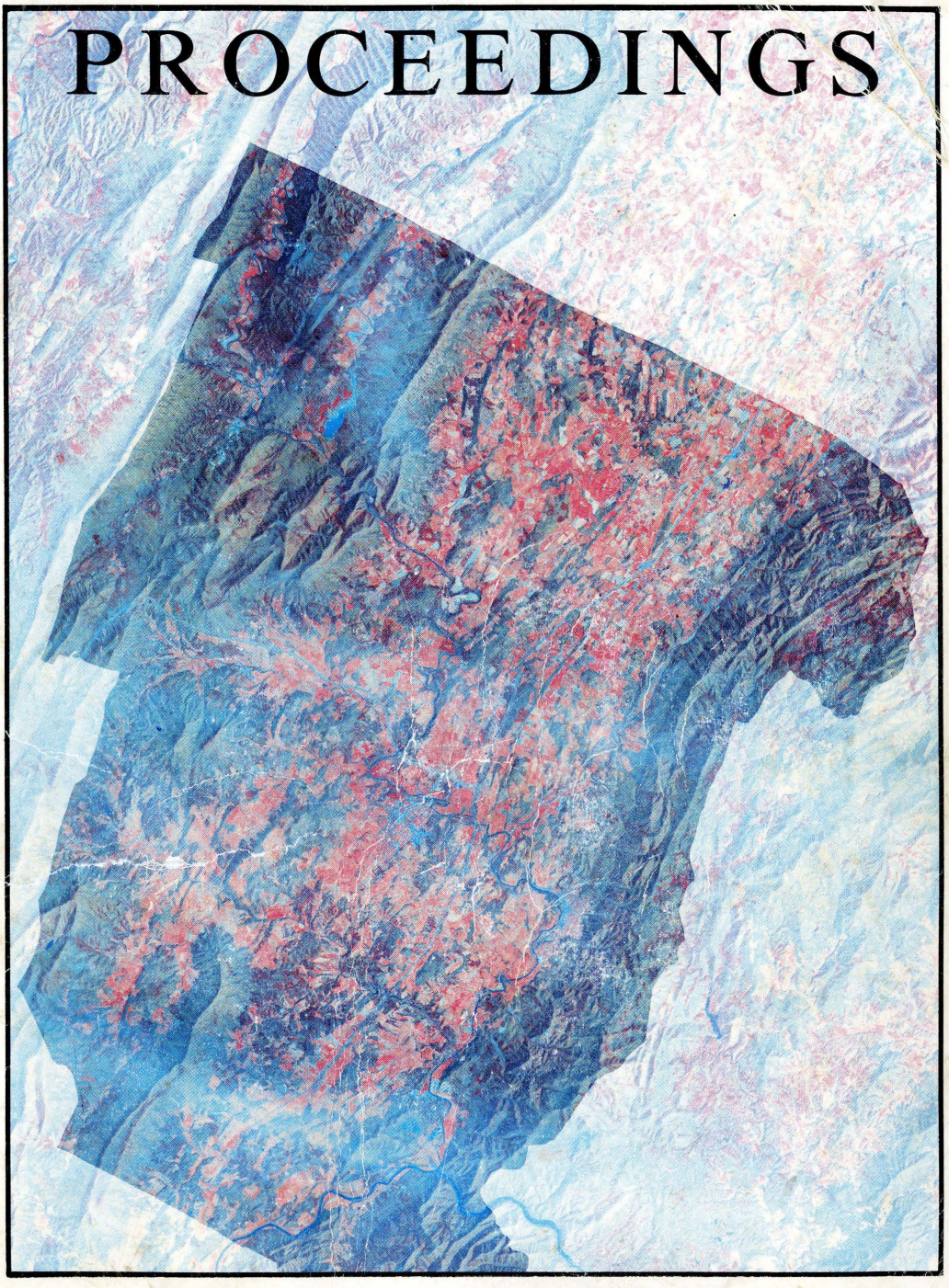
PROCEEDINGS



Volume X (1980-89)

Rockbridge Historical Society

A Fiftieth Anniversary Publication

A.H. Morrison

Proceedings of the Rockbridge Historical Society

Re p. 232
for Mathews family + mentions 1st possible Episcopal Service held in Rockbridge

Volume X
1980–1989

Edited by Larry I. Bland

Lexington, Virginia
1990

To our Founders

of Fifty Years Ago

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Foreword

The publication of this volume of the Rockbridge Historical Society's *Proceedings* was deliberately delayed in order to bring it out at the close of the Society's fiftieth anniversary. The Society attaches so much importance to the publication of the research presented at its regular quarterly meetings that it seemed unthinkable to plan a series of celebrations that did not include an anniversary issue of this journal.

The delay has permitted the society to invite a professional historian, who is one of its former presidents, to write the Society's anniversary history for this volume, and to ask the organization's archivist to summarize the sources on family history that we have accumulated during the past fifty years.

The other essays found here range over a wide variety of topics and indicate the lively interest that continues to be shown both in unearthing new information about Rockbridge history and in suggesting fresh interpretations of familiar facts. As has always been the case in these *Proceedings,* the essays represent different stages in their writers' researches. An unusually large number of articles in this collection stem from books which had either just been completed or were close to publication at the time the authors addressed the Society. Others are tentative and exploratory or descriptive of ongoing research. Still others are edited transcriptions of informal presentations and roundtable discussions.

The authors are, of course, the most important contributors to the Society's *Proceedings.* But as in the case of volume 9, the society wishes to recognize the invaluable assistance it has had from the George C. Marshall Foundation in Lexington. The Foundation's editor of the George C. Marshall papers tirelessly serves the Society as its indispensable volunteer. He not only collected and edited the articles, but used his technical skills to prepare the volume camera-ready. Use of the Foundation's office space and technical equipment for this process is also gratefully acknowledged.

The photographic and library resources at Washington and Lee University and the Virginia Military Institute have been used extensively in preparing the articles for publication. The skilled assistance made available to the society by these institutions is warmly appreciated.

As the Society surveys its fifty years of existence, it realizes that it has changed in many ways since it began as a little band of men and women who knew each other very well (and many of whom were related) and formally invited new members to join. Over the years the Society has expanded into a 550-member, county-wide organization that stresses the openness of its membership to all who are interested in the county's his-

tory. It has also acquired, through generous bequests, three properties in the Lexington Historic District, and in one of these houses it maintains its headquarters and an exhibition room.

Above all, the Society has come to address itself not only to the long-established members of the community but also to the large number of newcomers who have been arriving in the county in recent years, and has encouraged them to turn to the society to learn about the history of the place that has become their home. During the last decade, moreover, the Society has actively encouraged the ever-increasing number of tourists to take an interest in the county's history.

The Society hopes that all these groups, in addition to the readers in the years ahead and in faraway places, will find this volume informative and enjoyable.

Winifred Hadsel
President

Preface

Point of view and perspective are crucial in determining what the viewer will see in a scene. Our covers depict two rather disparate points of view. On the back is the traditional image of our county: a low-level, immediate, intimate depiction of the natural wonder from which Rockbridge derives its name. Artists, professional and amateur, have come here to portray the Natural Bridge over the past two centuries. The sketch used here is from an 1857 book by David Hunter Strother ("Porte Crayon").

On the front cover is a view of Rockbridge County taken on April 12, 1984, by the Landsat-5 satellite from an altitude of 570 miles. Quite the opposite of immediate and intimate, the colors are not even "real"; this picture is a composite of three black and white photographs taken simultaneously at different wavelengths and given a "false color" by a computer in order to emphasize the different surface covers and conditions.

An infinity of viewpoints and perspectives are also available for depicting the history of this area, and as Dr. Brooke notes in his history of the Rockbridge Historical Society, the emphasis of the Society's programs has continually shifted since the first meeting in 1939. The themes of the thirty-nine essays presented in this volume range in time from the period of first settlement to the present, and the subjects include the otherworldly (e.g., religion and faculty meetings) and the earthly (e.g., dancing and football). Appended are several documents and reports that were deemed worthy of preservation as well as a ten-volume cumulative index, which we hope will aid future researchers.

To produce a volume of this size (roughly the same as the first seven volumes combined) required the assistance of many people in addition to the authors and program participants. Joellen K. Bland spent an enormous amount of time typing the essays, setting the type, and proofreading; the project could not have been completed without her help. Society President Winifred Hadsel was also invaluable. She edited certain of the meeting transcripts, collected material for illustrations, proofread nearly everything, and generally provided dynamic leadership in all phases of the project. Kit Huffman also contributed much time in proofreading the galleys. Diane Jacob, Virginia Military Institute archivist, and Lisa McCown, of the Washington and Lee University Special Collections department, also assisted the editor in finding illustrative material. Gene Thomas of the Gurtner Printing Company of Roanoke was particularly helpful in guiding the project through the production phases. And special thanks are extended to the George C. Marshall Foundation—whose motto is "That Tomorrow May Better Know Our Times"—which provided the office space and equipment to convert the essays into a printed volume.

PART ONE

The First Fifty Years of the Rockbridge Historical Society

George M. Brooke, Jr.

THE year 1939, which brought Hitler's brutal invasion of Poland and World War II, saw the birth of the Rockbridge Historical Society. That a community with three colleges and a proud history should concern itself with its past is not surprising, but that it should do so in such an epic year is a coincidence. As the world looked to the future with foreboding, in Lexington on July 7 seventeen older citizens, of whom all but four were women, looked to the past and attended a meeting called to organize a local historical society. Perhaps they had been reassured by a report in the *Rockbridge County News* the day before that discussion on the "Britain-France-Russian mutual assistance pact" had been renewed, and assurances from the Soviet Union "that only some minor questions remained to be settled." It was comforting to read that tension over Danzig had lessened and that a Nazi spokesman said "Germany had no intention of disturbing the territorial integrity of Poland." Furthermore, the American Bible Society claimed that the *Bible* outsold *Mein Kampf* in 1938 by two hundred thousand copies. The worried reader

---

George M. Brooke, Jr., former Society president and professor emeritus of history at the Virginia Military Institute, wrote this essay especially for this semicentennial issue of *Proceedings*. He presented a brief history of the Society at the meeting on January 23, 1989, in Evans Dining Hall at Washington and Lee University.

learned that the House of Representatives had "passed the neutrality bill which now goes to the Senate."

In such times it was reassuring to know that one of VMI's own, General George C. Marshall, had become acting army chief of staff on July 1 and that he would "have charge of the great expansion program authorized by Congress." Thus another link was forged in Rockbridge County's history and made a study of its past more appealing.

On the domestic front the New Deal's efforts had been largely unavailing and the country was still mired in the 1937 recession. The Rockbridge National Bank (now Crestar) listed total assets of $1,820,467.73, and across the street the People's National Bank (now Dominion) claimed assets of $1,545,814.72. Tolley's Toggery, the forerunner of the College Town Shop, advertised "new, luxurious lightweight airgore-spun suits" for $11.75. People were urged to drink Coca-Cola, "the pause that refreshes," for five cents. For its July clearance sale, Adair-Hutton informed the ladies that silk dresses usually priced from $5.95 to $7.95, would be sold at $4.88, while $1.00 summer sweaters were going for seventy-nine cents. Shaner's Nursery, a standby then as today, advertised "12,000 square feet of glass devoted to flower culture." Before the complications of dialing, Shaner's phone was listed as 203.

Pender's, a leading grocery, was selling sugar at ten pounds for fifty-one cents and an eighteen ounce loaf of bread for eight cents. "Large juicy lemons" were nineteen cents a dozen and bacon was nineteen cents a pound. James A. Cook, in a day of coal furnaces, claimed "Perfect satisfaction from Automatic Coal Heat." Residents who planned to leave town for the summer were told that they could get the *Rockbridge County News* anywhere in the United States for two months at a cost of thirty cents.

For entertainment in early July one could go to the new State Theater and see Cary Grant and Jean Arthur in "Only Angels Have Wings" or go to the Lyric on Main Street and witness Gene Autry in "Blue Montana Skies."

The Fourth of July in Lexington was quiet with no accidents reported. For entertainment, 450 people attended the baseball game where the Lexington convict camp on the Lee Highway defeated a convict camp from Roanoke, 18-8. Nationally, however, the picture was gloomier. Fatalities over the Fourth totaled 460, with auto deaths numbering 227. People were warned that more lives had been lost on the highway over the holidays than at the Battle of Bunker Hill.

The newspaper of July 6 stated that Edward V. Brush, M.D., had "announced the opening of his office for general practice of medicine at 113 Washington Street," and also, that "Dr. and Mrs. O. Hunter McClung, Jr.

The home of Mary Preston Graham (Mrs. Beverley) Tucker on West Washington Street in Lexington, the location of the Society's first meeting on July 7, 1939. The house was torn down in the late 1950s and the R. E. Lee Memorial Episcopal Church built its Parish Hall on the site.

left Tuesday for Philadelphia, Pa., where Dr. McClung will be an intern at the Pennsylvania Hospital for two years."

In this environment the Rockbridge Historical Society was organized. At the first meeting, held at the home of Mrs. Beverley Tucker on July 7, Ruth Anderson McCulloch told those assembled "that the meeting had been called for the purpose of considering the advisability of forming an association, having as its object the accumulation and preservation of material bearing upon the history of Rockbridge County, to stimulate interest in preserving and marking places of traditional and historical interest, and especially to work towards securing a permanent, safe, and accessible place to keep these records." Mr. Cabell Tutwiler was elected temporary chairman of the meeting and Mrs. McCulloch acted as secretary. A vote to form an organization carried unanimously.

A committee of five, consisting of Mr. Stuart Moore, chairman, Mr. Matthew Paxton, Mrs. Rosa Tucker Mason, Mrs. Emily P. Pearse, and Miss Mary Barclay, was appointed by Mr. Tutwiler to draft a constitution and by-laws for the new organization to be known as the Rockbridge

Historical Society.[1] Neither Mr. Moore nor Mr. Paxton, both prominent attorneys with deep roots in Rockbridge, attended the first meeting.

On July 27, before any further action had been taken, the *Rockbridge County News* published a letter dated July 24, written by Dr. Leslie Lyle Campbell, a retired physics professor who had settled in Lexington and would later be a great benefactor of the Rockbridge Historical Society, on the preservation of the Jordan House on Main Street. Dr. Campbell, who had not attended the July 7 meeting and is not mentioned in the minutes, wrote that the Washington and Lee University Board of Trustees had "offered to turn over to some approved organization the old Jordan House, . . . on condition that this house be restored and preserved." Campbell, who was a Washington and Lee graduate, suggested that "a Rockbridge Historical Society be organized" to take the Jordan House from the university and restore it. His plans were grandiose, as he envisioned a society with its headquarters in Lexington and chapters in "Brownsburg, Buena Vista, Collierstown, Fairfield, Glasgow, Goshen, Natural Bridge, Rockbridge Baths, Timber Ridge, and other points in the county." His idea was that the chapters hold meetings "at regular intervals," while at least once a year the chapters would send "delegates" to a meeting in Lexington. "The main object of the society," he wrote, "would be to collect and preserve the historic annals of a county full of ungarnered historic grain and ungathered relics." He felt that the acquisition and furnishing of the Jordan House "could be done gradually." It was his idea that the restored Jordan House serve as a storehouse for the things collected by the society.

Campbell's suggestion as to the restoration of the Jordan House appeared to fall properly within the province of the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities (APVA), a state-wide organization with a branch in Lexington, although he made no mention of that organization and was perhaps unaware of its existence. But he was concerned with preserving documents. "Before memories fail," he wrote, "before bookworms devour, before mildew and fire destroy, before wood and metal become dust and rust, it is hoped that living hands and hearts will gather from hearth and home their priceless records and relics and store them in a home that for years welcomed many guests."

Meanwhile, Stuart Moore, chairman of the committee to draft a constitution, was not idle. On July 29 he sent members of his committee "a proposed draft of a constitution and by-laws, the first portion of which has been drawn with a view to meeting the requirements of incorporation, should this be determined upon," and asked the members to meet at his office.

1. Minutes, RHS, July 7, 1939.

As Hitler made ready to negotiate a nonaggression pact with the Soviet Union that would clear the road for his attack on Poland, the founders of the Rockbridge Historical Society gathered at Ann Smith Academy at 4:00 p.m. on Wednesday, August 9. This second meeting was described on the front page of the *Rockbridge County News* the next day. Harrington Waddell, Lexington superintendent of schools, who had attended the Society's first meeting, had lent the Ann Smith Academy, a "cool, central building," for the meeting. In the usual fashion the minutes of the first meeting were read and approved. With Mr. Tutwiler presiding as temporary chairman still, the constitution and by-laws were presented by Stuart Moore's committee. Expressing the desire to vote on the constitution and by-laws as a whole, rather than by article, the membership accepted the document unanimously. The secretary noted that "the Constitution is brief, anticipating legal incorporation." The by-laws were described as "admirably definite and yet elastic."[2]

Who were the Charter Members? There is confusion on this point. It has been mentioned that seventeen people attended the July 7 meeting and we know who they were from the minutes. At the August 9 meeting it was decided that those present who wished to become members of the Society could sign their names in the secretary's book as Charter Members. Twenty-nine signed, but unfortunately this list of Charter Members has been lost; it is not in the minute book. Moreover, it was agreed that those who had attended the first meeting but could not attend the second "were to be regarded as Charter Members." To add to the confusion, the minutes state "that *no public statement* should be made of a limiting date."

From the beginning the Society sought to broaden its base so as to get support throughout the Rockbridge area. The appeal was to all people interested in local history, genealogy, and preservation. Intentionally, dues were kept low: $2.00 a year for active members, $10.00 for sustaining members, and $50.00 for life members. Also, from the start, when dinner arrangements were made, the emphasis was on good, plain food at a modest price with no frills.

The by-laws provided for a president, seven vice-presidents, a recording secretary, a corresponding secretary, a treasurer, and a historian-librarian. The large number of vice-presidents seems to have been provided in order to honor prominent citizens who did not live in Rockbridge County but had some interest, financial or otherwise, in it.

The first nominating committee, appointed at the August 9 meeting, moved swiftly. The acting chairman appointed a committee of five, consisting of Miss Elizabeth Barclay, chairman, Mrs. Charles McCulloch, Miss

2. Minutes , RHS, August 9, 1939; *Rockbridge County News.*

Ellen Anderson, Stuart Moore, and T. J. McSpadden. The committee was allowed a recess of ten minutes to prepare a slate of officers, which they did. There were no nominations from the floor and the slate was unanimously approved.

The officers were elected for one year. Dr. Francis Pendleton Gaines, president of Washington and Lee University, was elected president of the Society. Three of the vice-presidents were from the community: General James A. Anderson, D. E. Brady, and John A. Graham. Matthew Paxton was elected recording secretary and Miss Mary Barclay, corresponding secretary. Frank J. Gilliam was the first treasurer and Dr. E. Pendleton Tompkins, historian-librarian. The constitution also provided for four trustees, elected by the Society to manage its affairs.

At its inception the Society seems to have been a bit top-heavy with committees: membership, program (Mrs. McCulloch), special projects (Miss Elizabeth Barclay), committee on historical records (Dr. James Lewis Howe). The last committee was subdivided into committees on genealogy, biography, and historical landmarks (Dr. Campbell). Dr. L. C. Helderman of the Washington and Lee History Department was the only professional historian named to a committee.

The by-laws called for four general meetings a year. Between such meetings necessary business was to be transacted by the Executive Committee, later called the Board. The early membership and leadership of the Society revealed a blend of town and gown with the town taking far the more active role. Between Washington and Lee and VMI, personnel from the former were considerably more in evidence in the early years.

An analysis of the officers of the Society shows the kind of leadership. During its first fifty years the Society had twenty-two presidents, of whom six were women. Until 1949 the presidents served one-year terms. The first four presidents, Dr. Gaines, Mrs. McCulloch, Miss Elizabeth Barclay, and Earle Paxton each served one year. The next three presidents, Dr. Campbell, Dr. Cole Davis, and Mrs. Russell Robey of Southern Seminary were each reelected for a second one year term. Dr. George Diehl was the first president elected, with a change in the constitution, for a two-year term. Mrs. J. P. (Louise) Alexander was the first to serve two consecutive two-year terms. This precedent was followed by General J. S. Letcher, Dr. Allen Moger, Richard Fletcher, Dr. Pamela Simpson, and Mrs. Fred (Winifred) Hadsel.

Indicative of Washington and Lee's prominent role in the Society, eight of the presidents, including Dr. Gaines, were actively engaged at the college at the time they served; five of these were on the teaching faculty. Only four of the presidents were working at VMI while they held office, of whom two were on the faculty.

Rockbridge Historical Society Presidents, 1939–1989†

1940	Dr. Francis P. Gaines
1941	Mrs. Ruth Anderson McCulloch
1942	Miss Elizabeth Barclay
1943	Earle K. Paxton
1944–45	Leslie Lyle Campbell
1946–47	Dr. W. Cole Davis
1948–49	Mrs. Margaret Durham Robey
1950–51	Dr. George W. Diehl
1952–55	Mrs. Louise Alexander
1956–57	Col. William Couper
1958–59	Dr. Charles W. Turner
1960–61	Col. George M. Brooke, Jr.
1962–65	Gen. John S. Letcher
1966	Dr. Frank J. Gilliam
1967	Rt. Rev. Lloyd R. Craighill‡
1967–70	Col. B. McCluer Gilliam
1971–72	James G. Leyburn
1973–76	Dr. Allen W. Moger
1977–78	D. E. Brady, Jr.
1979–82	Richard R. Fletcher
1983–86	Dr. Pamela H. Simpson
1987–	Mrs. Winifred Hadsel

† Elections held in October preceding term of office.
‡ Retired because of ill health.

The office of treasurer was usually filled by someone with financial or business experience, and once appointed the treasurer often served a long time. The recording secretaries also usually served several terms. The minutes they kept were vital for the writer of this paper. Several of them deserve praise. Professor Earle K. Paxton performed these duties conscientiously in the early days. Dr. James Moffatt, of the Washington and Lee English Department, kept full and accurate minutes with detailed descriptions of the papers read at quarterly meetings. Dr. Marshall Fishwick, professor of American Studies at Washington and Lee, displayed a literary

flair and keen sense of humor not usually found in the recording of minutes. Mrs. Louise Alexander, whose family has been associated with Rockbridge County from the earliest days, was a Charter Member and performed many duties well. Serving as secretary for many years, she kept detailed minutes.

From its beginning the Society took seriously its mission of collecting documents and artifacts and making known to all the history of Rockbridge County. Throughout its history it has attempted to do this through the reading of papers or, occasionally, holding informal discussions of the old days at the quarterly meetings. Much of the Society's effort was directed toward the presentation of appropriate programs, and the program committee chairmen generally performed their duties effectively. To preserve the record and disseminate information pertaining to Rockbridge County history, the Society published periodically the *Proceedings,* which consisted of papers read at the meetings or abstracts of them. Throughout its history the Society has pursued this aim, although in later years its efforts have been focused, also, on such other activities as dedicating plaques, displaying objects, holding seminars, improving its properties, enlarging the membership, and cooperating with other organizations with somewhat similar goals, such as the APVA, the Historic Lexington Foundation (HLF), and the Jackson House.

What subjects did the programs emphasize? An analysis of the nearly two hundred programs during the first fifty years gives us some insight. Although several papers must be included in several categories, the following subjects have predominated:

biographical and autobiographical—51
the Civil War—10
early history of the county—8
churches—8
transportation—7
historic houses and buildings—6
the iron industry—5
architecture—5
arts, crafts, music and the dance—5
archaeology and geology—4
blacks—4
springs in the county—4
booms—2
Indians—2

As a generalization one might say that at first the emphasis was on biography, buildings, and early history. In the sixties there began a trend toward architecture, archaeology, arts and crafts, dance and music. The

nature of the programs shifted with the change in leadership. In the seventies and eighties less interest was shown in traditional history. Perhaps the subject matter had been thoroughly mined. Nonetheless, throughout its history the Society has adhered in its programs to its basic aim of furthering knowledge of this community. The program chairmen were conscientious, for in this writer's view only six programs in fifty years could be deemed irrelevant. The goal was certainly not just to get a program, but to get a program that would expand our knowledge of Rockbridge County.

It is of interest to note who the speakers were. Once again, we get a variety. There were professional and amateur historians, specialists in a variety of disciplines, hobbyists, and people who had lived through some of the events they described. Among professional historians Washington and Lee took the lead, twenty-one of the papers having been delivered by men from its History Department. Dr. W. Gleason Bean read four papers; Dr. Charles Turner, seven; Drs. Ollinger Crenshaw and Allen Moger, three each; Drs. Marshall Fishwick and Taylor Sanders, two each. At VMI seven professors from the History Department gave a total of twelve papers, but only Colonel Brooke (4) gave more than two.

A number of other liberal arts professors from the colleges gave historical papers, and other professors read papers relating to their own disciplines, such as architecture, archaeology, engineering, geology, and library science. A number of people in different occupations offered papers on topics of local history in which they had developed an interest. Among them (with the number of papers read) were Dr. E. P. Tompkins (5), Royster Lyle (5), Colonel William Couper (5), Dr. George Diehl (4), Harrington Waddell (3), Mrs. Charles McCulloch (3), Matthew Paxton, Jr. (3), Richard Fletcher (2), Pat Brady (2), Barbara Crawford (2), Anne Heiner Knox (2), and Pamela Simpson (2).

In addition, a number of specialists from outside the area spoke to the Society, including F. N. Boney, Forrest Pogue, Jackson Darst, Lewis McMurran, and Louis H. Manarin. That the general public might be better educated in local history, the Society, particularly in the early days, was able sometimes to have the papers printed in the *Rockbridge County News* or the *Lexington Gazette.*

At the beginning, three general meetings were usually held each year at 8:00 p.m. at Washington and Lee, either in the Student Union, Robinson Hall, or the McCormick Library. Starting in the summer of 1940, the annual summer meeting was preferably a picnic at one of the county churches, the meal being prepared by the ladies of the church. The first such meeting was held at Falling Spring Church and the popularity of such an arrangement is attested by the fact that one hundred people attended. In 1941 the picnic was at New Providence Church and in 1942 at

Timber Ridge Church. In 1944 the members visited Bethesda Church near Rockbridge Baths, in 1945 High Bridge Church, in 1946 Bethany Lutheran, in 1947 Oxford Church, and in 1948 New Monmouth. The trend continued. It can be said that in addition to a good meal at a low price, the membership was getting a strong exposure to the county's Scotch-Irish roots.

A break with the past occurred in 1951 when the summer picnic was held on the lawn at Col Alto, one of Lexington's historic homes. Following this meeting there was more diversification, with such non-church settings as the club house of the Rockbridge Women's Club in Glasgow, Mountain View School, Hamilton School, the auditorium in VMI's new Mallory Hall, Tribrook Country Club, and Effinger schoolhouse. Sometimes, as in 1960 and 1962, there was a seated dinner at the Robert E. Lee Hotel. At 8:00 p.m. on July 24, 1964, the Society assembled at the new George C. Marshall Research Library for the first time with 125 present. In July 1968 the Society met for a catered dinner at VMI's Lejeune Hall and in 1969 and 1973 at the Keydet-General Motel. But the churches were not forgotten, and in 1971, 1972, and 1975 meetings were held in such settings.

The price of dinner at such functions rose steadily from $1.25 in 1949 to $3.50 in 1974. In July 1975 the picnic was held behind the Sloan House on Washington Street to familiarize the Society with its newly restored properties. Also, beginning in the mid-seventies Bessie Nicholas was often hired to cater the summer picnic.

Until 1950 the January meeting was usually held at 8:00 p.m. in the Washington and Lee Student Union or the McCormick Library. In 1951 this first meeting of the year was held in the Society's new home, "The Castle", but two years later a precedent was established when the Society gathered for a dinner meeting at Trinity Methodist Church in Lexington. This idea was popular and for the next two years that church was the site of dinner meetings in January. Beginning in 1956 the Robert E. Lee Hotel was often used for these meetings. The hotel remained the favorite for fifteen years with an occasional dinner meeting at Trinity Methodist Church. Then the Society began to diversify for the winter dinner meeting, using the Keydet-General, Virginia House, and Evans Dining Hall at Washington and Lee. By 1975 the cost of a roast beef dinner at the last place had climbed to $4.00, and by 1980 such a dinner was $6.25.

The growing membership of the organization limited sharply the number of places that could handle a dinner meeting. Also, it became a problem to get church ladies to cook for such large numbers. Often, in order to get sufficient space, acoustics suffered. From 1984 to 1988, the winter dinner meeting was held at Southern Seminary, but the unpredictable weather had an impact on the attendance.

Until 1949 the spring and fall meetings were usually held at the Student Union or McCormick Library. But the April and October meetings in 1949 were convened at "The Castle," the Society's new home. This was the custom until 1965 when an effort was made sometimes to relate the setting to the subject of the paper in some way, or to show the membership a new building. Again, arranging sufficient seating was an inhibiting factor. Lejeune Hall, Mallory Hall, and Preston Library, all at VMI, the Marshall Library, DuPont Hall, Mary Moody Northen Auditorium, and the Gaines Hall Rotunda at W&L, the Lexington Presbyterian Church auditorium, the courthouse, the R. E. Lee Memorial Episcopal Church's parish hall, and Southern Seminary are examples of places used for meetings after 1965.

