 1888, to September 27, 1889. See also *Southern Star*, September 28, 1884; "Virginia Conference," *Deseret News*, October 20, 1884; N. L. Nelson, "Conference in Virginia," *Deseret News*, September 13, 1886; "The Outlook in Virginia," *Deseret News*, October 13, 1886; and Josiah Burrows, "Conference in Virginia," *Deseret News*, October 20, 1887.
- 72 Sarah Mason Whitmore and Susan Mason Knowles, International Genealogical Index, Familysearch.com., and Peter Peterson journal, May 21, 1889.
- 73 See immigration notes in the margins of the Index of Members. Many families gathered to Manassas, Colorado, although some went to Utah, Idaho, and Arizona.
- 74 Irish Creek residents housed at least nine elders when they met for a conference on October 15-16, 1887. Josiah Borrows, "Conference in Virginia," *Deseret Evening News*, October 20, 1887.
- 75 John W. Tate, letter to his wife, Lizzie (in possession of descendant Barbara Jo Lee Baldwin), February 15, 1888.
- 76 Disciples of Christ, as well as members of the Churches of Christ and the Christian Churches (often called "Campbellites" by outsiders), believed in a restoration of the primitive church of the New Testament. They called themselves "Disciples" or "Christians," because they did not follow anyone but Christ and rejected all denominationalism. The non-centralized Churches of Christ and Christian Churches shared some practices with "Primitive Baptists" and other independent upland religious people. G. R. Hand, *Dr. Ray's Textbook on Campbellism, Exposed* (Christian Publishing Co., Washington, D.C., 1880), p. vi; Terryl L. Givens, *The Viper on the Hearth: Mormons, Myths, and the Construction of Heresy* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1997), p. 68; McCauley, pp. 65-68; Frank S. Mead and Samuel S. Hill, *Handbook of Denominations in the United States*, eleventh edition (Abingdon Press, Nashville, 2001), pp. 103-13.
- 77 Index of Members (immigrated to San Pete County, Utah, in November 1890). See Peter Peterson journal, June-August, 1889.
- 78 Sidney Rigdon, a minister and close associate of Alexander Campbell, helped bring forth the Stone-Campbell Restoration Movement on the Appalachian frontier in the 1820s. Rigdon believed that Joseph Smith's latter-day visions provided miraculous proof of the restoration of primitive Christianity. He and his large congregation converted to Mormonism in Ohio in 1831. Rigdon then helped develop many of the religious practices inherent to Mormonism. Claudia Lauper Bushman and Richard Lyman Bushman, *Building the Kingdom: A History of Mormons in America* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2001), p. 12; Givens, *By the Hand of Mormon*, pp. 67 and 158-159; and Henry E. Webb, *In Search of Christian Unity: A History of the Restoration Movement* (Standard Publishing, Cincinnati, 1990), pp. 142-43. See also J. H. Milburn, *Origin of Campbellism* (Regan Printing House, Chicago, 1913), title page and pp. 34-51.

- 79 For a discussion of these changes, see Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints, 1890-1930* (University of Illinois Press, Urbana, 1996).
- 80 Royster Lyle Jr., "Buena Vista and its Boom, 1889-1891," *Proceedings of the Rock-bridge Historic Society, Volume 8* (1971). See generally David E. Whisnant, *All that Is Native and Fine: The Politics of Culture in an American Region* (University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1983).
- 81 Plessy v. Ferguson, 163 U.S. 537 (1896), and Code of Virginia, Chapter 4, §28 (1902). For an excellent overview of segregation in the United States, see Woodward.
- 82 Edward J. Eardley letter, *Deseret Weekly*, April 30, 1890. See also Oren F. Morton, *A History of Rockbridge County* (The McClure Co., Staunton, 1920), p. 154, and Lyle, "Buena Vista and Its Boom, 1889-1891."
- 83 Morton, 154.
- 84 In 1895 and 1896, the Southern states mission president counseled all elders to discourage immigration, organize local congregations, and ordain lay priest-hood leaders for those congregations. Elias Kimball letters to Southern states missionaries, May 23, 1895, and March 25, 1896 (L.D.S. archives).
- 85 Thomas Romney journal, December 22, 1895. Thomas Romney's father had moved his wives and families to Mexico when the federal government outlawed polygamy. Romney's mission journal does not say whether he told the mayor why his family lived in Mexico. See Catharine Cottam Romney and Jennifer Moulton Hansen, eds., *Letters of Catharine Cottam Romney, Plural Wife* (University of Illinois Press, Urbana, 1992).
- 86 *Ibid.* It may be worth noting here that the N-word, in its earliest use, was "a racial designation apparently without rancorous intent"; "the high degree of offensiveness attached to this term per se... has increased markedly over time, perhaps especially in the twentieth century." J. E. Lighter, ed., *Random House Historical Dictionary of American Slang*, Volume 2 (Random House, New York, 1997), pp. 656-57.
- 87 David Call journal, September 3, 1897 (L.D.S. Archives).
- 88 The "Amherst County Register of Free Blacks, 1822-1864" included the names of Peter and "Deannah" Mason, together with seven of their children. McLeroy and McLeroy, p. 177.
- 89 Elias Kimball letters to Southern States missionaries, May 23, 1895, and March 25, 1896 (L.D.S. archives).
- 90 Index of Members, Ordinations, 40. See also F. W. Neve, "Some Mountain Missions in Virginia," in *The Spirit of Missions: An Illustrated Monthly Review of Christian Missions* (December 1901), pp. 806-07.
- 91 "Ordinations," Index of Members, 40. For a discussion of Latter-day Saint congregational organization (branches, wards, and stakes), see Arrington and Bitton, pp. 206-19 and 292-93.
- 92 On October 10, 1897, missionaries organized a Sunday school in the mountains near Collierstown with Joseph Knick as superintendent. The Collierstown Sunday School was reorganized May 5, 1917, and local members built a church house at about the same time. Ethnicity was never an issue in Collierstown. See "Sunday Schools Organized," Index of Members, 290; Southern States Manuscript History (hereafter MH) (L.D.S. Archives), August 16, June 4, and May 5, 1916.

On October 17, 1897, missionaries organized a Sunday school in the mountains near Oronoco with James W. Stinnette as superintendent and Mary L. Mason as secretary. "Sunday Schools Organized, "Index of Members, 290.

On February 24, 1898, missionaries organized a Sunday school in Buena Vista with Elmer Crown as superintendent. After the organization of the Sunday school, an armed mob confronted Elders Thomas Romney and Joseph B. Kendall, threatening to whip them with hickory switches and shoot them. After keeping the elders up most of the night, the mobsters put both of them on the train to Basic City, now part of Waynesboro, in Augusta County, warning that they would kill them if they ever came back. MH, February 24, 1898; David M. Mayfield, assistant church librarian archivist, in a letter to Aubrey Coleman, April 22, 1976 (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Buena Vista Stake Family History Library, Buena Vista; hereafter BV Family History Library).

On July 8, 1911, Elder Isaac C. MacFarlane reorganized the Buena Vista Sunday School with Jacob Mason as superintendent and George Coleman as his assistant. MH, July 8, 1911.

On August 17, 1912, missionaries organized a Sunday school near Cornwall with R. M. Southers as superintendent. MH, August 17, 1912.

- 93 MH, June 15, 1918; *Liahona*, Southern States Mission, Chattanooga, Tennessee (1918), 16:895.
- 94 MH July 13, 1918; Liahona, 16:942.
- 95 A priesthood holder named R. S. Gilley helped with the conference. Gilley was not listed in the membership records of Rockbridge or Amherst counties between 1884 and 1918. Even though this August 24, 1918, entry includes the word "branch," no other record of a local branch president exists for that year. Perhaps a traveling elder served as branch president, or the word "branch" was used in error. *Liahona*, 18:1037.
- 96 Missionaries stopped in Buena Vista in 1920 to preach a funeral for "Brother Staten," but then the record went blank for seventeen years. Centralized church leadership continued to support the congregation near Collierstown, however, where ethnicity never became an issue, and to make routine Virginia entries in mission records. See MH, September 29, 1929.
- 97 MH, April 13, 1921. The Virginia District became part of the East Central States Mission in 1928, but no entries were made for Buena Vista until 1937, when a new church was dedicated by William Tew, president of the East Central States Mission. Later, Virginia joined the Central Atlantic States Mission. Buena Vista had one entry in 1944 and one in 1953. In 1957, continuous entries began once again. See David M. Mayfield, assistant church librarian archivist, in a letter to Aubrey Coleman, April 22, 1976 (BV Family History Library).
- 98 Will Southers (1898-1994), interview with author, December 26, 1992. Garvis Wheeler said that Jacob Mason was "one of the greatest Biblical scholars around here." Garvis Wheeler, interview with author, December 27, 1992.
- When the missionaries first left, local members sometimes wrote to the mission home to ask that elders be sent to lay hands upon family members who were ill or to baptize them. If missionaries were passing through, they stopped. But even those visits ended in 1925. See Lizzie Wadsworth Clemmer (granddaughter of Esau Mason, baptized in 1923), handwritten manuscript, (BV Family History Library, July 9, 1992); Alvin Woodrow Coleman, interview with G. Douglas Larsen, October 13, 1997 (BV Family History Library); Thelma Lilley Conner, unpublished manuscript, (BV Family History Library, circa 1985); and Lizzie South-

- ers, unpublished manuscript edited by G. Douglas Larsen, (BV Family History Library, 1974).
- 100 For insight into Appalachian mountain religion and how it differs from mainstream Protestant denominations, see Loyal Jones, *Faith and Meaning in the Southern Uplands* (University of Chicago Press, Urbana, 1999); McCauley; and Whisnant.
- 101 Myrtle Wilhelm Coleman, interview with author, December 27, 1992.
- 102 Thelma Lilley Conner manuscript; Will Southers, interview with author, December 26, 1992; and Garvis Wheeler, interview with author, December 27, 1992.
- 103 Myrtle Wilhelm Coleman, interview with author, December 26, 1992.
- 104 Elders Alvin Pocock and John E. Paget. Alvin Pocock handwritten manuscript, transcribed and edited by Steven A. Pocock on September 4, 2003 (L.D.S. archives, circa 1960).
- 105 Will Southers (1898-1994), interview with author, December 26, 1992; Alvin Pocock manuscript, circa 1960; and Lizzie Southers manuscript. Alvin Pocock wrote, "I met a fine man there [near Cornwall] by the name of William Southers. We baptized his wife into the Church. Will was already a member and a good one at that!" Pocock also recorded several stories about the multiple meetings he and Elder Paget held there for audiences as large as 600. On the first Sunday he was there, he said that a female minister showed up for the meeting, where people were already sitting on hayracks outside. She brought her whole congregation, with their Bibles, in the backs of five trucks. Pocock said, "I quoted scripture faster than the minister could find it, even as I gave her chapter and verse. Of course, the rest of their congregation was like a lot of Mormons, unlearned in the letter and word, and could not find the quotations I was giving them by the Bible."

Years later Will Southers sent Alvin Pocock a telegram asking him to come to Cornwall. The minister's daughter had prophesied that she would die in a month and wanted Elder Alvin Pocock to preach at her funeral. Pocock preached the funeral and the minister's congregation provided the music. Alvin Pocock manuscript, circa 1960.

- 106 Elijah Clark, interview with Wilford Teerlink, December 12, 1990, and Nellie Cash Clark Southers, interview with author, December 26, 1992.
- 107 Will Southers (1898-1994), interview with author, December 26, 1992.
- 108 Brigham D. Madsen, Against the Grain: Memoirs of a Western Historian (Signature Books, Salt Lake City, 1998), p. 85.

Alvin Pocock knew that some other elders thought he had baptized African Americans in and near Buena Vista in 1932 and again in his second mission there, from 1934 to 1936. Elder Maurice P. Monson, who held a leadership position at the mission home in Louisville, initially applauded the Buena Vista baptisms, but later insisted that Pocock had baptized blacks. Pocock wrote, "Little did he know." Then Pocock added, "There was a great deal of prejudice concerning the color and different class of people there. But who am I to pass judgment on people? It says in Acts 17:26, 'God had made all men of one blood.' So I labored among them. . . ." He said that the people diligently did their own genealogy and the research showed that they were "Cherokee Indians." He noted that two early missionaries, B. H. Roberts and J. Golden Kimball, also believed that they were Indians. Alvin Pocock manuscripts, circa 1960 (includes a clipping from an unnamed mission publication, circa 1932); email correspondence between Steven

- A. Pocock and author, September 4-8, 2003; "Farewell Testimonial[s] Given in Honor of Elder Alvin Pocock Who Will Leave Shortly for the East Central States Mission" (25th Ward, Salt Lake City, Utah: 1930, 1934).
- 109 Alexander, pp. 48-49.
- 110 The twelve tribes of Israel are Judah, Levi, Dan, Naphtali, Asher, Simeon, Zebulun, Benjamin, Gad, Joseph, Reuben, and Issachar (*Genesis*, 35:22-26).
- 111 Elijah Clark, interview with Wilford Teerlink, December 12, 1990; Alvin Woodrow Coleman, interview with G. Douglas Larsen, (BV Family History Library, undated); Lizzie Southers manuscript; Nellie Cash Clark Southers, interview with author, December 26, 1992; Will Southers (1898-1994), interview with author, December 26, 1992; and Alvin Pocock manuscript.
- 112 Lizzie Southers manuscript and Will Southers, interview with author, December 26, 1992.
- 113 Reid Tippitts journal, May 30, 1937 (L.D.S. Archives). See also entries of April 25 and May 31, 1937.
- 114 Peggy Cash Goodsell, interview with author, January 5, 2003, and "A Brief History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the Area of Buena Vista, Virginia" (BV Family History Library, 1978).
- 115 All worthy members could partake of this bread and water to remember Christ's broken flesh and the blood he shed to atone for their sins. By participating, members also promised to take upon themselves the name of Christ, always to remember him, and to keep his commandments. 1 *Corinthians* 11: 23-25; *Doctrine and Covenants* 27: 2.
- 116 Tursell Larsen and Flora Larsen Patterson, interview with author, June 5, 1992; Program from the Waynesboro Branch Dedicatory Services (May 21, 1978) 6-7.
- 117 Elijah Clark, interview with Wilford Teerlink, December 12, 1990.
- 118 Claude Edward Clark, interview with author, December 26, 1992.
- 119 Letter from W. E. Larsen to William S. Tanner, May 1, 1951, and letter from Elder Wm. S. Tanner to Brother Larsen, May 3, 1951 (in possession of descendant G. Douglas Larsen). The names of many Clarks appear on the Amherst's antibellum register of free blacks. McLeRoy and McLeroy, pp. 53-213.
- 120 For a discussion of Appalachian Mountain beliefs with regard to going "straight to the throne" for divine guidance, see McCauley, pp. 14-17, 21, 78, 95, 101, and 406.
- 121 Claude Edward Clark, interview with author, December 26, 1992 and Wayne Larsen, interview with author, October 15, 1993.
- 122 Claude Edward Clark, interviews with author, December 26, 1992, and September 9, 2002. See *Genesis* 9.
- 123 Claude Edward Clark, interview with author, December 26, 1992.
- 124 People in Virginia who considered themselves Indians and were barred from marriage to neighbors with white vital statistics often chose intermarriage within their own small communities over searching for African American mates in unknown communities. Claude Edward Clark, interview with author, December 26, 1992; Garvis Wheeler, interview with author, December 27, 1992; and Wood and Shields, p. 27. See also Arthur H. Estabrook and Ivan E. McDougle, *Mongrel Virginians*, and Morton, p. 139.

- 125 Claude Edward Clark, interview with author, December 26, 1992. The author has in her possession seventy-six pages of the Atha Sorrells court documents that Claude Edward Clark printed from his grandfather's microfilm.
- 126 Ernest Lilley married Fannie Clark in June 1933. Fannie Lilley Conner, unpublished manuscript, circa 1982; "History of the Latter-day Saints in Buena Vista," 1993 (BV Family History Library); and Claude Edward Clark, interview with author, December 26, 1992.
- 127 "History of the Latter-day Saints in Buena Vista," 1993 (BV Family History Library), and International Genealogical Index, Familysearch.com.
- 128 Hansford Vest, "The Gospel and Jacob Lee Hamilton," unpublished manuscript, circa 1980 (BV Family History Library).
- 129 "History of the Latter-day Saints in Buena Vista," (BV Family History Library, 1993). A branch president presides over small congregations, called branches. A bishop presides over larger congregations, called wards.
- 130 Claude Edward Clark, interview with author, December 26, 1992.
- 131 Brochure for Southern Virginia University, 2003. Because of the university's rapid growth, several large congregations of Latter-day Saints attend church in Rockbridge County every Sunday.
- 132 Juanita Wheeler, interview with author, July 25, 2003.
- 133 J. David Smith, "Legal Racism and Documentary Genocide: Dr. Plecker's Assault on the Monacan Indians," in *Lynches Ferry: A Journal of Local History* (Spring/Summer 1992) and Houck and Maxham, p. 193.
- 134 In the twenty-first century, establishing Indian identity in Virginia remains difficult in the face of hundreds of years of records that support the contrary. While genetic testing can be useful in establishing relationships, it is less reliable in proving or disproving Indian identity. See Eric Beckenhauer, "Redefining Race: Can Genetic Testing Provide Biological Proof of Indian Ethnicity?" Stanford Law Review, volume 56, number 1 (2003); Christian Sundquist, "The Meaning of Race in the DNA Era: Science, History and the Law," in Temple Journal of Science, Technology & Environmental Law (Fall 2008); Kim TallBear, "Can DNA Determine Who is American Indian?", in Indian Country Today (December 3, 2003).
- 135 Loving v. Virginia, 338 U.S. 1 (1967).
- 136 Doctrine and Covenants, Official Declaration 2 (1978).