Meetings of the Executive Committee or Board were much simpler to arrange. Until 1950 the members usually met at 4:00 or 4:30 p.m. at the home of one of the officers or in a Washington and Lee classroom. For ten years after 1950, "The Castle" was generally used, although the mezzanine of the Robert E. Lee Hotel was popular, too. From 1959 to 1973 the committee members frequently met at the home of the president. In January 1974 the Executive Committee gathered at the renovated Campbell House, and that practice has continued.

When the Executive Committee met for the first time on October 10, 1939, Hitler had crushed Poland and the United States had proclaimed an uneasy neutrality. In fact, four days after the committee's initial meeting, which was in Dr. Gaines's office, the Soviet Union presented demands on Finland that soon led to the Russo-Finnish War. At this first meeting Dr. Arthur Gerhard of Philadelphia, who had family connections in Lexington, became the first life member by paying dues of $50.00. The treasurer, Frank Gilliam, making his first report, said there was $115.00 in the treasury and that there were twenty members in the infant organization. Mrs. McCulloch, reporting for the Program Committee, recommended that the quarterly meetings of the Society be set for the last Monday in January, April, July, and October.

Dr. Gaines, the president, presided at the first quarterly meeting on October 23 at the Student Union. The sixty people present heard from Miss Elizabeth Barclay, special projects chairman, "that a committee had been appointed to consider the cost of restoring the Jordan house to a suitable condition." It was his concern for the Jordan House that had prompted Dr. Leslie Lyle Campbell to write his long letter to the *Rockbridge County News.* In a discussion of possible projects it was suggested that the Dold House be restored and the town's historic brick sidewalks be saved. Dr. Francis Lee Thurman of Buena Vista read the Society's first paper. Entitled, "Red House," it was concerned with the home of John

McDowell, "the first settler in Rockbridge," The program committee served refreshments. At this first meeting, a number of people "brought antique articles of interest which were displayed on side tables."[3]

The Executive Committee was informed in January 1940 that the Society's receipts of $386.00 had been deposited in a savings account and that plans were being made for a picnic meeting in July at Falling Spring Church. Reporting for the committee on special projects, Professor John Graham said "that the Jordan House project seemed impracticable." He proposed "looking into the possibilities of getting hold of the Withrow house or the Dold house." The Executive Committee decided that the special projects committee should continue to examine "all three projects."[4]

The Society's intention of collecting historical documents was illustrated when Dr. Tompkins, historian-librarian, reported a gift from the Misses Johnstone of the rough draft of a legislative act incorporating Liberty Hall Academy. Over the years, hardly a meeting passed without a report of the acquisition of documents and artifacts. Dr. Campbell assured the Society that the First National Bank "had agreed to store the valuables of the Society in the vault until their own home is obtained." So, from the beginning the need for a building to serve as a museum and repository for documents was felt.

Also, it was announced at the January 1949 meeting that Mrs. Winthrop Aldrich and Mrs. Sheldon Whitehouse of New York had become life members. The one hundred dollars thus received showed the value of life memberships as a potential revenue source, although the $50.00 fee was a bit beyond the means of most Lexingtonians at that time. For entertainment at this winter meeting "Mr. Harry Philpott gave an enjoyable demonstration of the singing of local folk songs." Dr. Tompkins, perhaps the county's premier local history buff at that time, read a paper on "Borden's Grant."[5]

In April 1940, at the third quarterly meeting, three new members were added.[6] In those days joining the Society was a rather cumbersome procedure. A prospective member had to be formally invited to join by the Membership Committee, and if the prospect accepted, he was admitted after a formal affirmative vote of the membership.

The first summer picnic meeting was at Falling Spring Church in July 1940. Dr. Twyman Williams of Hampden-Sydney College read "an interesting paper" on the early history of the church. The membership had

3. Minutes, October 23, 1939.
4. Minutes, January 12, 1940.
5. Minutes, January 22, 1940.
6. Minutes, April 22, 1940.

grown to 116. Dr. Gaines appointed a nominating committee of six people with Professor Hale Houston as chairman.[7]

Meeting at the Student Union in October 1940, the Society elected Mrs. Charles McCulloch, president, and E. S. Mattingly, treasurer. As was becoming the custom, refreshments were served after the meeting. As chairman of the committee on historical landmarks and appliances, Dr. Campbell reported the acquisition of thirteen items, including papers and a portrait.[8]

When the Society met in January 1941, Dr. Gaines, now first vice-president, presided and "expressed his appreciation of the splendid work being done by the organization through its committees and by individual members." He voiced the desire for more clearly defined aims and purposes. Mrs. McCulloch, the president, read "an interesting paper on the history of Rockbridge County, its formation from Augusta and Botetourt counties, and the establishment of Lexington as the county seat. Her paper gave a vivid picture by quotations from court proceedings and otherwise of the manner of living among the people of this section during the latter part of the 18th century." At the meeting there was again discussion of the Dold and Withrow houses but no action was taken. The Society's library was truly in its infancy, for receipt of a book by Dr. Tompkins doubled its collection.[9]

Publications of the proceedings of the Society was first discussed by the Executive Committee in March 1941. A motion was passed that the committee recommend to the Society that the proceedings be published. Dr. Tompkins and Mr. Mattingly were designated a committee to arrange "for printing and selling at $1.00 per copy." At the general meeting the next month, Mattingly reported "that 200 copies of 108 pages each could be obtained for $175.00."[10] Though no formal action was taken, the Tompkins-Mattingly committee began work. Later, Dr. Campbell was added to the committee as editor.[11]

The fact that the Society appealed initially to older people was indicated when the membership committee reported, when the organization was less than two years old, that three members had died.

Guests from Augusta County attended the summer picnic meeting at New Providence Church in 1941. Mr. W. F. Dice of Brownsburg presented a paper on the church, tracing "the developments of the religious and

7. Minutes, July 22, 1940.
8. Report of Dr. Campbell, October 28, 1940.
9. Minutes, January 27, 1941.
10. Minutes, March 25, April 28, 1941.
11. Minutes, July 15, 1941.

educational life of this community from its earliest days to the present time." A bountiful buffet supper was served on the lawn "by the ladies of the church."[12]

The genesis of the Society's photograph collection derives from a motion passed by the Executive Committee in the fall of 1941 "to appoint a committee, consisting of Dr. Leslie Lyle Campbell, Dr. E. P. Tompkins, and Miss Mary Barclay, to investigate the question of securing photographs of landmarks, homes, churches, and other old buildings of historical significance."[13]

The debate that surrounded the selection of the title "Proceedings" is illustrated by the comments when volume I was offered for sale at the fall meeting two years after the Society was founded. Dr. Campbell, the editor, "reported that the book is freshly off the press—*extremely fresh,* as one hundred copies (half the edition) [were] delivered in this hall only *ten minutes before the meeting opened."* The editor informed the Society that "first it had been proposed to call it a "Year-Book," but as two years' proceedings were contained in its pages the name was illogical. Then "Biennial Report" was suggested; this [was] correct so far as this particular number is concerned, and we hope in future to publish one every year, so *that* term could not be used under those circumstances. Finally, the term "Proceedings" seemed to be an apt one, and Proceedings it is." The book was sold at the meeting for $1.00 per copy.

Following Senator Miles Poindexter's "most scholarly and comprehensive paper on Arnolds Valley," the program committee offered "refreshment such as our grandmothers might have served: fresh apple cider and gingerbread."[14]

The young Society won a wider audience late in 1941 when the United Daughters of the Confederacy of Virginia gave it time on Roanoke radio station WDBJ. Arrangements for the December 27 morning broadcast were made by Captain Greenlee Letcher and Dr. Tompkins.[15] Charles McNulty delivered a talk that was published in the *Lexington Gazette,* January 1 and 8, 1942. McNulty explained the goals of the Society and its accomplishments. He closed with a plea for preservation:

> The old homes, the old landmarks, the old burying grounds, are falling to decay, or are being destroyed for modern purposes. Old articles are disappearing; these remnants must be saved.

12. Minutes, July 28, 1941.
13. Minutes, October 8, 1941.
14. Minutes, October 27, 1941.
15. Minutes, January 23, 1942.

> The officers and members of the Rockbridge Historical Society take this opportunity to ask all who love Virginia and Rockbridge County and Lexington to help in this effort to recall, keep, and restore.
>
> Look in storage rooms—on old farms—good friends, look in your attics, cellars, trunks—look for those things that must now be preserved or lost forever.

The Rockbridge Historical Society finally caught up with the Second World War. "After a discussion as to what the Society might do in regard to National Defense," it was moved and carried in 1942 that $600.00 of the $650.00 in the treasury be used to purchase war bonds. Furthermore, Captain Letcher and Colonel Couper were appointed a committee to keep a record of Rockbridge men involved "in the current war."[16]

In its organization the Society had overlooked a detail required by the constitution: election of trustees. To comply, Stuart Moore, Matthew Paxton, and Earl S. Mattingly were elected in 1942.[17]

A feature of the 1942 spring meeting in the Student Union was the social period following adjournment. Refreshments prepared under the supervision of Mrs. James Davidson consisted of "delicious orange sherbert punch with ginger ale, and beaten biscuit with ham, the biscuits having been made by 'Uncle Bud' Houston, personally, ham furnished by Mrs. Owen, and all served by Mrs. Davidson's assistants."[18] At this time the minutes of the quarterly meetings were often published in the local newspapers.

Earle K. Paxton, a Washington and Lee professor, was elected president of the Society in October 1942. At the meeting where Paxton was elected, Dr. Tompkins and Dr. Campbell "explained the very interesting exhibits now in the possession of the Society, by gift or loan." The speaker, Miss Grace Buford of Roanoke, read a paper on "Fancy Hill," "the home of her grandfather, Dr. J. T. Moorman."[19]

Harold Lauck, the secretary, recorded in December 1942 that President Paxton appointed a special Project Committee, with Mrs. W. A. Earl of Brownsburg as chairman, "to work out a plan for marking graves of Revolutionary soldiers in Rockbridge County."

Among the new members of the Society at this time were Dr. and Mrs. George Diehl of Corpus Christi, Texas. In the future the former would become a pillar of the Society and an authority on Rockbridge history. Conforming to the formal procedure of that day, the secretary was directed

16. Minutes, January 26, 1942.
17. Ibid.
18. Minutes, April 27, 1942.
19. Minutes, October 26, 1942.

to write to new members "advising them of their election to membership."[20]

Stalwarts in the Society continued to collect documents and artifacts. In 1943 Dr. Tompkins said he had obtained a photostatic copy of the High Bridge Church session book and a map of Rockbridge County drawn by Colonel William Gilham in 1860. This indefatigable worker observed that he "was compiling a card index of all the physicians who had practiced in Rockbridge County, the list now totalling 125 names."

Dr. Campbell was equally busy and presented some "account books of Henry Norgrove, a merchant of Lexington more than 100 years ago." The secretary noted that at the quarterly meeting in January "Dr. Campbell very delightfully described many of the entries which revealed much about the dress and habits of the older residents."

Owing to the uncertain conditions caused by the war, Miss Mary Barclay, chairman of the program committee, said she was only planning one meeting at a time. Colonel Couper's "highly interesting paper" on the early history of VMI was published in the *Rockbridge County News*.[21]

The war continued to have an effect. Another $300.00 was invested in war bonds, bringing the total to $900.00. Colonel Couper, reporting for the Records Committee, said that more than two thousand names of Rockbridge people serving in World War II were on file and that the cards included all available information on a person's war service.

Turning to the past, the Society appropriated money "to place a marker at the grave of Mary Greenlee, the first white woman to set foot on Rockbridge soil."[22] At a subsequent meeting $200.00 was appropriated for this purpose. Still later, Dr. Tompkins reported that a large stone had been selected and that it would be suitably engraved. He estimated the cost at $40.00.[23]

The Society continued to grow, Mrs. McCulloch reporting in October 1943 that twenty-two new members had joined in the past year. At this meeting Dr. W. G. Bean, head of the History Department at Washington and Lee, read a paper entitled "John Letcher and the Ruffner Pamphlet of 1847." This was the first paper read by a professional historian and it "was received with prolonged applause."[24]

Dr. Leslie Lyle Campbell served two one-year terms as president beginning in January 1944. He was a very active president and made many valuable suggestions. Early in 1944 the Executive Committee wrestled with

20. Minutes, December 14, 1942.
21. Minutes, January 25, 1943.
22. Minutes, April 26, July 26, 1943.
23. Minutes, October 25, 1943; January 31, 1944.
24. Minutes, October 25, 1943.

two vexing problems. There was more discussion of the purchase of the Dold House, priced at $12,500, but no action was taken because the Society only had about $1000.00 and no source of income but dues. Even when Captain Letcher was quoted a price of $10,000.00, the building remained out of reach.

On the question of incorporation, which had been hanging fire since 1939, the Society in January 1944 decided not to incorporate at that time "for reasons given by Mr. Stuart Moore," the lawyer who had drafted the constitution.[25] Like the lack of funds, the failure to incorporate militated against the acquisition of property. In 1944 the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad offered the Society "land and locks remaining of the old canal on North River near Lexington." Colonel Couper "suggested another organization take over this offer—since the Historical [Society] By-laws as yet [have] not been incorporated."

At the same meeting three new members were reported: Carrington C. Tutwiler, Jr., son of a Charter Member, and Dr. and Mrs. Cole Davis. Dr. [Colonel] Davis who was the surgeon at VMI would later take an exceedingly active part in the Society and serve as president. An amendment was added to the by-laws: "Papers read before the Society constitute a part of the Proceedings of the Society, and may be printed as such."[26]

The summer meeting in 1944 at Bethesda Church in Rockbridge Baths was memorable. The new member, Dr. Cole Davis, who was "a native of the section, gave an interesting talk on the history and activities of the section, and origin of names. The many iron furnaces were of note, shipping iron by flat boat from Cedar Grove, then an important post-office and shipping point." To add color to the occasion, "Dr. Tompkins appeared as a teamster of one of the wagons carrying iron from Bath Iron Works through the Pass to Cedar Grove where the flat-boats and batteaux tied up." Some eighty people attended and enjoyed the picnic supper served by the ladies of the church.[27]

When the Second World War ended, Colonel Couper, reporting for the Committee on Rockbridge Men in Service, noted in his meticulous way that he had cards for 4,118 individuals. "Of these," he noted, "93 were dead, 159 wounded, 9 missing in action, and 9 prisoners of war. Among 116 women in the service were 36 WACS and 24 WAVES."

Record keeping was of vital importance to the Society. At this time Dr. James Lewis Howe stressed the need for gathering information on family burying grounds. President Campbell had already begun such a project

25. Minutes, January 11, January 31, 1944.
26. Minutes, April 4, 1944.
27. Minutaes, July 31, 1944.

and he explained that he had prepared a chart for this purpose and he intended to appoint various Society members to obtain the information.[28]

The publication of volume II of the *Proceedings* was delayed by manpower shortages during the war, but in 1945 Harold Lauck reported that a forty page digest of the proceedings would cost approximately $4.00 per page. The Executive Committee authorized the printing of three hundred copies. At the quarterly meeting in October Lauck said that volume II would include a "list of members, by-laws, and digest of minutes for last 4 years."[29]

Over the years the Society tried to inform its members about the significance of the iron industry in Rockbridge County. At his last meeting as president, Dr. Campbell announced an impressive program with seven speakers:

"Old Charcoal Iron Furnaces" by E. T. Robinson;
"The Old Buena Vista Furnace" by Colonel William Couper;
"The Glenwood Furnace" by Miles Poindexter;
"The Bath Iron Works and Victoria Furnace" by Dr. Cole Davis;
"Furnaces and the McCormick Shop on South River" by Dr. E. P. Tompkins;
"Presentation of the Block of Iron on Which Was Made the First McCormick Reaper" by E. K. Paxton,
"Buffalo Forge" by D. E. Brady.

Dr. Campbell was an active and enthusiastic president. Perhaps it is pertinent to note that at the conclusion of his term there were 175 members in the Society, of whom 123 lived in Rockbridge County. Eleven members had joined during the past year.[30] Dr. Campbell was the first president to serve two terms and would be followed by another strong leader, Dr. Cole Davis.

Dr. Davis's first order of business was to appoint ten members to the Executive Committee. It was obvious that while relying principally on proven workers, he was trying to bring new blood into leadership positions. Davis emphasized that according to the by-laws officers were members ex-officio of the Executive Committee. Committee chairmen were supposed to appoint the members of their own committees and notify him and the recording secretary of their selection.[31]

28. Minutes, April 23, October 29, 1945.
29. Minutes, October 29, 1945.
30. Ibid.
31. Minutes, January 22, 1946.

No paper was read at the quarterly meeting held in the Washington and Lee Library in January 1946, but Dr. Davis invited members to descend to the basement of the library to see the "Collection of manuscripts, books, pamphlets, and historical relics owned by the Society, or lent to it by the owners." Dr. Campbell "had spent many hours in arranging the materials."

Once again we see the close tie between the Society and Washington and Lee. At this time there were 191 members. On this winter day the members were saddened to learn of the death of a stalwart colleague, Professor Hale Houston, professor of engineering at Washington and Lee. A happy note was the announcement of Miss Elizabeth Barclay, chairman of the Reception Committee, that "the practice of serving refreshments at Society meetings, which had been abandoned for the war period, would be resumed at the next meeting."[32]

No formal paper was read at the April 1946 meeting, but Dr. Howe, program chairman, stated that the theme for the meeting was "Living Conditions in the Valley, especially Rockbridge County, a Hundred Years Ago." Members talked on a variety of subjects such as occupations of early Virginia girls, colonial quilts, living expenses in Lexington (1818–60), early recipes and cooking. A sample of music was rendered and household articles were displayed.[33]

When volume II of the *Proceedings* was published, Harold Lauck, chairman of the Publications Committee, announced that six copies of volumes I and II had been hard bound and one copy of each had been given to VMI, Washington and Lee, the Virginia State Library, the Library of Congress, and Dr. Campbell. One copy of each had been retained by the Society. At this time Mrs. McCulloch mentioned a suggestion from Mrs. Augusta B. Fothergill, a prominent historian and genealogist, that a marker be placed at the entrance to the Lexington Cemetery listing the names of "eminent men" buried there.[34] The Historical Society did not do this, but nearly forty years later the local branch of the APVA did place such a marker.

Time was catching up with the older members of the Society. At the annual meeting in 1946, the president read a list of seven members who had died since the last annual meeting. Among those especially active, in addition to Hale Houston, was state senator Miles Poindexter. Dr. J. J. Murray led the members in a memorial prayer for the deceased.

The speaker that evening was Dr. Ollinger Crenshaw, of the Washington and Lee History Department, who later published a history of the univer-

32. Minutes, January 28, 1946.
33. Minutes, April 29, 1946.
34. Minutes, October 15, 1946.

sity. His topic was "The Attitude Toward Secession in Rockbridge County Previous to 1862." Secretary Moffatt in his detailed notes recorded that "Crenshaw traced the secession movement in Rockbridge from its earliest stage of pronounced Unionist sentiment to a general acceptance of secession as an inevitability."

At this meeting members learned that the Society had become a landowner, as the late Hale Houston had left "The Castle" to it in his will. So, finally, the Society would have a home of its own as Dr. Campbell and others had wished.

Also, it was announced that Mrs. Fothergill had given the Society many books. Another matter was discussed: the problem of "preserving records left on grave-stones in county cemeteries that have fallen into disuse." Volunteers were called for. At the conclusion of the meeting, Dr. Davis was reelected president for a second one-year term.[35]

The Society enjoyed a healthy growth and in January 1947 thirteen new members were recommended for membership, of whom ten were comparatively young, including Dr. Charles Turner of the Washington and Lee History Department. Turner would do much for the Society.

A report was made early in 1947 on recordings made from the tombstones in the Lexington Cemetery. The need to make a map of the county "with important historical locations and points of interest marked, and photographs printed with the map" was expressed.[36] But nothing was done and later the APVA filled the void.

In its early days, with members such as Dr. Tompkins and Colonel Couper, the Society was conscientious in compiling historical records. In April 1947 Colonel Couper, reporting on county personnel in service during World War II, said that his list showed: dead, 117; wounded, 185; missing, 6; prisoners of war, 28.[37]

As in so many organizations without a professional staff, the Rockbridge Historical Society found that it had to spend considerable time on housekeeping details. When the energetic Major C. C. Tutwiler became membership chairman, he made an effort to adopt a more clear-cut procedure in recruiting members. There was a discussion "as to the best method of approaching prospective members." Considering alternatives, the Executive Committee ruled that the best procedure "would be to elect members first, and then inform them of their election."

A related matter concerned the time for paying dues. Major Tutwiler complained that "members have been dropped from the rolls for non-

35. Minutes, October 28, 1945.
36. Minutes, January 14, 1947.
37. Minutes, April 28, 1947.

payment of dues when no notice whatever had been sent these members." No formal action was taken on this perennial question, but President Davis said he favored the October meeting being designated the annual meeting with "dues payable for the ensuing year." He felt that the treasurer should collect from members who failed to pay at the October meeting. This interpretation was later confirmed by the Executive Committee. Wrestling with the problem a year later, the Executive Committee decided that dues were payable "immediately upon election."[38]

On April 28, 1947, the Society met at the VMI library, the first time at a VMI facility. After the meeting a tour was made of the VMI museum which was located in the library. Colonel Couper made pertinent comments during the tour. At this meeting the membership voted a change in the by-laws. Henceforth committee chairmen would be appointed by the president rather than being elected by committee members as in the past. Dr. Davis interpreted the by-laws to mean that the officers elected in October should "enter immediately on their term of office." Therefore, it was incumbent upon the president to appoint committee members "as soon as possible after the October meeting."[39]

The question of the Society acquiring and restoring buildings was again introduced at the meeting at Oxford Church in the summer of 1947. "Mr. Granville Johnston suggested that a committee be appointed to consider . . . taking over for preservation and repair the old Hamilton School, now in a condition rapidly approaching ruin." The matter was referred to the Executive Committee for consideration "at its next meeting."[40] The minutes do not indicate any subsequent action on this matter at that time.

Ownership of "The Castle" posed a problem for the Executive Committee. In order for the Society to qualify to hold title to real estate, was it better to act through a board of trustees or to incorporate? On this subject President Davis said that he had consulted with two lawyers who were members of the Society. According to the minutes "it seemed to be the consensus of [the committee] members present" that to act through the board of trustees was the better procedure. At this point, Matthew Paxton, Stuart Moore, and T. B. Shackford were elected trustees.[41]

Subsequently, at the annual meeting, it was explained that although in 1942 a board of trustees had been elected, "the necessary technicalities had not been observed, nor [had] this Board been confirmed by the Court;

38. Minutes, April 15, October 9, 1947; October 11, 1948.
39. Minutes, April 28, 1947.
40. Minutes, July 28, 1947.
41. Minutes, October 9, October 27, 1947.

hence the need for another election." The Society unanimously confirmed the election of Paxton, Moore, and Shackford.

At this meeting in 1947 Dr. Charles Turner read his first paper to the Society: "Railways of Virginia Prior to the Civil War." The secretary noted that "it was to be seen that the speaker had devoted much time to the preparation of his address, which was thoroughly documented and most informative."

Mrs. Russell Robey of Southern Seminary was elected president of the Society. In this election an effort was made to bring fresh ideas into the organization. In fact, Miss Ellen Anderson, a Charter Member, wrote Mrs. Robey: "I was sorry I did not meet you at the Historical Society in late October. I did not realize who you were—then I heard Dr. Davis' announcement! You are kind to accept the presidency."[42]

In thanking the retiring president, Dr. Davis, for giving her a list of the officers and committees during the past year, Mrs. Robey wrote, it "will help to fill in some of the blank places in my information about the Society's affairs. It seems incredible to me that I should be the head of something about which I know so little."[43]

Mrs. Robey's efficiency and persuasive powers were immediately apparent as she began to form her committees. Writing to Colonel Couper that she hoped he would continue as chairman of the Committee on Historical records, she said the officers "all agreed that it would be a calamity if you would not serve again." The harassed colonel, the VMI business executive, replied: "I definitely cannot serve again as chairman, because of conditions here. I can't take on anything more." He recommended Dr. Tompkins and protested, "I am definitely not a Rockbridge person." But Mrs. Robey would not be outmaneuvered. In the margin of the letter she wrote: "Telephoned him—and he reconsidered. 'Yes.'"[44]

At her first general meeting as president, the minutes record, "Mrs. Robey extended an invitation to the Society to have its April meeting at the Southern Seminary, with the college acting as hosts." To widen the net, she included on the membership committee people from Glasgow, Goshen, Fairfield, Natural Bridge, Buena Vista, Kerrs Creek, and Lexington. The move was effective, because in April the membership chairman proposed fourteen names for membership, including nine from Buena Vista.

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42. Minutes, October 27, 1947; Ellen Anderson to Mrs. Robey, January 13, 1948, RHS Archives, Washington and Lee University.

43. Robey to Dr. Davis, October 31, 1947, RHS Archives.

44. Robey to Couper, January 7, 1948; Couper to Robey, January 14, 1948, RHS Archives.

Warming to her task, Mrs. Robey asked the secretary to examine the minutes of past meetings and note any unfinished business.[45] At her first quarterly meeting, the Society voted to place a marker at the spot on the Washington and Lee campus where General Lee's horse Traveller was buried, a project which Captain Greenlee Letcher had brought to the attention of the Society some time ago. By coincidence, one of the seven new members elected at this meeting was General J. S. Letcher, Greenlee's son, who would perform valuable service as an officer and trustee.

Mrs. Robey was conscientious in her duties, attempting to answer personally inquiries directed to the Society and using this as a way to enlarge the membership. To a man in Waynesboro she wrote: "I had to make several inquiries before I could get the information you requested. Big House Mountain is 3,612 feet high and Little House Mountain is 3,410 feet." She urged him to attend some meetings of the Society.[46]

A pressing matter for the Society at this time was the disposition of "The Castle." Dr. Tompkins and others favored "the use of the house as a repository for books, papers, and other items owned by the society." The matter was referred to the Executive Committee.[47] Interest continued as Dr. Campbell asked permission from the trustees "to remodel at my expense, the lower floor of 'The Castle.'" He explained that his purpose was "to make it possible for the Society to hold its regular meetings there, and to provide a place where may be put the historic material . . . now stored in the Washington & Lee University Library." He added that the building would "provide a place for putting a number of articles of historic interest, that I wish to turn over to the Society." He felt that the upper floor "could still be rented."[48]

At the next meeting of the Executive Committee, Mrs. McCulloch presented a resolution to accept "The Castle" from the estate of the late Professor Hale Houston. The resolution was passed unanimously and a copy was sent to Dr. Campbell. The resolution noted that "the late Hale Houston belonged to a family which has been prominent in Rockbridge County since the days of the earliest settlements in this region and which has furnished distinguished leadership not only in Virginia but throughout the nation." After discussing Dr. Campbell's offer to remodel "The Castle," a committee was appointed to confer with him. Subsequently, Dr. Campbell said he would "confer with a competent architect." Decisive action was

45. Minutes, January 12, April 12, 1948.
46. Robey to H.M.H. Potter (copy), RHS Archives.
47. Minutes, January 26, 1948.
48. Campbell to Mattingly, February 16, 1948, RHS Archives.

finally taken in July when the Executive Committee voted "that Dr. Campbell's plan for making the building more readily usable by the Society be accepted in toto, that Mr. Shackford and Dr. Davis be continued as a committee with full power to act, in conjunction with Dr. Campbell, in carrying out the proposed plan."[49]

A report at the spring meeting at Southern Seminary showed the Society was continuing to grow. Membership totalled two hundred and the treasury claimed $1,000 in government bonds, $813.73 in a savings account, and $266.12 in a checking account. Dr. Tompkins announced many gifts to the Society. A motion by Dr. Davis "that valuable parchment and fragile paper materials owned by the Society be framed in glass" was carried. The program, arranged by Mrs. Robey and Dr. Davis, was musical in nature. A Washington and Lee quartet sang songs and Mrs. Al Tucker played "several piano selections embodying classical and folk music." Southern Seminary students performed the Virginia Reel and a series of folk dances. The program concluded with square dancing for the guests and refreshments.[50]

When the Society neared its tenth birthday in October 1948, Mrs. Robey suggested that the event "be celebrated in some appropriate way." There is no evidence that anything was done.

Time was taking its toll. Setting the number of Charter Members at 63, Mrs. McCulloch reported that seventeen had died and six had resigned. Stuart Moore, Colonel Couper, and Mrs. McCulloch were appointed to a committee to revise those sections of the by-laws "dealing with the length of terms of office." The committee suggested that the terms for officers be two years instead of one. The only restriction on reelection was that the president should not serve more than two successive terms.

The Society also appointed a committee of overseers to serve for an indefinite time that would handle "all matters pertaining to the arrangement, care, and use of 'The Castle.'" Harrington Waddell, Dr. Tompkins, Dr. Campbell, and Mrs. McCulloch were appointed to this committee. The trustees were members ex officio.

In recognition of Dr. Campbell's exceptional service to the Society, he was elected a life member. Dr. Tompkins, who had replaced Harold Lauck as chairman of the Publications Committee, described plans for volume III of the *Proceedings*. As in the past, details, such as binding and cost of printing, were left to the Publications Committee.

At the October meeting Mrs. Robey was reelected president; Moffatt, recording secretary; Tutwiler, treasurer; and Tompkins, librarian.[51]

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49. Minutes, April 12, 26, July 15, 1948.
50. Minutes, April 26, 1948.
51. Minutes, October 25, 1948; January 18, 1949.

When the work on "The Castle" was nearing completion, Dr. Campbell notified Mrs. Robey that "the historical material has been brought over from the University Library and placed in the Historical Room of the 'Castle.'" The second floor was rented.[52]

An insight into how different some things were forty years ago when the Society had its first meeting in "The Castle" is revealed by a letter Mrs. Robey wrote to the treasurer: "I would like to present a bill to the Historical Society for the following items: 360 penny post cards (enough for two meetings) - $3.60, six hours of secretarial assistance at whatever rate you are accustomed to pay your assistant when she sends out bills." Major Tutwiler paid Mrs. Robey $4.50 for the secretarial assistance, at the rate of 75¢ per hour. The cards were used to inform the members of meetings.[53]

The first meeting of the Society at "The Castle," held on April 25, 1949, was a memorable one. Harrington Waddell opened the meeting with prayer. Then Dr. Campbell read "a most interesting paper on the history of 'The Castle.'" He explained that the building "is located near the site of one of the two main springs, now covered over by streets and roadways, in the center of town." "The Castle," probably the oldest building in Lexington, was first used for lawyers' offices. Campbell said that the building came into Professor Houston's possession in 1920 and was rented to students and others. Campbell had a personal knowledge of the building as he had been Hale Houston's brother-in-law.

Commenting on the recent restoration of "The Castle," the speaker said W. M. Agnor, the carpenter who did the work, had been "competent and skillful." On behalf of the Society, Colonel Couper presented Dr. Campbell with an inscribed memorial.

Another highlight of the meeting came when Dr. Tompkins distributed copies of volume III of the *Proceedings* fresh from the printer. Also, artifacts owned by the Society were displayed for the edification of the members.[54]

As Mrs. Robey's second term approached its end, it is appropriate to observe that she was an excellent president who wrote many letters, offered sound advice, and attended to countless details. Perhaps it all seemed worthwhile when Dr. Tompkins wrote: "I take this opportunity to again express my admiration for your very great ability as a presiding officer, for you have administered the office with marked efficiency, grace, and charm, . . . I know that this appraisement of your term of office is shared by many,

52. Campbell to Robey, April 18, 1945, RHS Archives.
53. Robey to Tutwiler, April 21, 1949, RHS Archives.
54. Minutes, April 25, 1949.

and I really believe I may say is an *unanimous* opinion."[55]

There was one final piece of business involving "The Castle" before Mrs. Robey stepped down. Dr. Campbell had offered the Society "$1,000 for the maintenance and upkeep of 'The Castle,' with the condition attached that the Society quarters on the lower floor of the building should never be used for any other purpose than as a Society meeting place and as a depository for Society collections (and that, if this condition is violated, the gift should revert to the donor or his estate)." The offer was accepted by unanimous vote. The Rev. George W. Diehl was elected president for the two-year term provided for by the change in the by-laws. Dr. Moffatt, the able recording secretary, was reelected as was the indefatigable Dr. Tompkins, the librarian. In her final remarks as president, Mrs. Robey spoke of the need to recruit more young members.[56]

The theme of enlisting young members was repeated by Dr. Diehl at his first meeting as president. Expanding on the subject, he talked of "the necessity of keeping alive an interest in local history among the rising generation," and he suggested junior memberships, the organization of historical society groups in the schools, and prizes for essays to stimulate interest. A committee was appointed to study the matter. Like his predecessor, he urged the secretary to examine the minutes for unfinished business.[57]

"The Castle" confronted the new president with one of his first problems. The Society appointed a part-time custodian to catalogue the relics, manuscripts, and books in its collection, so that they could be made available to the public. The Society also agreed to the establishment of an "upkeep fund" for the rooms and grounds of "The Castle" to be defrayed by income from Dr. Campbell's gift. Mr. Shackford was elected to administer the upkeep fund for the first year. At his first meeting as president, Dr. Diehl, a dedicated local historian, was the speaker and read a paper entitled, "The Awakening Comes to Rockbridge—1789."[58]

In July, as a result of the secretary's search of the minutes, the Executive Committee considered items of unfinished business dating back to 1947. Referring to grave recordings in Rockbridge cemeteries, the committee urged those so engaged to complete the work "as soon as possible." Dr. Davis and Dr. Tompkins were asked to determine the cost of printing a book on the history of Rockbridge County that Dr. Tompkins had written. County families were asked to complete their family genealogies. The

55. Tompkins to Robey, August 13, 1949, RHS Archives.
56. Minutes, October 17, 1949.
57. Minutes, January 21, 1950.
58. Minutes, January 30, 1950.

effort to obtain copies of all books written by Rockbridge authors was to be continued.

The preservation of the Hamilton Schoolhouse was discussed. Dr. Diehl informed the Executive Committee that it was "the last log field-school in the county, [and] that it was attended by many who became outstanding citizens of the County and the State." Dr. Diehl and E. A. Mattingly were directed "to confer with the County Court to devise ways and means for the preservation of this historic landmark."

In another matter the Society was offered an acre of land containing "two old brick stacks of Lucy Selina Furnace," but declined the gift because the land was not in Rockbridge County.[59]

At the summer meeting in Goshen in 1950, Dr. Tompkins, giving a report on Rockbridge County authors, said he had compiled a list of sixty-eight. At this time the Society voted to print "a memorial booklet listing World War II casualties from Rockbridge County." Dr. Tompkins said he had gathered the records of sixty-two county men killed in the conflict, but the records of twenty others "were unavailable." At this meeting Mrs. Henry Agnew of Lafayette, Alabama, gave "an interesting and scholarly address on the history of the Jordan family, so long prominent in Rockbridge County and Virginia."[60]

Under the by-laws it was the president's duty to appoint members of all the committees and the nominating committee. As Dr. Diehl prepared for his second year in office he found it difficult to find people who would serve and he informed the Executive Committee "that many who had been asked to serve declined." But he assured his listeners that he would announce the membership of the committees at the fall meeting of the Society.

A matter close to Dr. Diehl's heart was, as he informed the Society in October of 1950, the preparation of abstracts of the records and minutes of Rockbridge County churches for inclusion in a volume to be kept in the Society's library. He said he was doing this at Oxford Church where he was the pastor. The matter was discussed briefly but no action was taken.

At this meeting Dr. Tompkins read a paper on "Interesting Features of Rockbridge Wills," in which he "called attention to the definitely religious atmosphere surrounding many of the older wills" and observed "that some wills made by husbands left to the wife property that was already hers." This, he said, was "a revelation of the dominance of the male and the submergence of the female in the early days of our history."[61]

59. Minutes, July 9, 1950.
60. Minutes, July 14, 1950.
61. Minutes, October 10, 1950.

At its first meeting in 1951 the Executive Committee learned from Colonel Tutwiler, the treasurer, that application blanks for new members had been prepared. Miss Ellen Anderson, who had been directed to place a bronze marker with an appropriate inscription at the grave of artist William D. Washington in the Lexington Cemetery, reported that it would cost $55.00 to place such a marker. She was authorized to proceed. But she "suffered very great disappointment" when she learned that because of the Korean War "the U.S. Government had clamped down firmly on the use of bronze except for military purposes." So the matter was stalled. But six months later the Society was informed that the marker had been obtained and would soon be in place.[62]

Dr. Allen Moger, a Washington and Lee history professor who would later serve as president of the Society with distinction, read his first paper to it in April 1951. Dr. Moffatt described it as "a most interesting and informative paper on boom times in Virginia" with particular attention to The Valley of Virginia. Moger said that "Buena Vista took its name from 'Old Buena Vista,' an iron furnace owned by the Jordan family only a few miles away. . . . The Buena Vista Company was chartered by the state legislature in 1887. . . . The bottom dropped out of the Buena Vista boom in 1893."

At the meeting, Dr. Campbell gave the Society "a number of pictures of people and places."[63] A matter of concern was that the County Board of Supervisors had removed the portraits from the portrait gallery in the county court house and stored them in the attic. President Diehl suggested to the Executive Committee that the Society "might be made custodian of the portraits, and later make arrangements for their proper preservation and display." But the only action the Society took at that time was to ask members "to approach individual supervisors for explanations of what looks to us like a breach of faith with donors of these portraits." The matter was resolved three months later when Dr. Diehl reported that the portraits had been removed from the attic and rehung "in the court room and other conspicuous places in the building."[64]

At the last meeting of 1951, Dr. Marshall Fishwick, assistant professor of American Studies at Washington and Lee, spoke on Michael Miley who left fifteen thousand photographic glass plates and was a pioneer developer of color photography, of which process Fishwick "gave a detailed description."

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62. Minutes, October 16, 1950; February 5, April 16, October 29, 1951.
63. Minutes, April 23, 1951.
64. Minutes, July 16, 23, October 19, 1951.

This was Dr. Diehl's last meeting as president and he took the occasion to commend Colonel C. C. Tutwiler, treasurer, "for his accuracy and efficiency." Cash on hand amounted to $1,017.02 and there was $3,050.00 in war bonds. Membership appears to have dropped a little with 137 paid-up members, 22 members one year overdue, and 26 members two years overdue. The last group was dropped according to the by-laws. The shrinkage of membership seems to have been more the result of careful screening of dues payments than any real loss.

The nominating committee made its report and Mrs. J. P. (Louise) Alexander of Fairfield was elected president and Dr. Charles Turner, recording secretary.[65]

At the first meeting of the Executive Committee during Mrs. Alexander's presidency, twelve members assembled at her historic home near Fairfield. The perennial question of admitting new members was discussed and the committee decided that it was unnecessary to have the whole Society vote on the admission of new members. Also, the question of insuring the Society's books, documents, and relics was considered. Although "no adequate knowledge of their value had been ascertained," it was decided that a $4,000 blanket policy should be purchased. This matter was ably handed by Mr. Shackford. A committee consisting of Fishwick, Turner, and Davis was appointed to catalogue the material. Dr. Turner asked for $300 to provide shelving and "to fix up the sun porch to hold the relics and exhibition pieces." The request was granted.[66]

Programs relating to Rockbridge County and its famous sons were popular. Mrs. McCulloch read a paper on "The Old Blue Hotel" of Lexington. Her narrative "evoked smiles and many chuckles, especially as to prices in that early day, the broadest smiles and the heartiest chuckles when the prices of liquid refreshments were mentioned."[67]

At the 1952 summer meeting at the Rockbridge Baths Methodist Church, Dr. Berryman H. McCoy of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, gave a talk on Bishop William Taylor "who was born on the side of Hogback Mountain." McCoy described Taylor's "various activities as a preacher, missionary, and bishop of the Methodist Church in many parts of the world including America, England, Australia, and Africa." This talk was the result of a letter from McCoy to Mrs. J. B. Wood of Goshen concerning the work of Bishop Taylor. Alert to program possibilities, Mrs. Wood in her response suggested that he read a paper to the Society and he agreed to do so. Mrs.

65. Minutes, October 29, 1951.
66. Minutes, January 18, April 28, July 16, 1952.
67. Minutes, January 28, 1952.

McCulloch suggested that a marker be placed near Bishop Taylor's birthplace, but Mrs. Alexander replied that the State Conservation Commission had indicated that it was "unable to erect historical markers at this time."[68]

In the early 1950s important steps were taken regarding publications. As a matter of policy, Colonel Couper, who had a keen interest in accumulating and preserving facts, moved that when publishing the *Proceedings* complete papers be published and not just abstracts. The motion carried.

An effort was made to publish Dr. Tompkins's manuscript on the "Annals of Rockbridge," as Dr. Tompkins had recently died. Marshall Fishwick was assigned "the job of editing the work, re-writing certain incomplete portions, and making such additions from Dr. Tompkins' notes and sketches that seem appropriate." When the job was done, Fishwick submitted the draft under the title, *Rockbridge County, an Informal History,* to three publishers and received a bid of $1,800 for two thousand copies which was accepted. It was sold at a price of $2.00 per copy.[69]

Also, it was time to publish volume IV of the *Proceedings.* Fishwick and Turner were entrusted with this responsibility. They made arrangements to publish five hundred copies for $425, and by November 1954 the volume was ready for sale at $1.50 per copy.[70]

Dr. Tompkins's death was a blow, as he had been a sparkplug of the Society since its earliest days. Dr. Diehl and Mrs. McCulloch were asked to prepare a proper memorial resolution, and Earle Paxton was appointed to fill Dr. Tompkins's unexpired term as librarian.[71]

By 1953 the number of letters requesting information on genealogical matters had grown significantly, and Miss Ellen Anderson, who was on the Genealogical Committee and was attempting to answer them, asked for help. In time, Houston Barclay was made co-chairman of the Genealogical Committee and the Society authorized the payment of $1.00 an hour to students hired to look up information. Also, as the collections at the library in "The Castle" continued to grow, volunteers were asked to keep the library open once or twice a week. In May 1953 the librarian reported "the completion of the cataloguing of the books under the able direction of Miss Virginia Pomfrey and Miss Evelyn Nelson," and that in June he would keep the library open several hours a week.[72] The Society had been

68. Minutes, January 28, July 28, 1952; W. Edwin Hemphill to Mrs. Penick West, July 13, 1952, RHS Archives.

69. Minutes [May], October 27, 1952; Marshall Fishwick to Rockbridge Historical Society, July 23, 1942, RHS Archives.

70. Minutes, July 25, November 8, 1954.

71. Minutes, July 16, 28, 1952.

72. Minutes, January 15, 26, May 4, October 19, 1953.

renting the upstairs of "The Castle," but as activities multiplied, additional space was needed and the tenant was asked to vacate.

At the end of the year Mrs. Alexander was reelected for a second two-year term as president. Colonel Tutwiler was reelected treasurer and Earle Paxton, librarian. Marshall Fishwick was elected recording secretary.[73]

At the spring meeting in 1954, held at the Student Union, Marshall Fishwick displayed in writing the minutes his ability to make rather drab events exciting. He recorded that more than seventy-five members and guests "took an imaginary multi-colored journey around Rockbridge County, and enjoyed once more its scenic and historic beauty through the unerring eye of a camera." He described Lester Schnare's program as a "kodachrome safari." "Nothing remained after this aesthetic feast," he wrote, "but the fulfillment of a more physical urge, which the Social Committee met admirably with punch and cakes."[74]

For many months Mrs. McCulloch struggled to stimulate interest in local history in the schools by offering prizes. In July 1954 she reported happily the completion of the first essay contest, commenting "that some 17 students had presented some very acceptable historical works." The essays written by the school children were to be preserved in the Society's archives. Clinton Anderson, the first prize winner, wrote a letter of appreciation to the president for the $25 he was awarded for his paper on "Early Schools in the Buffalo Valley." The Executive Committee voted to extend the essay contest for another year with $60 in prizes. In another effort to elicit the interest of the young, the committee endorsed the idea of encouraging school children in the town and county to visit the new exhibit upstairs at "The Castle."[75]

With improvements "The Castle" seemed to take on new life in 1954, Marshall Fishwick noting that the building "was resplendent with a new sign hung during the summer and a general re-arranging of our facilities and library." The Executive Committee "was well pleased" with a tour of the upstairs. When the Society met in November "'The Castle' was full to overflowing," and Mrs. Alexander in praising the new arrangement and displays exclaimed, according to the secretary, "We're beginning to look like a museum now!"

It could be hoped that the grounds would soon be as attractive as the building because the Blue Ridge Garden Club had offered to restore them.

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73. Minutes, January 15, May 4, October 26, 1953.

74. Minutes, April 26, 1954.

75. Minutes, July 8, 25, 26, 1954; Clinton Anderson to Mrs. J. P. Alexander, June 11, 1954, RHS Archives.

Of course the offer was "gratefully accepted." Miss Mary Monroe Penick explained later that the Garden Club would "refurbish" the garden if the Society "agreed to furnish $25 per year to maintain it." This stipulation was approved promptly.[76]

The year was also a good one for membership. In July Mrs. Isola Paxton, membership chairman, was commended for her diligence and she certainly deserved the honor. In April she had reported nine new members and in July, twenty-eight.[77]

The flavor of the first meeting of the Executive Committee in 1955 was captured by the secretary's facile pen: We "met in a somewhat chilly Castle. . . . There was speculation as to the extent of the gas bill—but no solution." He then recorded that "Mary Moore's cradle is upstairs—all six feet of it."

Describing the quarterly meeting of the Society at the Methodist Church, he exclaimed that "there was turkey in the kitchen and anticipation in the members. . . . Soon the turkey . . . was on the table and the Methodist ladies had won still another star in their crown." At this meeting Mrs. Paxton announced thirty-six new members had been added in the past year.

"Jay Johns of 'Ashlawn' spoke with contagious enthusiasm about the Stonewall Jackson Memorial. . . . 'We're trying to be part and parcel of your community,'" he began. Johns explained "how the Memorial had begun as a beautiful idea with no money." "We must stop the tourist and make a better American of him!" he asserted. He suggested that members "ransack their attics" to add to the "27 pieces of furniture and 50 Jackson letters" in the Memorial's possession.[78] This was the genesis of the Jackson House of today, with which the Society became closely associated.

Meanwhile, "The Castle" was beginning to play a central role in the Society's life. In the spring of 1955 some $550 was spent in painting and repairing the building. At an open house for the public, sixty visitors registered.[79]

The fame of the Society began to reach beyond the borders of Rockbridge County. Notified that the American Association for State and Local History would hold its annual meeting in Williamsburg, the Society decided to participate. Colonel Couper, praising the Society's work in arousing interest among young people, suggested that Mrs. McCulloch send some of the school essays written for her committee to be exhibited. Later, report-

76. Minutes, July 25, November 8, 1954.
77. Minutes, April 12, July 25, 26, 1954.
78. Minutes, January 17, 31, 1955.
79. Minutes, April 25, July 25, 1955.

ing on the meeting, President Louise Alexander noted that Leon Johenning had donated a large sign that attracted people to the RHS exhibit. "There was no other display from a local society that compared with ours," she boasted. She observed further that "our high school essay contest was particularly commended."[80]

At her last meeting as president, Mrs. Alexander praised many people. Reports detailed what had been done:

> Mr. Earl[e] Paxton, librarian, told of gifts ranging from a humble sausage grinder to a complete staircase. He told of new books which reaffirmed our heritage. Miss Barclay urged members to "Please get up in the attic before you get to the point where you *can't* get up." Mrs. P. L. Paxton reported 46 new members since January 1954, and noted in the report the death of 4 others. . . . Dr. Turner reported that the library has almost doubled in two years, that our documents have been properly catalogued, and that the whole building has been renovated.

In retiring, Mrs. Alexander could take satisfaction in a job well done.

The nominating committee named Colonel William Couper, president; Marshall Fishwick, recording secretary; Miss Lula Dunlap, treasurer; and Charles Turner, librarian. The slate was elected.

For the program Marshall Fishwick spoke on "The Magnificent Valley." His paper was, he wrote, a general summary and not a scholarly monograph, because "no one would dare tackle specific points of Valley history while a man of Couper's knowledge and experience sat idly by."[81]

During his presidency, Colonel William Couper, the business executive at VMI who wore many other hats, gave an extraordinary amount of time to answering personally the steady stream of historical and genealogical questions that flowed in. He expressed a particular interest in reactivating the committee on markers. Like some other committees created in the early days, this one seems to have virtually disappeared. Earle Paxton, chairman of the committee, a Charter Member, and former president, said that "he knew of no markers that had been put up by the Society." He explained that the marker to "Big Foot" Wallace had been erected by "admirers." A year later, however, Paxton reported the placing of a marker at the "Robert E. Lee, Thomas J. Jackson, Margaret Junkin Preston Home."[82]

In the spring of 1957 "The Castle" was open during Garden Week and Colonel Couper reported that he and Dr. Davis would "man it."[83]

A matter close to Colonel Couper's heart was the publication of historical papers. At his last meeting of the Executive Committee he urged again

80. Minutes, July 25, September 14, 1955.
81. Minutes, October 31, 1955.
82. Minutes, April 30, 1956; April 30, 1957.
83. Minutes, April 22, 1957.

that the Society "attempt to *print* all past speeches given to the Society."[84] At this meeting, in October 1957, Dr. Charles Turner was elected president, Chester Goolrick, recording secretary; Miss Lula Dunlap, treasurer; and Miss Mary Galt, librarian.

The value of preserving and using documents was, appropriately, made clear by the guest speaker, Dr. W. Edwin Hemphill, at Colonel Couper's final meeting as president. Hemphill, the editor of *Virginia Cavalcade* and the new eleventh-grade textbook on Virginia history, spoke on "Records of Rockbridge in Richmond." "There were," he said, "thousands of items, many of primary importance . . . available in the State archives." "Those who write about Rockbridge County," he added, "can ill afford to bypass the basic sources in our state's official archives."[85]

At the winter meeting at the Robert E. Lee Hotel in January 1958, there were sixty members present. The secretary recorded that "the Society enjoyed a delicious meal at tables on which flowers were colorfully arranged in globes which had their own historical significance, having once been used as gas globes for the original Buena Vista lighting system." The new president, Charles Turner, enumerated some of his goals, including a program to be devoted to the music of the region, an historical fashion show, a program on the ghosts of the county, the publishing of the *Proceedings,* the development of the gardens at "The Castle," and expansion of the membership.[86] Only a few of these goals were fully achieved, but others were put in motion.

A highlight of the year was the program of music written by John Graham (1895–1947) who had been an active member of the Society. The founder of the Department of Fine Arts at Washington and Lee, he had directed the Glee Club for seventeen years. The program was a great success.

A sad note came with the death of Dr. Cole Davis who had died while traveling in a remote part of Venezuela. A former president, he was described as an "enthusiastic, efficient and dedicated member." Colonel Couper prepared a fitting tribute.

For enlisting new members, 1958 was a good year. At the July meeting Mrs. Paxton presented fifteen members, including two from Buena Vista and one from Goshen. Among the recruits were three who would contribute much to the Society: Richard Fletcher, Bishop Lloyd Craighill, and Mrs. S. M. (Della) Heflin.

84. Minutes, October 22, 1957.
85. Minutes, October 28, 1957.
86. Minutes, January 23, 1958.

During the year the Society had good reason to thank D. E. Brady for the "effective work" he had done on the grounds of "The Castle."[87]

Charles Turner's second year as president was memorable because an arrangement was made for the proper care of the garden, "The Castle" was opened to the public, and a plaque was dedicated to Archibald Alexander. With reference to the garden, the County Council of Garden Clubs "presented detailed plans for the proposed planting and restoration work." The Society agreed to maintain it. "The Castle" was opened for two days in the spring with the hope that "school children would take advantage of this." To stimulate interest "the history and civic classes of the grade and high schools" were specifically invited. Later, it was reported that the "Open House" was well attended "by nearly a hundred visitors," but no reference was made to school children. Also, the records at "The Castle" were "used frequently for research by historians."

The feature of the summer meeting at Mountain View School was the unveiling of the stone marker placed near Archibald Alexander's birthplace on W. H. Chittum's property where Irish Creek joins South River. The address was delivered by Dr. Goodridge Wilson, a Presbyterian minister from Bristol who was "an authority on Southwest Virginia." The audience was told that Alexander became president of Hampden-Sydney College at the age of twenty-five. Later he became a professor of theology at Princeton and founded Princeton Theological Seminary. This was the fourth marker placed by the Society, the others being to Mary Greenlee, William Washington, and Margaret Junkin Preston.[88]

In 1959 the secretary, Louise Alexander, began to use the term "Board" when referring to the Executive Committee, and this term would be used more and more, eventually replacing the earlier terminology altogether.

By the end of its second decade there was a feeling that new blood was needed in the Society. In any event, the nominating committee was asked "to select a slate of completely new officers, it being the feeling of the committee that the widest possible rotation of officers insures the highest possible interest among the Society's members." Mrs. Alexander was the chairman of the nominating committee. Yet, the slate offered had few new names. Marshall Fishwick and Earle Paxton were named vice-presidents; Mrs. Alexander remained recording secretary; and Mrs. Lula Dunlap, treasurer. Colonel George Brooke, who had previously not been active, was, however, nominated as president. The son of two Charter Members, he was a VMI history professor and the first Institute faculty member to be named president. The slate was accepted.

87. Minutes, April 21, 28, July 25, October 13, 1958.
88. Minutes, January 12, April 25, July 10, 27, 1959.

At the first meeting in 1960, which marked the twentieth anniversary of the Society, Dr. Turner, the outgoing president, was thanked for his "splendid and untiring work."[89]

Tried and trusted hands were appointed or reappointed to head committees by the new president, such as Earle Paxton, historical markers; Colonel Couper, publications; Mrs. Isola Paxton, membership; and Charles Turner, program. The base was broadened a little, however, by bringing in some of the junior members of the VMI History Department. Dr. James Leitch Wright, for example, was appointed assistant librarian to assist Turner in "cataloging and care of the documents and artifacts."

At the first meeting in 1960, Dr. Turner outlined the programs planned. There was some discussion about the cost of dinner at the winter meeting which in these years was arranged usually at the Robert E. Lee Hotel. The Executive Committee set the price at $2.00. At this meeting, attended by eighty-three members and guests, Dr. Ollinger Crenshaw read a paper on Dr. Milton Humphries, "emphasizing to the delight of his audience, the quirks and foibles of a man who was one of the great scholars of his day." To keep the membership informed, Colonel Brooke asked the secretary to read the minutes of the last Executive Committee meeting.[90]

As president, Dr.Turner had hoped to publish volume V of the *Proceedings,* but there was too much else going on. In 1960, however,the Executive Committee accepted the motion to endorse the publication of the "proceedings since 1954, editor to be chosen by the Executive Board, publication costs to be submitted by the fall meeting." At that meeting Dr. Turner, who had been appointed editor, complained that he was having trouble collecting some of the papers read. This problem illustrated the need of publishing the *Proceedings* frequently, making sure the speakers turned over copies of their papers to the secretary promptly. Turner explained the policy on publication. It was: "to publish whole papers except in the case of those already in print," in which case excerpts would be included.[91]

Senator A. Willis Robertson, a Lexington resident, showed interest in the Society. He was introduced at the summer meeting in 1960 as a distinguished guest. Asked to make a few remarks, he commended the Society's "aims and efforts." Impressed by Mrs. Gordon Heiner's speech on Dr. Ephraim McDowell and his patient, Jane Todd, the senator said he wanted to print the speech in the *Congressional Record.* Doubtless he was charmed

89. Minutes, October 14, 27, 1959.
90. Minutes, January 11, 26, 1960.
91. Minutes, January 26, April 22, July 12, October 17, 1960.

by the "beautiful display of roses" from the garden of his neighbor, Mrs. William O. Hay, who had helped make arrangements for the dinner.

At the final meeting of the year in 1960 the attendance was good "in spite of the heavy downpour of rain." Dr. Turner, putting on his librarian's hat, said that the library space in "The Castle" had been enlarged and approximately one hundred books had been acquired during the year and catalogued. An interesting group of old school books given to the Society by Dr. Campbell was on display.

As a herald of the approaching Civil War Centennial, the Rockbridge County Centennial Committee asked the Society if it "would be interested in staging a ceremony at the Court House to commemorate the point at which the first local troops departed." The plan called for the placing of "a suitable marker." The Society accepted the challenge and Brooke appointed a committee under Dr. James Connor of the VMI history department "to work and plan."

On this rainy October night Mrs. McCulloch spoke of the death of Miss Elizabeth Barclay, one of the Founders, and "asked for a moment of silence."

The two principal events in Brooke's second year as president were the ceremony in Courthouse Square and the publishing of volume V of the *Proceedings.* Dr. Connor did an excellent job arranging the dedication ceremony. Activities began at 3:30 p.m. on April 19, 1961, an "exceedingly raw and uncomfortable day." Colonel Brooke presided. Following the invocation by the Rt. Rev. Lloyd R. Craighill, the retired Episcopal bishop of Anking, China, and a resident of Lexington, Houston Barclay gave a fine commemorative address entitled, "Rockbridge County Goes to War." It was particularly fitting that Mr. Barclay should make the address, because he had strong ties with the county. When living in Wichita, Kansas, he had been active in the local historical society, and it was partly due to his inspiration that a historical society was founded in Rockbridge.