The Great Flu Pandemic of 1918-19 in Rockbridge County, Virginia

Eileen T. Hinks

HE INFLUENZA PANDEMIC of 1918-19 affected even those living in rural areas such as Rockbridge County and its two cities, Lexington and Buena Vista. Local newspapers and other local sources were used to construct a chronology of events. Concomitant national and global events are included in order to visualize how local history fit into those events. Morbidity and mortality rates were estimated using vital statistics and local sources. Relevance of local 1918 events to future pandemic preparations is also discussed.

History of Influenza and Pandemics

The word "influenza" comes from the Italian *influenza di freddo*, "influence of the cold," referring to the usual cases that occur each winter.¹ Symptoms² of "the flu" (or "the grippe") come on suddenly, within a day or two after contact, and include high fever (sometimes with delirium), headache, respiratory symptoms, and muscle and bone aches.

Certain high-risk groups are susceptible to more severe complications and even death. Before 1918, influenza was viewed by the medical community as an inconvenience.³ When it killed, the cause was most often opportunistic bacterial invaders that caused pneumonia, especially in the elderly and the weak.

The pandemic of 1918 changed that view of influenza. Unlike other outbreaks before it, the 1918 virus preyed on the young and healthy and without regard to skin color or socioeconomic status. More than half of all deaths occurred in young adults between the ages of twenty and forty, and the worst mortality figures were in the twenty- to thirty-year-old cohort⁴ — the group that included soldiers and young parents. The Rockbridge County experience was no different.

Pandemics, by definition, involve the whole world.⁵ A pandemic implies a novel virus strain, serious ill effects, and sustained person-toperson transmission. Because little or no immunity to the new strain exists, individuals are very susceptible to it. Because the incubation period of influenza is so short, it spreads quickly. High levels of ill-

Eileen Hinks is an instructor in the chemistry and biology departments at Virginia Military Institute and an adjunct assistant professor of health care administration at Mary Baldwin College in Staunton, Virginia. She earned her doctorate in microbiology and immunology from the Temple University School of Medicine. She presented this paper at the Society's meeting of November 21, 2005, in Nichols Hall at Virginia Military Institute.

ness, death, social disruption, and economic loss are associated with any pandemic.⁶

There were three major pandemics of influenza in the twentieth century: the 1968-69 Hong Kong flu (750,000 deaths worldwide); the 1957-58 Asian flu (1 million deaths worldwide); and the 1918-19 Spanish flu, with an estimated 50 million to 100 million deaths worldwide. Further, some 1918 residents of Rockbridge County would have remembered, or may even have been exposed to, the Russian flu of 1889-90.

In 1918, nearly a third of the world's population, including that of the United States, had symptoms.* About 40 percent of Navy personnel and 36 percent of Army soldiers became ill. Over all, an estimated 675, 000 Americans died; nearly half of all U.S. deaths in 1918 were due to influenza. Influenza affected life span statistics dramatically: In 1917, the life expectancy of the average American was fifty-one years; in 1918, it was thirty-nine years.

Unique to the 1918 strain, death rates reached 2.5 percent to 5 percent, ¹³ up to fifty times the mortality seen in other influenza outbreaks. In some locations in the world, even those death rates were greatly exceeded. ¹⁴

Influenza deaths obtained from the Department of Vital Statistics for Virginia for the years 1913 through 1928 are shown in Figure 1. There was an approximately seventeen-fold increase in the number of deaths from 1917 to 1918. The number of deaths did not return to pre-1918 levels until 1921. The tail end of the pandemic of 1918-19 occurred in 1920.

Rockbridge and the Pandemic

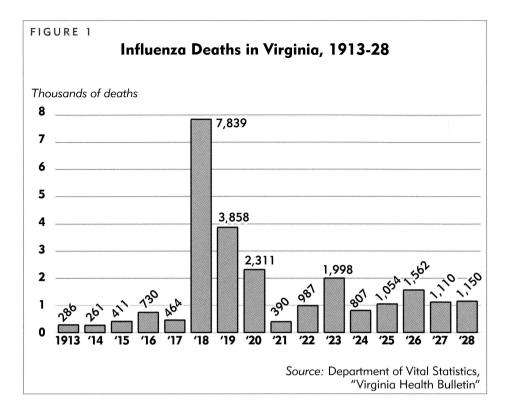
Three newspapers in Rockbridge County at the time served as sources of information about the war and local news: the *Rockbridge County News*, the *Lexington Gazette*, and the *Buena Vista Weekly*. A railroad depot in Buena Vista served as a hub for travel to and from locations outside the county.

Rockbridge County did not escape the terrible impact of the "mother of all pandemics." Yet the impact of the first wave in the spring was minimal to nonexistent. As in the rest of the world the fall 1918 wave was horrific. The local newspapers reported that the effects of the pandemic continued to be felt in early 1919 and again in early 1920.

The First Wave

As it did in many parts of the country,¹⁷ the year 1918 started ominously in Rockbridge County. The weather in January was unprecedented, with

^{*} Influenza mortality statistics are certainly underestimated because no formal surveillance or reporting systems existed. This was true even in the United States, where infectious diseases and vital statistics were often not recorded accurately except in major cities. In the rest of the world, records were all but nonexistent.



deep snow and thick ice everywhere. Activities of all kinds were paralyzed. ¹⁸ On January 1, it was four degrees below zero. Fuel was scarce. Businesses were closed on Mondays to save fuel. There was a sugar shortage.

Residents of Rockbridge County had no idea that the first wave of the pandemic had already begun; they were spared its fury. In late January, while they were coping with record cold temperatures, unusually virulent cases of influenza were observed halfway across the country in Haskell County, Kansas. ¹⁹ By April, thousands were sick at Camp Funston, Kansas, where it was extremely cold and very overcrowded.

Locally, March was a "smiling and beautiful month." Now that the weather was better, Rockbridge County parents visited their sons in military camps, especially Camp Lee, near Richmond. County residents were preoccupied with the war and with buying Liberty Bonds. A great crowd, including 5,000 visitors from all over the county and Buena Vista, gathered in Lexington on Saturday, April 6, to participate in the Liberty Loan parade, described by the *Gazette* as a "monster parade."

Attention was directed to getting huge numbers of American troops to Europe.²⁰ Outbreaks all over Europe were epidemiologically associated with U.S. troop embarkations.²¹ The flu was very contagious among the troops and was called "three-day fever" in Europe.²² The name "Spanish

influenza" stuck — not because the epidemic started in Spain, but because Spain, being neutral, did not censor news reports about the seriousness of the outbreaks.²³

A number of crowded military camps experienced epidemics in March and April. In mid-April, Rockbridge County residents read about the death of a Private Turner, age twenty-one, of Fancy Hill, from unspecified pneumonia while at Camp Greene, North Carolina. Of interest, there were still no reported cases of flu or pneumonia among Rockbridge County residents.

Little attention was paid in general to outbreaks of the flu in the United States — in 1,000 Ford Motor Co. workers, in 500 prisoners at San Quentin, or in many other population centers all over the nation.²⁴ The spring epidemic was not even mentioned in the *Journal of the American Medical Association*.²⁵

Unknown to Rockbridge County residents, however, physicians elsewhere were beginning to observe²⁶ that influenza-related pneumonia was killing an unusually large number of young adults. At the same time, there was a substantial increase in symptoms such as blackened lips and hemorrhaging from the nose, and also in quick death and unusual autopsy findings. The significance of these phenomena would not be appreciated until many more examples were seen in "the terrible autumn" of 1918.

As of July 22, Rockbridge County had 677 men in the armed forces. By August, the Spanish Flu had probably killed tens of thousands worldwide, but local residents were exposed only to the heat in early August: 101 degrees in Lexington.²⁷

The Second Wave

In the latter part of August, the influenza virus mutated, resulting in explosive epidemics in three port cities thousands of miles apart²⁸ — locations marked by mixing of military and local populations. One of these port cities was in the United States, where flu surfaced in Boston on August 27. (The other port cities were Freeport in Sierra Leone and Brest in France.) Flu struck Camp Devens, thirty miles west of Boston, on September 7, then spread to other installations, including Camp Lee in Virginia. By September 23, influenza was reported among civilians throughout the mid-Atlantic states, with scattered cases elsewhere throughout the country.

Meanwhile, early September was quiet in Lexington. Appeals from the government to save gasoline because of shortages resulted in quiet Sundays in Lexington.²⁹ If the Rockbridge County newspapers had been the only news sources, residents would not have known that the second — and more deadly — wave of influenza was already heading their way.

And the war in Europe continued. By September 12, a total of 2,590

county men had registered for the draft.³⁰ At the beginning of September, the War Department designated Washington and Lee University and Virginia Military Institute as military training schools for officers.³¹ Units of the Student Army Training Corps, or S.A.T.C., were established under military command. The law school at Washington and Lee was temporarily suspended and "war courses," including chemistry and French, were substituted for "superfluous" literature and philosophy courses. Washington and Lee was ready and willing to receive as many as 600 matriculates.³²

The university registrar's office opened on September 24, a day earlier than usual, with 146 young men enrolling on that first day. Drs. Robert Glasgow and Reuben Frank Davis, Lexington physicians, performed physicals on more than 500 men who poured into Lexington throughout the week. Slightly more than 400 men were admitted to the S.A.T.C. By the 26th, Lexington's streets were "wonderfully enlivened with young men." 33

The Washington and Lee corps was organized into companies based on age. About 150 twenty-year-olds, Company A, were housed on the main floor of the Doremus gym; about 120 nineteen-year-olds, Company B, in the Lees dormitory; and about 140 eighteen-year-olds, Company C, initially in Castle Hill, a hotel on U.S. Route 60, west of the campus.³⁴

At V.M.I., 610 young men presented themselves for duty early in September. $^{\rm 35}$

An Early Warning

An early reference to the Spanish "enfluenza," as it was spelled, appeared in the *Rockbridge County News* on September 26, 1918. Thus did most local residents first become aware of the extent of the epidemic, particularly in the camps:

The disease known as Spanish enfluenza, so prevalent in Spain early in the year and which has effected many of our soldiers in France has become widely prevalent in this country The influenza first appeared at Camp Lee on Sept. 13; Sept. 21st, a week later, 1,539 cases had been reported. The majority of the men who first contracted it had already recovered and returned to duty. But six had died from pneumonia which had set in after the enfluenza. Saturday there was also reported fourteen deaths, as a result of the enfluenza at Camp Dix, N.J., and at Camp Devins, Mass., two officers and sixteen privates died the same day from the same disease. The enfluenza has spread to the West and Saturday about 2,000 men at the Great Lakes station near Chicago

The civilian population is of course liable to be attacked by the germ of this disease. State Health Commissioner Williams urges that as a preventative to its spread, persons shall not put their fingers in their mouth and shall cover the face when sneezing. . . .

Influenza Comes to Lexington and Rockbridge County

October — the terrible month — came in with "pleasant, bright beautiful days," and was warmer than September. The corn crop was excellent, except on Brattons Run, which had already experienced frost damage.³⁶

On October 1, S.A.T.C. students at both Washington and Lee and V.M.I. were inducted into military service.³⁷ V.M.I. inductions proceeded more slowly because of the illness of the post physician, Dr. O. Hunter McClung.³⁸ Dr. Reuben Davis of Lexington was also ill, so General Edward W. Nichols, V.M.I.'s superintendent, requested that the war department assign a surgeon to the institute.³⁹ Influenza had finally come to Lexington.

On October 2, the *Lexington Gazette* published a front-page article under the headline, "Ravages of Influenza — Dread Disease Spreading Fast and Claiming Many Victims in Camps." The article said

Spanish influenza, rapidly spreading throughout the country, is . . . a highly infectious disease caused by a particularly energetic germ. . . . It is in enormous numbers in the bronchial mucus, whence it is coughed up to renew its pernicious work. . . . It exerts such a general devitalizing effect on the tissue that other dangerous micro-organisms which ordinarily are held in check run riot and catarrh, pneumonia, and similar conditions develop. It particularly attacks overworked and weakened organs such as the heart and lungs. For this reason, rest, nutrition, warmth and tonics are important factors in its treatment.

The September 28 *Staunton Daily News* published a colorful and "important statement" from the state health commissioner in response to the "alarming increase" of cases in Virginia: "Don't spit in anybody's face and don't let anybody spit in yours!" In addition, "Better by far if they whacked us on the head with a stick instead of spraying us with his disease-producing spit And may we also be saved from the common drinking cup — another menace almost as bad as the coughers and sneezers."

The *Rockbridge County News* reported on October 3 that the epidemic in the camps was growing and that the pneumonia and death rate would increase in the coming week. There were urgent calls from the camps for more physicians and nurses. Medical assistance was being recruited from the civilian population. The Army surgeon general reported a total of 88,461 cases since September 13, when the fall epidemic was first noted. There were 6,769 cases of pneumonia with 1,877 deaths. At Camp Lee, where a number of Rockbridge men were stationed, conditions were "growing worse." Because of quarantines, a private at Camp Lee was married with his bride standing thirty feet away.⁴⁰

On the local front, the deaths of two young Rockbridge County men from influenza was reported in the same newspaper. On September 28,

Owen Mason Morris, 21, a "promising young farmer, intelligent, energetic, and popular," died "quickly" of pneumonia three weeks after arriving at Camp Lee. Two days later, James Franklin Bane, "a sturdy young man," died of pneumonia at the engineers facility at Camp A. A. Humphreys, now Fort Belvoir. This scenario was being repeated in camps all over the United States: Young men in the prime of their life were dying of influenza.⁴¹

A Blow Strikes Washington and Lee

"Spanish influenza" appeared among Washington and Lee students in the last week of September. According to W&L President Henry Lewis Smith, "In the midst of the confusion of the opening, with government cots, blankets, etc. on the way, and with no surgeons yet formally appointed, the 'Flu' epidemic arrived with the first registrants and struck the assembled student body with the suddenness of a blow." By October 3, Jackson Memorial Hospital "with its roomy porches was full to the limit," with thirty-eight students sick enough to be admitted. The Lexington Red Cross was organized under Mrs. Merrill Mills to help meet the emergency. Drs. Reuben Frank Davis, not yet ill, and Robert Glasgow "met the new call with tireless energy and unselfish devotion."

Cases developed so rapidly that Miss Annie Jo White's home at 13 University Place was secured as a hospital for twenty patients and staffed with Red Cross helpers. About twenty more cases were segregated and cared for on the "commodious first floor" of Castle Hill, the hotel west of the campus. A few weeks later, the Blue Hotel, also called East Dormitory, became a fourth hospital organized under the Red Cross. The S.A.T.C. men themselves helped as hospital orderlies, working four-hour shifts day and night in all four hospitals. 44 Students with less-pronounced symptoms were treated in their dormitories. 45

Some cases were reported among Lexington residents. Initially, no cases were reported among V.M.I. cadets, as they had been quarantined when the first W&L cases were observed. 46

The First Flu Victims

Although ill himself, Dr. Davis worked tirelessly among the sick W&L students. At the young age of thirty-two, he became one of the first victims of the deadly flu in Lexington. He "was taken to his bed with a severe case of grip, and in a few days pneumonia set in, which developed rapidly and resulted in his death" on October 5 at his home on South Main Street.⁴⁷ Because of the epidemic, funeral services were held only at graveside. This practice would continue for several weeks during the fall influenza wave. According to the Washington and Lee yearbook, Dr. Davis's "work was as truly heroic as that of any soldier who made the supreme sacrifice

on the shell-torn fields of Picardy."⁴⁸ President Smith, in his annual report, referred to Dr. Davis "as truly a martyr in the cause of his country." Dr. Davis, a flu victim, became a war casualty.

Meanwhile, another popular Lexington physician, Dr. O. Hunter McClung, and two of his children were still sick with the flu.

Local Response

On the day Dr. Davis died, the Buena Vista city council met to discuss the flu situation. Dr. James Harmanson Mapp, board of health president, did not recommend closing schools or churches. On the other hand, Dr. Robert Glasgow, board of health officer for Lexington, took immediate action closing Lexington's churches, schools, billiard rooms, and the "picture shows" at the Lyric Theatre as a "precautionary measure on account of the prevalence of Spanish influenza in the community." The *County News* quoted him: 50

This order of the board of health was neither due to the presence of a plague nor a panic in Lexington. It was taken simply as a means of wise precaution in view of the spread of an infectious disease, Spanish influenza, over the land which, in cases particularly of the infirm or bodily defective or depleted people and people who do not take proper care of themselves, has been resulting in a per centage of pneumonia, part of the cases of which result fatally.

The *County News* reported that on Sunday, October 6, "for the first time that the oldest inhabitant can remember not a church bell sounded a call to worship in Lexington There were neither church services nor Sunday schools." Few people ventured out. "It was thought by some that congregating at soda fountains should be prohibited, since the crowds thus assembled were regarded as excellent mediums for the diffusion of the disease." On that same day, Grover Cleveland Cummings, thirty-three, a traveling insurance man, died of pneumonia at the Randolph Street home of Robert Agnor.⁵¹

In Buena Vista, by contrast, on that Sunday, a great religious revival took place at St. John's Methodist Church. Led by Evangelist Lee Starke of New York, it resulted in "more than 300 conversions and reclamations." The meeting concluded a two-week revival, and "every seat in the church was packed, standing room at a premium and hundreds turned away for lack of room, the most remarkable religious service in the history of Buena Vista. . . . The various churches of Buena Vista united in the services. Music was a special feature, the large chorus choir being composed of the different choirs of the city." 52

The next day, the Buena Vista school board voted to close the schools for one week; in the end, schools did not re-open until November 12.