Following the singing of Civil War songs by the Lexington High School Glee Club, the plaque was unveiled by Betsy Letcher, a great-granddaughter of Virginia's Civil War governor, who was a native of Lexington. The inscription stated:

> In grateful memory of the brave men from Rockbridge County, Virginia
> Who served so gallantly in war, 1861–65
> This memorial is dedicated in tribute to
> their services
> One hundred years later

Following the unveiling, Dr. George Diehl dedicated the memorial. Next, the VMI Band, under the direction of Captain Joseph Pearce, played

a number of marches. The impressive ceremony concluded with a benediction by Bishop Craighill, an honor guard from the VMI and W&L ROTC units standing by.[92]

At the summer meeting of the Executive Committee at Colonel Brooke's home, where Mrs. Brooke furnished "delicious and most welcome refreshment," Brooke produced an advance copy of volume V of the *Proceedings,* edited by Charles Turner, which contained the minutes and papers of every meeting from 1954 through 1960.

The volume was sold for $1.50 a copy at the summer meeting of the Society at Oxford Presbyterian Church. Five hundred copies were printed. About seventy members attended the meeting at Oxford Church where the ladies of the church served dinner. In a sense this was a special occasion because the address was given by Clinton Anderson, who some years earlier had won the Society's first essay contest while a student at Effinger High School. His talk on "The James D. Davidson Family of Rockbridge County, Virginia" was a condensation of his senior thesis at Washington and Lee. As was often the case in those days, excerpts from the address were printed in the *Rockbridge County News.*

At the meeting members were reminded that time was marching on when the deaths of two Charter Members, Harrington Waddell and Stuart Moore, were announced.[93]

In addition to the dedication of the plaque, the Civil War Centennial impinged on the Society in another way. A special committee, of which Miss Mary Galt was the chairman, put a display with a Civil War theme in the windows of the Robert E. Lee Hotel, then the largest hotel in the Lexington area. The plan was to change the display periodically.

At the October 30, 1961, meeting a new slate of officers was elected. Brigadier General John S. Letcher (USMC, Retired), a grandson of Governor John Letcher, was elected president. Mrs. J. P. Alexander and Miss Lula Dunlap were reelected recording secretary and treasurer, respectively.

The year 1962 was notable because of the renewed interest in architecture and preservation displayed by the Society and by the numerous activities of Charles Turner pertaining to "The Castle" and its collections. In January at Trinity Methodist Church, Dr. Turner's brother Theodore, of the University of Virginia Art Department, spoke on "Virginia Architecture." He illustrated his talk with slides "of significant types of architecture found throughout the state."

92. Minutes, April 7, 19, 1961.
93. Minutes, July 7, 25, October 10, 1961.

Perhaps this talk reawakened a dormant interest in the subject among the members. In any case, in July Miss Mary Galt "mentioned a conversation with out-of-town visitors who had remarked on the many fine old buildings in Lexington, citing the Withrow and Dold buildings among others, saying that its architecture alone should make Lexington a tourist mecca, and now that so many towns were making strenuous efforts to protect and preserve their older sections, they wondered if Lexington had such an organization." Miss Galt suggested that the members "give some serious thought to the problem."

It will be recalled that shortly after its founding the Society had considered purchase of the Jordan House and the Dold House, but having no money and not being incorporated, it had decided such action was not feasible. In October President Letcher reminded the members of Miss Galt's suggestion and "mentioned that tablets giving a brief history of the building might make a walking tour quite interesting for tourists." But the year passed with nothing being done.[94]

Dr. Turner began the year 1963 by announcing that typed lists of manuscripts in the Society's library were available and that the material was being used. Also, with the help of Lee Scholars and seniors at the college, "he had nearly completed sorting, arranging, and listing papers, pictures, etc. at 'The Castle.'" Five students were using material in the Society's collections for essays, and some students had read papers to the Society based on their research. Dr. Turner was eager for the public to see "The Castle," and in April he announced that the building and grounds had been "cleaned and refurbished" and would be open for two days early in May from 10–12 a.m. and 2–4 p.m. School children were especially invited.[95]

To help Jay Johns raise money for the Jackson Memorial, the Society sent members a letter and collected $308.50.[96]

The Society continued to serve its historic purpose in 1963 as Dr. Turner announced that Miss Mary Monroe Penick had given it about five hundred letters of Judge James K. Edmonson and a large number of magazines which had been catalogued.

Yet, concern for the restoration of buildings grew and several members spoke out. At the last meeting of the year Miss Galt "commented on the destruction of some of the most interesting architectural features in Lexington. She said many other old towns often expend great effort to preserve

94. Minutes, January 22, July 30, October 29, 1962.
95. Minutes, January 9, 22; April 16, 30, 1962.
96. Minutes, July 30, 1962.

the individual flavor of their towns and she thought that the Historical Society was the logical organization to concern itself with such matters." Mrs. Gordon Heiner added "that often towns have town ordinances or codes that might be helpful in such a project." Miss Ellen Anderson, Mrs. McCulloch's sister, then took a significant step when she moved "that Gen. Letcher serve as chairman and appoint a committee to explore what action might be taken by the Society." Letcher had been busy keeping "The Castle" in good condition by such steps as painting and replacing rotted sills.

Interest in such matters had been whetted further at the summer meeting at Mountain View School when the Rev. John Moore spoke on "John Jordan, Baptist Layman." Referring to Jordan's work as an architect and engineer, Moore said that Jordan reportedly "had a hand in everything of importance built in Lexington for fifty years," including Washington Hall and the first VMI barracks. It was at this time that Royster Lyle, who has a keen interest in architecture, became a member.[97]

Fairfield had its moment of glory in 1963 when Miss Dorcas Campbell won the Miss Virginia contest and placed in the top ten at the Miss America pageant in Atlantic City. Attuned to the accomplishments of Rockbridge natives, the Society made Miss Campbell an honorary member. Miss Ellen Anderson was entrusted with writing the letter of notification.[98]

General Letcher was reelected for a second two-year term and was assured of support in the Executive Committee by such officers as Miss Lula Dunlap, Miss Ellen Anderson, Mrs. J. P. Alexander, and Charles Turner.

In 1964 the Society began to take a much more active role in architectural preservation. Taking an interest in this work, General Letcher informed the Board in January "that he had checked with Sears, Roebuck to see if their new building could be done in an architectural style appropriate to the town." But he found "that plans had progressed too far to admit any changes." Also, the general asked the Board of Supervisors to protect "historical features of the town," and when no response was forthcoming, he asked Miss Mary Galt to prepare a resolution for presentation to the Board of Supervisors. Passed unanimously by the Executive Board the resolution said:

> *Be it Resolved* that the Rockbridge Historical Society now call upon the Board of Supervisors of the County of Rockbridge, and upon the Mayor and Council of the Town of Lexington to appoint immediately a *Joint Advisory*

97. Minutes, January 28, April 29, July 22, October 28, 1963.
98. Minutes, October 28, 1963.

Commission, representing both bodies, and make it mandatory that this commission be consulted before any permit is granted for any demolition or construction in connection with any venerable or historic building, or any historic neighborhood in town or county.

Another matter of concern related to the planned razing of the commandant's house adjacent to the VMI barracks to make room for a recreation building for the cadets. Miss Galt, a firebrand in these matters, was unable to attend the April meeting but she sent an eloquent plea to the Society to save the building. As a result, the Society passed a resolution to urge the saving of the commandant's house. To further the cause Miss Ellen Anderson, as corresponding secretary, wrote a letter to the Virginia Art Commission protesting the threatened demolition. The subject was discussed again at the July meeting when it was stated that General George Shell, the VMI superintendent, had invited members and other interested people to meet in his office "to be briefed on plans for the building and to express their opinions."

The possible loss of another historic building caused concern. The Kappa Alpha Order, looking for a national headquarters, was talking of tearing down the Barclay house on Lee Avenue and erecting a new building. The fraternity informed General Letcher "that they would be unable to preserve the Barclay house." The crisis came to a happy conclusion when KA changed its plans and Colonel and Mrs. C. C. Tutwiler purchased the house and did a magnificent job of historical restoration.[99]

The Society became more directly involved in preservation when its long-time benefactor, Dr. Leslie Lyle Campbell, died in 1964 and in his will left the Society two houses, the residence at 101 East Washington Street and the one next door at 107–109 East Washington. He also left articles such as furniture and pictures. Dr. Campbell, from the beginning, had wanted the Society to have a permanent home or headquarters large enough to meet in and to store documents. "The Castle" was not completely adequate. Space not utilized in the new buildings could be rented and thereby supply an income for maintenance.

At a special meeting of the Executive Committee called in June, General Letcher read Dr. Campbell's will. The Board immediately empowered the president "to take whatever steps are necessary to rent the house and take care of the articles left to the Society." A month later the Board decided to attempt to rent the house at 101 East Washington Street, called the Campbell House. The treasurer reported $2,000 in the savings account for repairs. Dr. Turner reported that there was "a room full of documents,

99. Minutes, January 15, February 3, April 27, July 27, October 26, 1964.

manuscripts, etc." and he would welcome assistance in examining the material to determine its value. Three months later he said he had spent "about 30 hours sorting" the material.[100]

In its twenty-fifth year the Society not only acquired two houses and fought hard for historic preservation, but it lost a number of its oldest and strongest supporters in addition to Dr. Campbell: Dr. Gaines, its first president; Colonel Couper; Mr. Earle Paxton; and Mr. T. B. Shackford. To fill vacancies on the board of trustees, General Letcher and Mr. Alvin Oakes were elected.[101]

Among the Society's valuable letters were two purportedly signed by Thomas Jefferson. Their authenticity was questioned in February, and two months later General Letcher reported that after investigation he had found that only one of them was an original.[102]

In July 1964, meeting for the first time in the Marshall Library, the Society heard an informative address by Dr. Forrest Pogue, the biographer of General George C. Marshall, on "Oral History and the Tape Recorder as New Tools for the Historian." Pogue described the value of these tools "in securing the reminiscences of elderly people while they are still around." Use of the telephone and typewriter have caused, he said, "the gradual disappearance of the old type of personal letters." Dr. Pogue emphasized that it was essential for the interviewer to make careful preparation for the interview."[103]

The Society learned that owning property was not an unmixed blessing and much of the time at meetings in 1965 concerned repairs to the Campbell House. Shortly after acquisition, a $635.00 bid was received for replacing guttering and downspouts, repairing leaks in the roof, replacing rotted wood in the window frames, and repairing the porch and steps. But this was only a start. At the next meeting of the Board General Letcher lamented that he had been unable to rent the Campbell House and that "antiquated wiring and bathroom facilities" were "the greatest drawback to securing desirable tenants." This raised the question of money, because according to Dr. Campbell's will the house could not be sold. Therefore, "a bank would not consider it collateral for a loan." As there was approximately $865.00 in the treasury and a $1,000.00 bond would soon mature, the Society authorized the expenditure of $1,500.00 for renovation and

100. June 23, July, October 26, 1964.

101. Minutes, April 13, 1964.

102. Minutes, February 3, April 13, 1964. The original is Land Grant to William Galloway for parcel of land in Botetourt Co., signed "Th. Jefferson, Governour of the Commonwealth of Virginia," April 10, 1781.

103. Minutes, July 27, 1964.

maintenance, and the president appointed a committee to consider the renovation of the building.[104]

During the year Royster Lyle began collecting papers for the publication of volume VI of the *Proceedings,* and in October he said he had received bids from several firms of $1,300 to $1,400 for one thousand copies. A motion to accept the bid from the *News-Gazette,* the low bidder, carried.

About this time Dr. Turner, with the help of W&L students, completed the cataloguing of the Campbell papers.

The nominating committee of Colonel Brooke, Dr. Turner, Mrs. McCulloch, and Mrs. Alexander, four past presidents, was asked to review the by-laws and constitution and make recommendations for revision. The proposed changes were presented at the October meeting as was the list of nominees. The changes in the constitution and by-laws were minor, except for paragraphs adding a Museum and Library Committee and a Publication Committee.

Mr. Frank Gilliam, dean of admissions at W&L, was elected president. A number of new officers were nominated and elected: Mrs. S. M. Heflin, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Felix Staedli, recording secretary; William McCorkle, treasurer. It had been a good year for new members, with Mrs. Isola Paxton, the indefatigable membership chairman, adding twenty-nine names to the rolls.[105]

During President Frank Gilliam's first year in office it was apparent that the growing membership was straining the physical capabilities of "The Castle." At the spring meeting fifty members attended and the president explained that owing to the burgeoning membership, the Executive Committee had decided "not to remodel the Castle, but to hold meetings in suitable places." This was a wise precaution, for when the Society met in October at the R. E. Lee Church parish hall to hear Colonel C. C. Tutwiler read a paper on his aunt Ellen Glasgow, there were between eighty and ninety people in attendance, "the largest outside of a dinner meeting."

When "The Castle" was opened in May, there were 102 visitors, according to Dr. Turner. The limited size of "The Castle" also restricted the development of the museum, and the president found it necessary to appoint an Acquisitions Committee to determine "the number and kind of items" the museum could accept.

Meanwhile, the Campbell House with three tenants was a source of income and the real estate agent said it was "in much better condition and

104. Minutes, October 1964, January 12, 25, 1965.

105. Minutes, July 26, October 12, 1965; January 7, 24, 1966.

many necessary improvements [had] been made in the past year." He urged that the building be rewired. In April 1967 the rents amounted to $310.00 a month.[106]

The preservation of documents was continuing. With the assistance of a student, Dr. Turner "completed the index of papers and pictures" belonging to the Society. Turner reported that the University of Virginia was microfilming the Society's papers.

In 1966 Royster Lyle published volume VI of the *Proceedings* which covered five years and included thirteen papers. Dedicated to Dr. Campbell, the volume also paid special tribute to Colonel Couper and Mr. Houston Barclay. One thousand copies were printed to be sold at $1.50 each.[107]

During this period the Society enjoyed a remarkable growth, mainly through the efforts of Mrs. Isola Paxton, the membership chairman. In April 1966 she reported fifteen new members and in October she said that eleven had joined since July. In January 1967 Mrs. Paxton reported forty-one new members in the past year and three months later, nineteen more. Yet, dues were raised modestly to $2.50 and a membership drive was launched.[108]

A high point of the year was the spring meeting at Southern Seminary at the time of its one hundredth anniversary. Mrs. Robey mailed beautiful invitations printed in gold. Festivities included a reception and a speech by Dr. Sandridge, the academic dean of the college. The secretary recorded that the program "was brilliant and most interesting," and "from the opening welcome of Mrs. Robey, to the closing numbers of the Glee Club, it was an enjoyable evening."[109]

Colonel Couper had been a prodigious worker and one of his projects had been a survey of the Lexington Cemetery. President Gilliam made a study of Couper's comprehensive index of the cemetery and promised to make mimeographed copies. It was Mrs. McCulloch's view that Colonel Couper's papers should "be permanently recorded" and Dr. Turner said he would have his students put them in proper form. A year later Turner presented the Society with a finished copy of Colonel Couper's "Complete History of the Stonewall Jackson Cemetery," and after another year he was able to report that "a 55 page index had been completed for Colonel Couper's work on headstones."[110]

106. Minutes, April 25, July 25, October 12, 24, 1966; April 11, 1967.
107. Minutes, April 25, July 14, 1966; January 23, 1967.
108. Minutes, April 25, October 24, 1966; January 23, April 24, October 25, 1967.
109. Minutes, January 10, April 11, 24, 1967.
110. Minutes, April 11, 1967; April 22, 1968; April 21, 1969.

In drawing up the new slate of officers late in 1967, the nominating committee tapped new talent. The Rt. Rev. Lloyd Craighill was elected president; Colonel B. McCluer Gilliam, vice-president; Robert Weaver, treasurer; and Mrs. W. O. Hay, librarian. Mrs. Felix Staedli and Mrs. S. M. Heflin were reelected recording secretary and corresponding secretary, respectively.[111]

Bishop Craighill, the new president, was unable because of illness to attend the first meeting of the Executive Committee in January, and Colonel Gilliam, vice-president, presided in his place. When Bishop Craighill was no better in April, he resigned and subsequently Colonel Gilliam was elected president on the recommendation of a special nominating committee. Dr. Turner, who had served efficiently as program chairman for six years, asked to be relieved of his duties and Colonel Gilliam appointed Royster Lyle in his place.

Despite the manifest interest in architecture and the preservation of buildings, Mrs. Gordon Heiner in 1968 reminded the Board that the Society's "only function . . . was the printing of important historical papers and publications. That it was a scholarly organization, and we should work toward this goal with our resources and money." A motion was passed again that the *Proceedings* be published every two years.[112]

The idea of a newsletter surfaced at this time. Robert Weaver, the treasurer, had determined in July that forty-five members had not paid their dues in two years. The Board reviewed the names with him and recommended that most of those delinquent be sent second notices. Mr. Weaver then suggested that in order to keep members better informed, a newsletter should be sent out with the annual statements. The idea was received enthusiastically and Mrs. Heflin and Mrs. Heiner agreed to undertake the task. The Board's patience with delinquent members seemed never ending. When the treasurer reported in October that thirty people had still not paid after receiving two notices, the Board voted to send them still another notice.[113]

At this time the trustees were: Alvin Oakes, M. W. Paxton, Charles Turner, and General Letcher. The Society decided that the trustees should review the Society's properties at the end of each fiscal year.[114]

As we know, the Society from the beginning had been interested in historical markers. Members were shocked to learn in 1969 that the Maury

111. Minutes, November 6, 1967.
112. Minutes, January 8, April 8, 22, 1968.
113. Minutes, July 8, 1968.
114. Minutes, October 7, 1968.

Monument in Goshen Pass had been vandalized and the inscription had disappeared. But vandals were not the only enemies. The great flood of 1969 washed downstream the Archibald Alexander monument the Society had erected at the place where Irish Creek flowed into the South River. General Letcher, on his own initiative, had saved the metal plaque and stored it in his garage awaiting a decision by the Society.

In this same year Miss Ellen Anderson, who had served long and faithfully as chairman of the Genealogical Committee, resigned because of failing health. She was replaced by Dr. Diehl.

At this time Dr. Turner began a new project in oral history which consisted of "the taping of stories connected with the history of the county." In another capacity Turner opened "The Castle" on Friday afternoons for two hours with Mrs. Frederic (Emily) Pearse, a Charter Member, in attendance.[115]

Mr. William O. Hay, who become treasurer in 1969, was extremely conscientious in his duties. As 1970 started he gave the Society a detailed account of its financial position:

Checking account	$ 681.48
Savings account	1,643.86
5% demand note Historic Lexington Foundation	2,100.00
Publications for sale	1,397.88
8 Randolph Street ("The Castle")	15,000.00
107 East Washington Street	20,000,00
101 East Washington Street (Campbell House)	35,000.00[116]

A recurrent problem was the vines growing on the houses, particularly that at 107 East Washington Street. Mr. Grimley, the caretaker, gave the Board three alternative courses of action and it "voted to remove the vines completely, and to put brushkiller on the roots." But it was a tough fight. Nine months later General Letcher, who was chairman of the Property Committee, and Mr. Grimley reported that the ivy on the small rented house "had refused to die in spite of being cut off at the bottom, and appeared to be feeding on the house. It was suggested that it be pulled off by hand with hooks."[117]

Forever concerned with books and documents, Dr. Turner informed the Board in April 1970 that forty books had been received and they would be catalogued. He reported obtaining annuals from the high school and sug-

115. Minutes, October 9, 27, 1969.
116. Minutes, January 9, 1970.
117. Minutes, January 9, October 6, 1970.

gested that they be collected yearly. Turning to Timber Ridge Cemetery, he said that the gravestones were being recorded. His oral history project with tape recorders was continuing and he reported four more interviews.

Concerned with the safety of the Society's valuable papers, Turner reported that the Washington and Lee librarian, Maurice Leach, "had offered to provide on the upper floor of the Library a large corner section for the files of the Society." The offer was gratefully accepted. Within three weeks three files of manuscripts were moved to the new location.[118]

A significant event of 1970 was the appearance of volume VII of the *Proceedings,* edited by Anne Heiner, who was also the recording secretary. She was so pleased with the work of the McClure Printing Company in Staunton that she wrote them, saying: "We are receiving congratulations from all sides for what is called 'a work of distinction' and we appreciate very much your splendid help."[119] One thousand copies were ordered and the president of the Historic Lexington Foundation offered to sell the book on HLF's fall tour.

In 1970 the election of officers was advanced from October to July. Dr. James S. Leyburn of Washington and Lee was elected president. As was becoming the custom, the retiring president was elected first vice-president. There was no change in the recording secretary (Mrs. Heiner), the corresponding secretary (Mrs. Heflin), treasurer (W. O. Hay), and librarian (Charles Turner).

Some seventy members and guests attended the summer meeting held at Collierstown Presbyterian Church. The dinner was priced at $2.50. Colonel Gilliam reported that on the recommendation of the trustees and the Executive Committee, the Society would apply for status as a tax-exempt foundation. A resolution lamenting the death of Miss Ellen Anderson was passed by acclamation. With $50 expense money donated by William E. Trout III of Richmond, the Society decided to place "a map with the name of the canal and the route of its locks" at the Ben Salem lock on Maury River. Mr. Trout had spoken to the Society in April on the "North River Navigation."[120]

Upkeep of the properties became an ever more time-consuming duty. The persistent ivy on the house at 107 East Washington Street continued to thwart the Society. An offer by Norman Bowles to remove it for $50 was accepted. By June 1971 this had been done "and members of the board commented on the handsome lines" of the building to be seen "for the first time in many years."

118. Minutes, April 14, 27; October 6, 26, 1970.

119. Heiner to McClure Printing Company, June 3, 1970, RHS Archives.

120. Minutes, July 13, 27, 1970.

Another problem was heating "The Castle." Miley Dunn, a Lexington plumber, offered to install "a New American Gas Fired Boiler" for $1,715. This envisioned "a complete two zone system," and the Board accepted the offer. Within two months Dunn had completed the job, but he noted that the water system had rusted, all the plumbing had rusted." He gave an estimate for this additional work.[121]

With an eye on preservation, Mrs. McCulloch and Dr. Turner made a list of twenty buildings in the county "for consideration of Virginia Landmarks Commission as of national significance." In Lexington these included the Withrow House, Stono, and the Presbyterian Manse. This complied with a request from the Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission for the Society to consider the historic buildings and sites in the area "which might qualify as official Virginia landmarks and for inclusion in the 'Landmarks Register.'" Dean Leyburn appointed a committee of three to work on this: Royster Lyle (chairman), Mrs. B. McCluer Gilliam, and Charles Turner.

In the cause of preservation, Walter A. Paxton of Buena Vista left $2,000 to the Society in his will "for the purpose of procuring and preserving historical documents, and for the creation of markers and memorials." No doubt, it was because of this that President Leyburn appointed a committee on markers consisting of Mrs. Frederic M. Pearse, Jr., Frank Gilliam, and Dr. Diehl. Mrs. McCulloch, ever alert, sent a message to the Board that a marker should be placed at the site of the original Lexington water reservoir used from 1835–80.

Another important matter was the three hundred Miley negatives that had been found in Miss Nettie Dunlap's attic. These included about ninety-four scenes of Lexington and VMI. Royster Lyle arranged for the Library of Congress to make proofs of these at $3.37 per picture. The Board voted to pay this expense with funds from the Walter Paxton bequest.[122]

Mrs. Charles McCulloch died on July 8, 1971, and as the entry above attests, she maintained a vibrant interest in the Rockbridge Historical Society until the end. Three weeks after her death ninety-four members and guests assembled for the summer picnic meeting at Mt. Carmel Church where they feasted on ham and corn pudding. On this occasion President Leyburn paid tribute to Mrs. McCulloch, saying "she probably knew more about the county than any other citizen."

When the Board met in the fall it appropriated $150 for the transcription of tapes recording conversations of Dr. Turner with Mrs. McCulloch. Turner asserted that a whole drawer in the files at the W&L library

121. Minutes, April 7, May 3, June 2, 1971.

122. Minutes, June 2, 1971.

"will be set aside for the McCulloch papers." A resolution in memory of Mrs. McCulloch adopted by the Society said:

> Mrs. McCulloch, who would have been 95 later in July, was a leader for many years in the efforts to preserve historic landmarks in the Rockbridge area. She was an authority on the early history of the town and county and wrote numerous articles on subjects of local interest, some of which were published in the Society's *Proceedings*. . . . At the first meeting of the Rockbridge Branch of the APVA, October 25, 1935, Mrs. McCulloch was named secretary. On August 9, 1939, when the Rockbridge Historical Society had its organizational meeting, Mrs. McCulloch, a Charter Member, was named chairman of the executive committee.[123]

In 1972 the election of officers was held three months early as Dr. Leyburn was moving from Lexington. Dr. Allen Moger, of the Washington and Lee History Department, was elected president. There was no change among the principal officers. Dr. Moger, though new to the Society, was better prepared for his office than most of his predecessors because he received one and one-half pages of helpful suggestions from the outgoing president. Dr. Leyburn wrote:

> Your first and most important problem will be finding a Program Chairman, for the public success of the Society depends on interesting programs. Charles Turner is Librarian, and in my opinion the most devoted member of the Society. . . . I should add only two bits of advice: First the meetings are planned for many weeks in advance, it is not always easy to arrange a dinner meeting or even a place for the other public meetings. Second, at the Board meetings talk often flows on and on, and it sometimes wanders from the immediate point; the president learns early that it is a mistake to try to keep a tight rein on discussion—and yet he must see to it that all the business gets done. You will be amazed (perhaps) at what topics arouse people's emotions. For three meetings we talked about ivy on one of the residences we own. . . . It is wise always to pay attention to Buena Vista interests, for Lexingtonians tend to forget that their city is not the centre of the universe.[124]

As president, Moger made two important appointments: Miss Margaret Davis, chairman of the Program Committee, and Richard Fletcher, chairman of the House and Property Committee.

The Society was awakened to its perilous financial condition by its treasurer, Mr. Hay. Preparing "a compilation of receipts and expenditures since 1966," Hay found that receipts from all sources totalled about $25,000, but expenses exceeded them by about $600. "The idea that we have a great deal of money to spend is a myth," he said.[125]

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123. Minutes, July 28, October 6, 25, 1971.
124. Leyburn to Moger, April 3, 1972, RHS Archives; Minutes, July 24, 1972.
125. Minutes, October 4, 1972.

In Dr. Moger's first year the Society's principal efforts were directed to utilizing and improving the physical properties, moving the headquarters from "The Castle" to the Campbell House, and increasing the number of life members. Fletcher's Property Committee began work immediately and considered various plans to make the best use of the Society's three buildings. As Moger explained to the Board, consideration was being given "to rent the Castle as office space or apartments, to use the Campbell House's main floor as a museum, rent the upstairs to someone who could act as custodian when visitors came, and rent the basement also."[126]

At the next Board meeting Fletcher, using a chart showing site development, said the Property Committee had been guided by specific considerations, such as "potential public and quasi-public use, care and costs of maintenance, aesthetics, potential for additional revenue from tenants, and costs of installation." The Board accepted these ideas "in principle." Also, the Board accepted Fletcher's detailed recommendations with regard to the Campbell House: "that the main floor be reserved for Society and public use, housing the Society's Library, Archives, and Museum, but also providing accommodations for small group meetings, and for possible use as reception/information center. . . . The Second Floor of the Campbell House be rented as an apartment with stove and refrigerator and separate entrance, and the Basement . . . be used for a rental apartment, and museum storage."

Referring to "The Castle," the Board accepted Fletcher's recommendation that its "main floor be rented to a professional or group, that the second floor be rented as an apartment to a qualified individual, and that the basement be used for storage space for both tenants and the Society."

Regarding the small house at 107 East Washington, the Board accepted the plan "that the property be used for individual rentals for 1973–74, but that consideration be given to the feasibility of a long-term lease to a civic or professional group thereafter." Fletcher also recommended specific rental policies which were accepted.[127]

As membership grew and postage rates climbed, the Society raised dues, effective in 1974, to $3.50 for an individual and $6.00 for a couple.[128]

In July the first issue of *News-Notes,* prepared by Richard Fletcher, was distributed to the members. President Moger, excited by this accomplishment, felt this was an important way to keep members informed and enthusiastic. In the first issue the reader learned that Milton L. Grigg, a well-known Charlottesville architect, had been consulted on the restoration

126. Minutes, January 10, 1973.
127. Minutes, April 10, 1973.
128. Minutes, June 25, 1973.

of the Campbell House, the exterior restoration of which was estimated to cost $5,000.