With separate health boards and temporary health officers, differences in response to the epidemic in Rockbridge County, Lexington, and Buena Vista were typical at the time because of the lack of an organized public health infrastructure at local, state, or federal levels. The influenza epidemic would soon lead to efforts by the state board of health to improve public health capabilities of local jurisdictions.⁵³ Dr. Richard Garnett, assistant commissioner of health, traveled to Lexington on November 19 to propose the establishment of a permanent centralized county health department to replace the three health boards of Lexington, Buena Vista, and Rockbridge County. A large population increase was projected for the area, and the establishment of a permanent department, consisting of a salaried physician, nurses, and sanitation inspectors, would safeguard health in the future. The department would emphasize disease prevention rather than reacting to outbreaks, as was then-current practice. In spite of strong support shown by the women of Lexington, the proposal would later be turned down by the County Board of Supervisors.

News from Buena Vista

The diary of Samuel P. Gibson (1882 -1934), land assessor and city registrar, is a collection of ledgers with daily one- or two-line comments — accurate records of deaths, sickness, marriages, fires, accidents, and unusual

FIGURE 2					
Excerpt from	n the D	iary o	f Samuel	P. Gibson, 1918	
		posta de la constanció			-
View > P. C468M	Length of Residence in	Length of Residence in State.	IF NATURALIZED—		
	City.		Date of His Papers.	By what Court Issued.	
1918		1918		1918	
Def 27 a	LUL	49	orl of	urs Sarrels	
	die	el Li	est mig	let	
Oct 3 The s	pani	sh fi	ue is s	aging all ove	\
Allowers T	the	Con	ulry	Southing like Is	refo
ON 6 seve	ral	Case	s of the	flue in B.V.	
in 7 The.	Selu	ruls	Close	I on afe of blu	<u>.</u>
Oct 10 The	Efred	un	ek is s	oging hear ho	u
· Jan	ilus	lais	de up	with it	en
makin D	1 11	Las L	1.17. 7	1 2	
			Source:	Gibson diary, private collec	ction

weather in Buena Vista and some events of national interest.⁵⁴ The Gibson diary is an important source of information about influenza events in Buena Vista from mid-September 1918 through March 1919, as no copies of the Buena Vista newspaper are known to exist for that period. Figure 2 is an example from the diary. (Note references to the Spanish flu, which he spelled "flue.") The selection is transcribed here to show the misspellings, characteristic ledger-like spacing, and lack of punctuation:

Sep 27 A little girl of Mrs Sorrels died last night

Oct 3 The Spanish flue is raging all over the country something like Grip

Oct 6 Several cases of the flue in B.V.

" 7 The Schools closed on a/c of flue

Oct 10 The Epidemick is raging hear hole families laid up with it

The Situation Worsens

The word "fear" appeared frequently: "many county people feared to come to town"; people "feared to mingle with others"; "children were kept at home by parents for fear that the disease had not entirely been stamped out"; "fear of influenza" increased with bad weather. The lack of news from reliable public health sources during wartime contributed to the fear. The lack of knowledge about the cause of influenza led to much speculation. For example, it was "generally accepted" that "the epidemic was originally caused by the bringing of Chinese coolies to do manual labor in the war zone in France." 55

Washington and Lee students were quarantined effective October 7 and were not allowed to go to stores or gather in the streets.⁵⁶ Throughout the quarantine period in October, the S.A.T.C. battalion continued to drill every afternoon for two hours, "the exercise being considered conducive to healthfulness to void off the influenza." The battalion marched to the post office at 1 p.m. daily and the men entered the post office "in small relays" to get their mail. There were "no longer any student crowds about the post office."⁵⁷

With the death of one physician, Dr. Davis, and illness of another, Dr. McClung, many afflicted persons could not get proper medical attention. Dr. Robert Glasgow, the Lexington health officer, wired Washington, D.C., for help to care for the university students, but every area of the country was in the same predicament. A September 21 article in the *Staunton Daily News* reported that only a third of the country and state physicians remained back at the home front. In Lexington, services were severely limited, especially telephone service, with half of the operators sick (Figure 3). McCrum Drug Company and Wayland's Drug Store were without pharmacists and were short of clerks. Cleveland Davis, engaged

in "war work" in Williamsburg, came back to Lexington to assist in the prescription department at McCrum's.⁵⁹ Healthy members of the Rockbridge Red Cross chapter continued to meet to make surgical dressings, an activity approved by Lexington's health officer.⁶⁰ The war effort superseded influenza.

On Wednesday, October 9, all public schools in Rockbridge County were ordered closed by Dr. Charles H. Davidson, who acted as the county's health officer when needed. The Spanish influenza outbreak prompted the county board of supervisors to renew his contract until New Year's, at \$500 a year. Cases of influenza were re-

TELEPHONE SERVICE

Since the epidemic of Spanish Influenza has been raging in Lexington and the county, the number of telephone calls has greatly increased to the extent that the regular force of operators can not begin to do the work; and with this congested condition we have several operators off duty with influenza, which makes conditions much worse.

Therefore, under these conditions, we will be glad if the subscribers will avoid all unnecessary calling possible and NOT be impatient if they do not receive the service promptly, as we assure every one that we are using the best method possible to give the service.

LEXINGTON TELEPHONE CO.

FIGURE 3

Source: Lexington Gazette, October 9, 1918.

ported throughout the county and a number of schools were already closed because of student and teacher illness. It was reported that infection seemed to have spread in the county by persons who attended the fairs in Lynchburg and Covington.

Occasionally, a small news item about Buena Vista appeared in the Rockbridge County or Lexington newspaper. According to these brief reports, schools were closed, Southern Seminary college was quarantined, and the "moving picture show" was closed. Several industries were "seriously handicapped" by the sickness of employees.⁶¹

Eugenia Harman McClung, thirty-seven, wife of Dr. O. Hunter McClung and mother of three little children, died from pneumonia of "a most alarming form" on October 9. Dr. McClung and two of the children had been ill with influenza first.⁶²

Of interest, an article in the October 16 edition of the *Lexington Gazette* gave the "average man" advice on how to "win the war" by consuming as little as necessary. This appeared to contradict the advice offered by the State Board of Health to eat plenty of simple, nourishing food. By order of the board of health, the sale of all soft drinks was forbidden, effective October 14, as a precaution against the spread of influenza.⁶³

Advice from the State Board of Health to avoid alcoholic beverages was contradicted by the prevailing local belief that alcohol was useful for medicinal purposes, as affirmed in a headline in the same issue of the *Gazette*: "Booze Knocks Out Flu." Nearly all Army camps had ordered

whisky and alcohol from Baltimore in barrel lots to aid in the treatment of the epidemic. Internal revenue agents in North Carolina and Virginia who had confiscated liquor were expected to turn it over to hospitals, physicians, and health officers.

Furthermore, Prohibition commissioners continued to approve recommendations from judges to dispense confiscated liquor. Rockbridge Judge Henry Holt instructed county clerk A. Terry Shields to release liquor held in custody of the court for local physicians to use in treating influenza cases: "Recently there was an unexpected raid upon it [three gallons of "ardent spirits" kept in a steel vault] which the clerk was powerless to resist. Under orders from the judge physicians came and demanded it for use in influenza cases. . . . The clerk had to yield to the public necessity." Of note, on October 21, Dr. Royal S. Copeland, health commissioner of New York City, issued a warning against the use of alcoholic beverages by Spanish influenza victims because it "tended to increase the danger from the disease."

By October 10, there were eighty cases of influenza among W&L men. Since Rockbridge Baths had escaped the influenza so far, Dr. R. H. Morrison of that community volunteered his services to the university and to the private practices of the Lexington physicians. By the time the fall outbreak ended at Washington and Lee, there had been more than 150 cases recorded, with two deaths attributed to influenza or pneumonia.

General Nichols reported the first flu case at V.M.I. on October 11. By October 17, there were three cases among cadets. V.M.I. attempted to restrict the spread of infection through strict quarantine at first. The *Lexington Gazette* reported that the situation was never "very serious" at V.M.I., with few cases because of the quick response and decision to quarantine early in the outbreak. A different picture emerges, however, from the 1918-19 report to the board of visitors, in which General Nichols downplayed the epidemic, saying there were "no fatalities, though there were a number quite sick." According to General Nichols, the flu was brought back to the barracks when cadets were granted furloughs to visit parents and others at home who had the illness. Absent from Gen. Nichols's report was any consideration of the fact that sick faculty and staff members on post may have been sources of infection. In short, it is questionable whether quarantine of cadets was an effective strategy at V.M.I.

Because the V.M.I. hospital was filled with sick cadets, an adjoining vacant house was requisitioned for hospital purposes.⁶⁶ According to the Superintendent's 1918-19 annual report, "the conditions occasioned an unusual expense in medical attention and in the number of nurses required," and an Army doctor was procured. General Nichols continued: "Our academic, military, and administrative staffs were also affected. As

we have no supernumerary force, such a condition presents complications not a little embarrassing. Absences of instructors, whether by reason of sickness or for other reasons, should be avoided in every possible way." Dr. O. Hunter McClung's annual surgeon's report stated simply: "We had an unusual number of men throughout the year at sick calls and on the sick list. . . . The prevailing illness was influenza and its attendant maladies." 67

Two more Rockbridge County men died in Army camps on October 10: Nathan Gooch, "colored," at Camp Greene in Charlotte, North Carolina, and James Hostetter at Camp Humphries. Sporadic reports of deaths of Rockbridge County men from disease in camps appear throughout the October newspapers. Young women who were teachers in other parts of the country returned to their Lexington and Rockbridge County homes because the schools where they taught were closed. Parents who were able to do so traveled elsewhere to help care for sick children and relatives. Graham Robinson was called to Philadelphia, in the middle of that city's crisis⁶⁸ on October 12 by news that his son, a chemist at an iron works there, was sick with pneumonia. News of these travels appeared throughout the fall wave.

The first death in Buena Vista specifically from influenza was documented on October 12 by Samuel Gibson: "Bruce Updike died today first death from flue." (The Gibson diary rarely gave the ages of residents who died.)

During the peak of the fall epidemic, court was held, but no juries were called to "prevent the gathering of crowds at the court house during the term, which it is desired to avoid by reason of the influenza epidemic." 69

On October 15, six deserters were caught hiding out in their homes in Irish Creek. Several of them had been in training at Camp Lee and were home on furlough, but refused to return to camp "on account of the influenza." One of the deserters was shot and "left lying on the ground supposed to be dead, and was found in this condition the following morning." ⁷¹

The Gazette (October 16 and 23) and the County News (October 17 and 24) were full of influenza death news. Two Washington and Lee students, both in Company A, housed in Doremus Gymnasium, died on October 15. The first, John Ward Child of West Virginia, nineteen years old, a second-year student, a "youth of much promise," died of pneumonia. The second, Thomas Armstrong, twenty-one, took his influenza home with him. Nathan Hickman, a Virginia Polytechnic Institute cadet from Natural Bridge, "a young man of unusual equipment," died of influenza complications. Private Holtz, twenty-five, a soldier at Camp Grant in Illinois, was buried in the "colored" cemetery in Collierstown, his hometown.

Eva Cox Markham, wife of Harry Markham and mother of a fourteen-year-old boy, died at Jackson Hospital. Her son, a "delicate child," would die in November from influenza. Other local dead also included Harry M. Paxton, thirty-seven, taken ill in Baltimore; Lena W. Frye, young wife and mother; Rowena Ramsey, thirty-one, mother of five; Verdrey Tolley, eighteen; Frank Lee Wagner, twenty-seven, a railroad man; and Mary Crump Davis, twenty-eight, a trained nurse from Albemarle County, who came to Lexington to care for a visiting aunt in the home of her uncle, Prof. John W. Kern. Miss Davis became ill with influenza and "after a period of harrowing suspense the end came with pneumonia" on October 17. The day before, another Rockbridge County soldier, James Buchanan, had died at Camp Lee. The youthfulness of the victims was probably most alarming to local residents.

A report from the Kerrs Creek area of the county read, "We are lone-some out here; every one stays at home, although the flu hasn't struck many as yet."⁷² The full force of the epidemic would not hit there until later.

"In the midst of general uneasiness" about influenza, a "robust" and apparently healthy nineteen-year-old W&L student, Donald Spotts, from Dublin, Virginia, died of a ruptured blood vessel in the brain, called apoplexy at that time. He was leaving the chemistry lab, where he had been working late, and was walking on campus near the library when he suddenly exclaimed, "Who struck me in the head?" Many students ran to his aid and carried him to the hospital. He died within thirty minutes. Of interest, editors of the 1918-19 yearbook included Donald Spotts among the fatal influenza cases among students: "Of the more than a hundred and fifty cases of the 'flu' only three cases resulted fatally." In actuality, only two students died of influenza.

Influenza continued to claim the young, including Carl Taylor, thirty-two, postmaster and railway agent at Decatur in northeastern Rockbridge County; Bertha Cassandra Slusser, thirty-one, mother of six young children and wife of Harry Coe Slusser, a Lexington meat merchant; and Dr. William O. Beazley, thirty-six, pastor of the Lexington Baptist Church, who died at the Baptist parsonage on White Street from pneumonia.

On October 20, Buena Vista improvised a hospital on the second floor of the firehouse to accommodate thirty patients. Samuel Gibson made these notes in his diary:

- Oct 20 They opened a Hospital at the Fire House to day for the Sick
- Oct 21 A man died at the Hospital last night and Mrs Walter Beard died at her Home this morning

Oct 22 Their has been 6 deaths in the last 24 hours 2 Wheelers a man by the name of Covington Mrs Hite Mrs Russel and one other

Oct 23 Mrs Wm Cunningham died at 12 to day

Oct 23 Mr S V Watts died at 3 this evening

The county health officer, Dr. Davidson, encouraged people to stay at home and appealed to all residents to help enforce the ban on public gatherings: "The present epidemic of influenza is spread by human contact along lines of travel. . . . Every man, woman, and child can help by staying at home as much as possible." Nevertheless, news items about local happenings reported that residents were continuing to travel elsewhere to care for sick family members and relatives. In addition, family members were coming to Rockbridge County to convalesce. Influenza did not stop people from traveling.

U.S. Surgeon-General Rupert Blue urged home flu treatment in an effort to reduce unnecessary calls on overworked physicians. ⁷⁶ Commented Blue: "The present generation has been spoiled by having had expert medical and nursing care readily available." He recommended basic nursing care, that gauze masks be worn when caring for sick patients, and that the doctor be called only when the patient was "very sick, coughs up pinkish sputum, or breathes rapidly and painfully." The Virginia State Board of Health recommended that masks be "made of four layers of cheese cloth, five by six inches, hemmed and stitched across, with tape at each corner for tying behind the neck."

The sale of Liberty Bonds appeared to have exceeded expectations even though "the influenza materially interfered with anything spectacular in the way of a campaign." In the midst of death and in spite of Dr. Davidson's reminder that "all public gatherings of every description are prohibited," the annual cup handicap golf match was held at the Lexington Golf Club. 80

The October 24 issue of the *County News* carried figures made public by Washington, the first local reporting of influenza's impact on American and Canadian civilians. "Twenty-seven states reported . . . that influenza was still spreading"; in Canada, a third of the population was down with the illness. In Chicago, residents were being treated with experimental antitoxin and were advised to not shake hands in saluting each other. ⁸¹ The news from Virginia was equally grim, with Hopewell and Petersburg sending out urgent calls for nurses and doctors. Nearby Covington in Alleghany County had fifteen deaths and the high school was converted into a hospital, with four wards for fifty people on the third floor.

The report from Washington indicated that since September 13, there had been 290,447 flu cases among soldiers, with 46,055 cases of

TO PROPLE OF THE COUNTY

Never in the history of the county has there been crape at so many doors or sorrow in so many hearts. As the doors of the church are properly closed the writer respectfully suggests that there be united prayed in every family on the next and every Sabbath day. In addition to our regular Bible reading and prayer that the following Scriptures be read aloud in every home, viz:

2nd Chronicles 7:13-16. Joel. 2:12-18. Psalm 3-51 and Matthew 11:28. I John 2:1.

FIGURE 4

Source: Rockbridge County News, October 24, 1918.

pneumonia and 15,070 deaths — a 5.2 percent fatality rate among soldiers. In Sierra Leone, about 1,000 deaths a week were being reported. The news article also said that the illness had "spread to the interior" of Africa and that "chimpanzees and monkies [sic] who have very weak chests, are dying like flies."82

Dr. Emmett McCorkle, pastor of Bethesda Church at Rockbridge Baths, published an appeal for united prayer in every family in the October 24 *Rockbridge County News*. Dr. McCorkle's prayer implored God to "look down with infinite pity and compassion" on the sick and "all who sorrow for their dead"

and asked to "free us from this sickness with which we are afflicted." Figure 4 shows a portion of Dr. McCorkle's appeal.

A small notice on October 31 in the *County News* warned the public about "sure cures" for influenza. Pepto-Mangan, a "Red Blood Builder," was advertised under the headline "Influenza Weakens the Blood — Breaks Your Vitality — Leaves You Helpless When Exposed to Other Germs." Advertisements in the Staunton newspaper suggested that taking Indian Kidney and Liver Tonic would prevent influenza. Papa's Cold Compound claimed to relieve the misery of colds and the grippe. "Flu capsules" were available in Staunton pharmacies. It is likely that Lexington drug stores also stocked these "remedies." Shirey and Brown, a Buena Vista drug store, offered sample bottles of Boschee's German Syrup, "a soothing and healing remedy for all lung troubles . . . gives the patient a good night's rest free from coughing, with free expectoration in the morning." Figure 5 is an example of an advertisement" that appeared in local newspapers.

The Epidemic Begins to Subside

By October 24, Dr. Robert Glasgow reported a marked decrease in the number of new cases in Lexington. Although there were still some serious cases, Dr. Glasgow reassured the public that pneumonia associated with influenza was not always fatal.⁸⁴

At Camp Lee, the quarantine was lifted on the 26th. The number of cases in the camp from September 13 through October 24 was 11,527, with 655 deaths from pneumonia. A nurse who was married to a 1916 V.M.I.

graduate was among the dead.⁸⁵ A case fatality rate of 5.7 percent was calculated for Camp Lee. In comparison, a case fatality rate of 2.5 percent was later estimated for the civilian population in the United States.⁸⁶

On October 28, Mrs. Bessie Whitmore Nicely, twenty-six, a "sweet and lovely young mother" of three children, died of pneumonia at her home on Jefferson Street. Her illness "followed the alarming illness, from the same cause of her husband, now happily convalescent."

The situation among Washington and Lee students improved as well, prompting President Smith to announce, "The epidemic may be officially declared a thing of the

Insure Against Influenza

and

Similar Ailments

The influenza epidemic seems to be abating, but you should still take every precaution to ward or an attack.

We have all the best solutions for spraying the throat and nostrils, and excellent atomizers with which to apply.

We also sell all of the popular and well known remedies for treating influenza, grip, tonsilitis and similar ailments.

Better heed the old saw about an ounce of prevention being worth a pound of cure and use precautionary methods now.

WAYLAND'S DRUG STORE

Phone 94

FIGURE 5

Source: Rockbridge County News, November 7, 1918.

past."88 The university's emergency hospitals — East dormitory, Miss Annie White's home, and Castle Hill — were closed. Fewer than a dozen students were at Jackson Hospital. Physicians noted that W&L had acted wisely in keeping the students at school rather than permitting them to return home: "The moving of people affected with influenza has often aggravated the disease and brought about fatal results."89

President Smith expressed his "heartfelt appreciation of the unselfish courage and zeal of the ladies of Lexington Red Cross, many of whom contracted the disease while taking the places of absent and anxious mothers at the bedside of the boys away from home. Their courage and unselfishness were worthy of any battlefront, and will not soon be forgotten."⁹⁰

The situation improved somewhat in Buena Vista near the end of October;⁹¹ yet Samuel Gibson reported several more deaths in his October 26 diary entry. The firehouse hospital, which had accommodated over thirty patients,⁹² closed on November 1 ("They closed the Hospital this morning"). The last hospital death occurred on October 30 ("Miss Truslow died at the Hospital this morning").⁹³

By early November, the state board of health decided that although the danger of spread of influenza was not entirely over, restrictions could largely be lifted in most communities. The board warned that public gath-

LYRIC Opens Friday

Matinee Saturday

Theatre has been thoroughly fuminated.
Disinfected daily.

FIGURE 6
Source: Rockbridge County News,
November 7, 1918.

erings were still dangerous and that close personal contact should be avoided. It called attention to the law prohibiting use of common drinking cups, which included the common communion wine cup: "All churches using the latter are offenders against the statutes of this commonwealth . . . preachers and church officers are cautioned." "94

By the end of October, influenza had just about disappeared in Lexington. The Lexington board of health lifted the quarantine effective Friday, November 8.95 Dr. Davidson, county health officer, announced that quarantine regulations would be raised Saturday, November 9, at midnight. Schools and churches would reopen and public gatherings would be permitted. When the Lyric Theater opened for the first time in nearly a month, it placed a typical post-epidemic newspaper advertisement (Figure 6).

Dr. Glasgow reported that

there were "only eleven deaths" from pneumonia in Lexington. ⁹⁶ The word "only" misrepresents the magnitude of the epidemic, because eleven deaths from influenza, mainly as a complication of pneumonia, would have been much higher than the usual annual number of deaths from pneumonia (two to four) reported in previous years. Note that no deaths were associated with a V.M.I. flu outbreak that occurred in 1916. ⁹⁷ Although several cases were observed among "colored people" in Lexington, very few deaths occurred ⁹⁸ — consistent with general observations of lower death rates in black Americans during the pandemic. ⁹⁹ Unfortunately, there are no firm statistics tracking flu cases by race in Lexington.

Lexington schools reopened on Friday, November 8. Attendance was "fairly good, although some children were kept at home by parents for fear that the disease had not entirely been stamped out." Drug stores were permitted to sell drinks and pool rooms were open for business. Quarantines having been lifted at the colleges, V.M.I. cadets and the men of the S.A.T.C. at Washington and Lee crowded the streets on Saturday.

According to the *Lexington Gazette* of November 13:

It is of striking significance that the situation has always been well in hand at these two schools. The VMI took precautions at the very beginning of the epidemic, and when the young men complained of colds or other infirmities they were most carefully looked after. In consequence there were the fewest number of cases of "flu" at that institution, and the young men emerged from the quarantine healthy and happy. The confinement was a little trying on their spirits but they recognized the wisdom of the precaution.

Some residents remained reluctant to gather in public spaces. "The increased attendance of county people on the streets was noticeable [Yet] many county people feared to come to town, and as a precaution they remained at home." On Sunday the 10th, churches re-opened after 5 weeks of closed doors. "Fairly good congregations attended services. Many people, however, seemed to fear to mingle with others, and in consequence remained at home." Businesses appeared eager to move on, as Figure 7 shows. 101

Influenza Hits the County

In contrast to conditions in Lexington and Buena Vista, the news from the county was not as good. "There have been so many cases of influenza and deaths . . . in Arnold's Valley and along the James River that it is

almost impossible for a correspondent to keep up with and record all of them." Distressing" news included the death of a widow, Mrs. Foster, her married daughter, and the daughter's twelve-year-old son. By November 13, twenty new cases of influenza were reported in Natural Bridge. The epidemic was still in full force, bringing whole families down. The South River Lumber company shut down its sawmill because so many employees were sick.

"The angel of death visited many homes in the valley, leaving sore and lonely hearts." The deaths of three babies were noted. Statewide vital statistics records showed increased numbers of in infant deaths in 1918 (Figure 8).

Weinbergs Extra Special Bargains Shoes Coats Suits and Millinery

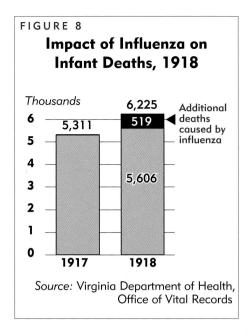
The "Flu" is a thing of the past.

Come in and shop

WEINBERGS

FIGURE 7

Source: Lexington Gazette, November 6, 1918.



Cases of influenza continued to occur in the county from mid-November through January. Dr. Davidson was called to a secluded hollow of Kerrs Creek to look into an outbreak that affected the teachers and nearly all the pupils of the Waterloo school there. The outbreak was traced to a local resident. one Mrs. Downey, whose visiting son and wife, residents of Covington and recently ill with influenza, had brought the illness to Mrs. Downey's vounger children, who were pupils at Waterloo. 104 As many as thirty-nine cases necessitated judicial enforcement of a strict quarantine involving twelve families.

An even more serious out-

break extended along Buffalo Creek, with an estimated 100 cases of influenza, eight cases of pneumonia, and several deaths. It was reported that this outbreak was brought in by young people of the locality visiting at Clifton Forge. 105 And the influenza finally appeared in Rockbridge Baths, causing students to "abandon the school and it was closed." Nearly all the twenty cases there started with one family, the head of which returned from West Virginia with the flu. Several county schools were closed as a precaution. Shocking deaths included those of Mrs. Walter Murray, twenty-nine, mother of five children, all sick with influenza when she died; Edward Shewey, "a young man of fine physical powers"; Andrew Nicely, fortyfive, and two of his young daughters, ages four and six; and Virginia Steele of Steeles Tavern, "just beginning to enter into the joys and pleasures of girlhood."106 In early December, Lieutenant J. Henry Smith, twenty-one, eldest son of Washington and Lee President Henry Louis Smith, died at Camp Taylor in Louisville, Kentucky, of pneumonia. Lt. Smith had been a "splendid specimen of physical manhood" and the "picture of health" when he was on leave in Lexington two months before. 107

Christmas Day 1918 was rather somber: cloudy, with a cold wind, and "remarkably drippy." In Lexington, "cash sales were remarkably large, a natural consequence of the abundance of money." Schools in Lexington re-opened on December 31 to make up for days lost due to influenza, but a number of schools in the county stayed closed because of "the continuance of influenza." 109

A steady downpour of rain with mild temperatures greeted the New Year, in contrast to the hard freeze of the previous year. By January 2, a severe outbreak of influenza was reported in the Brownsburg area, and no physician was available. Deaths were still occurring in Natural Bridge and at Timber Ridge. A report from Raphine in northern Rockbridge spoke of the new year's "melodious notes of universal peace, but mingled with 'sorrow' in the homes all over the land, caused by the pestilence that walketh at noonday." Cases were reported from Glasgow in mid-January; a thirteen-year-old girl, Lillie Downey, died and "six little girls, her schoolmates were the pallbearers, and four others carried the flowers, which were very beautiful. A very distressing feature of this death was that her mother and three other children were sick in bed at the time."

A Third Wave

In Lexington, the women's club held a meeting January 6: "Their pleasant and instructive sessions were interrupted in the fall by the influenza epidemic and the call of war work for women." 112

In Lexington, there were two deaths on January 10 owing to unusual complications: Miss Annie Marie Fitzgerald, fifty-nine, a nurse living on Main Street who had contracted the disease in the autumn "and was never well afterwards"; and three-year-old Thomas Agree Smith of Jefferson Street, who died with diabetes following an influenza infection.

A January 16 report said that "influenza and colds are largely prevalent in this town and county. . . . Physicians constantly on the go; many calls to Lexington physicians coming from far out in the county." 113 "The 'flu' situation . . . is reported serious . . . whole families being laid-up . . . individual cases are not so serious . . . but the present epidemic seems to be more widely diffused." 114

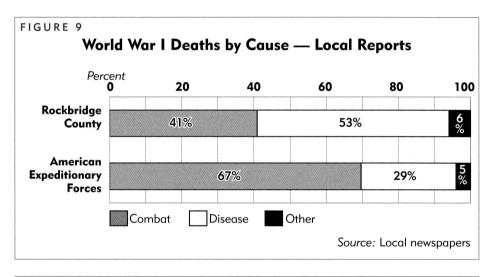
In Natural Bridge, John McGee, thirty-eight, "the picture of health," died on January 15, eight days after driving to Lexington in a buggy to "attend to some business." He left behind a widow and eight children, ages one to seventeen. ¹¹⁵ Dr. Lloyd was "going night and day," the only physician in the whole district. "For the last few days business of all kinds have been paralyzed and at this time the end is not in sight." ¹¹⁶ Because recovery from influenza was slow, the report from Natural Bridge suggested that schools not reopen until April 1: "Even those pupils that have recovered . . . are not strong and in no condition to study." ¹¹⁷

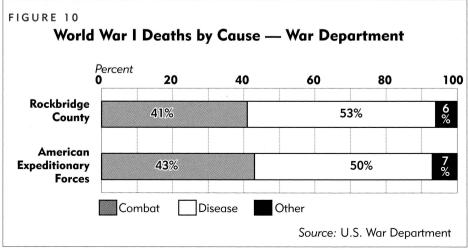
Casualties of War

Even "in the face of an influenza epidemic disturbing the town and county," Lee-Jackson Day was celebrated in Lexington on January 20. "The most idle came to attention when General Nichols, rising to his feet at the

call of the toastmaster, read in measured terms the men from Rockbridge who had made, 'The Supreme Sacrifice in the World War'." General Nichols cited thirteen men who died in battle, seventeen who died of disease, and two who died in accidents. Of interest, of those who died of disease, fifteen had died in the United States, not in Europe; eleven of them had died in the camps — four at Camp Lee alone. Influenza was a likely cause of death in at least eleven of the men, based on dates of death.

Deaths of local men from combat, disease, and other causes were compared to national estimates from papers published locally early in 1919 and to official statistics available later from the War Department.¹¹⁹ The Rockbridge County statistics are very similar to official War Department statistics that link 50 percent or more of World War I deaths to disease (Figures 9 and 10).





Lexington mayor Otho C. Jackson "brought the company back to the present as he spoke of the South and the World war . . . he gloried in the unity of the people of the United States in which the spirit of the South had been conspicuous."

The *Rockbridge County News* noted the impact of the epidemic among Washington and Lee alumni serving in the war: Of twenty-seven men who died, eight were killed in action (30 percent), four (15 percent) died of wounds, and fifteen (56 percent) "died of disease" — roughly in line with the War Department and local civilian statistics. Of interest, even though most W&L alumni casualties were the result of disease, those victims were described as "men who made the supreme sacrifice for their country in the great war."

A Respite

The last reported local deaths of the 1918-19 pandemic included those in February of a twenty-one-year-old mother of an infant son and Lucy Preston Smith, who had taken up nursing duties in the V.M.I. hospital in the emergency, "bringing her skill to bear for the help of ill cadets." (Miss Preston was the granddaughter of former V.M.I. superintendent General Francis Smith and Dr. Livingston Waddell.) In May, James Wilson Morrison, game warden for Rockbridge County, died of influenza.¹²¹

By October, there had been a notable near-absence of death notices for weeks. An October 23 news article said, "Records show remarkable and gratifying health conditions. Scarcely a death reported." Influenza seemed to have disappeared.

Final Curtain Call

The virus rallied in January and February of 1920 but mortality did not reach 1918-19 levels. ¹²³ By this time, the populace, including that in Rockbridge County, was more resistant than in 1918 and 1919.

The medical and scientific establishments were "baffled" (Figure 11). 124

In Virginia, the epidemic was "tightening its grip on Roanoke," but over all, cases in Virginia seemed to be of a milder nature. 125 Locally, Dr.

Glasgow reported an increase in number of influenza cases in Lexington and Rockbridge County — but of a milder strain. By early February, sixty-five mild cases had been reported in Lexington, ten of them in W&L students and twenty in V.M.I. cadets. Jackson Hospital

LEXINGTON GAZETTE

Medical Science Frankly Baffled By Disease Germ

FIGURE 11

Source: Lexington Gazette, January 28, 1920.

had only one nurse capable of duty for twenty patients. Nursing needs were met by family, friends, and neighbors "coming to the rescue." Some schools in the county closed, and attendance at open schools was small because of "fear of influenza with bad weather." The annual Fancy Dress Ball at Washington and Lee, scheduled for February 10, was called off because of influenza.

A flareup occurred in mid-February.¹²⁷ Exact numbers of cases were not known: "Physicians seem to be too busy to make reports." The offices of the telephone company were found "in a bad situation," with most of the "young lady operators" unable to report for duty. The company appealed to the public to "use the line only when necessary," just as it had in 1918. By February 19, the flu was even more widespread, with every neighborhood "spotted with cases of the disease." Though the cases were mild, every community had "cases of pneumonia to which frail people, particularly, were succumbing." Dr. Glasgow estimated that Lexington had as many as 250 cases. W&L had a total of twenty-eight sick, fourteen of whom were in the hospital, one seriously ill. V.M.I. had fifteen cases in the hospital. Cadets were quarantined from February 1 to 11.¹²⁸

As in the previous winter, businesses were affected; Figure 12 shows one advertisement from $1920.^{129}$

Government operations felt the impact; the jailer, two deputy sheriffs, a deputy clerk, and the treasurer were all affected. 130

A number of unexpected and shocking deaths occurred in February. Mrs. O'Neal Moses, age thirty-one, mother, trained soprano, and member of the Lexington Presbyterian choir, died in less than a week from influenza and pneumonia. The young Mayor Jackson, who had spoken so passionately on Lee-Jackson Day the year before, died of heart failure following what appeared to be a mild case of influenza. Deaths of parent-child pairs and "husband and wife buried in same grave in Staunton" were reported. There was "much sickness in Natural Bridge," and Dr. Lloyd was busy with 100 cases. "Last winter the colored people were almost exempt from influenza, but this time many of this race are down with it."

Owing to illness Barrington Hall Coffee Rooms will not open until further notice.

Any one desiring doughnuts, cream cake, beaten biscuits, cake, pies and charlotte russe for Saturday can leave orders not later than Friday morning. Orders must be called for Saturday morning. Womans' Exchange open from 10 a.m. to 1 p.m.

The flu subsided in early March, coincident with the arrival of two blizzards and 8-degree weather. Perhaps the blizzards helped by forcing everyone to stay inside.

FIGURE 12

Source: Rockbridge County News, February 19, 1920

HOW TO SAVE YOURSELF AND OTHERS FROM INFLUENZA

(Advice Offered by the State Board of Health)

Keep away from crowds.

Avoid people who are coughing or sneezing,

Don't put into your mouth fingers, pencils or other things that don't belong there.

Don't use cup used by others without thoroughly washing it.

Avoid getting hungry, tired and cold.

Sleep and work in rooms filled with fresh air, but keep the body

Eat plenty of simple, nourishing food and avoid alcoholic drinks.

When you cough or sneeze, cover your nose or mouth with a handkerchief, or turn your face to the floor.

Wash your hands before eating.

If you get influenza, go immediately to bed and stay there for several days in order to ward off pneumonia.

FIGURE 15

Source: Rockbridge County News, October 10, 1918.

"no time and no desire to wade through the technical phrase-ology" (Figure 14). 139

In 1918, the Rockbridge County News brought front-page news about the "Spanish Influenza" from Dr. Rupert

Blue, surgeon general of the U.S. Public Health Service, as well as advice offered by the State Board of Health, "How to Save Yourself and Others from Influenza," reproduced in Figure 15. 140

The article ended with this useful advice: "Cover up each cough and sneeze / If you don't you'll spread disease."