As the funds available for this work fell about $2,000 short of the amount needed, the Board endeavored to raise the money through the sale of life memberships at $50 each. An effort was made to enroll fifty life members by December 1, and Moger wrote a personal letter to twenty members especially selected as prospects. The Board passed a resolution to this effect with the proviso that on January 1, 1974, life memberships would increase to $80. By November 19 there were forty-five life members. Though the construction costs climbed to $7,900 in what Fletcher facetiously called "a race toward bankruptcy," the situation was eased by noninterest-bearing notes totalling $2,000, given by Allen Moger, Richard Fletcher, and William O. Hay.[129]

The goal was to move the Society's headquarters from "The Castle" to the Campbell House by October 1, and this goal was nearly achieved, for shortly after the deadline Fletcher thanked Capt. Tom Gray and "six Jaycee stalwarts" for moving the Society's possessions "from five rooms in the Castle to three rooms in the Campbell House without a single bit of damage, a cross word or an unsolved problem."[130]

Early in its history the Society discussed incorporation, but, as we have seen, dismissed the idea. In 1973 the idea was resurrected by Richard Fletcher after a conversation with the president of the Albemarle Historical Society, who taught law. The main advantages to incorporation were said to be liability protection and continuity in legal obligations. The Society had opted earlier for acting through trustees, but Fletcher, in a letter to President Moger, commented that he did not "believe we even know the names of the five trustees of the Society."[131] This letter at last brought the matter to the Society's attention again, but the wheels turned slowly.

Fletcher's plans for renting the buildings began to bear fruit. In August 1973 it was announced that the City had signed a lease with the Society for the use of two rooms in the Campbell House "by the new Department of Visitor Relations," formerly called the Tourism Department. Dr. Moger was most appreciative of Fletcher's work and in writing to a friend observed, "the credit for the great and tasteful job of restoration of the Campbell House belongs to him."[132]

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129. *News-Notes,* July 1973; Minutes, September 26, October 22, 1973; Moger to prospects, November 12, 1973, RHS Archives.

130. Fletcher to Calmet M. Sawyer, October 29, 1973, RHS Archives; *News-Gazette,* October 31, 1973.

131. Fletcher to Moger, August 15, 1973, RHS Archives.

132. *News-Gazette,* August 22, 1973; Moger to William D. Hough, December 9, 1973, RHS Archives.

Increasing membership was one of Moger's goals during the country's Bicentennial celebration. He personally drafted a new invitation for prospects that was much more detailed than the old one. He informed the twelve members of the Membership Committee that "by increasing our membership significantly from the present slightly under 300, we hope to arouse interest in the great history of Rockbridge County and to strengthen the Society in preparation for the Independence Bicentennial of 1976."[133]

With the Campbell House renovated, the Society took a new lease on life in 1974. Meeting there in January, the Board heard that there were fifty-one life members, that the house was "completely rented," and that a stove and refrigerator had been purchased for an apartment in "The Castle." The Board thanked Richard Fletcher for his "hard work, imagination, and ingenuity."

Major Edwin L. Dooley, curator of the VMI Museum, who had been appointed curator of the Society's museum scheduled to occupy "the front west room of the Campbell House," reported that most of the artifacts for the museum had been moved from "The Castle."[134] Early in 1974 Dooley ran a series of short seminars for volunteers on "the essentials of professional museum inventorying and cataloging." The purpose of the intended walk-through museum was to trace the history of Rockbridge County from the days of the Borden Grant in the 1730s. This promising start ended abruptly in January 1975 when Dooley had to resign because of the pressure of other duties.[135]

William L. Payne, a retired English professor from City College of New York, who had moved to the area, was thanked in the spring "for contributing more than 20 hours of his time and skill to improving the Campbell House basement area." Now that the Society had something to show, it held open house for the membership one April afternoon and open house for the public the following day.

In the spring Pamela H. Simpson, instructor in architectural history at Washington and Lee, who had come to Lexington in 1973 and would later be very active in the Society, "showed slides and spoke on 'Another Perspective of Lexington Architecture,' pointing out the Italianate influence."

By the spring of 1974 six of the seven rental properties had been leased with several prospects for the seventh. In fact, progress was such that by

133. Moger to Membership Committee, September 19, 1973, RHS Archives.

134. Minutes, January 2, 1974.

135. *News-Gazette,* February 6, 1974; Fletcher to Dooley, January 7, 1975, RHS Archives.

July 1, Otis Meade's services as rental agent were no longer needed.[136]

The permanence of the improvements was made manifest by the adoption of new stationery for the Society designed by Larry Drechsler and "featuring a pen-and-ink sketch of the Campbell House by Chris Bowring."[137]

By 1974 the Society's growing membership was creating some problems. When Roy K. Patterson of Rockbridge Baths was scheduled to speak at New Providence Presbyterian Church, the women of the church provided dinner, but as only 120 seats were available, reservations were limited to that number.[138]

To attain federal tax-exempt status from the Internal Revenue Service, it was necessary to amend the constitution and by-laws. As passed the amendment stated:

> If at any time or for any reason the Rockbridge Historical Society should be dissolved, its property or material assets shall be turned over to an organization in Lexington or Rockbridge County which performs a public service similar to that of the Rockbridge Historical Society founded in 1939.[139]

Taking a fresh look at its properties, the Society decided in 1974 that all of its buildings should be appropriately named. The *News-Gazette* reported that the brick building at 107 East Washington Street, that had been built in 1840, had been named the Sloan House in memory of its builder, Alexander T. Sloan, a prominent Lexington merchant. In 1974 the building was being used by the Visitor Center, the Chamber of Commerce, and the United Way.

The Society decided also to change the name of "The Castle" to "Hale Houston's Castle" because it was his "generosity which gave impetus to the Society's programs in its early years." Moreover, "the initials HH appear on the end of the rods on the southern gable end of the Castle."

The Society had been calling the building at the corner of Randolph and Washington, where it held its meetings, the Campbell House, and this was now officially confirmed. Signs were placed to identify the buildings.[140]

Much that had been done in the past year (1974) had been through the efforts of Richard Fletcher. As the year drew to a close, he resigned as publicity chairman, pointing out to President Moger that six issues of *News-Notes,* which publication he initiated, had appeared, and with a new

136. *News-Gazette,* April 10, 1974; Minutes, April 22, 1974.
137. *News-Gazette,* October 1974.
138. Minutes, July 17, 1974.
139. Minutes, October 8, 1974.
140. *News-Gazette,* October 16, 1974; Minutes, April 2, 1975.

series starting in January, someone else should take over. Moger appointed Robert Keefe of Washington and Lee to fill the vacancy.

Fletcher agreed to remain as chairman of the House and Property Committee on a quarterly basis if he were allowed to reorganize the committee into subcommittees. Soon, he reported to the Executive Committee that $6,000 had been borrowed to complete the repairs at the Sloan House, which would bring the Society $3,000 a year from its nine-year lease with the city.

With an ear to the ground, Fletcher suggested that a special meeting be called to choose the Society's objectives for the nation's Bicentennial year. Such a meeting of sixteen members was held. According to Fletcher, at this meeting the suggestions made included four "organizational objectives, five physical and financial objectives, and twelve educational objectives and activities."[141]

President Moger set a membership goal of 500 and offered to write a personal letter to any prospect. There were then 365 members. Moger's enthusiasm and accomplishments earned him a second two-year term with no significant change among the officers.[142]

Once again the Society became involved in preservation when the Board voted in July 1975 "to oppose the use of the Robert E. Lee Hotel as a jail." The Society deemed the proposal before the Board of Supervisors to consider such use of the hotel building as "inappropriate and undesirable." As the building dominated the historic area, its "use as a jail would create social and aesthetic as well as physical problems.[143]

Richard Fletcher's manifold services in improving the Society's properties led it to vote that July 28, 1975, be named "Richard Fletcher Day." The same year that brought honor to Fletcher brought grief to the Society in the death of another stalwart, Dr. George Diehl. In a memorial resolution the Society stated that Diehl "certainly devoted himself to the purposes for which the Society exists." He had been the genealogist, and Dr. Turner was elected to take his place with the understanding that Turner would charge for his services.[144]

The preservation and publication of historical records attracted the Society's attention late in 1975. Dr. Turner reported that the Society's manuscripts had been moved to the basement of the Washington and Lee

141. Fletcher to Moger, October 25, 28, November 21, 1974; Fletcher to Keefe, January 6, 1975, RHS Archives.

142. Minutes, January 8, 1975; *News-Notes,* January 1975.

143. *News-Gazette,* July 12, 1975.

144. Minutes, July 28, October 27, 1975; Obituary of Dr. George Diehl, October 1975, RHS Archives, *News-Notes,* July 1976.

library "where there is much more room to work and it is cooler." Taylor Sanders, who was working on volume VIII of the *Proceedings,* said he had received bids from six printers with prices ranging from $3,000 to $8,500 for two thousand copies. The McClure Press of Verona offered the lowest bid. The Board voted to include the papers for five years in the volume.[145]

The new sign at the Campbell House was described by Richard Fletcher as "arresting and beautiful." It was a gift of Mrs. Pat Perrin and A. B. Jackson of Loblolly Farm, an art center in the county. Four feet by five, the new marker depicted Virginia's bird and tree, the cardinal and the dogwood, and the bluebird for happiness. It was lighted by a tin box lantern salvaged from the Old Blue Hotel demolished thirty years earlier.[146]

Over the years many valuable documents relating to Rockbridge County were stored in various repositories, many outside the state. Dr. Turner made a determined effort to find out where they were, and he discovered many were stored at Yale, Duke, and the University of North Carolina. He photocopied quite a number and catalogued others. Fletcher informed Robert Keefe that Turner had "a listing of 20,000 Rockbridge County items in Yale Library holdings."[147]

The Rockbridge Historical Society fully supported the city's effort to put brick sidewalks in the historic area, including that around the Campbell House and "The Castle." President Moger discussed the matter with John Doane, the city manager, and a contractual arrangement was made "for the installation of the curb, gutter, and sidewalks." Doane wrote that as city manager he had "always felt most fortunate to have the opportunity to work with the Rockbridge Historical Society."[148]

Dr. Moger's Bicentennial goal of expanding the membership to five hundred was reached by September 20, 1976. Richard Fletcher noted that from early February to late March seventy-two new members had joined, "almost all recruited by President Moger's letters and efforts." George Brooke, however, questioned the advisability of such a large membership. How could you arrange dinner meetings for so many with limited accommodations? Mrs. Pearse, a Charter Member, feared "that a very large membership might exclude the Society from the pleasant church dinners and other functions of the past."[149]

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145. Minutes, October 7, 1975.

146. *News-Notes,* October 1975.

147. Minutes, January 14, March 29, 1976; *News-Notes,* February 1976; Fletcher to Keefe, March 30, 1976, RHS Archives.

148. Minutes, October 7, 1975; Doane to Moger, February 20, 1976, RHS Archives.

149. *News-Notes,* October 1976; Minutes, March 29, 1976; Fletcher to Keefe, March 30, 1976, RHS Archives.

At the fall meeting in 1976 at DuPont Hall, D. E. (Pat) Brady, Jr., was elected president. It was noted that his predecessor, Dr. Moger, had been president "during four years of unusual improvement of properties and expansion of membership." Moger said that there were at that time 511 members, including sixty life members, and that all but $2,500 of the $8,000 borrowed had been repaid. As he went out of office Moger gave a comprehensive written report to his successor and observed that the chairmen of five committees were appointed by the president: Program, House and Property, Museum, Membership, and Publicity. Moger had been especially impressed with the untiring efforts of William O. Hay, Jr., as treasurer and wrote him expressing his appreciation:

> Perhaps I know better than anyone else how efficient your work has been and how greatly your duties as treasurer have increased. The transition from the arrangement with the Meade Associates (which saved the Society ten percent), the significant increase in membership, the preparation of a vast amount of information necessary to secure for the Society tax-free status from IRS, and the payment of rents directly to the treasurer have all increased your work. But you have responded efficiently and without complaint.[150]

Pat Brady was fortunate in having most of the officers and committee chairmen continue in office. Miss Austina Mallory did, however, become recording secretary; Mr. Nat Chapman, treasurer; and Mr. Anthony Crawford of the Marshall Foundation, program chairman. Also, Taylor Sanders was appointed to pursue an oral history project. At Brady's first meeting, Mr. Keefe reported that he had been able to save the Society approximately $130 by using the 3rd class mailing-system for *News-Notes.*

Also, when the Rockbridge Community Bicentennial Commission ceased operations at the end of the Bicentennial, the Lexington museums agreed it would be appropriate to offer the Rockbridge Community Bicentennial Quilt to the Rockbridge Historical Society. The Society was asked to clean the quilt and store it at the Campbell House. The offer was accepted with the intention of displaying the quilt at the Campbell House on occasion and lending it to other organizations that might ask for it.[151]

The Society gave a helping hand to the Historic Lexington Foundation which was restoring the Jackson Memorial Hospital to its original condition as a house when Stonewall Jackson lived there. The Society offered use of the Campbell House for office and storage space and a place to hold meetings. No fee was charged. When the Stonewall Jackson House was

150. Minutes, October 25, 1976; Moger to Brady, November 10, 1976; Moger to Hay, December 2, 1976, RHS Archives.

151. Minutes, January 5, May 31, 1977; Crawford to Brady, January 7, 1976[7], RHS Archives.

opened in October 1979, Historic Lexington Foundation vacated the space in the Campbell House that it had occupied. By an official loan agreement, RHS lent thirteen items to the Jackson House for an indefinite period.[152]

A high point in 1977 was the showing of a film by the Rev. Bernard Bangley at the summer meeting at Bethesda Church in Rockbridge Baths. The film, "Portrait of a Farmer," was produced by Mr. Bangley with a grant from the Virginia Foundation of Humanities and Public Policy. The Society sponsored the making of the film which "depicted four seasons of work of a typical Rockbridge County farmer, Mr. Henry McCurdy, whose forbears had owned and farmed the same land since the early nineteenth century."[153]

The impending completion of the splendid new library at Washington and Lee was a blessing to the Society. Mr. Maurice Leach, the W&L librarian, offered to keep the Society's documents and books in the library's rare book storage area and have them catalogued. Though designated RHS items, they would not be put in a separate room, but a librarian would supervise their use. The Board accepted the gracious offer and a contract was subsequently signed.

At Mr. Nat Chapman's suggestion the Society donated $200 to the library. Mr. Leach, in a letter of appreciation, said the money would be spent on "acid-free folders and boxes to house the Society's manuscript collection." The Washington and Lee facilities gave not only security and more ample working space but also assured temperature and humidity control, prime considerations in preserving documents. The importance of this arrangement was brought home to the Society by Tony Crawford's "very interesting and knowledgeable account of the preservation of records and photographs." In discussing the deterioration of paper, Crawford said man was the number one enemy. As a result of the move, Dr. Turner would soon report that "RHS documents are in the best order ever."[154]

With the expansion of the membership the collection of dues became more of a problem. In June 1978, the treasurer, Mr. Chapman, informed the Board that 225 people had not paid their dues. After discussion the Board decided to drop those who remained delinquent after a reminder. When the treasurer commented in April 1979 that no new members had joined that year, he was reminded that because of the large membership the Board had decided "to forego any recruiting of new members." At a later

152. Minutes, March 17, 1977, March 27, 1978; *News-Notes,* October 1979, January 1980.

153. Minutes, July 25, 1977.

154. Minutes, March 27, June 26, September 25, October 23, 1978; *News-Notes,* April, August, 1978.

date Richard Fletcher declared that local historical societies were not encouraging life memberships because of inflation.[155]

In the fall election of 1978 Richard Fletcher was elected president and Virginia Leach, corresponding secretary. There were no other significant changes. At Mr. Brady's final Board meeting as president, the question of liability suits arising from the Society's properties and the advisability of being incorporated were discussed again but no action was taken.[156]

One of Richard Fletcher's first actions as president was to inquire about the possibility of a place name survey for Rockbridge County. As a result, in January 1979, Douglas Tanner of Charlottesville, director of the Place Name Survey of Virginia, addressed the Society. Following this, Fletcher arranged for several members to meet Tanner who encouraged the survey and produced "a print-out with map locations of 58 place names, 321 land features, 123 water features and 44 churches as a start towards the estimated comprehensive listing of 1600 or more." Following a workshop on the subject, Dr. Lloyd Davidson agreed to undertake the task with James McAleer as assistant. Unfortunately, this promising project ended four years later when Davidson reported that the State Place Names Society had been disbanded following the departure of its director.[157]

Richard Fletcher brought to the presidency the same enthusiasm and imagination he had displayed as chairman of the House and Property Committee. At his first meeting with the Board he explained the composition and responsibilities of the different committees and sketched his plans. He proposed a program theme for 1979, "A Sense of Place," and a series of workshops for small groups led by Tony Crawford on the subject of the preservation of family documents. He expressed the intention of appointing a Publication Committee "to oversee the production of the Proceedings," and he managed to persuade Larry Bland, the editor of the Marshall Papers, and his wife to accept this responsibility. He wanted to assure that the talks given to the Society be "kept in one place" and that the speakers agree to furnish a written text or permit that a tape recording be made.[158]

Stimulated by a seminar he had attended in Orange on the subject of local historical societies, Fletcher stressed the importance of incorporating the Society. He felt it necessary in order "to provide for a continual succession with a legal name, to facilitate holding and disposition of property,

155. Minutes, June 26, 1978, April 2, September 23, 1979; *News-Notes,* August 1978.

156. Mintues, November 6, 1978.

157. Fletcher to Tanner, December 4, 1978, RHS Archives; Minutes, January 22, February 15, April 2, 1979, September 28, 1982; *News-Notes,* April 1979.

158. Minutes, December 18, 1978.

and to protect members of the executive committee from personal responsibility for damages in the event of lawsuits." A formal statement of purpose was required for incorporation, and Fletcher emphasized that the Society was becoming "much more than simply a club that meets every three months to listen to a paper."

To incorporate it would be necessary to revise the by-laws. Fletcher was empowered to appoint a committee to perform this task. He formed a committee of three attorneys, Kenneth L. Harris, Robert S. Culpepper, and Louise Moore, and "a senior member or two" of the Society "to draw up a plan of action."[159]

Also, Fletcher was authorized by the Board to explore the possibility of cooperating with the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities and the Historic Lexington Foundation in arranging joint programs. Such an initiative had been taken by APVA a few years earlier without result.[160]

Taking an interest in the Society's library, Fletcher conferred with Dr. Turner, librarian and genealogist. He learned that the Society had fifteen hundred volumes, chiefly from Dr. Campbell's library. Some books were old, some rare, some scientific, and some germane to the interests of the Society. There was no budget for the library and no written acquisitions policy. The books had been catalogued by Miss Gadsden and others.

As a result of the conference, Tony Crawford was designated curator of maps and photos and it was agreed that there should be an acquisitions committee for books, documents, manuscripts, and artifacts. Six months later Fletcher informed the Board that Crawford was "progressing in the work of preservation and cataloguing our collection of maps and photographs." Unfortunately, Crawford soon moved away.[161]

As the editor of the *Proceedings,* Larry Bland adopted a more professional policy than had existed in the past. When someone asked permission "to reprint an article somewhere," his policy was to relay the request to the author. The last *Proceedings* had been published in 1970, and Bland learned nine years later when preparing volume VIII that "printing costs have more than doubled." Volume VIII went on sale in December 1979 at $6.00 per copy, with twenty-five percent off for pre-publication purchase.[162]

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159. Fletcher to Kenneth L. Harris, January 18, 1979; Fletcher to Dr. Jackson Darst, January 19, 1979, RHS Archives; Minutes, January 22, 1979.

160. *News-Notes,* April 1979.

161. Memorandum of Fletcher's Conference with Turner, February 15, 1979, RHS Archives; Minutes, September 25, 1979.

162. Bland to Fletcher, November 28, 1979, RHS Archives; Minutes, December 5, 1979.

In earlier years, it will be recalled, the Society had usually held its summer meetings at a church in the county with the church ladies preparing the meal. Fletcher hoped to introduce a somewhat similar series of programs. In February 1980 he wrote to Mrs. W. W. Heffelfinger in Brownsburg about such a meeting:

> For some time a few of us have felt that the communities of Rockbridge, like Brownsburg, have been comparatively neglected. The Program Committee wants to have a series of these communities, one per year, as summer picnic meetings. Brownsburg could be followed by Goshen, Glasgow, Collierstown, etc.

At the Board meeting in June it was announced that the summer meeting would be at the Brownsburg Middle School. The picnic supper with fried chicken, arranged by Mrs. Alexander and catered by Bessie Nicholas, would cost $5.00. Because of "a torrent of rain" the meeting was held in the school building "which was pleasantly and comfortably adequate for a large group." Four short papers on various aspects of Brownsburg history were read.[163]

A matter that involved the Society in 1980 was a plan by the Board of Supervisors to landscape the grounds of the courthouse square in memory of Mr. Harry Wright, recently deceased county clerk. The plan was designed by the landscape architect, James Loesel, and the Council of Garden Clubs gave $500 for it. The plan called for a fountain in the courtyard to be the focal point and the county administrator asked the Society "to relocate the fountain, which is presently behind the Campbell House, to the courtyard."

As Mrs. Jan Jarrard, president of the Council of Garden Clubs, explained it: "A brick courtyard will be created behind the courthouse and here a quiet garden featuring an old fountain is planned." The cast iron drinking fountain, originally located in courthouse square, had been given to the Society by Mrs. Burton Deaver. According to Fletcher, the Board approved the relocation "enthusiastically" and by a unanimous vote donated the fountain. The Board felt the project was "an important public undertaking."[164]

At the time volume VIII of the *Proceedings* appeared, the Society had a surplus of volumes VI and VII that it was eager to dispose of. Insisting that the *Proceedings* were "a very important function of the Society," the Board

163. Fletcher to Heffelfinger, February 2, 1980, RHS Archives; Minutes, June 3, July 28, 1980.

164. Don Austin to Fletcher, March 5, 1980, Fletcher to Don Austin, April 7, 1980, RHS Archives; *News-Gazette,* March 19, 1980; Minutes, April 5, 1980; *News-Notes,* April 1980.

decided to sell a package of the last three volumes for the "bargain price" of $10.00 plus postage.[165]

Collection of dues was becoming a perennial problem by 1980. The treasurer informed the Board in the spring "that many members had not paid their dues, and he asked Mr. Keefe to urge them to do so in the next *News-Notes.* Keefe put it on the line:

> Dues. Our constant headache. It is difficult—it is impossible in practical terms—for the Society repeatedly to badger people for dues. . . . An organization whose membership cost is just $3.50 a year and which has no staff, only volunteer help, cannot, for reasons of time and money alike, undertake a sophisticated invoicing plan.
>
> As of the beginning of June, 156 people—more than a quarter of our membership—hadn't paid dues, despite the electric orange reminder enclosed with the last newsletter. Technically we are supposed to take off our membership roster anyone who is delinquent as of July 1.

Even this appeal did not solve the problem. A year later, the treasurer said: "We have 500 members on the rolls! That's great news. The bad part is that 313 are delinquent in their 1981 dues." In another three months nearly half had still not paid. Another year went by and President Fletcher asked the Board what should be done with 154 delinquent members. The Board voted to drop those who had not paid for the previous year (1981).[166]

President Fletcher deemed it important that the Society determine its "proper purposes and practices." To get this information, he arranged two informal planning sessions in October. At the first meeting, attended by fourteen people, a number of goals were suggested: that the museum in the Campbell House have two exhibit rooms—one on the history of the community and the other for special exhibits; that the librarians at the colleges be asked to review the library collection and that the Society have the valuable books appraised; that a collector be secured for the archives who could stimulate the collection of papers and documents; that steps be taken to preserve the records in the courthouse basement; that an inventory be made of the Society's buildings; that in genealogy photocopies be made of the list of Revolutionary War participants; and that a list of markers in place be compiled.

At a second meeting three days later it was suggested that the museum limit the scope of its exhibits to the early days of county history, and that the library keep the books that were useful and barter the duplicates. Also, it was suggested that the Society sell reprints of individual papers. Fletcher

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165. Minutes, April 5, 1980; *News-Notes,* April 1980.

166. Minutes, April 5, 1980, June 29, 1981, July 1, 1982, *News-Notes,* July 1980, April 1981.

reported to the Board what had been proposed and said the information would be printed in the *News-Notes*.[167]

The Society rewarded Richard Fletcher for all his hard work by reelecting him for another two-year term as president. The only significant change among officers was the election of Mrs. Edwin (Louise) Dooley as recording secretary. Fletcher notified all living past presidents that they were members of the Executive Committee. "All of you are both wanted and needed," he wrote. "You will receive notices of Executive Committee meetings. Please attend and participate." He told the Board that past presidents were "automatically ex-officio members" and that at that time seven past presidents were "effectively active." Succeeding presidents continued this practice of inviting former presidents.

In his appointments Fletcher chose Pamela Simpson to be editor of *News-Notes* to replace Robert Keefe who was moving to Cleveland, Ohio. She edited and published this quarterly newsletter through the January 1983 edition (after which Larry Bland took over). Mrs. P. L. Paxton, who had worked so diligently in recruiting members over many years, was given emeritus status. The new membership committee had representatives from Lexington, Buena Vista, and Brownsburg.[168]

Some of the projects planned in 1980 bore fruit the next year. The Society, cooperating with APVA, sponsored a talk by Edwin L. Dooley, Jr., on "Identification and Preservation of Historical Photographs." Also, it was announced that Robert Weaver had agreed to serve as chairman of a committee "to assist the county clerk in the preservation and appropriate filing of old county records."

The plan of having the summer meeting in a rural community was continued in 1981. Some 125 members and guests attended the meeting at the Collierstown Presbyterian Church where they feasted on "a truly outstanding family style chicken and country ham dinner." Five residents "told the Collierstown story."

In the fall the Town and Country Garden Club made a generous contribution to the Society of $2,000 from its Antique Show for landscaping the front of the Sloan House.

After Mrs. Alexander told the board that she had hired a man to clean up the McDowell Cemetery, which had graves dating as far back as the 1740s, the Board voted "that the RHS approve in principle the maintenance of the cemetery."

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167. *News-Notes,* October, 1980, Planning Session Ideas, October 21, 24, 1980, RHS Archives; Minutes, October 27, 1980.

168. Minutes, October 27, November 25, 1980; Fletcher to past presidents, November 18, 1980.

As the year drew to a close the new Alcoholic Beverage Commission store attracted the Society's attention. Some members felt it was "inappropriate" to have portraits of non-drinkers Generals Lee and Jackson in the store. President Fletcher said that he would investigate the matter and later he reported progress was being made.[169]

The question of incorporation remained unresolved, although in June 1980 Mr. Chapman told the Board "that he felt the Society should be incorporated." Nine months later the Board passed a motion "that President Fletcher be authorized and directed to write articles of incorporation" and mail copies of the articles to Board members for comment. But the process was not completed at that time.[170]

Over the years there had been much discussion about the *Proceedings* with reference to delays in publishing, costs, the number of copies to be printed, and the number of years to be embraced in each issue. The number of copies printed had risen sharply over the years, as had the cost per copy. As publication fell further behind, it became harder and harder to catch up.

As soon as volume VIII (1970–74) was published, Larry Bland and Sharon Ritenour, his co-editor, began work on volume IX (1975–79). As time passed, it became increasingly difficult to locate old papers for the *Proceedings* and Bland believed, as had the editors in the early days, that the *Proceedings* should be published every two years. As President Fletcher said, the publication of volume IX would end an embarrassing "ten-year hiatus in the publication schedule."

To overcome the problem of oversupply and storage, only eight hundred copies were to be printed. To facilitate the Society's publishing efforts, Fletcher appointed a Publications Committee, including all former and present editors, with Bland as chairman. The committee had a two-fold function: to consider all proposals for Society publications, and to provide assistance to the editors when needed. Flyers on volume IX, published in 1982, were mailed to potential buyers.[171]

As Richard Fletcher completed his four years in office, a number of things were happening. Charles Turner said "he was starting an oral history project" of interviewing some old residents of the community. Furthermore, the newspapers in the Society's possession were moved to the W&L library. Fletcher reminded members that the Virginia State Library was microfilming the *Rockbridge County News.* It was fitting that the last

169. Minutes, March 26, July 27, September 30, December 17, 1981; *News-Notes,* October 1981.

170. Minutes, June 3, 1980, March 26, 1981.

171. Fletcher to Larry Bland, Louise Dooley, Anne Knox, Royster Lyle, Sharon Ritenour, Pamela Simpson, Charles Turner, April 21, 1983, RHS Archives.

meeting of the Fletcher regime should be in the capacious new W&L library and that the program should consist of papers by Edwin Dooley and Barbara Crawford on work they were doing with nineteenth-century business ledgers.

The slate of the nominating committee was accepted with Pamela Simpson named president; Mrs. Willard (Peggy) Hays, secretary; and Mrs. Maurice (Virginia) Leach, treasurer. Dr. Simpson was the first woman to be president in twenty years.[172] Mrs. Fred (Winifred) Hadsel, who had been president of the APVA, was appointed program chairman.

During Simpson's first year as president, a number of things happened but there was no compelling issue. An interesting event was the transplanting of the Great Grandfather Tree at the Campbell House by Jay Gilliam. It was Robert Weaver's dream come true. As Richard Fletcher wrote to Weaver: "Had it not been for your foresight and skill in nurturing a successor from nut to seedling to small tree over a period of six or eight years, and for your persistence in seeing the project through to completion with the planting on the Campbell House grounds, a valued tradition and an interesting reminder of the past would have been lost." Earlier it was reported that Weaver had been raising seedlings from horse chestnuts, descendants of the "spreading chestnut" made famous by Longfellow.

Late in March the Society learned that the attractive sign at the Campbell House, of which the Society was so proud, had been vandalized. Also, the Board, hearing that Thurman Dale, who had taken care of the Society's property for several years, was moving away, passed a resolution of appreciation.[173]

Winifred Hadsel proved to be a dynamo as program chairman, announcing a series of programs on county history. Also, she volunteered to head a committee that would examine the origin of the street names in Lexington. The project was approved but no committee was appointed. As she recalled later, the purpose was to "research the historical background of the street names of Lexington with a view to publishing a field guide on the subject."[174]

Among other activities was the sponsoring of a meeting with the Virginia Canals and Navigation Society on May 21–22. The very next day the Society sponsored the showing of a television film, "A Bond of Iron," portraying the relationship of a slave and his master. The significance to the Society was that it was filmed at Pat Brady's home at Buffalo Forge.

172. Minutes, October 25, 1982.

173. Minutes, December 21, 1982, March 31, 1983; Fletcher to Gilliam, January 12, 1983; Fletcher to Weaver, January 12, 1983, RHS Archives.

174. Minutes, March 31, June 27, 1983.

The Society also began to show interest in environmental problems and at Jim Loesel's request, the Board passed a resolution backing "the Wilderness area designations for Rich Hole and Thunder Ridge." This new interest was expressed by President Simpson when she wrote to the Senate Agriculture Committee in support of the Rich Hole bill: "We enthusiastically support the designation. While our normal concerns are with 'man-made' history, we are nonetheless, deeply aware of our 'natural history' and applaud your efforts."

Still another activity was cooperation with the University of Virginia on a project that included locating small community and family cemeteries in Rockbridge County. Carmen Clark, who was the Society's representative, appealed for help in this at the summer meeting. Three months later she said that sixteen cemeteries had been reported to the University of Virginia for the survey and that "the Society would like a survey of all Rockbridge cemeteries with their size and names for our files."

Of course, a primary aim of the Society was the preserving of documents. Therefore, it was satisfying to hear from Richard W. Oram, reference and special collections librarian at W&L, that the recataloguing of the Society's manuscripts recently moved to the library was complete. Oram paid tribute to others, noting that "the rapid completion of this project was in no small part due to the exertion of Dr. W. W. Pusey." Moreover, he wrote, "the collections would not be here in the first place were it not for Dr. Turner's diligent collection of local historical materials."

The Board decided to move the "documents and pictures remaining at the Campbell House" to the W&L Archives "for professional storage and cataloguing." Framed items were to be removed from their frames and all materials were to be placed in acid-free folders. Further progress was apparent when Dr. Turner announced that Rockbridge County "deeds, wills, and other records" had been microfilmed and would soon be stored in the Special Collections Room at the college for public use. Dr. Turner was still pursuing oral history and in October 1983 he said he had about fifty tapes.[175]

The summer picnic at "Mulberry Hill" on July 23, 1984, was memorable. A record turnout of 170 members and guests ate "fried chicken and a variety of salads catered by Bessie Nicholas" before hearing Fitzhugh Brundage speak on "A Social Vision of Slavery in Antebellum Rockbridge County." People had a chance to tour the historic house and departed "as the first hints of a July summer shower were felt." The chiggers were

175. Minutes, March 31, June 27, July 25, September 28, October 24, 1983; *News-Notes,* April 1983; Oram to Simpson, August 24, 1983; Simpson to Senate Agriculture Committee, July 10, 1984, RHS Archives.

especially active that night as many members discovered when they started scratching a little later.[176]

The strong interest the Society had in preservation and restoration was shown in a letter President Simpson wrote supporting Lexington's application for designation as one of five "Main Street Cities" in Virginia; "the preservation of historic downtown Lexington is of vital interest to us," she wrote. "The integrity, quality, and sheer number of significant 19th century buildings surviving in the community make us unique. Like no other Valley town, Lexington preserves a character of the 19th century."[177]

A milestone was reached in September 1984 when Richard Fletcher resigned as chairman of the House and Property Committee. All properties were rented by "good tenants" and "The Castle" had undergone "extensive renovation." Bill Stearns, a Lexington realtor who had recently come on the Board, agreed to take over the chairmanship of the committee, but Fletcher agreed to remain a member of it.[178]

At his first Board meeting after he became chairman of the House and Property Committee, Stearns explained why the Society's tax bill had increased nearly $700 over the previous year. It was because the three houses had been appraised and their value increased substantially, as follows:

Campbell House	$32,800 to $62,400
The Castle	35,000 to 56,000
Sloan House	35,000 to 52,500

The Board passed a motion "to study the rental properties" with a view to "expansion of rental space in the Campbell House and the revision of rental rates." The point was made "that the Society had been given these properties in order that rents received from them might support the Society's programs and not vice versa."[179]

Early in 1985 Larry Bland announced that Winifred Hadsel's *The Streets of Lexington* would cost approximately $6,000 to publish and would sell for $9.95 per copy. He recommended that seven hundred copies be printed. Mrs. Hadsel gave much credit to Larry Bland for typesetting, map-making, editorial assistance, and compilation of an index. Furthermore, she praised Jeanne Pedersen of the Marshall Foundation for designing the attractive cover and arranging the lay-out.

The book was launched in DuPont Hall at Washington and Lee at the April 1985 meeting with a talk by the author. As background there was a

176. Minutes, July 23, 1984.

177. Simpson to Robert Meador, August 1, 1985, RHS Archives.

178. Minutes of House and Property Committee, September 27, 1984.

179. Minutes, December 11, 1984.

display which consisted "of the more than seventy portraits Hadsel had located and collected." The poster advertising the display "was a collage of photographs Hadsel had taken of the portraits in her book and arranged in the same fashion that Lexington photographer Michael Miley had used a century before to display his studio's portraits." The book became a best seller and in six months the Society voted to print an additional five hundred copies for $3,400.[180]

Winifred Hadsel, who, in her words, was eager to "consolidate" the membership of the Society at about five hundred, was made chairman for such a campaign in the fall of 1985.

At the same meeting this action was taken, the Board decided to take a booth at the annual Rockbridge Festival with Peggy Hays in charge.[181] As the Rockbridge Festival became a popular community activity arousing ever wider participation, RHS played a vital role. *News-Notes* of October 1985 noted that the Society had its own "very successful booth." Pamela Simpson and Winifred Hadsel saw the festival as a way of "increasing public awareness of the Society." Statistically the participation was a success, for twenty-two people became members and $280 was earned from selling publications. According to the report, Peggy Hays "coordinated the dedicated crew of volunteers, all of whom appeared as scheduled in defiance of ever-threatening rainclouds."

Charles Turner continued to report important acquisitions, including the papers of Miss Lucy Ackerly and those of the Lexington chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. By this time he had collected more than three hundred tapes for his oral history project, and as genealogist he had answered more than forty letters since returning from summer vacation.[182]

The months slipped by too fast and in the fall of 1984 no nominating committee was appointed. To correct this oversight, the Society in October 1985 reelected all officers for a one-year term.[183]

As in recent years, the January meeting in 1986 was held at Southern Seminary, where for nine dollars members got a splendid dinner. Getting away from the usual paper on an historical subject, the program was the presentation of "Two Centuries of Dance in Rockbridge County." James E. Morrison spoke while four couples demonstrated different dance steps to his fiddle accompaniment.

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180. Minutes, December 11, 1984, February 2, April 4, October 1, 1985; *News-Notes,* April 1985; written memorandum from Winifred Hadsel to the writer.

181. Minutes, June 4, 1985.

182. *News-Notes,* October 1985.

183. Minutes, October 28, 1985.

Winifred Hadsel arranged in 1986 for a series of open houses at the Campbell House at which the Society's artifacts were displayed. She has described the building as "a remarkably intact mid-nineteenth century house." The first open house was in April and the second in July. Guides were present "to explain the exhibits, answer questions, and sell Society publications." These open houses were the first at the Campbell House in eight years and proved so successful that Hadsel opened the Campbell House again in December as a part of the Virginia House Tour sponsored by the Lexington Garden Club.[184]

In March 1986 the membership totalled 497, including 62 Life Members. In *News-Notes* readers were reminded that they could become Life Members at the "incredibly cheap rate of $100."

184. *News-Notes,* April, October 1986.

The Society's immediate past president Pamela Simpson (left) and new president Winifred Hadsel (right) examine one of Kurt Russ's exhibits following his discussion of pottery manufacturers in Rockbridge and Botetourt counties at the winter dinner meeting at Southern Seminary, January 26, 1987.

An old tradition: one of the Society's summer picnic meetings. Members are shown at the home of B. McCluer and Mary Stuart Gilliam in Rockbridge Baths, July 25, 1988.

The Rockbridge Bicentennial Quilt, that had been turned over to the Society at the conclusion of the Bicentennial, continued to be popular. In 1986 it was lent to the Natural Bridge Baptist Church in July and to the Rockbridge Mountain Music and Dance Convention in September.

Looking to the future, the Board decided that for its fiftieth anniversary or semi-centennial in 1989 the Society should publish volume X of the *Proceedings,* to include papers for the nine years preceding and a cumulative index of the volumes.[185]

As the Society increasingly shifted its main interest from the collection and preservation of documents to the preservation of buildings, some members of the Board became alarmed when they heard that VMI intended to move the historic Pendleton-Coles House and raze two other buildings on Letcher Avenue in order to build a new science hall. Consequently, President Simpson wrote to General Sam Walker, the VMI superintendent, saying that the Society was "very concerned about the preservation of these structures." The Society was, she wrote, "opposed to the idea of

185. *News-Notes,* July 1986.

destroying these houses and moving the Pendleton-Coles house." She added that the Society "would very much like to be kept informed of VMI's plans if at all possible."

The new building was desperately needed at the Institute and physical constraints severely limited its options. The Society was kept informed and a number of high-level meetings were held, but VMI carried out its plan while preserving the Pendleton-Coles House.[186]

When Pamela Simpson and the other officers had completed four years in office, the nominating committee brought in a new slate. Winifred Hadsel was elected president; John R. Kateley, treasurer, and Alta Fowler, secretary. Virginia Leach was appointed membership chairman and Pamela Simpson, program chairman.

Mrs. Hadsel began her regime with tremendous enthusiasm. She was eager finally to secure federal tax-exempt status for the Society as a private foundation, a goal often discussed but not yet achieved. Among other things this involved, as noted earlier, the revision of the constitution and by-laws. Also, she worked to put the Campbell House in its best condition ever so when 1989 arrived, the Society could celebrate its semicentennial properly. To prepare for the semicentennial, elaborate plans were made.

To revise the constitution and by-laws, a committee of three past presidents was appointed; Colonel George M. Brooke, Jr., Colonel B. McCluer Gilliam, and General John S. Letcher. The revision was worded so that the Society would conform to the requirements of the Internal Revenue Code and be incorporated as a private organization.

While the committee was at work, it decided to simplify the by-laws by reducing the number of vice presidents from seven to one and abolishing a number of committees that had long been inactive. At the same time some changes in practice that had evolved over the years were included in the revised document.

The strenuous efforts to be incorporated in compliance with 501-c-3 of the IRS Code finally achieved success in 1988. The significance of this, according to President Hadsel, was that now "the Society may assure donors that their contributions may be listed among their tax-deductible contributions" and that the Society's officers and trustees are given "immunity from civil liability for damages resulting from actions taken by them on behalf of the organization in which they serve."

The Society properties were put in good condition. As was recorded in *News-Notes,* President Hadsel led "a drive to modernize the Campbell

186. Pamela Simpson to General Walker, January 13, 1986, RHS Archives.

House's heating and electrical systems and to eliminate certain safety problems there in order to preserve the historic structure for the Society's future benefit." The treasurer, John Kateley, in April 1987 "took over management of the Society's properties" as property manager, while Bill Stearns agreed to continue to serve as the Society's rent negotiator.

As early as April 1987 plans were being made for the semicentennial. According to President Hadsel this was to be "a means of reaffirming the Society's purposes and improving its performance as an organization dedicated to the increase and dissemination of knowledge of Rockbridge County history." George Brooke agreed to write the history of the Society and Charles Turner to prepare an article "on the Society's role in genealogical research." These articles were scheduled to appear in the special anniversary edition of the *Proceedings*.

Also, George Brooke was asked to form a steering committee to make plans for the big year. He picked some fifteen people who represented a cross-section of community leaders. This group, plus the president as an ex-officio member, held three meetings in 1988 at which a number of projects were discussed and adopted. Included were the preparation of a special anniversary calendar by Mrs. John Lee (Margery) Couper, a drive to collect documents in the community to be led by Pat Brady, special exhibits on Rockbridge history to be organized by Mrs. Peggy Hays for display in local banks, the preparation of a guide to the Society's historical documents by Mrs. Betty Kondayan, a policy statement for the acquisition of documents by Royster Lyle, a policy statement on the acquisition of artifacts by Kurt Russ, and a display of the work of local artists under the direction of Mrs. Georgiana Brush. These events and others mark a fitting climax to the Society's first fifty years of serving the Rockbridge community.

Also, in a detailed written memorandum to the author, President Hadsel reminded him for the record that under her leadership the planning for 1989 did not, in her words, prevent 1988

> from being a fruitful year for the Society. Programs of outstanding interest were provided by the well-known folk singer Mike Seeger, on the traditional music of the Valley; by Pat Brady on "lost" communities in the County; a panel of speakers on "Old Times at Rockbridge Baths"; and a lecture on "The Rewards and Pleasures of Local History," by David Vaisey, Bodley's Librarian at Oxford University.
>
> The annual summer festival display, manned by a number of volunteers on a day of record-breaking heat, was unusually successful in that it sold $1,300 worth of Society publications (including a large number of the 1989 Anniversary calendars).

Above all, the Society made good use of its headquarters in the Campbell House by keeping Open House there during morning hours each week-day from April 1 to October 1, with Charles Turner acting as host. During the six months the Campbell House was open, it attracted more than a thousand visitors from all over the country and a few from abroad. In order to make the summer opening possible, the exterior of the Campbell House had been freshly painted and repaired during the spring, and its grounds and parking area had been put into good order. Throughout the unusually warm summer months many office workers and visitors enjoyed the pleasant shady garden behind the Campbell House. In all respects, therefore, it appeared that Leslie Lyle Campbell's generous bequest of a quarter of a century before had given the Society the "home" he had intended to bestow on it in order to help it carry out its purpose of generating interest in and enjoyment of Rockbridge County history.

At the end of 1988 the Society had 537 members (471 Annual and 66 Life). Moreover, the organization had, thanks to the improved management of its properties and the board's supervision of expenditures, sufficient assets earmarked for its anticipated Fiftieth Anniversary activities.

Winifred Hadsel's zealous efforts guaranteed that the nominating committee would name her for a second term as president and that she would be reelected. Colonel Robert F. Hunter, professor of history emeritus at VMI, was elected to serve as the single vice president provided for under the revised by-laws. With this team the Society entered its second half-century.

PART TWO

The Architecture of Rockbridge County, Chapter 1; Or, How Does a House Mean?

Pamela H. Simpson

WHEN Royster Lyle and I wrote *The Architecture of Historic Lexington,* we tried to tell not only the history of the town and the two colleges but also to fit their architectural forms into the larger context of American building. We showed how local buildings displayed a chronological development through various revival styles and tried to demonstrate what those styles meant to the people who used them. For example, the Colonnade at Washington and Lee clearly was Classical and Greek Revival in style and reflected the nineteenth century ideal of association—where one style was appropriate for a building because of the ideas it suggested. Here Classical Greece, its achievement in culture, learning, philosophy, and pedagogy, was appropriate for a modern school dedicated to the classical system of learning. Or, the Gothic style was appropriate for VMI because of associations with Gothic military fortifications as well

Pamela H. Simpson, a member of the Washington and Lee University fine arts faculty since 1973, was associate professor of art history at the time her paper was given. She is co-author of *The Architecture of Historic Lexington* (with Royster Lyle, Jr.), and prior to her presentation, she was awarded an Award of Merit for the book by the American Association for State and Local History. She spoke to the Society in Evans Dining Hall at W&L on January 18, 1980.

as the great English colleges of Oxford and Cambridge. Both associations are combined for a modern military school. We showed how one style succeeded another as the century went on and talked about the Romanesque, the Italianate and other Revival forms.

This approach seemed appropriate for Lexington and it was consistent with the way I was trained as an art historian. But when we moved our attention to volume II and considered the architecture of Rockbridge County, we had a problem. Certainly, many buildings in the county still fit into these stylistic pigeonholes and reflected the same chronological development as those in the town. But the majority of buildings we encountered did not. In fact we did not know what to do when confronted by buildings such as the log cabin at Beans Bottom or a frame house near Raps Mill. Standard American architectural books proved of little value. Although the seventeenth century was treated in these books in its vernacular manifestations (when nothing else existed to treat), once the high-style bandwagon got underway in the eighteenth century, vernacular forms were ignored.

To study vernacular forms, we found it necessary to turn to non-art-historical fields—to anthropology, folklore, and cultural geography. Since the 1960s a number of people in these fields have done what the art historian was not interested in doing—they studied common buildings. Probably the most valuable work of all was done by Fred Kniffen, a cultural geographer, and Henry Glassie, folklorist and head of the Department of Folklore and Folklife at the University of Pennsylvania. Although their work, and the work of their followers, is often burdened with scientific language, they do present a methodology for the study of vernacular buildings.

When Royster and I had considered the architecture of Lexington we had focused on decorative features: columns, moldings, porches, roof lines. When we began to study the county and found those decorative elements minimal, we focused on material construction—grouping buildings as to log, stone, or frame. But our reading in the new field of vernacular architecture suggested that we should have been looking at the floor plans. For the anthropologist the primary consideration was plan type, the general nature of the structure—its shape, room arrangement, and balance. This was the most fundamental feature of the house and reflected most clearly how people ordered their lives and thought about themselves in relation to their society. A secondary consideration was construction material, exact size, fenestration, and building techniques. Only at a third level were decorative features considered. This separation of plan type from decorative details was the first and most important lesson for us as we began our investigation of Rockbridge County's houses.

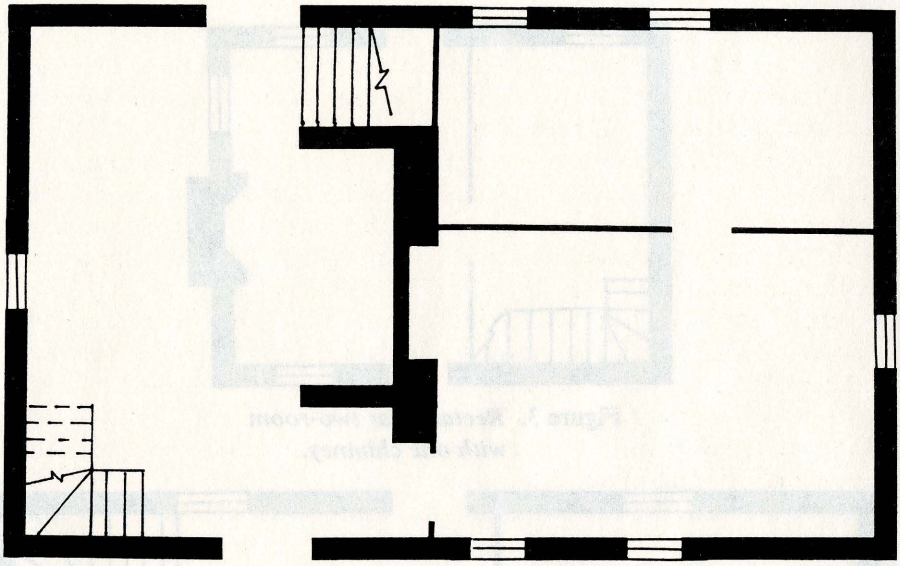


Figure 1. *German three-room* ***Kuchenhaus.***

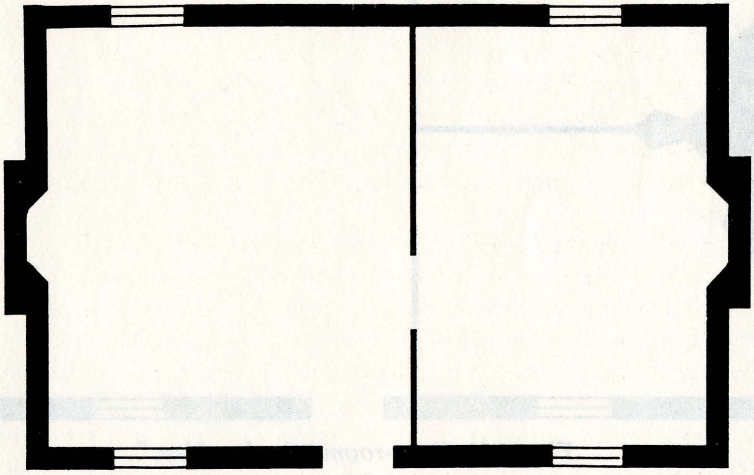


Figure 2. *Hall-Parlor.*

The area that is today Rockbridge County was settled in the late 1730s and 40s largely by Scotch-Irish immigrants who moved through Pennsylvania and into the Valley. They bypassed the large German settlements to the north and settled so thickly here, that on eighteenth-century maps the

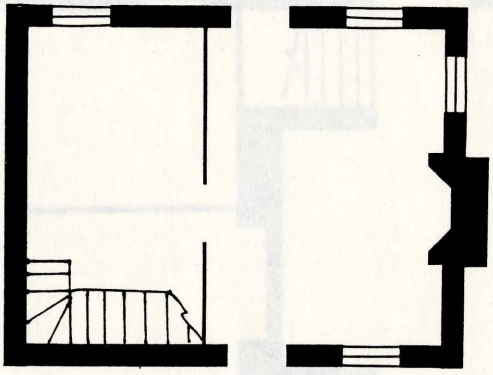


Figure 3. *Rectangular two-room with one chimney.*

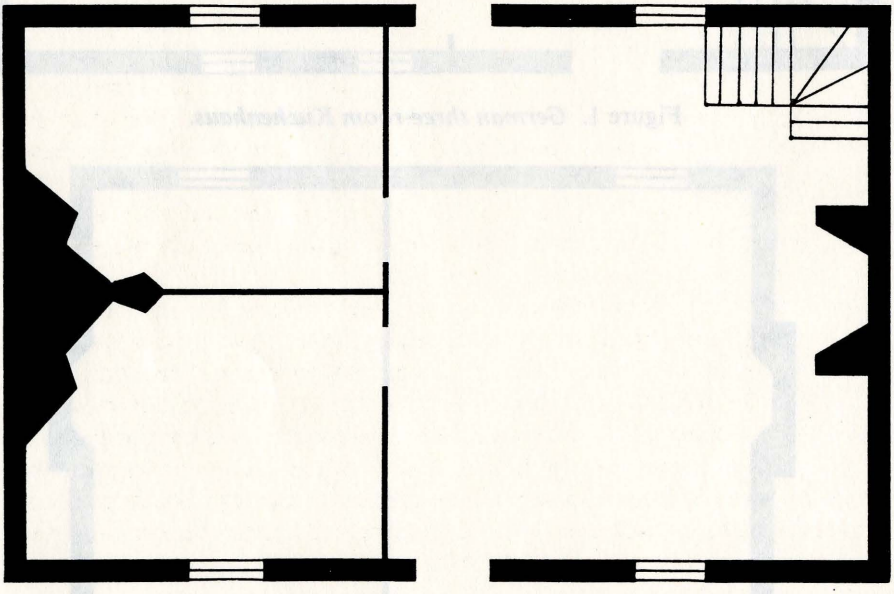


Figure 4. *Three-room "Quaker Plan."*

area is referred to as the "Irish Tract." There was also a minority of English settlers throughout the Valley and by the late eighteenth century they were coming to this area from eastern Virginia across the Blue Ridge. While the English were a minority, they were always so convinced of their own cultural superiority that their influence was greater than their numbers would indicate.

Plan types of eighteenth-century houses still extant in the Valley clearly reflect these three ethnic groups. In the northern part of the Valley, where German settlement was strong, a house type called the Flurkuchenhaus dominated. It is a three-room house form with a central chimney. It has an axial Kuchen, a wide Stube, and a narrow Kammer. It was usually two stories high, two bays wide, and often had a vaulted cellar and was built into the side of a hill.

A second house type is represented by the English hall-parlor plan. It is found all over the colonies and in eastern Virginia as well as the Valley. It is two rooms with two end chimneys, usually three bays wide and either a story and a half or two in height.

A third type of house, usually associated with the Scotch-Irish, was a rectangular form with one exterior chimney heating a large room and a partition sectioning off a smaller room. It usually had opposing front and back doors, had three bays and was a story and a half tall.

There is also a fourth type, a three-room plan common in the eighteenth century and one that was frequently used by the Scotch-Irish, but it was also well known to the English. In fact, a description of the three-room house type was suggested by William Penn for his settlers in Philadelphia. Because of this it is sometimes called the Quaker Plan, but it seems to have been known to other groups as well. The three-room plan is similar to the German Flurkuchenhaus but the chimneys are on the end walls and the one serving the two smaller rooms frequently had diagonally placed fireplaces feeding into one stack.

Of these four eighteenth century house types, only the last three are represented in Rockbridge County. The English hall-parlor plan is abundant and can be found in stone, brick, frame, and even log. The plan type is primary, the material used to build it is secondary. I do not mean to indicate that when you see this two-room plan you are automatically looking at an eighteenth-century house, however. The plan is an eighteenth-century form but development of domestic architecture is a process of accumulation, not replacement. The house type survived well into the nineteenth century, though after 1800 it was usually found in smaller or more conservative structures.

The Scotch-Irish rectangular form is also well represented in the county, but it is usually found in log buildings. This is an interesting fact, for while the plan type is Scotch-Irish, the building material and techniques are not. The Scotch-Irish did not know log building in Northern Ireland; there they built in stone. But in the New World they settled first in Pennsylvania with German neighbors. The squared log, corner notched form was a Continental tradition brought to this country by the Germans. The Scotch-Irish were always quick to pick up on a good thing when they saw it, so they

borrowed the building technique and adapted it to their own purposes. But they kept the plan type they knew. Again, it was a plan that was fundamental to their thinking of what a house should be; material construction was secondary, so it could be borrowed when it proved its superiority. This is a process that anthropologists call acculturation. The Scotch-Irish, moreover, not only kept the room arrangement and the shape and balance of their ethnic traditions when using the new material, they also frequently whitewashed the whole structure inside and out. The effect of this was to reduce the visual awareness of the log construction and make the house *look* more like the whitewashed, stucco covered stone buildings they knew in Northern Ireland.

The Scotch-Irish rectangular form was probably the dominant house type in Rockbridge County in the eighteenth century and it continued to survive through the nineteenth century as well, though in smaller, humbler structures, especially in those built by people of limited economic means.

The German Flurkuchenhaus does not appear in the county—or at least I have not found it yet. The major reason is undoubtedly the lack of German settlers in the eighteenth century in the Upper Valley.

The use of the three-room plan is complicated by the fact that while it was known to both the English and the Scotch-Irish in the eighteenth century, there is evidence in Augusta County of the German Flurkuchenhauses moving their chimneys to the outside walls and thus, by acculturation, taking on much the same appearance as the Anglo form. The cross-cultural and the ambiguous precedents of the three-room plan type warn us that the search for ethnic origins for these eighteenth-century house types has to be conducted with caution, for by the end of the eighteen century house plans had been cut loose from their ethnic base and become American house types that would be used by the Scotch-Irish, English, German, or whatever ethnic mixture the builder and building represented.

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries a profound change occurred in house-plan types with the introduction of Georgian models. The four house types I have just discussed (the hall-parlor, the Scotch-Irish rectangle, the German Flurkuchenhaus, the three-room plan) were late-medieval forms that allowed entry directly into the heart of the house. But the new Georgian plans were Renaissance forms—forms that intellectualized the house and called for reasoned symmetry. The most dramatic change was the introduction of the hall. No longer was entry directly into the house; now there was a way-station, a separation from visitor and visited, a new privacy.

Traditional art historians recording this change have characterized the earlier forms as pioneer hovels thrown up for protection against the wilderness and replaced by more dignified buildings as soon as economic

control and contact with style-setting urban centers permitted it. The anthropologist's view of the change is that changes in plan type reflect social distinction, not physical need. When society reached a point where most of the members of a community no longer intimately knew each other, there was a reason to adapt a new house form. The house now became a means of establishing identity and the identity in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in America was no longer an ethnic one; it was a national one. The need to see themselves as Americans, not as Scotch-Irish or German, led the people to accept the dominant English cultural types. Thus late in the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, the introduction of Georgian-plan types revolutionized domestic architecture in the Valley by increasing the options.