Separately, the surgeon general of the Army issued these rules:¹⁴¹

- Avoid needless crowding influenza is a crowd disease.
- Smother your coughs and sneezes others do not want the germs which you would throw away.
- Your nose, not your mouth, was made to breathe through.
- Remember the three "Cs" a clean mouth, clean skin, and clean clothes.
- Try to keep cool when you walk, and warm when you ride and sleep.
- Open the windows always at home at night; at the office when practicable.
- Food will win the war if you give it a chance help by choosing and chewing your food well.
- Your fate may be in your own hands wash your hands before eating.
- Don't let the waste products of digestion accumulate drink a glass or two of water on getting up.
- Don't use a napkin, towel, spoon, fork, glass, or cup which has been used by another person and not washed.
- Avoid tight clothes, tight shoes, tight gloves seek to make nature your ally, not your prisoner.
- When the air is pure, breathe all of it you can breathe deeply.

HOW TO SAVE YOURSELF AND OTHERS FROM INFLUENZA

(Advice Offered by the State Board of Health)

Keep away from crowds.

Avoid people who are coughing or sneezing,

Don't put into your mouth fingers, pencils or other things that don't belong there.

Don't use cup used by others without thoroughly washing it.

Avoid getting hungry, tired and cold.

Sleep and work in rooms filled with fresh air, but keep the body

Eat plenty of simple, nourishing food and avoid alcoholic drinks.

When you cough or sneeze, cover your nose or mouth with a handkerchief, or turn your face to the floor.

Wash your hands before eating.

If you get influenza, go immediately to bed and stay there for several days in order to ward off pneumonia.

FIGURE 15

Source: Rockbridge County News, October 10, 1918.

"no time and no desire to wade through the technical phrase-ology" (Figure 14). 139

In 1918, the Rockbridge County News brought front-page news about the "Spanish Influenza" from Dr. Rupert

Blue, surgeon general of the U.S. Public Health Service, as well as advice offered by the State Board of Health, "How to Save Yourself and Others from Influenza," reproduced in Figure 15. 140

The article ended with this useful advice: "Cover up each cough and sneeze / If you don't you'll spread disease."

Separately, the surgeon general of the Army issued these rules:¹⁴¹

- Avoid needless crowding influenza is a crowd disease.
- Smother your coughs and sneezes others do not want the germs which you would throw away.
- Your nose, not your mouth, was made to breathe through.
- Remember the three "Cs" a clean mouth, clean skin, and clean clothes.
- Try to keep cool when you walk, and warm when you ride and sleep.
- Open the windows always at home at night; at the office when practicable.
- Food will win the war if you give it a chance help by choosing and chewing your food well.
- Your fate may be in your own hands wash your hands before eating.
- Don't let the waste products of digestion accumulate drink a glass or two of water on getting up.
- Don't use a napkin, towel, spoon, fork, glass, or cup which has been used by another person and not washed.
- Avoid tight clothes, tight shoes, tight gloves seek to make nature your ally, not your prisoner.
- When the air is pure, breathe all of it you can breathe deeply.

Also in 1918, the state board of health announced that it would "take advantage for education purposes, of the favorable psychological atmosphere created by the epidemic of influenza" by publishing an "Influenza Catechism" for distribution to schoolchildren.

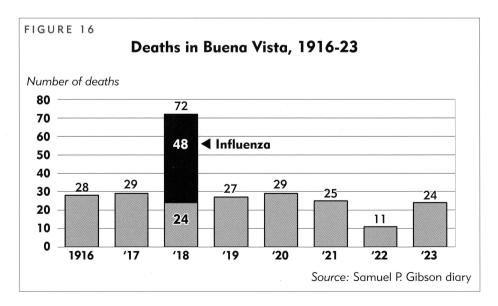
Morbidity and Mortality Statistics

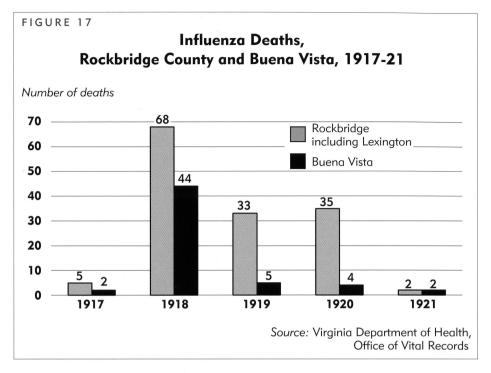
Morbidity and mortality statistics were inadequately recorded in most areas of the United States. 143 It is therefore likely that state and county figures are underestimates.

The 1918 report of the Virginia State Commissioner of Health summarized the impact of the 1918 pandemic in the U.S. and in Virginia: "Owing to the great epidemic of influenza which began to rage during the latter part of September and reached its height in October, all previous death rates were far surpassed."

In a December 1919 diary entry, Samuel Gibson of Buena Vista wrote, "We had 43 white and 5 colored deaths from influenza this Fall." Comparing those figures with the overall Buena Vista population shows a death rate of 1.4 percent for whites and 1.3 percent for blacks. 144 Crosby observed that African American civilians had higher death rates from respiratory disease than whites except for the period during the pandemic. 145 The Buena Vista mortality rates for blacks and whites, however, appeared to be similar.

Gibson kept a running tally of deaths since 1890. The numbers used in Figure 16 are rough, as he did not compile his tally on the same day every year. About two-thirds of the deaths he reported in 1918 resulted from influenza — a 2.5-fold increase over the figure for 1917.





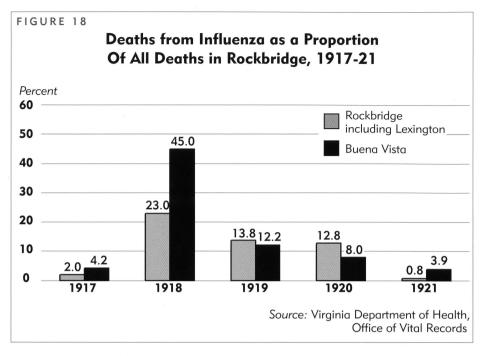
Dr. Robert Glasgow, Lexington's health officer, reported vital statistics for Lexington for 1919 and compared them with those of 1918. Deaths were higher in 1918 for both whites and blacks, although causes of death were not given. The 1919 population was 3,250. The numbers of deaths were sixteen whites and nine "colored"; in 1918, comparable numbers were forty and twenty-three — also a 2.5-fold increase in deaths for each race.

Reported influenza deaths from the State of Virginia Vital Statistics records for Rockbridge County and Buena Vista confirm a dramatic spike in 1918, and in the county for 1919 and 1920 as well (Figure 17).*

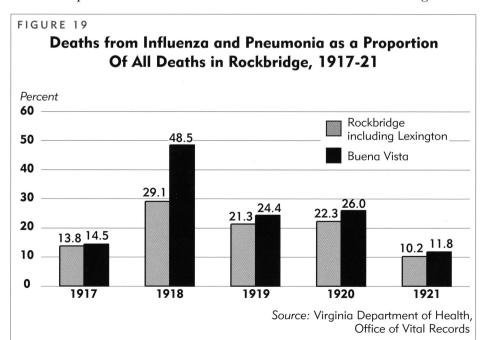
Figure 18 shows the ratio of influenza deaths to total deaths from 1917 through 1921. Note the jump in Buena Vista flu mortality in 1918.

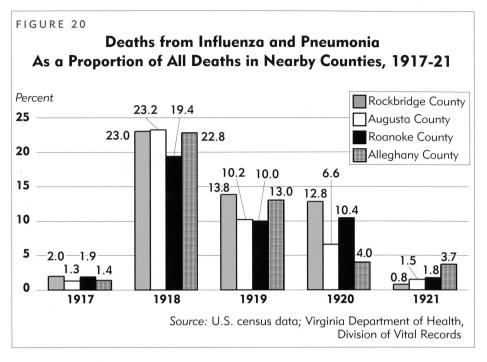
Nationally, nearly half of all deaths in 1918 resulted from influenza. The Buena Vista statistics support the national estimates. Figure 18 shows that death rates in 1919 and 1920 both in Rockbridge County and Buena Vista, while not as high as the death rates in 1918, were still higher than the baseline rates observed for 1917 and 1921. In fact, Rockbridge County death rates for influenza, especially during the fall wave in 1918, are possibly underestimates owing to underreporting or failure to determine causes of death accurately.

^{*} Lexington was included in Rockbridge County statistics because it was not a separate city at that time.



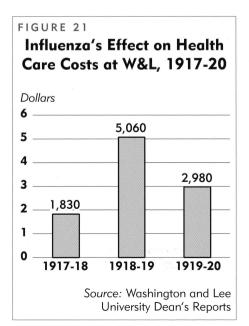
Because the diagnoses of influenza and pneumonia in 1918 were not based on objective laboratory testing or case identification, statistics for influenza and pneumonia were combined to see if there was a difference when compared with the statistics for influenza alone. Data in Figures 18





and 19 show that, although there are slight differences in rates, the overall patterns are the same, with returns to baseline after 1920.

Figure 20 compares Rockbridge County statistics with those of three nearby counties, Augusta, Roanoke, and Alleghany. The statistics for each county are similar, with greatly increased death rates from influenza in



1918 and a return to pre-1918 rates after 1920. For reasons already noted, it is likely that these rates are also underestimated.

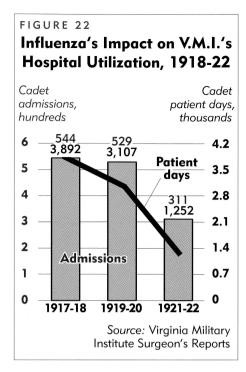
Economic Impact

Pandemics have considerable economic impact.¹⁴⁸ Aside from local news items regarding the negative impact of the epidemic on Buena Vista businesses and the shortage of telephone operators and pharmacists in Lexington, little was said locally. The W&L dean's reports and V.M.I. surgeon's reports were a source of indirect information concerning effects on health costs (Figures 21 and 22).

In 1919, Dr. McClung observed in his V.M.I. report: "We had an unusual number of men throughout the year at sick calls and on the sick list. The prevailing illness was influenza and its attendant maladies; pneumonia, virulent throat infections, etc."

Considerations for Future Pandemics

A pandemic of the magnitude of the 1918 pandemic would cause economic stress, although the availability of antiviral therapies, vaccines, antibiotics, and rapid identification of cases would have an impact on morbidity and mortality. 149 In contrast to the lack of communication in 1918, communication today is much faster due to myriad



forces, including internet and social networking. 150

Rockbridge County, Lexington, and Buena Vista currently have a total population of about 35,000. Although the attack rate cannot be predicted, if a quarter to a third of the population were affected as it was in 1918, one might expect to see 9,000 to 11,000 cases locally. Unfortunately, one cannot predict mortality.*

There are important lessons to be learned from the 1918 pandemic in Rockbridge County. At that time, help from state and federal government was not available; communities had to take care of themselves. This approach included using volunteers and family members as caregivers to compensate for inadequate numbers of medical personnel. Locally, hospitals were improvised, using firehouses, hotels, dormitories, and private residences. Elsewhere in Virginia, schools were used as hospitals in some locations and medical students were deployed.¹⁵²

Questions regarding pandemic flu planning include whether to send college students home and, if so, when. Statistics on morbidity and mortality in Lexington's two colleges were available only for W&L, where 35 to 40 percent of the student population fell ill and two students died

^{*} On June 11, 2009, in response to the appearance of a novel transmissible H1N1 influenza virus, the World Health Organization raised the worldwide pandemic alert level to Phase 6, signifying that a global pandemic is under way, requiring surveillance and response.¹⁵¹

from influenza. There is no question that the extent of illness in the student population taxed health-care resources locally.

Discussions regarding pandemic preparations today deal with similar issues of school closings, economic impact, quarantining, local community involvement, utilization of volunteers, importance of communication with the public, and basic prevention, such as respiratory etiquette and hand-washing.¹⁵³

Notes

- 1 Gina Kolata, Flu: The Story of the Great Influenza Pandemic of 1918 and the Search for the Virus That Caused It (Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, New York, 1999), p. 6.
- 2 www.cdc.gov/flu.
- 3 Alfred W. Crosby, America's Forgotten Pandemic: The Influenza of 1918 (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2003), p. 20.
- 4 *Ibid.*, pp. 21-24.
- 5 www.cdc.gov/flu.
- 6 Ibid.
- 7 Edwin D. Kilbourne, "Influenza Pandemics of the 20th Century," in *Emerging Infectious Diseases* (January 2006), pp. 9-14; J. K. Taubenberger and D. M. Morens, Taubenberger, "1918 Influenza: the Mother of All Pandemics," in *Emerging Infectious Diseases* (January 2006), pp. 15-22.
- 8 Crosby, pp. 204.
- 9 Kolata, pp. 6-7.
- 10 John M. Barry, *The Great Influenza: The Epic Story of the Deadliest Plague in History* (Viking, New York, 2004), pp. 396-98; Crosby, p. 206-07.
- 11 Barry, p. 238.
- 12 Kolata, p. 8.
- 13 *Ibid.*, p. 7.
- 14 Crosby, pp. 227-57.
- 15 Taubenberger and Morens.
- 16 Taubenberger and Morens.
- 17 Barry, p. 148.
- 18 Rockbridge County News Yearbook, Lexington, January 2, 1919.
- 19 Barry, pp. 92-97 and 148-49.
- 20 Crosby, pp. 17-18.
- 21 Barry, pp. 98, 169-70, and 453-56.
- 22 Ibid., p. 172.
- 23 Ibid., pp. 170-71.
- 24 Kolata, pp. 10-11; Crosby, pp. 20-21.

- 25 Crosby, p. 18.
- 26 Barry, pp. 231-41 and 246-52.
- 27 County News Yearbook, 1919.
- 28 Barry, pp. 182-84 and 185-93; Crosby, pp. 37-40.
- 29 Lexington Gazette, September 4, 1918.
- 30 County News, September 18, 1918.
- 31 Gazette, September 4, 1918.
- 32 Henry Lewis Smith, *Report of the President*, Washington and Lee University, June 5, 1919.
- 33 County News, September 26, 1918.
- 34 Calyx (Washington and Lee student yearbook), 1919.
- 35 Annual Report of the Virginia Military Institute, 1918-19.
- 36 County News, October 3, 1918.
- 37 Gazette, October 1, 1918.
- 38 Annual Report of the Virginia Military Institute, 1918-19.
- 39 County News, October 3, 1918.
- 40 Ibid.
- 41 Crosby, pp. 287-90.
- 42 County News, October 3, 1918.
- 43 Smith, Report of the President, June 5, 1919.
- 44 Calyx, 1919.
- 45 Gazette, October 9, 1918.
- 46 County News, October 3, 1918.
- 47 Gazette, October 9, 1918.
- 48 Calyx, 1919.
- 49 Gazette, October 9, 1918.
- 50 County News, October 10, 1918.
- 51 Gazette, October 9, 1918.
- 52 *Ibid*.
- 53 Gazette, November 20, 1918.
- 54 Samuel P. Gibson diary, 1918.
- 55 County News, February 5, 1920.
- 56 Gazette, October 9, 1918.
- 57 County News, October 17, 1918.
- 58 Gazette, October 9, 1918.
- 59 Ibid.

- 60 County News, October 17, 1918.
- 61 County News, October 10, 1918.
- 62 *Ibid*.
- 63 County News, October 17, 1918.
- 64 Gazette, October 23, 1918; County News, October 31, 1918.
- 65 Annual Report of the Virginia Military Institute, 1918-19.
- 66 Ibid.
- 67 Surgeon's Report, Virginia Military Institute, June 8, 1919.
- 68 Crosby, p. 70.
- 69 County News, October 31, 1918.
- 70 Gazette, October 16, 1918.
- 71 Gazette, October 23, 1918.
- 72 County News, October 17, 1918.
- 73 *Ibid*.
- 74 Calyx, 1919.
- 75 County News, October 24, 1918.
- 76 County News, October 17, 1918.
- 77 *Gazette*, October 23, 1918.
- 78 County News, October 24, 1918.
- 79 Gazette, October 23, 1918.
- 80 *Ibid*.
- 81 County News, October 24, 1918.
- 82 *Ibid*.
- 83 Buena Vista News, September 6, 1918.
- 84 Ibid.
- 85 County News, October 31, 1918.
- 86 Kolata, p. 7.
- 87 County News, October 31, 1918.
- 88 Gazette, October 30, 1918.
- 89 County News, October 24, 1918
- 90 Gazette, October 30, 1918.
- 91 County News, October 24, 1918.
- 92 County News, October 24, 1918.
- 93 Gibson diary.
- 94 County News, November 7, 1918.
- 95 Gazette, November 6, 1918.

- 96 Ibid.
- 97 Surgeon's Report, Virginia Military Institute, 1916.
- 98 Gazette, October 30, 1918.
- 99 Crosby, pp. 228-29.
- 100 Gazette, November 13, 1918.
- 101 Gazette, November 6, 1918.
- 102 County News, November 7, 1918.
- 103 County News, November 21, 1918.
- 104 Ibid.
- 105 County News, November 28, 1918.
- 106 County News, December 5, 1918.
- 107 County News, December 12, 1918.
- 108 County News, December 26, 1918.
- 109 County News, January 2, 1919.
- 110 County News, January 9, 1919.
- 111 County News, January 16, 1919.
- 112 County News, January 9, 1919.
- 113 County News, January 16, 1919.
- 114 *Gazette*, January 20, 1919.
- 115 County News, January 23, 1919.
- 116 *Ibid*.
- 117 County News, January 30, 1919.
- 118 County News, January 23, 1919.
- 119 Carol R. Byerly, Fever of War: The Influenza Epidemic in the U.S. Army during World War I (New York University Press, New York, 2005), p. 186.
- 120 County News, February 6, 1919.
- 121 Rockbridge County News Yearbook, January 6, 1921.
- 122 County News, Oct 23, 1919.
- 123 Andrew Cliff, World Atlas of Epidemic Diseases (Oxford University Press, New York, 2004), p. 89.
- 124 Gazette, January 28, 1920.
- 125 County News, January 29, 1920.
- 126 County News, February 5, 1920.
- 127 County News, February 19, 1920.
- 128 *Gazette*, February 18, 1920.
- 129 County News, February 19, 1920.

- 130 Ibid.
- 131 County News, February 5, 1920.
- 132 County News, February 26, 1920.
- 133 County News, February 19, 1920.
- 134 Ibid.
- 135 Rockbridge County News Yearbook, January 6, 1921.
- 136 Ibid.
- 137 Cliff, p. 88.
- 138 Gazette, January 8, 1919.
- 139 Reprinted in Gazette, January 8, 1919.
- 140 County News, October 10, 1918.
- 141 Barry, p. 311
- 142 County News, November 7, 1918.
- 143 Barry, p. 238.
- 144 U.S. Census data, Rockbridge County.
- 145 Crosby, p. 228.
- 146 Gazette, January 28, 1920.
- 147 Crosby, p. 204.
- 148 www.cdc.gov/flu.
- 149 Barry, p. 450-452.
- 150 John S. Brownstein, Clark C. Freifeld, and Lawrence C. Madoff, "Digital Disease Detection Harnessing the Web for Public Health Surveillance," in *New England Journal of Medicine*, May 2009, pp. 2153-57.
- 151 Teddi D. Johnson, "Health Workers Gearing up for More H1N1 Cases in Fall," in *The Nation's Health* (American Public Health Association), August 2009.
- 152 Lawrence O. Gostin, "Influenza Pandemic Preparedness: Legal and Ethical Dimensions," in *Hastings Center Report*, September-October 2004, pp. 10-11; Gostin, "Medical Countermeasures for Pandemic Influenza: Ethics and the Law," in *Journal of the American Medical Association*, February 2006, pp. 554-56; Virginia Department of Health, 2005.
- 153 Johnson, "Health Workers Gearing Up."

Other Resources

Public Health Sources

- Centers for Disease Control Fact Sheets: "Key Facts about Influenza and Influenza Vaccine," September 28, 2005; "Pandemic Flu: Key Facts," January 17, 2006.
- Virginia Department of Health: The Virginia Pandemic Influenza Advisory Committee Workshop, June 2005.

Local Sources

Census 1910 and 1920: http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu.

Vital Statistics

Annual Report of the State Board of Health and the State Health Commissioner to the Governor of Virginia for the Fiscal Year Ending September 30, 1918 (Richmond, 1919).

Virginia Health Bulletin: Report of the Bureau of Vital Statistics for the Year 1918 (Richmond, 1920).

Annual Report of the Bureau of Vital Statistics for the Year Ending December 31, 1919 (Richmond).

Meeting Minutes

Lexington town council meeting minutes.

Buena Vista city council meeting minutes.

Ignorance Club meeting minutes.

Other Sources

Paxton House Historical Society, Buena Vista, January 29, 2005, second quarterly meeting.

Samuel P. Gibson Diary, Buena Vista (private collection).

Two of our sixteen 2003-05 presenters did not provide copies of their presentations for publication. Those presentations are described on pages 273-77.

Shape Note Music and Lucius Chapin, Rockbridge County's First Singing Teacher

David W. Coffey



N THE EVENING of January 28, 2003, in Dunlap Auditorium of the Lexington Presbyterian Church, the Rockbridge Historical Society considered a part of local musi-

FIGURE 1 Shaped note musical scale (C major).

cal history with the assistance of John del Re and the Northern Shenandoah Sacred Harp Singers, who presented a lecture and demonstration of shape note singing. A special focus was the career of Lucius Chapin (1760-1842), an itinerant singing teacher who was associated with the Reverend William Graham, rector of Liberty Hall Academy, during the early 1790s.

Shape note singing makes use of a different scheme of musical notation that, while maintaining the customary lines and spaces, employs notes of different shapes — squares, circles, triangles, and diamonds — in an attempt to make music-reading easier (Figure 1).

The shape note system is also known as the *fasola* method, a label derived from the names assigned to each of the notes, *fa, sol, la, mi*, which differ from the *do-re-mi* that is customary today.

The origins of shape note notation are obscure. While some speculate on European antecedents for the system, its first widespread use was in late eighteenth-century New England. Shape notes migrated southward with such teachers as the Chapin brothers, Lucius and Amzi, and are now primarily associated with the Southern states. Throughout the nineteenth century, shape note hymnbooks such as *The Sacred Harp* and

Southern Harmony were widely used in the region.

More hymns were in a minor than a major key, and modal scales were also a popular idiom. There were either three or four separate singing parts in a shape note hymn, each independent of the others and melodic in its own right. David W. Coffey a Lexington native, was educated at Davidson College, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and the University of Virginia. He has taught U.S. and Virginia history at the Virginia Military Institute since 1989. He has been program chairman of the Rockbridge Historical Society since 1993 and was elected a trustee of the Society in 2006.

Chords in this musical style often lacked the third (middle) note, creating what are known as "open fifths" or "perfect fifths," which gave the songs an austere and haunting character. The best-known tune in this genre is *New Britain*, to which we customarily sing the text, "Amazing grace, how sweet the sound"

Lucius Chapin was born into a musical family in Springfield, Massachusetts, on April 25, 1760. During the American Revolution, he was a fifer with the Massachusetts Provincial Army at Fort Ticonderoga and other battles. After the war, he apprenticed as a clothier and began conducting singing schools at churches in New England. About 1788, he migrated to Rockbridge County, where he provided singing instruction for several years at Liberty Hall Academy and at many Presbyterian churches in the area.

Chapin's primary biographer, James William Scholten,¹ speculates that Chapin may have met Liberty Hall's principal, William Graham, on one of Graham's fund-raising trips to New England. In his *Sketches of Virginia*, William Foote indicates that Graham hoped to improve the quality of singing in the Valley by securing the services of Chapin. "From him [Chapin]," Foote writes, "all the knowledge of church music in Rockbridge and some of the neighboring counties, for a number of years, was derived." Graham spoke highly of his singing master (who also managing a clothing business in Lexington to supplement his income), and provided him with a letter of reference stating that Chapin "had acquitted himself as a master in his profession to the entire satisfaction of all who employed him and of all who were acquainted with music and is of unblemished moral and religious character as a Member of the Church. . . . "3"

Graham left Liberty Hall for Ohio in 1796, and the next year Chapin moved with his family to Kentucky, subsequently relocating to Ohio by 1818. He died in Cincinnati in 1842.

In addition to his work as a clothier and teacher, Chapin was also a composer of hymn tunes; Scholten credits him with at least seven that



FIGURE 2
Rockbridge, music by Lucius Chapin. Published in *The Southern Harmony and Musical Companion*, Spartanburg, South Carolina, 1847.

were included in many of the shape note hymnals published in New England and the South throughout the nineteenth century. Several of the names Chapin assigned to his melodies honor the places where he conducted singing schools: *Liberty Hall, Rockbridge, Rockingham.* Figure 2 shows Chapin's *Rockbridge*. As is customary in shape note music, the melody appears in the middle (tenor) line.

Notes

- 1 James William Scholten, "The Chapins: A Study of Men and Sacred Music West of the Alleghanies, 1795-1842" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1972).
- 2 William Henry Foote, *Sketches of Virginia, Historical and Biographical, First Series* (John Knox Press, Richmond, 1966), p. 464. The original edition was published in 1850.
- 3 Quoted in Scholten, p. 25.

'Those Mutinyous Rascals': Militia Disaffection In Revolutionary Rockbridge County, 1780-81

By John Maass

SPECIALLY IN THE LATER YEARS of the Revolutionary War, many in the western backcountry of Virginia, which included Rockbridge County, strenuously resisted efforts by civil and military leaders — notably, Governor Thomas Jefferson and Major General Nathaniel Greene, commander of the Continental Army's southern department — to conscript their service in the militia. Especially among recent Scots-Irish settlers, the chief issue was a sense of detachment from the cause of independence (and, secondarily, concerns about leaving families and farms behind).

Getting county militia organizations — Rockbridge's and others in Virginia — to report for duty, clothing and arming the soldiers, moving them to the lines of battle, and keeping them there remained intractable challenges for Revolutionary leaders throughout the course of the war.

John Maass, an honors graduate of Washington and Lee University with a degree in history, delivered a talk on the topic at the Society's March 28, 2005, meeting in Pogue Auditorium at the George C. Marshall Museum. Mr. Mass, who did not release a copy of his paper for publication here, was at the time a Ph.D. candidate in early American history at Ohio State University.

Record of Meetings, 2003-05

2003

- "History of Shaped Note Singing in the Valley of Virginia" John del Re, with members of the Northern Shenandoah Sacred Harp and Shaped Note Singers. January 28, 2003: Dunlap Auditorium, Lexington Presbyterian Church.
- "Warriors' Letters: The Stonewall Brigade As Revealed in Letters to the Home Front" Amanda T. Conway. April 28, 2003: Pogue Auditorium, George C. Marshall Library and Museum.
- "The Other Fredericksburg: Ten Thousand Years of History" James M. Hepner. July 28, 2003: Rockbridge Baths Volunteer Fire Department.
- "Cornwall Revived: The History of the South River Lumber Company" Rev. Dr. Horace Douty. October 27, 2003: Mountain View Elementary School, Buena Vista.

2004

- "Building from Faith: A History of St. Patrick's Catholic Parish, 1873-2003." General James M. Morgan Jr. January 26, 2004: Sheridan Livery Inn, Lexington.
- "The Great Lee Chapel Controversy and the 'Little Group of Willful Ladies' Who Saved the Shrine of the South" Pamela Hemenway Simpson. March 22, 2004; Lee Chapel, Washington and Lee University.
- "When the Lights Came on in Lexington . . . and in Rockbridge County" George Pryde. May 24, 2004: Pogue Auditorium, George C. Marshall Library and Museum.
- "The Franklin Society and Library Company" Dick Halseth. July 26, 2004: Pogue Auditorium, George C. Marshall Library and Museum.
- "Cyrus McCormick and the Rise of the Megacorps" Barry Machado. September 26, 2004: McCormick Farm, Raphine.

"Forgotten Pedagogue: Francis H. Smith, V.M.I., and the Overlooked Mission of Educational Reform" — Bradford A. Wineman. November 22, 2004: Lejeune Hall, Virginia Military Institute.

2005

- "The House Mountain Murders" Douglas J. Harwood. January 31, 2005: Evans Hall, Washington and Lee University.
- "The Rockbridge County Militia During the Revolution: John Maas. March 28, 2005: Pogue Auditorium, George C. Marshall Library and Museum.
- "'The Poor Shall Always Be with Us': The Rockbridge Response" Mary Ellen Henry. May 23, 2005: Rockbridge County Courthouse.
- "Sally McDowell of Col Alto: Extraordinary Antebellum Woman" Thomas E. Buckley, S.J. July 25, 2005: Col Alto, Lexington.
- "Monacan Mormons of Rockbridge County" Ruth Knight Bailey. September 27, 2005: Main Hall, Southern Virginia University.
- "In the 'Grippe' of Death: Rockbridge and the Great Pandemic of 1918" Eileen T. Hinks. November 21, 2005: Nichols Hall Auditorium, Virginia Military Institute.

These presentation titles may differ from the titles of corresponding articles in the main body of this volume, as authors generally update and revise their material for publication.

Index

This index does not include nearly ubiquitous terms (e.g., Lexington, Rockbridge, Virginia Military Institute, Washington and Lee University), nor references in any article to the article's topics (e.g., lumber and Cornwall in "The South River Lumber Company of Cornwall, Virginia"), nor names or terms that pop up only incidentally.

A		C	
Adams, Charles Francis Jr.	76	Camille (Hurricane)	58, 99
Albemarle County	135, 185, 248	Campbell County	154, 161
Alexander, James	178-79	Campbellites (so-calle	ed) 209
Alleghany County	104, 106, 107,	Camp Devens	238, 239
, ,	185, 249, 264	Camp Dix	239
Alphin, Tom	154	Camp Greene	238, 247
Amherst County	201, 203 ff.		, 247-48, 250-51, 256
Anderson, James	153 ff.	Canada	38, 118, 249
Anderson, William A.	78, 79, 83, 84	Carpenter, Joseph Ha	nnah 17, 24
Ann Smith Academy	102	Casler, John O.	26
Antietam, Battle of	18	Castle Hill	239, 241, 251
Appomattox Courthouse	11, 14	Chancellorsville	12, 14, 16, 26, 27
Arlington	71	Charleston (South Ca	rolina) 113
Arnolds Valley	105	Chestnut	51, 55, 56
Astor, Lady Nancy	81	Chicago	102, 104, 128, 129,
Augusta Academy	73		130, 132, 239, 249
Augusta County 35, 40, 60	6, 156, 185, 264	Christianity 2	4, 59 ff., 73, 200, 209
_		Churches	
В		Episcopal	136, 143, 203
Baldwin, O. P.	117	Methodist	38, 40, 52,
Baltimore	59, 60, 62, 113,		101-02, 119, 165, 191,
193	1, 192, 194, 248		242, 258, 273-74, 279
Baltimore & Ohio Railroad (B&O) 48, 170	Presbyterian	52,
Barclay, Ted	12 ff.		2, 119, 165, 191, 196,
Bath, Alleghany, Rockbridge Counties			9, 258, 273, 274, 279
(electricity cooperati		$Roman\ Catholic$	60-70, 279
Benincasa, Ugo and Gina	69	Clark (families)	53-58, 56-58, 57-58,
Benton, Sen. Thomas Hart 191-92			153-165, 216-234
S .	5, 46, 49, 53, 58,	Clifton Forge	62, 63, 182, 254
201, 205-07, 210, 213, 217		Cold Harbor (Hanover County) 24	
Boley, Henry	68,93	Coleman, Myrtle Wilh	
Borden Grant	35, 36, 39	Colonial Dames	81
Boston	81, 113, 238	Cooke, Morris Llewell	•
Bradshaw, Thomas C.	68	Covington	63, 245, 249, 254
Brady, Douglas E. Jr.	52 ff., 191	Cram, Ralph Adams	81, 83
Brattons Run	105,240	Cruisolle, Hyacinth	110
Brawley, Charles J.	167 ff.		
Breedlove, J. William	92	D	
Brockenbrough, Judge John		Davidson, Dr. Charles	
Brownsburg	37, 39, 255	Davidson, Greenlee	12, 21
Buchanan, Archibald	39	Davis, Dr. Reuben Fra	
Buffalo	165, 168, 254	Davis, John W.	83 ff.