The new forms were English: regular, symmetrical, with a central passage. The double pile 4-over-4 was most ambitious, but it had its variation in a two-thirds 4-over-4 and in the I-House—a single-pile version. While there is an obvious geometric relationship between these types, it would be a mistake to assume that the two-thirds 4-over-4 or the I-House were simply poorer versions of the double-pile ideal. That does not seem to be the case. Instead, families of financial status capable of building the 4-over-4 version repeatedly chose the smaller forms. The reason was not limitation of means but conscious choice. Why? Because the two-thirds 4-over-4 and the I-forms kept the room arrangement essentially as it always had been. The only thing new was the central passage—the element that gave more privacy to the house and reflected the new complicated society. None of the eighteenth-century plan types had had four rooms and people in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries had no place in their intellectual construct of a house for that fourth room. A colleague of mine, working in eastern Virginia, has found that in probate inventories there were definite names for the first two rooms, and later for a third room, but they had no name for the fourth room when the 4-over-4 plan appeared.

All of these Renaissance-plan types are represented in Rockbridge County. The 4-over-4 does appear, but out of the nearly three hundred houses I have surveyed, I have found only thirty-two, and none of the ones before 1840 has the clear equal divisions you see in Figure 5. The two-thirds 4-over-4 seems to have been particularly popular in town houses and is found abundantly in Fairfield and Brownsburg. The I-house was by far the most popular, however. It can be found in frame, brick, stone, and log, but the majority of surviving examples are brick. The reason for this is not that the majority of I-houses originally built were in brick, but rather that the brick tended to survive. Moreover, they survived because the brick I-house represented the mansion of the Valley. The use of brick was part of the distinctiveness of the new house. It represented economic achievement

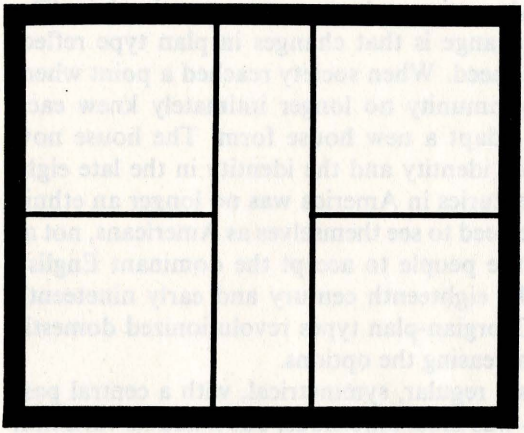


Figure 5.
Double pile 4 over 4.

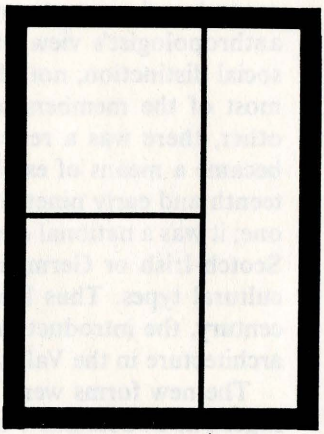


Figure 6.
Two-thirds 4 over 4.

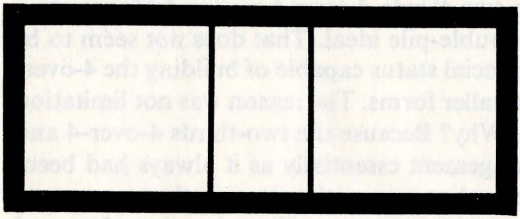


Figure 7.
"I" house.

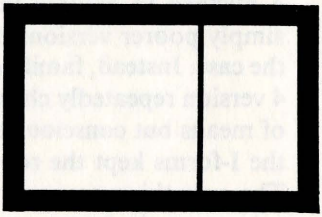
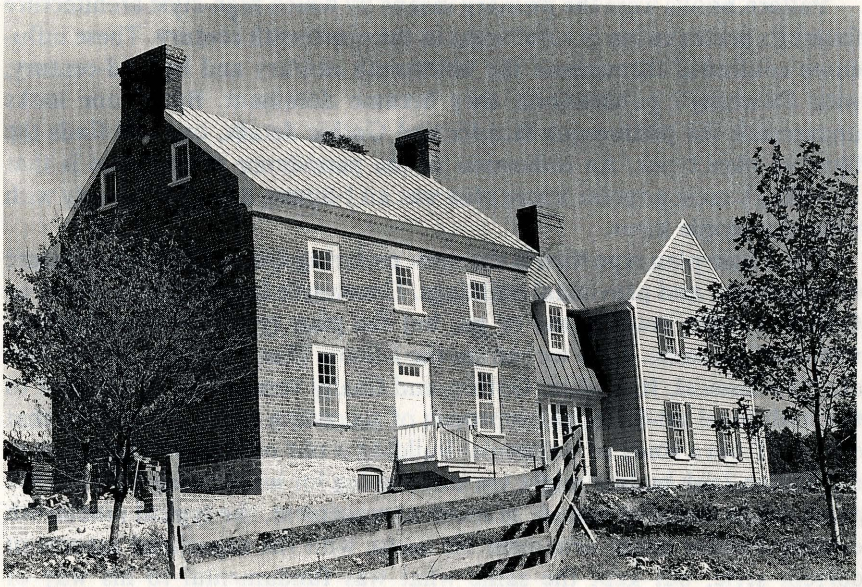


Figure 8.
Two-thirds "I" house.

Georgian Plan Types

and prestige. The further one got from natural materials—the more man-made they were—the more they represented mastery over nature, distance from the frontier, and achievement of control. Stone and log became, in turn, old-fashioned and survived in poorer, smaller structures.

So far I have shown how the eighteenth century two-room English and Scotch-Irish plans were transformed by new Georgian ideals in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. But what about the three-room plan? The same thing happened to it—a central passage was introduced. Houses such as Halfway House have the same arrangement as the so-called Quaker Plan, but now there is a hallway. This is further evidence of the rejection of the 4-over-4 double pile as well. There was only room for three rooms in the traditional image of the house. Even the use of the diagonal fireplaces makes the house look like a single pile on the exterior. Another



Halfway House.

variation on the inclusion of three rooms was the popularity of the I-form with a one-room ell. Again you have three rooms, but now with the central hall.

Now that we have considered plan type and construction materials, we can turn our attention to decorative details, and here we have further evidence of the acceptance of a popular standard with acculturated modifications. The chief decorative areas are the fireplace mantels and the stairways. Forms such as these were copied out of pattern books but rarely does one find an exact counterpart. Particularly in the early nineteenth century these fashionable motifs were assimilated without full acceptance of the aesthetic that underlies them. It is a mistake though to see these as the products of naive or untutored craftsmen. Instead, we have here another example of acculturation. The craftsman imposed his own aesthetic on the popular form. This is probably what Owen Biddle was complaining about in his *Young Carpenters Assistant,* published in 1818. In his commentary accompanying an Adamesque mantel, he advised the carpenter not to "cover his work with unmeaning holes and cutting of the gouge," not to "overload the work." But this overloading, the provincial manifestation of high-style forms, represents a meaninful cultural adaptation of those forms.

Pattern books were the primary means by which high-style architecture found its presentation in rural areas in the nineteenth century. These influences continued throughout the nineteenth century and by mid-century, with Downing's publications, they became dominant. But if one looks underneath the picturesque facades and Gothic details, one still finds the familiar plan types. An indication of the persistence of tradition is that Downing's most popular house plan was an I-house; it fit most closely with what the people knew.

The house-plan type then is the most enduring and fundamental feature of vernacular and provincial buildings. Decorative forms such as Greek or Gothic mantels could come or go, but the plan types, once established, remained the same. Thus we can see the I-house plan used in examples that are Neoclassical, Italianate, Gothic, and finally vernacular. In contrast to the traditional art-historical approach of successive styles, the picture that emerges from a study of vernacular building is one of conservatism. Just as the Scotch-Irish builder might use stone or log for his building material but clung to the essential feature of room arrangement, the typical nineteenth century builder might ornament his house with the superficial aspects of current style, but kept the same what was fundamental to his way of life—his house plan type. Art historians will probably continue to study architecture in terms of its high-style manifestations and perhaps rightly, for a period deserves to be known by its most sophisticated productions. But to ignore the common building is to ignore the majority of buildings and the result is a topsided view of history. The important story of what happened in Rockbridge County is not the story of successive styles; it is the story of conservatism and tradition told by ordinary buildings. And in understanding that story of our past we may even find help in understanding our present.

John M. Brooke: The Lexington Years

George M. Brooke, Jr.

THE end of the Civil War brought about a considerable population shift as the veterans sought employment. That John Mercer Brooke, the late chief of ordnance and hydrography of the Confederate Navy, should move to Lexington in 1865 was not as surprising as that he should remain there the rest of his life. Though only thirty-eight at the end of the war, the most significant part of his life lay behind him. In studying his career, one usually emphasizes the period that ended at Appomattox; of necessity, the later years are brushed over quickly. But Brooke's forty-one years in Lexington would qualify him as a native—at least by adoption—and that is what I shall emphasize here.

Born in 1826 at an army post on the site of present-day Tampa, Florida, John Brooke was the son of George Mercer Brooke, a Virginian, and Lucy Thomas of Duxbury, Massachusetts. The older Brooke, a professional army officer, was brevetted twice for gallantry in the War of 1812. Rising to the rank of brevet major general, he died in 1851 as commander of the Department of Texas. Young John Brooke, after life at a succession of army camps, was in 1841 appointed a midshipman in the United States Navy; he was fourteen years old. There followed a series of routine cruises,

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George M. Brooke, Jr., had been a member of the History Department at the Virginia Military Institute since 1948 at the time of his presentation, which coincided with the publication by the University Press of Virginia of his biography of his grandfather, *John M. Brooke: Naval Scientist and Educator.* He spoke in the auditorium of Brooke Hall at VMI on April 28, 1980.

and in 1846 he was sent to the new Naval Academy at Annapolis for the nine-months course. Following graduation there were more cruises, including an exciting one to the Mediterranean during the revolutions of 1848 and a depressing one to the African coast for the suppression of the slave trade. In 1849 the young officer married in Norfolk his first cousin, Mary Elizabeth Selden Garnett, called Lizzie.

It was soon evident to Brooke that his interests were directed more toward scientific experiment than to routine duty as a line officer. In 1852, while serving at the Naval Observatory under Lieutenant Matthew Fontaine Maury, Brooke had an opportunity to show his scientific bent. He designed a deep-sea sounding lead that enabled man for the first time to bring up samples from the ocean floor at great depths. The invention made feasible the laying of the Atlantic cable. In recognition of his peculiar talents, Brooke was selected for the proposed exploring and surveying expedition to the north Pacific Ocean and Bering Strait. Such expeditions usually carried a complement of civilian scientists. But on this expedition, in addition to the civilians, Brooke, then a passed midshipman in the navy, was given essentially scientific duties. He was specifically charged with the responsibility for deep-sea soundings, astronomical observations, and the care of the chronometers. A spectacular accomplishment was Brooke's survey of the east coast of Japan in an open boat from Shimoda to Hakodate, ports recently opened by Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry.

Later, while he was preparing charts of the North Pacific Expedition, Brooke was directed to determine, in the ninety-five ton schooner *Fenimore Cooper,* the best steamship route from San Francisco to Hong Kong. Proceeding by way of the Hawaiian Islands, Johnston Island, and Guam, he was able through observations and soundings to erase many reported dangers from the charts. In 1859 the *Fenimore Cooper* was wrecked on the coast of Japan. While stranded over the next six months, Brooke developed a warm relationship with the Japanese, who were hesitantly emerging from over two centuries of seclusion. Being on the scene, Brooke was asked by the Shogun's government to sail in the *Kanrin Maru,* a Japanese warship to be dispatched to America at the same time as the first Japanese mission departed on the U.S.S. *Powhatan.* Because of the very heavy weather and the almost complete lack of experience of the Japanese officers and crew, Brooke, and those members of the *Fenimore Cooper's* crew who accompanied him, were able to perform a signal service in taking the *Kanrin Maru* across the Pacific.

When Virginia seceded from the Union in April 1861, Brooke resigned his commission in the United States Navy and offered his services to Virginia. Commissioned a lieutenant in the Virginia Navy, he was appointed to General Robert E. Lee's staff as naval aide. At the time the Confederate

government moved to Richmond, Brooke transferred to the Confederate navy. During this period Brooke developed the plan of extended, submerged ends for ironclads, and when the wooden frigate *Merrimac,* which had been scuttled by the Federals evacuating Norfolk, was raised by the Confederates, Brooke's plan was applied to it and it became the *Virginia.* In the field of ordnance, Brooke designed a powerful rifled gun which bears his name. In 1863 Brooke was appointed chief of ordnance and hydrography of the Confederate States Navy. The war brought Brooke personal tragedy. In 1864 his wife Lizzie, to whom he was deeply attached, died of tuberculosis. But in the years to come Brooke would remember Lizzie through Anna, the only one of their four children to survive infancy.

With the conclusion of hostilities, Brooke was guided by two primary considerations. First, he intended to rear Anna, who was nine when the war ended, personally. For this reason he ruled out for the time being employment overseas, which course was attractive to many of his comrades-in-arms. Second, he was willing to let the past become history. He had fought with all he had and lost, but life must go on. Adjusting to a new situation, Brooke took the required oath of allegiance and applied to President Andrew Johnson for pardon. It was, he felt, his "duty to take the oath of allegiance to the present government and do all that I can for the welfare of the whole country."[1] Such an attitude was made easier by the resumption of friendship with old comrades who had chosen the Union side. To his friend Commodore John Rodgers, who had fought with distinction for the Union, Brooke wrote: "As the war is over and we are no longer political enemies I write to assure you that my personal regard for you has not changed."[2] In his prompt and cordial response, Rodgers offered to help Brooke obtain his pardon, and in a spontaneous display of good will tendered Brooke two hundred dollars which the latter could repay "when you like—or never."[3] But Brooke had sold most of his gifts from the Japanese to meet expenses and declined the kind offer.[4] In the end it was Admiral Samuel Phillips Lee who, after persistent effort, obtained the pardon in August 1866. It was an important step, for without a pardon a person could not buy or sell property, apply for a patent or copyright, or recover property that had been confiscated.

1. Brooke to Commodore John Rodgers, 1-2 1865, Rodgers Family Papers, Naval Historical Foundation, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress (hereafter cited as LC).

2. Brooke to Rodgers, 9 May 1865, ibid.

3. Rodgers to Brooke, 4 June 1865, Brooke Papers, in the possession of the author (hereafter cited as BP).

4. Brooke to Rodgers, 23 June 1865, Rodgers Family Papers, LC.

After searching desperately for a job, Brooke must have felt vast relief when in October 1865 he was notified by General Francis Henney Smith, superintendent of the Virginia Military Institute, that he had been appointed to a newly created chair to teach practical astronomy, geodesy, meteorology, and physical geography at that state college. Brooke was commissioned a colonel in the Virginia Militia, though he preferred the title of captain which reflected his naval background. It is of interest to note his physical appearance at this time. Of medium height, he had a rather large head which was rapidly becoming bald. Paradoxically, as his hair became scarcer on the top of his head, his beard seemed to become fuller and eventually almost bushy. His penetrating blue eyes and prominent nose marked a stern visage that reflected years of hard service at sea and the strain of concentrated mental effort. Excess weight never seems to have been a problem. With a keen mind, an assurance borne of carrying a load of heavy responsibility, and a highly developed sense of honor, he was a man of firm convictions that he defended tenaciously.

Captain Brooke was no stranger to Lexington. Lizzie and her parents had moved to the small college town from Norfolk in 1853 when Brooke was on the North Pacific Expedition. At that time Lizzie's sister Louisa was married to Colonel Thomas Hoomes Williamson, who had taught at VMI since 1841. Lizzie was deeply religious and had joined Grace Episcopal (now Robert E. Lee Memorial) Church. When stationed in Washington and later in Richmond, the Confederate capital, Brooke had frequently taken his wife to Lexington to escape the heat, humidity, and turmoil of those cities. With these connections it is not surprising that Brooke should be appointed to the VMI faculty. When accepting the position, however, he did not realize his employment would become permanent.

In Lexington the old sailor found that having Anna with him was "the great consolation." She helped him raise chickens, and occasionally the two went walking and looked for wildflowers. Politically, the situation was quiet and Brooke was convinced that the only bar to restoration of the Union was the persistence of a few fanatics and demagogues. He had a high opinion of President Andrew Johnson and thought him a statesman.[5] After a few months Brooke wrote that his new occupation was "pleasant enough," but as the only naval officer in the community he felt like "a fish out of water."[6] Commenting on the local people, Brooke remarked that they were "kind and good Scotch Irish Presbyterians, a people who never carry too much sail for their ballast." But, he observed, VMI was "Episco-

5. Brooke to Rodgers, 6 May 1866, ibid.
6. Brooke to Stephen R. Mallory, 15 December 1866 (copy), BP.

palian in tone" and the church records bear him out. From the founding of the local church in the forties, the vestry was dominated by VMI professors, and almost all of the senior professors were Episcopalians. General Smith was a leader in the church and a large percentage of cadets were of the Episcopal faith. Brooke found the professors to be "excellent men and without exception the best group I have ever been associated with."

The new professor believed strongly in the South's future and in educating the young men in such a way as to develop the region economically. This was, he wrote, the position of "all sensible people in the South."[7] The former Confederate officer asserted it was equally important that the North demonstrate a "kindly nature," so that Southerners could believe there was a willingness above the Potomac for the defeated section to share in the country's prosperity. And VMI, in Brooke's view, had a special responsibility, for, as he wrote Commodore Rodgers, it would be of "vast importance" as a school of applied science in furthering the state's *"material progress."*[8]

After the war the future of the Institute was in some doubt, for in June 1864 General David Hunter had wantonly burned the school. Brooke was assured by his Yankee friend, General Robert Patterson of Philadelphia, that "the conduct of General Hunter in his raids in Virginia was denounced at the time by every cadet soldier in our Army and by every decent man out of it. He is now despised."[9] But the destruction was a fact, and only an act of great faith could rebuild the school. General Smith had that faith and was eager to move the Institute into the forefront of Southern education. Though some of the faculty would have preferred to move cautiously into the uncertain future, Smith resolved to begin the physical rehabilitation at once and asked for sacrifice. The determined superintendent was sure that a rebuilt physical plant would attract enough cadets to underwrite some capital expenditures and most operating costs. He could not depend on the state, for Virginia had not yet been readmitted to the Union and prior to the war, except for subsidies to selected state cadets, had contributed only $1500 annually.[10]

The Institute would have to rely on its own efforts. Smith proposed borrowing the money for capital expenditures through the sale of bonds, and to facilitate operations he asked the faculty to forego one-third of their salaries. Such a gesture, he felt, would make it easier to sell the bonds. The

7. Brooke to General Robert Patterson, 9 February 1866 (copy), BP.

8. Brooke to Rodgers, 11 October 1865, Rodgers Family Papers, LC.

9. Patterson to Brooke, 14 February 1866, BP.

10. William Couper, *One Hundred Years at V.M.I.*, 4 vols. (Richmond, 1939), 1: 342.

faculty supported Smith's request and the action was approved by the Board of Visitors.

With high hopes the Institute resumed its academic work on October 16, 1865, with eighteen cadets reporting for duty the first day.[11] By the end of the academic year fifty-one cadets had been enrolled.[12] In addition to retaining those faculty officers who had survived the war, Smith hired two other officers besides Brooke. They were General George Washington Custis Lee, a son of General Robert E. Lee, as professor of civil and military engineering, and Colonel William Blair, as professor of natural and experimental philosophy. Despite the big plans it was a year of hardship, the salary for a full professor being only $900. One of the most serious problems was the lack of books and scientific equipment. By June 1866 the superintendent had collected "about 1000 volumes" for the library.[13] He estimated the needed laboratory equipment would cost $15,000. At the time of his appointment Brooke was urged to acquire on his own the necessary books, apparatus, and equipment for his courses.

Given the dreary economic conditions in Virginia during reconstruction, General Smith's plans were bold and the results remarkable. By 1870 the corps numbered 360, drawn from every Southern state and some in the North as well.[14] Former Governor John Letcher, who was president of the Board of Visitors, stated that the restored institution was "second to no military and scientific school in the United States" and in a more prosperous condition than it had been before the war.[15] The apparent prosperity was reflected in rising faculty salaries, Brooke's pay for the school year 1871–72 being eighteen hundred dollars. As early as 1867 the prewar plan for applied schools in engineering and agriculture had been revived. The purpose was to give graduates additional practical training in their areas of specialization. Brooke assisted in this effort and was directed to cooperate in the preparation of a physical history, and a geographical and geological map of Virginia, under General Custis Lee's supervision. Brooke was responsible for the work in physical geography and meteorology.

During Brooke's years at the Institute, academic policy was determined by the Academic Board, composed of department heads. Brooke was a member of the board and sat on a number of committees appointed by it. The minutes show that he attended to his duties faithfully, but he missed a surprisingly large number of meetings and was often late. He made few

11. Annual Report of the Superintendent, VMI, 27 June 1866.
12. Ibid., 4 July 1867.
13. Ibid., 27 June 1866.
14. Annual Report of Board of Visitors, VMI, 5 January 1871.
15. Ibid.

John M. Brooke as a VMI professor.

motions and seems not to have talked unless he had something to say. But he did have definite views on education and he expressed them forcefully.

In the post-Civil War period colleges began to experiment with the elective system. General Smith, who conceived it the Institute's function to offer a practical education, thought the trend "an advertisement to catch students, without any attendant advantages in the long run." He wrote that "youths of sixteen and eighteen years of age are incapable of that judgement which is essential to a proper selection of the course of study to be pursued by them."[16] He insisted on daily recitations and the weekly submission of grades, with an emphasis on thoroughness of instruction. Duty and discipline were ever in the superintendent's thoughts, but for the faculty the constant collecting of grades was a burdensome and dull task.

16. Annual Report of the Superintendent, VMI, 23 June 1871.

Such a system tended to stifle creativity, and it is not surprising that John Brooke, with his inquiring mind, should become restless. His approach was more liberal than Smith's. In his courses he emphasized practical application, but for a man of his broad experience, the repetition of experiments with limited equipment cannot have been stimulating. Brooke's formal education was spotty and had been capped with his year at the Naval Academy. Really, he was self-taught, and his knowledge was specialized in the fields of practical astronomy, hydrography, surveying, navigation, and ordnance. He made every effort to stay abreast in those fields, writing scientific articles and corresponding with many people. As a teacher, there can be no doubt that Brooke knew his subject. But he was not a teacher by choice and probably lacked the magnetism of a gifted teacher. It was his nature to be reserved, and his arduous life had accentuated that quality. Though the cadets called him "Old Mike," they must have found him a dangerous man to trifle with. The stories handed down in the family indicate that he was firm and rather humorless.

In 1863 Brooke was pleased when the Academic Board by unanimous resolution appointed Matthew Fontaine Maury professor of meteorology and placed him in charge of the proposed physical survey of the state.[17] As had been his custom since he served under Maury at the Naval Observatory in the fifties, Brooke, after the Civil war, had corresponded with the older man. Thus, in September 1866, when Maury was in England, Brooke had written that he had built a small laboratory and mounted a transit like the one he had used on the North Pacific Expedition, and he wished Maury were nearby so they could compare notes. "I do wish you were once more in Virginia on your native soil," Brooke wrote, "We are not so badly off here as might be imagined and no matter how many of us go abroad old Virginia would have enough of the old stock to be old Virginia still." He assured his mentor that former Confederates lived "quietly" in Lexington which was a "charming" place. Brooke concluded his letter "with the heartfelt wish that you will come Home."[18] At the time the idea had not appealed to Maury and he replied: "I wish I could view things at home as cheerfully as you and other friends on the spot do but I cannot."[19] With Maury's acceptance of the position at VMI eighteen months later, Brooke congratulated him, exclaiming that it had "excited very lively emotions of pleasure."[20]

17. Academic Board Minutes, VMI, 18 February 1868.
18. Brooke to Maury, 28 September 1866 (copy), BP.
19. Maury to Brooke, 20 October 1866, BP.
20. Brooke to Maury, 10 May 1868 (copy), BP.

Maury would remain at VMI until his death in 1873. During that time Maury and Brooke worked closely together. Brooke would continue to work on the physical survey of Virginia under Maury as he had under Custis Lee. If anything, the scope of the plan was expanded, and Brooke was given responsibility for making primary triangulations. Maury's arrival also prompted the establishment of a department of physics with Maury and Brooke as the two professors. The specific duties of each officer were delineated, with Brooke having responsibility for classroom instruction in the new physics course that embraced heat, light, sound, and electricity. For his part, Maury pushed the physical survey and the preliminary report was completed in December 1868. General Smith had twenty thousand copies printed at Institute expense, and some were sent to governors and mayors in the Southern states. Smith's purpose was to encourage the shipment of minerals and agricultural goods produced in the states of the interior through Virginia to the Atlantic seaboard.[21] The initial report was followed by a second one completed in May 1871. This supplementary report, financed in part by the railroads, emphasized "the climate, soils, and productions of Virginia."[22] The great oceanographer died after he had been at the Institute four years, and there are notes in the Brooke Papers that indicate Brooke wrote the memorial sketch published at that time.

At the Institute Brooke's activity centered around his teaching duties. But for a number of years, in the hope of augmenting his meager income and utilizing the highly developed skills he had demonstrated in the navy, Brooke engaged in certain peripheral activities. During the years 1866–69, he cooperated in an informal partnership with two Confederate comrades, Catesby ap R. Jones and Robert D. Minor. Jones had been executive officer of the *Virginia,* and when Admiral Franklin Buchanan was wounded in the first day's fight in Hampton Roads, Jones had commanded the ironclad in the battle with the *Monitor.* Later he was in charge of the vital ordnance establishment in Selma, Alabama. Minor had been first lieutenant on the *Virginia* and later had directed the important Richmond ordnance works. The three officers had worked closely together during the war and probably knew more about naval ordnance than any other Confederates. The purpose of the partnership was to sell to foreign governments ordnance available in the United States. Beyond that they hoped to sell under contract materiel designed according to their own specifications. Though the three men corresponded exhaustively and met when they could, the project really never got off the ground and sales were few. The

21. Semi-annual report of the Superintendent, VMI, 12 January 1878.

22. Frances Leigh Williams, *Matthew Fontaine Maury, Scientist of the Sea* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1963), pp. 462–63.

problem was that they had no capital and all were reluctant to give up their regular jobs in order to nurse the company through its early stages.

Another activity of Brooke was in the field of invention. He had a talent for invention and for some ten years after the war he squeezed what time he could from his time-consuming teaching duties to conduct experiments. But his facilities were limited. Nonetheless, he did develop some inventions and in a few instances obtained patents. His inventions fall into two categories: those of a nature applicable to general use and those relating to naval matters, particularly naval warfare. Among the civilian inventions were a boat hook used in lowering boats, a pneumatic and hydraulic pump for raising water, an oscillating seat for rowboats, a meteorama to aid meteorologists in forecasting weather, and an improved method of ventilating mines that suffered from high temperatures. Although Brooke obtained patents on his boat hook and pump, he made very little money from either. What continued to fascinate Brooke was naval ordnance. He offered some of his inventions to the United States Navy, but as the navy was in the doldrums, he encountered apathy and red tape. On occasion he made his inventions available to foreign governments, such as the Germans in the Franco-Prussian War, but he did not enjoy much success there either. Among his inventions in the naval field were a constant depth sea mine, a torpedo boat system, an improved gun sight which used mirrors, an electric pointer which could plot an enemy vessel's course, and a gun which could be fired under water.

While at VMI Brooke got exercise and pleasure rowing a boat on the North River, now the Maury. The boat, seventeen feet long and four wide, was made to his order by W. H. Darling of New York in 1868 for $182.35. Equipped with an awning and canvas fenders, the craft was so constructed that Brooke could sail as well as row it. To protect it he built a boat house on the river bank. When the opportunity arose Brooke took ladies for a ride. Referring to Agnes Lee, the daughter of General Robert E. Lee, Brooke wrote, she "does me the honor to take a row now and then and has made a flag and pennant for me."[23] Brooke took his exercise on the river seriously, Robert Minor relating that a kinsman of his in the cadet corps had had a race with Brooke, but that the latter's "man-of-war stroke was too much for him."

Owning rowboats on the river was quite the fashion in the late 1860s and 1870s. At least one other VMI professor owned a boat and a number were the property of Washington College student organizations. Consider-

23. Brooke to Robert D. Minor, 22 November 1869, Minor Papers, Virginia Historical Society (hereafter cited as VHS).

able interest was generated by the annual race between the Harry Lees and the Albert Sydneys. Brooke's craft, however, was acknowledged to be the finest and the local newspaper grew ecstatic describing it: "Above us was a party coming down, gliding what seemed a seashell—its crest—a keel—so cunning the construction, so beautiful the proportions, so graceful it sat upon the waters—the boat of Capt. Brooke."[24]

When the river froze in the winter, curtailing Brooke's aquatic activities, he chafed. Floods also were a problem. The great flood in the fall of 1870 washed away Brooke's boat house, as well as that for the college boats. For twenty years Brooke's boat was a source of enjoyment, but in 1886 the establishment of a factory on the river lowered the water to such a level that the boat was "useless."[25]

Turning to matters of the heart, Brooke had loved Lizzie dearly and when she died he was overcome with grief and buried himself in a mountain of work. But after the war, with the passage of time, he came to feel the need of someone to share his victories and defeats. Only forty in 1867, his passionate nature demanded companionship and he began to show interest in the fair sex once more.