Deere, John	127	Hill, A. P.	26
Deering, William	125 ff.	Hogback Mountain	33, 40
Diehl, George West	49	Hopkins, Jeannie	79-80
Divorce in Virginia	189-200	Houck, Peter W.	205
Dominion Virginia Power	106	Houghawout, Mayor J	. W. 94
Dorman, Cornelius	110	Houston, Sam	36
Douty, Reuben Franklin	52-53	Humphreys, David C.	95-97
Doyle, Robert	162	Hunter's Raid	122
Dueling	112	Hutchinson, Anderso	n 110
Dunlap, O. B.	179, 185		
		J	
E		Immigration policy	119
Edison, Thomas	95	Indians	113, 201 ff.
Edmondson, James K.	25	Ireland 35,	46, 59, 60, 61, 66, 119
Episcopal High School (Ale	exandria) 139	Irish Creek 46	5, 48, 52, 56, 153, 209,
			211-19, 247
F		Iron (and iron works)	35, 39, 48-49,
Fairfax, Randolph	23, 24		129-30, 210, 214, 247
•	7, 105, 190, 199		
Fancy Dress Ball	258	J	
Florida	60, 118	Jackson, Thomas J. (S	tonewall) 11-28, 69,
Flournoy and Flournoy (are		J , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	93, 115, 120, 134
Floyd, Gov. John	196	Jackson (Stonewall) C	
Ford Motor Co.	238	Jackson (Stonewall) H	
France 15, 59, 60, 118, 238-39, 244		247, 251, 157	
Franklin, Benjamin	12, 109-10, 124	Jackson, Andrew	144, 192
	23, 24	Jackson, Mayor Otho	
Fredericksburg, Battle of			
Fuller, Jacob	61, 117	James River	35, 45, 60, 253
		James River Jordans Point	35, 45, 60, 253 97, 98, 99
Fuller, Jacob Fuller, John W.	61, 117	James River	35, 45, 60, 253
Fuller, Jacob Fuller, John W.	61, 117 119, 120-22	James River Jordans Point Junkin, George	35, 45, 60, 253 97, 98, 99 119
Fuller, Jacob Fuller, John W. G General Motors	61, 117 119, 120-22	James River Jordans Point Junkin, George	35, 45, 60, 253 97, 98, 99 119
Fuller, Jacob Fuller, John W. G General Motors Geology	61, 117 119, 120-22 103 45, 49	James River Jordans Point Junkin, George K	35, 45, 60, 253 97, 98, 99 119 (134, 237
Fuller, Jacob Fuller, John W. G General Motors Geology Georgia	61, 117 119, 120-22 103 45, 49 24, 202	James River Jordans Point Junkin, George Kansas Kerrs Creek 35, 10	35, 45, 60, 253 97, 98, 99 119 X 134, 237 95, 165, 168, 248, 254
Fuller, Jacob Fuller, John W. G General Motors Geology Georgia Gibbons, Bishop James	61, 117 119, 120-22 103 45, 49 24, 202 61, 62	James River Jordans Point Junkin, George Kansas Kerrs Creek 35, 10 Kimball, Elder J. Gold	35, 45, 60, 253 97, 98, 99 119 X 134, 237 05, 165, 168, 248, 254 den 206
Fuller, Jacob Fuller, John W. G General Motors Geology Georgia Gibbons, Bishop James Gibson, Samuel 243-44, 2	61, 117 119, 120-22 103 45, 49 24, 202 61, 62 247-48, 251, 261	James River Jordans Point Junkin, George Kansas Kerrs Creek 35, 10 Kimball, Elder J. Gold Kimball, Elder Newel	35, 45, 60, 253 97, 98, 99 119 X 134, 237 05, 165, 168, 248, 254 den 206 1 208
Fuller, Jacob Fuller, John W. G General Motors Geology Georgia Gibbons, Bishop James Gibson, Samuel 243-44, 2 Glasgow, Dr. Robert	61, 117 119, 120-22 103 45, 49 24, 202 61, 62 247-48, 251, 261 239 ff.	James River Jordans Point Junkin, George Kansas Kerrs Creek 35, 10 Kimball, Elder J. Gold Kimball, Elder Newel	35, 45, 60, 253 97, 98, 99 119 (134, 237 05, 165, 168, 248, 254 den 206 1 208 211
Fuller, Jacob Fuller, John W. G General Motors Geology Georgia Gibbons, Bishop James Gibson, Samuel 243-44, 2 Glasgow, Dr. Robert Glasgow, Virginia	61, 117 119, 120-22 103 45, 49 24, 202 61, 62 247-48, 251, 261 239 ff. 255	James River Jordans Point Junkin, George Kansas Kerrs Creek 35, 10 Kimball, Elder J. Gold Kimball, Elder Newel	35, 45, 60, 253 97, 98, 99 119 X 134, 237 05, 165, 168, 248, 254 den 206 1 208
Fuller, Jacob Fuller, John W. G General Motors Geology Georgia Gibbons, Bishop James Gibson, Samuel 243-44, 2 Glasgow, Dr. Robert Glasgow, Virginia Glenn, John (Washington G	61, 117 119, 120-22 103 45, 49 24, 202 61, 62 247-48, 251, 261 239 ft. 255 College	James River Jordans Point Junkin, George Kansas Kerrs Creek 35, 10 Kimball, Elder J. Gold Kimball, Elder Newel	35, 45, 60, 253 97, 98, 99 119 (134, 237 05, 165, 168, 248, 254 den 206 1 208 211 81
Fuller, Jacob Fuller, John W. G General Motors Geology Georgia Gibbons, Bishop James Gibson, Samuel 243-44, 2 Glasgow, Dr. Robert Glasgow, Virginia Glenn, John (Washington G student)	61, 117 119, 120-22 103 45, 49 24, 202 61, 62 247-48, 251, 261 239 ff. 255 College	James River Jordans Point Junkin, George Kansas Kerrs Creek 35, 10 Kimball, Elder J. Gold Kimball, Elder Newel Kimball, Flias Kimball, Fiske	35, 45, 60, 253 97, 98, 99 119 (134, 237 95, 165, 168, 248, 254 den 206 1 208 211 81
Fuller, Jacob Fuller, John W. G General Motors Geology Georgia Gibbons, Bishop James Gibson, Samuel 243-44, 2 Glasgow, Dr. Robert Glasgow, Virginia Glenn, John (Washington G student) Graham, William	61, 117 119, 120-22 103 45, 49 24, 202 61, 62 247-48, 251, 261 239 ff. 255 College	James River Jordans Point Junkin, George Kansas Kerrs Creek 35, 10 Kimball, Elder J. Gold Kimball, Elder Newel Kimball, Fiske Lackey, H. A.	35, 45, 60, 253 97, 98, 99 119 (134, 237 95, 165, 168, 248, 254 den 206 1 208 211 81
Fuller, Jacob Fuller, John W. G General Motors Geology Georgia Gibbons, Bishop James Gibson, Samuel 243-44, 2 Glasgow, Dr. Robert Glasgow, Virginia Glenn, John (Washington G student) Graham, William Grant, Ulysses S.	61, 117 119, 120-22 103 45, 49 24, 202 61, 62 247-48, 251, 261 239 ff. 255 College 75 273-74 28	James River Jordans Point Junkin, George Kansas Kerrs Creek 35, 10 Kimball, Elder J. Gold Kimball, Elder Newel Kimball, Fiske Lackey, H. A. Larsen family	35, 45, 60, 253 97, 98, 99 119 (134, 237 05, 165, 168, 248, 254 den 206 1 208 211 81
Fuller, Jacob Fuller, John W. G General Motors Geology Georgia Gibbons, Bishop James Gibson, Samuel 243-44, 2 Glasgow, Dr. Robert Glasgow, Virginia Glenn, John (Washington ostudent) Graham, William Grant, Ulysses S. Great Britain	61, 117 119, 120-22 103 45, 49 24, 202 61, 62 247-48, 251, 261 239 ff. 255 College 75 273-74 28 112, 118	James River Jordans Point Junkin, George Kansas Kerrs Creek 35, 10 Kimball, Elder J. Gold Kimball, Elder Newel Kimball, Flias Kimball, Fiske Lackey, H. A. Larsen family Lee, George Washing	35, 45, 60, 253 97, 98, 99 119 (134, 237 95, 165, 168, 248, 254 den 206 1 208 211 81 - 179 217-234 ton Custis 73-76.
Fuller, Jacob Fuller, John W. G General Motors Geology Georgia Gibbons, Bishop James Gibson, Samuel 243-44, 2 Glasgow, Dr. Robert Glasgow, Virginia Glenn, John (Washington G student) Graham, William Grant, Ulysses S.	61, 117 119, 120-22 103 45, 49 24, 202 61, 62 247-48, 251, 261 239 ff. 255 College 75 273-74 28	James River Jordans Point Junkin, George Kansas Kerrs Creek 35, 10 Kimball, Elder J. Gold Kimball, Elder Newel Kimball, Elias Kimball, Fiske Lackey, H. A. Larsen family Lee, George Washing Lee, Mary Custis (Mr.	35, 45, 60, 253 97, 98, 99 119 (134, 237 95, 165, 168, 248, 254 den 206 1 208 211 81 - 179 217-234 ton Custis 73-76. s. Robert E.) 115
Fuller, Jacob Fuller, John W. G General Motors Geology Georgia Gibbons, Bishop James Gibson, Samuel 243-44, 2 Glasgow, Dr. Robert Glasgow, Virginia Glenn, John (Washington ostudent) Graham, William Grant, Ulysses S. Great Britain Great Depression	61, 117 119, 120-22 103 45, 49 24, 202 61, 62 247-48, 251, 261 239 ff. 255 College 75 273-74 28 112, 118	James River Jordans Point Junkin, George Kansas Kerrs Creek 35, 10 Kimball, Elder J. Gold Kimball, Elder Newel Kimball, Elias Kimball, Fiske Lackey, H. A. Larsen family Lee, George Washing Lee, Mary Custis (Mr. Lee, Mary (Mrs. Robe	35, 45, 60, 253 97, 98, 99 119 (134, 237 05, 165, 168, 248, 254 den 206 1 208 211 81
Fuller, Jacob Fuller, John W. General Motors Geology Georgia Gibbons, Bishop James Gibson, Samuel 243-44, 2 Glasgow, Dr. Robert Glasgow, Virginia Glenn, John (Washington ostudent) Graham, William Grant, Ulysses S. Great Britain Great Depression	61, 117 119, 120-22 103 45, 49 24, 202 61, 62 247-48, 251, 261 239 ff. 255 College 75 273-74 28 112, 118 37, 53, 56, 216	James River Jordans Point Junkin, George Kansas Kerrs Creek 35, 10 Kimball, Elder J. Gold Kimball, Elder Newel Kimball, Elias Kimball, Fiske Lackey, H. A. Larsen family Lee, George Washing Lee, Mary Custis (Mr.	35, 45, 60, 253 97, 98, 99 119 (134, 237 05, 165, 168, 248, 254 den 206 1 208 211 81 - 179 217-234 ton Custis 73-76. s. Robert E.) 115 ert E. III) 77 ff. 20-28, 71 ff.,
Fuller, Jacob Fuller, John W. G General Motors Geology Georgia Gibbons, Bishop James Gibson, Samuel 243-44, 2 Glasgow, Dr. Robert Glasgow, Virginia Glenn, John (Washington of Student) Graham, William Grant, Ulysses S. Great Britain Great Depression H Harrar, Charles L.	61, 117 119, 120-22 103 45, 49 24, 202 61, 62 247-48, 251, 261 239 ff. 255 College 75 273-74 28 112, 118 37, 53, 56, 216	James River Jordans Point Junkin, George Kansas Kerrs Creek 35, 16 Kimball, Elder J. Gold Kimball, Elder Newel Kimball, Fiske Lackey, H. A. Larsen family Lee, George Washing Lee, Mary Custis (Mr. Lee, Mary (Mrs. Robe Lee, Robert E.	35, 45, 60, 253 97, 98, 99 119 (134, 237 05, 165, 168, 248, 254 den 206 1 208 211 81 - 179 217-234 ton Custis 73-76. s. Robert E.) 115 ert E. III) 77 ff. 20-28, 71 ff., 114, 116, 125, 199
Fuller, Jacob Fuller, John W. G General Motors Geology Georgia Gibbons, Bishop James Gibson, Samuel 243-44, 2 Glasgow, Dr. Robert Glasgow, Virginia Glenn, John (Washington G student) Graham, William Grant, Ulysses S. Great Britain Great Depression H Harrar, Charles L. Harrisonburg	61, 117 119, 120-22 103 45, 49 24, 202 61, 62 247-48, 251, 261 239 ff. 255 College 75 273-74 28 112, 118 37, 53, 56, 216	James River Jordans Point Junkin, George Kansas Kerrs Creek 35, 10 Kimball, Elder J. Gold Kimball, Elder Newel Kimball, Flias Kimball, Fiske Lackey, H. A. Larsen family Lee, George Washing Lee, Mary Custis (Mr. Lee, Mary (Mrs. Robe Lee, Robert E. Lee, Robert E. III	35, 45, 60, 253 97, 98, 99 119 (134, 237 05, 165, 168, 248, 254 den 206 1 208 211 81 - 179 217-234 ton Custis 73-76. s. Robert E.) 115 ert E. III) 77 ff. 20-28, 71 ff., 114, 116, 125, 199 77
Fuller, Jacob Fuller, John W. G General Motors Geology Georgia Gibbons, Bishop James Gibson, Samuel 243-44, 2 Glasgow, Dr. Robert Glasgow, Virginia Glenn, John (Washington G student) Graham, William Grant, Ulysses S. Great Britain Great Depression H Harrar, Charles L. Harrisonburg Harrison's Landing	61, 117 119, 120-22 103 45, 49 24, 202 61, 62 247-48, 251, 261 239 ff. 255 College 75 273-74 28 112, 118 37, 53, 56, 216	James River Jordans Point Junkin, George Kansas Kerrs Creek 35, 10 Kimball, Elder J. Gold Kimball, Elder Newel Kimball, Fiske Lackey, H. A. Larsen family Lee, George Washing Lee, Mary Custis (Mr. Lee, Mary (Mrs. Robet Lee, Robert E. Lee, Robert E. III Lee, Robert E. Jr.	35, 45, 60, 253 97, 98, 99 119 (134, 237 05, 165, 168, 248, 254 den 206 1 208 211 81 179 217-234 ton Custis 73-76. s. Robert E.) 115 ert E. III) 77 ff. 20-28, 71 ff., 114, 116, 125, 199 77 20
Fuller, Jacob Fuller, John W. G General Motors Geology Georgia Gibbons, Bishop James Gibson, Samuel 243-44, 2 Glasgow, Dr. Robert Glasgow, Virginia Glenn, John (Washington Generat William Grant, Ulysses S. Great Britain Great Depression H Harrar, Charles L. Harrisonburg Harrison's Landing Hayes Creek	61, 117 119, 120-22 103 45, 49 24, 202 61, 62 247-48, 251, 261 239 ff. 255 College 75 273-74 28 112, 118 37, 53, 56, 216	James River Jordans Point Junkin, George Kansas Kerrs Creek 35, 10 Kimball, Elder J. Gold Kimball, Elder Newel Kimball, Elias Kimball, Fiske Lackey, H. A. Larsen family Lee, George Washing Lee, Mary Custis (Mr. Lee, Mary (Mrs. Robet Lee, Robert E. Lee, Robert E. III Lee, Robert E. Jr. Letcher, Samuel	35, 45, 60, 253 97, 98, 99 119 (134, 237 05, 165, 168, 248, 254 den 206 1 208 211 81 - 179 217-234 ton Custis 73-76. s. Robert E.) 115 ert E. III) 77 ff. 20-28, 71 ff., 114, 116, 125, 199 77 20 162
Fuller, Jacob Fuller, John W. G General Motors Geology Georgia Gibbons, Bishop James Gibson, Samuel 243-44, 2 Glasgow, Dr. Robert Glasgow, Virginia Glenn, John (Washington G student) Graham, William Grant, Ulysses S. Great Britain Great Depression H Harrar, Charles L. Harrisonburg Harrison's Landing	61, 117 119, 120-22 103 45, 49 24, 202 61, 62 247-48, 251, 261 239 ff. 255 College 75 273-74 28 112, 118 37, 53, 56, 216	James River Jordans Point Junkin, George Kansas Kerrs Creek 35, 10 Kimball, Elder J. Gold Kimball, Elder Newel Kimball, Fiske Lackey, H. A. Larsen family Lee, George Washing Lee, Mary Custis (Mr. Lee, Mary (Mrs. Robet Lee, Robert E. Lee, Robert E. III Lee, Robert E. Jr.	35, 45, 60, 253 97, 98, 99 119 (134, 237 05, 165, 168, 248, 254 den 206 1 208 211 81 179 217-234 ton Custis 73-76. s. Robert E.) 115 ert E. III) 77 ff. 20-28, 71 ff., 114, 116, 125, 199 77 20

Lexington in Old Virginia	68-69, 93	Norfolk 50.61.64.71	141 145 905
Liberty Hall Academy	273		, 141, 145, 207
Liberty Hall Volunteers	12	Norfolk Virginian-Pilot	71
Lincoln, Abraham	11, 199	0	
Loring	23, 26		0.5
Loring, William	23, 20	Orwell, George	85
Lyle, Royster Jr.	71	D	
Lynchburg	61, 176, 205, 245	P	1
Lyric Theater	252	Patton, George (Sr. and Jr.)	141
Lyric Theater	232	Paxton, Elisha Franklin	15 ff.
M		Paxton, L. F.	162
	140	Paxton, Matthew W.	79
Mahone, William	142	Pedlar River (Pedlar Creek)	206 ff.
Manassas, First Battle of	14, 21, 26, 102	Pendleton, Stephen T.	141-42
Mapp, Dr. James Harmar		Pennsylvania 19, 45, 49	9, 51-53, 57, 60
Marlbrook	47	Philadelphia 109, 113	, 192, 197, 247
Martinsburg, West Virgin		Pittsburgh	48, 52, 129
Mary Custis Lee Chapter		Pitts, John Henry	135
Marys Creek	46	Plecker, Dr. Walter A.	202-05, 218
Mason family	206-234	Poague, Thomas	14 ff.
Massie, James and	11 100	Pocock, Alvin	214-16
Sophanisba McDo		Porter, William	34-36
Mastin, Rev. Joseph T.	183	Presbyterianism	119, 279
Maury River	33-36, 47, 96-99	Preston, Col. J. T. L.	67, 112
McClung, Dr. O. Hunter	240 ff.	Preston, Thomas L.	110
McClung, Eugenia Harm		Princeton Theological Semi	
McCown, John	34-36	Princeton University	190, 223
McCown, John Jr.	36	,	,
V C D C	01115		
McCrum Drug Company		·R	
McDowell, Gov. James	110, 190 ff.	Raphine	56 196 955
McDowell, Gov. James Memphis	110, 190 ff. 48	Raphine	56, 126, 255 98-99
McDowell, Gov. James Memphis Midvale	110, 190 ff. 48 47	Raphine Reids Dam	98-99
McDowell, Gov. James Memphis	110, 190 ff. 48 47 14, 22, 75-76, 84,	Raphine Reids Dam Renwick, James	98-99 74
McDowell, Gov. James Memphis Midvale Miley, Michael	110, 190 ff. 48 47 14, 22, 75-76, 84, 92-93, 95, 100-01	Raphine Reids Dam Renwick, James Richmond 46, 59-61	98-99 74 , 63, 66, 74-75,
McDowell, Gov. James Memphis Midvale Miley, Michael Military (U.S.) 11-32, 63	110, 190 ff. 48 47 14, 22, 75-76, 84, 92-93, 95, 100-01 6, 236-60, 274, 277	Raphine Reids Dam Renwick, James Richmond 46, 59-61 120, 135, 143	98-99 74 , 63, 66, 74-75, 3, 147, 157, 176,
McDowell, Gov. James Memphis Midvale Miley, Michael Military (U.S.) 11-32, 63 Miller, Rev. John	110, 190 ff. 48 47 14, 22, 75-76, 84, 92-93, 95, 100-01 5, 236-60, 274, 277 190, 197-98	Raphine Reids Dam Renwick, James Richmond 46, 59-61 120, 135, 143 183, 194-95	98-99 74 , 63, 66, 74-75, 3, 147, 157, 176, , 204, 237, 275
McDowell, Gov. James Memphis Midvale Miley, Michael Military (U.S.) 11-32, 63 Miller, Rev. John Monacan Indians	110, 190 ff. 48 47 14, 22, 75-76, 84, 92-93, 95, 100-01 8, 236-60, 274, 277 190, 197-98 205 ff.	Raphine Reids Dam Renwick, James Richmond 46, 59-61 120, 135, 143 183, 194-95 Riverside	98-99 74 , 63, 66, 74-75, 3, 147, 157, 176, , 204, 237, 275 47, 206
McDowell, Gov. James Memphis Midvale Miley, Michael Military (U.S.) 11-32, 63 Miller, Rev. John Monacan Indians Montague, Col. J. L.	110, 190 ff. 48 47 14, 22, 75-76, 84, 92-93, 95, 100-01 3, 236-60, 274, 277 190, 197-98 205 ff. 104	Raphine Reids Dam Renwick, James Richmond 46, 59-61 120, 135, 143 183, 194-95 Riverside Roanoke 46, 62, 63	98-99 74 , 63, 66, 74-75, 3, 147, 157, 176, , 204, 237, 275 47, 206 , 176, 257, 264
McDowell, Gov. James Memphis Midvale Miley, Michael Military (U.S.) 11-32, 63 Miller, Rev. John Monacan Indians Montague, Col. J. L. Moore, Edward A.	110, 190 ff. 48 47 14, 22, 75-76, 84, 92-93, 95, 100-01 3, 236-60, 274, 277 190, 197-98 205 ff. 104 11 ff.	Raphine Reids Dam Renwick, James Richmond 46, 59-61 120, 135, 143 183, 194-95 Riverside Roanoke 46, 62, 63 Robinson, John (Jockey)	98-99 74 , 63, 66, 74-75, 3, 147, 157, 176, , 204, 237, 275 47, 206 , 176, 257, 264 116
McDowell, Gov. James Memphis Midvale Miley, Michael Military (U.S.) 11-32, 63 Miller, Rev. John Monacan Indians Montague, Col. J. L. Moore, Edward A. Moore, Predham	110, 190 ff. 48 47 14, 22, 75-76, 84, 92-93, 95, 100-01 8, 236-60, 274, 277 190, 197-98 205 ff. 104 11 ff. 161	Raphine Reids Dam Renwick, James Richmond 46, 59-61 120, 135, 143 183, 194-95 Riverside Roanoke 46, 62, 63 Robinson, John (Jockey) Robinson, Joseph	98-99 74 , 63, 66, 74-75, 3, 147, 157, 176, , 204, 237, 275 47, 206 , 176, 257, 264 116 153
McDowell, Gov. James Memphis Midvale Miley, Michael Military (U.S.) 11-32, 63 Miller, Rev. John Monacan Indians Montague, Col. J. L. Moore, Edward A. Moore, Predham Moore, Samuel R.	110, 190 ff. 48 47 14, 22, 75-76, 84, 92-93, 95, 100-01 8, 236-60, 274, 277 190, 197-98 205 ff. 104 11 ff. 161 159	Raphine Reids Dam Renwick, James Richmond 46, 59-61 120, 135, 143 183, 194-95 Riverside Roanoke 46, 62, 63 Robinson, John (Jockey) Robinson, Joseph Robinson, Polly	98-99 74 , 63, 66, 74-75, 3, 147, 157, 176, , 204, 237, 275 47, 206 , 176, 257, 264 116 153 156
McDowell, Gov. James Memphis Midvale Miley, Michael Military (U.S.) 11-32, 63 Miller, Rev. John Monacan Indians Montague, Col. J. L. Moore, Edward A. Moore, Predham Moore, Samuel R. Moore, W. T.	110, 190 ff. 48 47 14, 22, 75-76, 84, 92-93, 95, 100-01 3, 236-60, 274, 277 190, 197-98 205 ff. 104 11 ff. 161 159 46	Raphine Reids Dam Renwick, James Richmond 46, 59-61 120, 135, 143 183, 194-95 Riverside Roanoke 46, 62, 63 Robinson, John (Jockey) Robinson, Joseph Robinson, Polly Rockbridge Baths	98-99 74 , 63, 66, 74-75, 3, 147, 157, 176, , 204, 237, 275 47, 206 , 176, 257, 264 116 153 156 254
McDowell, Gov. James Memphis Midvale Miley, Michael Military (U.S.) 11-32, 63 Miller, Rev. John Monacan Indians Montague, Col. J. L. Moore, Edward A. Moore, Predham Moore, Samuel R.	110, 190 ff. 48 47 14, 22, 75-76, 84, 92-93, 95, 100-01 8, 236-60, 274, 277 190, 197-98 205 ff. 104 11 ff. 161 159	Raphine Reids Dam Renwick, James Richmond 46, 59-61 120, 135, 143 183, 194-95 Riverside Roanoke 46, 62, 63 Robinson, John (Jockey) Robinson, Joseph Robinson, Polly Rockbridge Baths Rogers, Bessie	98-99 74 , 63, 66, 74-75, 3, 147, 157, 176, , 204, 237, 275 47, 206 , 176, 257, 264 116 153 156 254 79, 83
McDowell, Gov. James Memphis Midvale Miley, Michael Military (U.S.) 11-32, 63 Miller, Rev. John Monacan Indians Montague, Col. J. L. Moore, Edward A. Moore, Predham Moore, Samuel R. Moore, W. T. Moreland, S. J.	110, 190 ff. 48 47 14, 22, 75-76, 84, 92-93, 95, 100-01 3, 236-60, 274, 277 190, 197-98 205 ff. 104 11 ff. 161 159 46	Raphine Reids Dam Renwick, James Richmond 46, 59-61 120, 135, 143 183, 194-95 Riverside Roanoke 46, 62, 63 Robinson, John (Jockey) Robinson, Joseph Robinson, Polly Rockbridge Baths Rogers, Bessie Romney, West Virginia	98-99 74 , 63, 66, 74-75, 3, 147, 157, 176, , 204, 237, 275 47, 206 , 176, 257, 264 116 153 156 254 79, 83 21, 23
McDowell, Gov. James Memphis Midvale Miley, Michael Military (U.S.) 11-32, 63 Miller, Rev. John Monacan Indians Montague, Col. J. L. Moore, Edward A. Moore, Predham Moore, Samuel R. Moore, W. T. Moreland, S. J.	110, 190 ff. 48 47 14, 22, 75-76, 84, 92-93, 95, 100-01 3, 236-60, 274, 277 190, 197-98 205 ff. 104 11 ff. 161 159 46 96-97	Raphine Reids Dam Renwick, James Richmond 46, 59-61 120, 135, 143 183, 194-95 Riverside Roanoke 46, 62, 63 Robinson, John (Jockey) Robinson, Joseph Robinson, Polly Rockbridge Baths Rogers, Bessie Romney, West Virginia Romney, Elder Thomas	98-99 74 , 63, 66, 74-75, 6, 147, 157, 176, , 204, 237, 275 47, 206 , 176, 257, 264 116 153 156 254 79, 83 21, 23 210
McDowell, Gov. James Memphis Midvale Miley, Michael Military (U.S.) 11-32, 63 Miller, Rev. John Monacan Indians Montague, Col. J. L. Moore, Edward A. Moore, Predham Moore, Samuel R. Moore, W. T. Moreland, S. J.	110, 190 ff. 48 47 14, 22, 75-76, 84, 92-93, 95, 100-01 3, 236-60, 274, 277 190, 197-98 205 ff. 104 11 ff. 161 159 46 96-97	Raphine Reids Dam Renwick, James Richmond 46, 59-61 120, 135, 143 183, 194-95 Riverside Roanoke 46, 62, 63 Robinson, John (Jockey) Robinson, Joseph Robinson, Polly Rockbridge Baths Rogers, Bessie Romney, West Virginia Romney, Elder Thomas Roosevelt, Franklin D.	98-99 74 , 63, 66, 74-75, 6, 147, 157, 176, , 204, 237, 275 47, 206 , 176, 257, 264 116 153 156 254 79, 83 21, 23 210 104
McDowell, Gov. James Memphis Midvale Miley, Michael Military (U.S.) 11-32, 63 Miller, Rev. John Monacan Indians Montague, Col. J. L. Moore, Edward A. Moore, Predham Moore, Samuel R. Moore, W. T. Moreland, S. J.	110, 190 ff. 48 47 14, 22, 75-76, 84, 92-93, 95, 100-01 3, 236-60, 274, 277 190, 197-98 205 ff. 104 11 ff. 161 159 46 96-97	Raphine Reids Dam Renwick, James Richmond 46, 59-61 120, 135, 143 183, 194-95 Riverside Roanoke 46, 62, 63 Robinson, John (Jockey) Robinson, Joseph Robinson, Polly Rockbridge Baths Rogers, Bessie Romney, West Virginia Romney, Elder Thomas Roosevelt, Franklin D. Ross, William	98-99 74 , 63, 66, 74-75, 3, 147, 157, 176, , 204, 237, 275 47, 206 , 176, 257, 264 116 153 156 254 79, 83 21, 23 210 104 110
McDowell, Gov. James Memphis Midvale Miley, Michael Military (U.S.) 11-32, 63 Miller, Rev. John Monacan Indians Montague, Col. J. L. Moore, Edward A. Moore, Predham Moore, Samuel R. Moore, W. T. Moreland, S. J.	110, 190 ff. 48 47 14, 22, 75-76, 84, 92-93, 95, 100-01 3, 236-60, 274, 277 190, 197-98 205 ff. 104 11 ff. 161 159 46 96-97	Raphine Reids Dam Renwick, James Richmond 46, 59-61 120, 135, 143 183, 194-95 Riverside Roanoke 46, 62, 63 Robinson, John (Jockey) Robinson, Joseph Robinson, Polly Rockbridge Baths Rogers, Bessie Romney, West Virginia Romney, Elder Thomas Roosevelt, Franklin D. Ross, William Ruff, Jacob	98-99 74 , 63, 66, 74-75, 3, 147, 157, 176, , 204, 237, 275 47, 206 , 176, 257, 264 116 153 156 254 79, 83 21, 23 210 104 110 111
McDowell, Gov. James Memphis Midvale Miley, Michael Military (U.S.) 11-32, 63 Miller, Rev. John Monacan Indians Montague, Col. J. L. Moore, Edward A. Moore, Predham Moore, Samuel R. Moore, W. T. Moreland, S. J. Napoleon National Bank Natural Bridge Neblett, Sterling	110, 190 ff. 48 47 14, 22, 75-76, 84, 92-93, 95, 100-01 3, 236-60, 274, 277 190, 197-98 205 ff. 104 11 ff. 161 159 46 96-97	Raphine Reids Dam Renwick, James Richmond 46, 59-61 120, 135, 143 183, 194-95 Riverside Roanoke 46, 62, 63 Robinson, John (Jockey) Robinson, Joseph Robinson, Polly Rockbridge Baths Rogers, Bessie Romney, West Virginia Romney, Elder Thomas Roosevelt, Franklin D. Ross, William Ruff, Jacob Rural Electrification Admin	98-99 74 , 63, 66, 74-75, 3, 147, 157, 176, , 204, 237, 275 47, 206 , 176, 257, 264 116 153 156 254 79, 83 21, 23 210 104 110 111 istration
McDowell, Gov. James Memphis Midvale Miley, Michael Military (U.S.) 11-32, 63 Miller, Rev. John Monacan Indians Montague, Col. J. L. Moore, Edward A. Moore, Predham Moore, Samuel R. Moore, W. T. Moreland, S. J. Napoleon National Bank Natural Bridge Neblett, Sterling Nelson County	110, 190 ff. 48 47 14, 22, 75-76, 84, 92-93, 95, 100-01 3, 236-60, 274, 277 190, 197-98 205 ff. 104 11 ff. 161 159 46 96-97 118 118 118 168, 247, 253-58 110 209	Raphine Reids Dam Renwick, James Richmond 46, 59-61 120, 135, 143 183, 194-95 Riverside Roanoke 46, 62, 63 Robinson, John (Jockey) Robinson, Joseph Robinson, Polly Rockbridge Baths Rogers, Bessie Romney, West Virginia Romney, Elder Thomas Roosevelt, Franklin D. Ross, William Ruff, Jacob	98-99 74 , 63, 66, 74-75, 3, 147, 157, 176, , 204, 237, 275 47, 206 , 176, 257, 264 116 153 156 254 79, 83 21, 23 210 104 110 111
McDowell, Gov. James Memphis Midvale Miley, Michael Military (U.S.) 11-32, 63 Miller, Rev. John Monacan Indians Montague, Col. J. L. Moore, Edward A. Moore, Predham Moore, Samuel R. Moore, W. T. Moreland, S. J. Napoleon National Bank Natural Bridge Neblett, Sterling Nelson County New Jersey	110, 190 ff. 48 47 14, 22, 75-76, 84, 92-93, 95, 100-01 5, 236-60, 274, 277 190, 197-98 205 ff. 104 11 ff. 161 159 46 96-97 118 118 118 168, 247, 253-58 110 209 129, 190	Raphine Reids Dam Renwick, James Richmond 46, 59-61 120, 135, 143 183, 194-95 Riverside Roanoke 46, 62, 63 Robinson, John (Jockey) Robinson, Joseph Robinson, Polly Rockbridge Baths Rogers, Bessie Romney, West Virginia Romney, Elder Thomas Roosevelt, Franklin D. Ross, William Ruff, Jacob Rural Electrification Admin	98-99 74 , 63, 66, 74-75, 3, 147, 157, 176, , 204, 237, 275 47, 206 , 176, 257, 264 116 153 156 254 79, 83 21, 23 210 104 110 111 istration
McDowell, Gov. James Memphis Midvale Miley, Michael Military (U.S.) 11-32, 63 Miller, Rev. John Monacan Indians Montague, Col. J. L. Moore, Edward A. Moore, Predham Moore, Samuel R. Moore, W. T. Moreland, S. J. Napoleon National Bank Natural Bridge Neblett, Sterling Nelson County New Jersey New York City	110, 190 ff. 48 47 14, 22, 75-76, 84, 92-93, 95, 100-01 3, 236-60, 274, 277 190, 197-98 205 ff. 104 11 ff. 161 159 46 96-97 118 118 118 168, 247, 253-58 110 209 129, 190 59, 192, 246	Raphine Reids Dam Renwick, James Richmond 46, 59-61 120, 135, 143 183, 194-95 Riverside Roanoke 46, 62, 63 Robinson, John (Jockey) Robinson, Joseph Robinson, Polly Rockbridge Baths Rogers, Bessie Romney, West Virginia Romney, Elder Thomas Roosevelt, Franklin D. Ross, William Ruff, Jacob Rural Electrification Admin (R.E.A.)	98-99 74 , 63, 66, 74-75, 3, 147, 157, 176, , 204, 237, 275 47, 206 , 176, 257, 264 116 153 156 254 79, 83 21, 23 210 104 110 111 istration 103-05
McDowell, Gov. James Memphis Midvale Miley, Michael Military (U.S.) 11-32, 63 Miller, Rev. John Monacan Indians Montague, Col. J. L. Moore, Edward A. Moore, Predham Moore, Samuel R. Moore, W. T. Moreland, S. J. Napoleon National Bank Natural Bridge Neblett, Sterling Nelson County New Jersey	110, 190 ff. 48 47 14, 22, 75-76, 84, 92-93, 95, 100-01 5, 236-60, 274, 277 190, 197-98 205 ff. 104 11 ff. 161 159 46 96-97 118 118 118 168, 247, 253-58 110 209 129, 190 59, 192, 246 45	Raphine Reids Dam Renwick, James Richmond 46, 59-61 120, 135, 143 183, 194-95 Riverside Roanoke 46, 62, 63 Robinson, John (Jockey) Robinson, Joseph Robinson, Polly Rockbridge Baths Rogers, Bessie Romney, West Virginia Romney, Elder Thomas Roosevelt, Franklin D. Ross, William Ruff, Jacob Rural Electrification Admin	98-99 74 , 63, 66, 74-75, 3, 147, 157, 176, , 204, 237, 275 47, 206 , 176, 257, 264 116 153 156 254 79, 83 21, 23 210 104 110 111 istration

Selhorst, Rev. Aloys G. 63-65	U	
Shelton, Thomas W. 97-98	United Daughters of the Confederacy	
Sheridan, James 66		
Sheridan, John 61-68, 101		
Sherman, William T. 134-35	cimierone, or ingline 10, 20, 20, 01, 111,	
Shields, George W. 67	130, 130, 273	
Singleton, Frank 27		
Slavery 17, 118, 125, 191, 201-02, 206	▼	
Smith, General Francis H. 257	71 75, 01 05, 50	
Smith, Henry Louis 76 ff., 241-42	van Burch, Martin	
251, 254	vest, Eevi	
Smith, James 153, 155	vesuvius (viigilia)	
Smithsonian Institution 74		
Snyder, Frederick Jr. 37	, V	
Snyder, Frederick Sr. 37, 41	wadden, James Henry	
Sorrells, Atha 204, 220	wadden, w. 11.	
	Walkers Creek 100	
Southers, Eva 214 Southers, Will 213-16	waikup, Samuei 110	
South River 45-48, 51-58, 168, 214, 253	wayiand s Drug Store 211	
279, 281	wayiicsboro 105, 217-21	
Spotsylvania Courthouse 13	weich, Eider Charles 200	
Stratford 71	WCISH, [OIIII	
Suffrage 112, 119, 120	Western State Hospital 170	
Sullivan, Bishop Walter F. 66	West Fount 133 II.	
Surry Courthouse 143	West Virginia 119	
<u>_</u>	White, Alice Marian Miller 79	
T	White, Annie Jo 241, 251	
Tate, Elder John W. 209	Willie, Rev. William 102	
Taylor, William (Bishop) 37, 38	Willie, Robert	
Taylor, William (Congressman) 191, 196	Willies Cicck	
Telegraph 102, 128		
Templeton, Benjamin Franklin 12	Williamson, Thomas H. 74, 134	
Thayer, Col. Sylvanus 133	Wilson, Hugh 155	
Theological Seminary of Virginia 138	Wilson, S. W. 179	
Thomas, Carlson R. 68	Wilson, Woodrow 81	
Thomas, Gov. Francis 192 ff	Winchester 20, 27, 60	
Thompson, Charlie 55		
Timber Ridge 13, 36, 255	Y	
Tin 46, 48		
Traveller 74, 86	Y.M.C.A. 122-23	
Turner, Charles W. 124	144-40	