At one time Brooke's name was linked with Agnes Lee. Certainly they took walks and went boating together on the North River. But it is hard to say whether it was a serious romance. Nonetheless, some people seemed to think that it was. In April 1867, Catesby Jones, in the midst of discussing business affairs with Robert Minor, wrote: "If Brooke has been so fortunate as to win Agnes Lee, he is indeed to be congratulated. She was one of my favorites."[26]

During this trying time for Brooke, no friend stood firmer than Bob Minor. While residing in Richmond the warm-hearted Minor acted as a willing middleman, transmitting brief messages back and forth between his friend and Margaretta Wise, the witty and vivacious daughter of former Governor Henry A. Wise. One of the belles of the sixties, Margaretta, called Néné, had been born in Portugal when her father was United States minister there. The references to Néné were usually at the end of business letters and in a light vein. Brooke's messages were cloaked in nautical terminology and Néné responded in kind. There is no doubt that Brooke liked Néné very much and found her to be highly amusing, but it is not clear how much substance there was to the romance. Once she sent him a cake. If Brooke had been able to see more of the "Humbird," as he dubbed her, events might have taken a different turn. As it was, after a year and a

24. *The Virginia Gazette* (Lexington), 14 April 1869.
25. Brooke to Admiral David Ammen, 24 July 1888 (copy), BP.
26. Jones to Minor, 9 April 1867, Minor Papers, VHS.

half of bantering, Brooke noted in a letter to Minor: "I hear that Miss N—is engaged to be married, so our friends leave us."[27]

By early 1867 Brooke had focused his attention on Mrs. Kate Corbin Pendleton, twelve years younger than himself. She was the widow of Lt. Colonel Alexander Swift Pendleton who had served in turn as adjutant general for Generals "Stonewall" Jackson, Richard Ewell, and Jubal Early. "Sandy," as he was called, had made a brilliant academic record at Washington College and the University of Virginia. At the latter institution at the outbreak of hostilities, he promptly offered his services to the Old Dominion. Rising rapidly, he had participated in Jackson's Valley Campaign and every important battle of the Army of Northern Virginia until he was mortally wounded at the Battle of Fisher's Hill in September 1864. Professor William Gleason Bean, for many years the head of the history department at Washington and Lee, published in 1959 an excellent biography of this promising young man.[28] Sandy was the only son of the Episcopal clergyman, William Nelson Pendleton, rector of Grace Episcopal Church in Lexington. When Virginia seceded the older Pendleton, a West Point graduate, took a leave of absence from his church and drew his sword. In Lee's Army of Northern Virginia the parson became a brigadier general and Lee's chief of artillery. At the war's end he returned to his parish in Lexington, of which General Lee, as president of Washington College, became a communicant.

John Brooke's courtship was long and stormy, for Kate's heart was not easily won. If anything, the war brought back sadder memories to her than to him. Kate, the daughter of James Parke Corbin and Jane Wellford (Corbin), whose families had long been prominent in the affairs of colony and state, had met Sandy in romantic circumstances. During the winter of 1862–63 Jackson and his staff were quartered at "Moss Neck," a family home of the Corbins near Fredericksburg. At that time of high hopes for the Confederacy, Sandy had courted and married Kate. Not long thereafter he returned to battle and their reunions were fleeting. Consequently, when her husband was cut down in battle at the prime of life, Kate suffered a staggering blow. But to a degree the blow was softened by the knowledge that she was to have a baby. "Little Sandy," who arrived two months after his father's death, was a constant reminder to Kate of her brief wartime marriage. Therefore, when the infant died in September 1865, after an agonizing illness of six weeks, Kate was utterly desolate.

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27. Brooke to Minor, 31 March 1868, ibid. Néné married William Carrington Mayo.

28. William Gleason Bean, *Stonewall's Man, Sandie Pendleton* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1959).

After the war, in order to be near Sandy's family and in response to their urgent invitation, Kate moved in with the Pendletons at the rectory in Lexington. Later, after the little boy died, Kate, who had lost substantial investments during the war, felt she should make her own way. She obtained a position as governess at "Clifton" on the North River, the home of Colonel William Preston Johnston, a Washington College professor who had been Jefferson Davis's aide during the Civil War.

Captain Brooke had known Kate when she lived at the Pendletons, but from the beginning she was cautious. Her marriage to Sandy that had promised so much had brought tragedy, and for a long time she hesitated to remarry. Also, Sandy had been a devout Christian and Kate in her grief had found solace in the church; but Brooke, despite Lizzie's persistent efforts and his own good intentions, had remained a skeptic. It was no easy matter to wear down Kate's resistance, and not until 1870 did the determined suitor win her consent.

With marriage in the offing it was high time Brooke had a house of his own. In June 1870 General Smith promised to build one for him, expecting the carpenter to complete the structure within ninety days. Confirming the superintendent's arrangements, the Board of Visitors authorized construction of "a cottage on the land belonging to General F. H. Smith for the accomodations of Capt. J. M. Brooke at a cost not exceeding $2800." It was stipulated that Brooke could at any time buy the house and lot at cost.[29] Like any person building his home, Brooke was interested in what it would be like. But because of his artistic and mechanical talents, he gave more thought to the design than most people would, and his papers include a number of rough sketches and floor plans which he drew. The finished house, which was certainly more than a cottage, was built according to one such plan. Later, exercising his option, Brooke bought the house and lot, now located at 503 Brooke Lane, and they remained in possesion of the Brooke family until sold to VMI in 1950.

John Brooke and Kate Corbin Pendleton were married at a church wedding in Fredericksburg on March 14, 1871, with "no attendants," Brooke explained, "except the family and the usual complement of spectators." Returning to Lexington after the ceremony, Brooke wrote Bob Minor that he had "come to anchor with a prize under my lee."[30]

It is to be noted that Kate and John were married in a church. One surmises that formal religion had been a point of difference between them and that Kate had won out. Perhaps it was a condition of the marriage. Be

29. Board of Visitors Minutes, VMI, 5 July 1870.

30. Brooke to Minor, 23 March 1871, Minor Papers, VHS.

that as it may, the register of Grace Episcopal Church shows that on Trinity Sunday, June 12, 1870, nine months before the wedding, Bishop Johns confirmed "Miss Anna M. Brooke and Capt. Jno. M. Brooke." One week later Brooke wrote Kate that one of the parish families had consented to let Brooke have a pew. The list of ninety-one communicants in the parish register for May 31, 1871, lists Captain and Mrs. Brooke and Anna. It must have been a source of pride to Kate when years later in 1890 her husband was unanimously elected to the vestry of the Robert E. Lee Memorial Church. He would remain on the vestry for the next five years, but his attendance was irregular. At no time did Brooke assume a position of leadership in church affairs.

Kate had deliberated long and hard on her second marriage, but once she made up her mind, she gave herself completely to her husband. In the days of poverty and adversity that marked the Reconstruction years they would put their individual tragedies behind them and shape a new life together. It was particularly comforting to Brooke that the gentle Kate was a good stepmother to Anna, now in her teens. The close tie would remain until Anna, still unmarried, died unexpectedly in 1895 at the age of twenty-eight. On May 17, 1875, George Mercer Brooke was born. As letters from relatives and friends came in, Brooke, now forty-eight, must have felt a glow of paternal pride. Admiral S. P. Lee, who had obtained his pardon, wrote: "Welcome to George Mercer! It is his good fortune to draw the first breath of life on this side of the Equator, & under the North Star & not the Southern X." Mrs. Margaret Junkin Preston, the popular Southern author, wrote Kate: "I am coming to see your little *Admiral* as soon as I hear you are ready for company." But George followed in the footsteps of his grandfather rather than his father; he graduated from VMI in 1896 and won a commission in the United States Army. A second child, Rosa Johnston, was born on October 29, 1877. She would marry the prominent economist, Henry Parker Willis, a professor at Washington and Lee who founded the School of Commerce.

In contrast to her husband, Kate was more interested in people than in ideas. The letters she wrote to her family and friends in the 1860s suggest that she was well educated for a young lady of that day and had a mind of her own. She was noted for her charm, animation, and kindness. When callers dropped in, the captain, not interested in small talk or gossip, usually paid his respects and retired to his study while Kate entertained the guests. She arranged the family routine to suit her husband.

A year or two after he was married, Brooke began to keep a garden. Located on the slope behind his house the garden, covering an acre, consisted of a number of beds laid out in terraces. The soil was "a strong red clay" and very fertile. Brooke continued to cultivate the garden for the rest

of his active life. His meticulously kept notebooks are in the Brooke papers. The old sailor enjoyed most aspects of gardening and looked forward to the spring. Not surprisingly, he observed the weather carefully and dutifully recorded rainfall, temperature, and other climatic information which helped him to predict the weather. Inclined to experiment, Brooke grew a large variety of vegetables and noted the results. To increase yield he applied manure regularly and kept a compost heap. A greenhouse made possible greater diversification. Finding that "small fruits grow luxuriantly and yield heavily," Brooke experimented with different varieties of peaches, plums, cherries, apples, and sickle pears. Also he raised melons, grapes, currants, gooseberries, blackberries, and raspberries. The avid horticulturalist exchanged plants and ideas with his friends and correspondents and obtained some plants from the United States Department of Agriculture. He ordered others from nurseries in Richmond, Rochester, Long Island, and Louisiana. Like other gardeners, he was bothered by pests, and complained especially about the black flea, cut worm, and May beetle. Sometimes he resorted to novel methods to combat the pests, such as sallying forth at night with a lantern to catch the May beetles.

To return to the Institute, it will be recalled that General Smith with vigor and vision had determined to raise VMI from the ashes. For a time his expectations were amply fulfilled. His confidence that the school's success could be attributed "to a rigid system of military discipline, the effect of which is to impart *energy, system, subordination,* and *self-reliance* to the young" seemed well placed.[31] But the apparent prosperity of the Institute was an illusion. Progress ground to a halt as a combination of factors pushed VMI to the brink of bankruptcy. For a number of years after Virginia was restored to the Union in 1870, the state was controlled by arch conservatives called Bourbons, who insisted upon a full redemption of the state debt, no matter how incurred. This period in the state's history has been thoroughly covered by Dr. Allen Moger in his fine book, *Virginia: Bourbonism to Byrd, 1870–1925.* The Bourbon policy required the utmost stringency in expenditures for education. The state subsidy of fifteen thousand dollars a year did little more than pay for the board and tuition of scholarship cadets. For running expenses the Institute depended upon prompt payments by parents of cadets. But because of the hard times of the seventies, a too generous extension of credit, and other reasons payments fell behind and by 1874 the Institute had an unfunded floating debt of sixty-three thousand dollars.Also the revival of other Southern colleges siphoned off students and the new agricultural and mechanical college in

31. Annual Report of the Superintendent, VMI, 23 September 1874.

Blacksburg competed with the Institute in offering courses in practical education. Of course VMI survived, but by the hardest efforts. Enrollment plummeted, salaries were suspended and then slashed, and the purchase of books and equipment almost ceased. Meanwhile, the superintendent, after forty years at the helm, became more fixed in his ways.

Conditions were bad. In June 1876, even though salaries had been reduced fifteen percent, Brooke wrote he had not been paid in six months.[32] In 1883 only thirteen cadets would graduate and but two books were purchased for the library.[33] Not for twenty years would the Institute pull out of its financial morass. Brooke, who felt financially insecure and intellectually stifled, became increasingly restless. Concerned for his young family, he made a number of efforts to secure other employment. But in each case he either failed to get the job or regarded the conditions as unsatisfactory. Finally, in the mid-80s, he accepted his lot.

For Brooke his last fifteen years at the Institute would be happier than his first twenty. The school's financial position began slowly to improve. And in 1884 his friend General Thomas Taylor Munford, an 1852 graduate and a Civil War cavalry leader, became president of the Board of Visitors. Under his tenure substantial equipment funds were made available for the Physics Department which Brooke headed. Another hopeful sign was the growth of the library from 8,400 volumes in 1885 to 16,259 in 1893.[34] Meanwhile, a more generous legislature made more money available for salaries, and by 1887 Brooke was earning nineteen hundred dollars annually.

Another change came in 1889 when the venerable superintendent of fifty years took the occasion of the Institute's semicentennial celebration to announce his resignation. Smith had made an enormous contribution to the school, nurturing it in the early days and rebuilding it after the Civil War. It is fair to say that without him there would probably be no VMI today. But after his exceedingly long tenure he had become quite inflexible. Dominating the Academic Board as he did, officers who were more willing to accept change were frustrated. Towards the end, it appears, Brooke's relationship with Smith had become quite strained.

The new superintendent, General Scott Shipp, an 1859 graduate and the former commandant, was also a conservative, but he was willing to make changes. Brooke, who about this time because the senior faculty member, worked well with Scott Shipp. General Shipp upheld Institute traditions

32. Brooke to General Thomas R. Mumford, 30 June 1876 (copy), BP.

33. These figures were obtained from a study of the annual reports and the *VMI Register of Former Cadets, 1957.*

34. Annual Report of the Superintendent, VMI, 20 June 1885. The growth of the library can be traced in the annual reports and the Board of Visitors Minutes.

and was a disciplinarian, but he gave the Academic Board more control over academic matters. Enrollment climbed and in 1895 there were 205 cadets in the corps, of whom seventy-five were first-year men.[35]

In a refinement of the curriculum in 1897 the Academic Board permitted second classmen at the beginning of the second semester to choose civil engineering or the new course in electrical engineering. The latter course was under Brooke's supervision as head of the Physics Department, but the specific courses in electrical engineering were taught by Major Francis Mallory, an 1889 graduate who had just finished three years of graduate work in physics and mathematics at Johns Hopkins.

With the department in such good hands it was time for Brooke to step down. In 1899, at the age of seventy-two, John Brooke retired from the VMI faculty and was designated professor emeritus; he had served the Institute thirty-four years, ten years longer than his combined service in the United States and Confederate navies. In a day before Social Security, the Virginia Retirement System, and the VMI Foundation, his last years would have been bleak indeed had not the Board of Visitors granted him a pension of twelve hundred dollars per year. Kate thanked the president of the board personally, writing of her husband: "In thus having a long borne anxiety laid to rest he feels a profound relief, which is shared in full by those nearest him."[36]

John Brooke lived for six years after his retirement, old age gradually sapping his strength. He did not keep many letters from the last period of his life, and one suspects that he did not answer his correspondence. We may assume that he walked, worked a little in his garden, and read. The year after Brooke's retirement the Fortnightly Club was organized and he was elected an honorary member. When inclined he could attend, being assured of a good dinner and a stimulating paper. The club still exists, true to its original format.

On December 14, 1906, four days short of his eightieth birthday, Brooke died from a stroke. The Corps of Cadets was turned out and accompanied the casket from the Robert E. Lee Memorial Church to the cemetery, where the old Confederate was buried in a torrent of rain.

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35. Annual Report of the Superintendent, VMI, 18 June 1897. This report gives detailed statistical information on enrollment for the period 1866–98.

36. Kate Corbin Brooke to Alexander Hamilton, 30 June 1899, John Mercer Brooke File, VMI Records.

PART ONE

The Village of Brownsburg

ON July 28, 1980, the Society held its picnic meeting at the Brownsburg Middle School. This was another in its series of summer picnic meetings in county communities. The three women who made up the panel of local experts all have long been familiar with the area. Mary Moore Montgomery Mason is a writer of historical and travel articles and the present-day historian of the Walker clan in Virginia. The Walkerlands property, which she owns, has been in the family since 1733 and was authenticated by a Borden Tract grant title in 1743. As Mrs. Mason was unable to attend the Society's meeting, her essay was read by her cousin, Virginia Leach. Jen Wade Heffelfinger was born and grew up two miles from Brownsburg, in the vicinity of New Providence Church. When she married she moved to her present home, "Level Loop," a mile west of the town. Mollie Sue Whipple was born in Radford, grew up in Goshen, and moved to Brownsburg in 1936 to teach at the Brownsburg Academy. Since her marriage a few years later, she has lived in her husband's boyhood home in Brownsburg.

Early Settlers Near Brownsburg: John Walker and His Descendants

Mary Moore Montgomery Mason

John Walker of Wigton, Scotland, and a Major Hays of the Tidewater Virginia area were the first settlers of the Walker-Hays Creek valley in Rockbridge County, near the present-day village of Brownsburg.

John Walker established his claim in 1733. Born in Wigton, Scotland, circa 1670, he first emigrated to Northern Ireland in 1680 because of religious persecution resultant from the family's strong Presbyterian beliefs. In 1702 in Wigton he married Katherine Rutherford, daughter of the Reverend John Rutherford and a kinswoman of the renowned Scottish theologian Samuel Rutherford. Back in Ireland, John and Katherine again encountered religious persecution.

In May 1726 (another account states 1728) John and Katherine Walker, their seven children, and two Walker nephews sailed from Strangford Bay on a ship captained by a kinsman, Richard Walker. They arrived in Maryland on August 2. John Walker, the emigrant, again moved his family across the Maryland border to Chester County, Pennsylvania, because of freedom of worship assured by the Quaker colony. Finding Pennsylvania crowded and land prices high, he next traveled alone over the mountains to "New Virginia" (land beyond the Blue Ridge) in the autumn of 1733. The family legend is that John chose the rugged terrain near Jump Mountain because it looked like Scotland. Unfortunately, the emigrant died soon after his return to Pennsylvania in 1734. His wife Katherine died there in 1738.

In the late autumn of 1734 Alexander Walker, sixth son of John, and his two Walker cousins arrived to take up the emigrant's claim on both sides of the Virginia creek which was to bear his name. This claim would later be verified under the Borden Grant in 1743. Finding the cabin built by John the emigrant destroyed, these sturdy young men slept outdoors until they could erect another cabin.

A great wave of settlers trekked over the mountains from Pennsylvania. Other Walkers, also Moores, Coalters, and Hudsons, followed by Wades, Wardlows, Rheas, McCroskins, Andersons, Wilsons, Stricklers, Cultons, Stuarts, Kelsos, and McChesneys. These sturdy pioneers built a fort on Walkers Creek as protection against the Indians. This strong fort was made of walnut logs, dovetailed and fastened with wooden pins, one and one half-stories with high small windows and heavy barred doors. An underground passage led to a bold spring.

Alexander Walker, with the help of relatives, began in 1738 to build a two-story log house of eight rooms, with an ell of three rooms joined by a loom room which separated the main house from the kitchen. The log kitchen still stands near the antebellum home built by Captain James Alexander Walker.

Alexander Walker formally purchased the 161 acres which John the emigrant had claimed, verifying the purchase by two Borden-signed documents dated April 14 and April 15 of 1743. Alexander paid Benjamin

Borden five shillings for the document of the first day, then a sum of four pounds, sixteen shillings and seven pence the second day—a customary lease-release procedure prior to the American Revolution.

Later, Alexander turned over his Borden Grant land to his oldest son, John, who remained on the family homestead. John's five brothers all removed to Kentucky after 1787; their descendants went further west.

In January 1929 the Rockbridge *County News* reported that the "Walker-lands" estate was one of only three farms still held under Borden's Grant.

John Walker increased his holdings between 1775 and 1797 to almost fifteen hundred acres. He kept his accounts in a large, leather-bound ledger, and the final two years of his life he also kept a quaint little diary in which he detailed the weather, the manifold activities of the plantation, and the grave progress of the War of 1812.

Despite the comings and goings of his brothers and cousins, John Walker of the third generation stayed on his family acres. From his diary it is interesting to read some of his comments—truly a day-by-day-weather report: Conditions are "cloudy" or "like for rain" or "terrible dry" or "a soft morning" or "shafts of snow."

John reports his sons as busy young men and boys. With the help of a few "hands" and fewer slaves, they cut and thresh hay, plant and husk corn, raise flax, wheat, rye, and hemp; haul firewood, build fences, make planks and shingles, build dams and fight floods on Walkers Creek, and subdue fires on Jump Mountain. They also run a mill which often freezes, drive colts and cattle to market, help raze the old stone "meeting house" at New Providence and help build the new church.

For diversion these active young men climb honey-bee trees, shoot wild turkeys, chase bears, and make gallons of "cyder" and some brandy and whiskey. In their spare time these hardy swains attend muster or escort the girls of the family to singing school or to "frolicks" at nearby plantations.

John is also a busy man. He keeps his diary and his boys straight, attends the Reverend Samuel Brown's sermons at New Providence "meeting house" where he is an elder, and also helps collect the Reverend's salary. He keeps a weather-eye on the tearing down of the old church and the building of the new one. Frequently, he visits his old neighbors John Stuart, Hugh Kelso, or William Crawford who are "poorly." Also, he welcomes kinfolk as they come and go to Kentucky or to "old Virginny" (the Tidewater).

"Brownsburgh" often appears in John's diary as a source of national news. He sends his son Tom to "Brownsburgh" every Saturday for the papers so that he may keep up with the grave news of the War of 1812, which he scathingly calls "Madison's War."

On Sunday, Septeuber 26, 1813, he writes: "John Walker and John McClure came there [church] before sermon on their way to camp [both sick with the fever] and gave an account that when they left Capt. Stuart's company there were not more than 13 or 14 fit for duty out of seventy. A number had died, many sick. Sick indeed—their state is affecting, men called hundreds of miles from home to a sicklier climate to fight the British."

But there are happier notations: on 8 April 1813 he marries off daughter Betsey to neighbor John Stuart's son Hugh; then he superintends the molding of thousands of bricks for the young couple's new home (the Maxwelton of today).

John's final entry of 16 October 1813 concludes: "This day makes two years since I begun to keep some memorial as to the weather and some such things. How time doth passeth."

For the years between 1734 and 1814 the Walker family records provide glimpses of life important to the history of Brownsburg because the Walkers and their neighbors helped make Brownsburg the flourishing village it became in the early nineteenth century.

A Well-Preserved Village

Jen Wade Heffelfinger

Residents of Brownsburg are proud of the state and national recognition that has been given to their small Rockbridge County town as an excellent and well-preserved example of a typical early Valley of Virginia village. The entire town was placed on the state's Historic Landmark Register on February 20, 1973, and on the National Register of Historic Districts on July 2 of the same year. According to the Virginia Historical Landmarks Commission, "The village has changed very little in size and appearance since the late nineteenth century, and having been established in the eighteenth century, provides an excellent picture of a typical early Valley Village in a well-preserved state."

Legally established in 1793, Brownsburg was laid out on lands that belonged to Robert Wardlaw and Samuel McChesney and that lay along a main stage coach line. The town is believed to have been named for the Reverend John Brown, first pastor (1754–1795) of the nearby New Providence Presbyterian Church, which had been organized in 1746. The town never secured a church of its own because the New Providence Meeting

House, located two and a half miles to the north, was regarded as being in the vicinity of Brownsburg.

The town's original plat has been lost, but there are surviving indications that the new settlement was laid out on a simple grid made up of only a few streets and alleys. These included several parallel streets running north and south: Main Street (now Virginia Route 252), Back Street, which ran past the school site, and another which followed the small creek at the foot of the hill but which was never fully developed. These streets were intersected by four alleys, included Schoolhouse Alley and Stillhouse Alley, both self-explanatory names at the time they came into existence. In addition, the Fairfield Road (now Route 724) came in from the east and joined Main Street for a short distance before continuing westward. The fourth alley followed the line of the black cemetery east to Main Street.

During its early years Brownsburg flourished, and within five years it became one of the most important trade centers for Rockbridge and surrounding counties. By 1835, according to Morton's *Gazetteer,* the community "was a hub of activity containing about twenty houses, three stores, two shoe factories, three wheelwrights, two blacksmith shops, a tavern, a hatter, a tan yard, a saddlery, a cabinet maker, two tailors, a carpenter, a gristmill, and a mercantile flour mill." It then had a population of 120 persons, three of whom were physicians. Continuing to grow, the town had thirty dwellings by the late 1840s, and by 1851 it acquired the distinction of having a well-known classical school known as the Brownsburg Academy. Brownsburg also had a Savings Institute, a local organization chartered in 1854 and active until 1860.

The Diary of Henry B. Jones gives an interesting picture of the life of a Brownsburg farmer during the period of the village's greatest prosperity, but Jones was by no means the only successful farmer in the community. There were also merchants, teachers, doctors, ministers, and ordinary citizens who flourished and helped make Brownsburg a pleasant place in which to live. At the same time, the village was not without the usual human activities and crises: street fights, murders, political meetings, temperance society gatherings, fairs, and heated discussions on questions of the day.

Vital to Brownsburg's prosperity during the first half of the nineteenth century was its location on what was then the main stage route between Staunton and Lexington and points to the north and south of these two courthouse towns. The stage coach between Staunton and Lexington, which played so important a role in the transport system of the period, stopped in Brownsburg and changed horses there.

When the Valley Branch of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad was built several miles to the east of Brownsburg in the early 1880s, and when U.S.

11 also bypassed the town in the 1920s, the prosperity of the village slowly but steadily faded. The only notable manufacturing enterprise that established itself in Brownsburg during the late nineteenth century was the Wilburn Saddle Company, which made a saddle similar to that used by cavalry officers. For many years the Wilburn Saddle was made in Brownsburg and proved widely popular in the Valley of Virginia. But no other new businesses arrived, and the old services and enterprises continued to wane. At present Brownsburg has a branch of the Bank of Rockbridge, a post office, a telephone exchange that is part of Centel, and a middle school. There are no longer any stores or small service shops. Brownsburg's population in the mid-1980s is estimated at 80–85.

In spite of the commercial decline of the town, Brownsburg has kept most of its old houses which date mostly from the first half of the nineteenth century and in a few cases from the period 1870–1910. These houses play an important part in making Brownsburg and its environs the pleasant residential community it is today. The Virginia Landmarks Commission listed thirteen of Brownsburg's early houses as being of special interest and included among them the "blue shingle" house built of log and weather board, the home of a black wheelwright. Some of the other older houses have log cores, but most are built of brick and, according to the Landmarks Commission, are of "the unembellished Valley Federal style." Many of these houses still have their original floors and handsome, finely detailed woodwork. Some exteriors have been changed by the addition of porches and extra rooms, but interiors have usually been left unchanged.

Among the Brownsburg houses of historic interest are the following (the first name or names refer to the builder or early owners; the last name denotes the present owner or occupant):

Dudley-Shoultz—brick and clapboard.

Lavelle-Hyde-Swope—Built in 1820s. This house was bought during the 1920s by a Quaker, Mrs. Mary Morris, who held religious meetings in the basement where the Lavelles had kept a saloon. Mrs. Morris later opened a health clinic for the needy with the assistance of the local doctor and nurses. The small building in her yard was called "William Penn" and was used as a "hospital."

Withrow-Wade—c. 1817-brick.

Beard-Patterson-Bosworth—1819-brick.

Shaw-Ward-Heslip—early 1800s-brick. Street floor was originally a store. Has been partially demolished.

Trotter-Whipple-Driver—small brick building erected as the Trotter's guest house. The wood section added much later to serve as a store.

Lucas-Wade-S. Driver—originally one of the old log houses, but this portion has been demolished. The more recent weather board section now serves as an attractive post office heated by a fireplace.

Patterson-Ward—c. 1816-log core.

Withrow-Patterson-Anderson—called "Sleepy Hollow" and built of stone and brick. Has been renovated. Located on Route 724 East.

Patterson-Nye—1824-brick. Beautiful woodwork.

Trotter-Fixx-Driver—Large brick house that originally had large columned porches in front and back. Handsome woodwork. Has wide hall with two large rooms on one side of it. Located on Route 724 West.

A mile-long avenue of maple trees provides an attractive entrance to Brownsburg from the south. The trees were planted in the 1890s by the Mitchells who owned the old McChesney farm.

Brownsburg Schools

Mollie Sue Whipple

During the two hundred years of their history, Brownsburg schools have reflected the changes that have taken place in this Rockbridge County village. The early settlers in Brownsburg and its environs, filled with confidence in the rapid expansion of their community, quickly established a number of high quality private schools and began the process of providing educational facilities for this area.

The earliest school was organized in 1749, well before Brownsburg itself was established, by the Reverend John Brown of New Providence Church, on a site near Spotswood. Toward the end of the 1790s another private school was organized at "Bellevue" by the Reverend Samuel Brown (no relation to John Brown). "Bellevue" was a large brick house, now owned by the Moneymaker family and located about two miles west of Brownsburg. This school became a classical school and in 1850 evolved into a female seminary run by the Morrison family.

In 1823 the citizens of the area recognized the need for a school in Brownsburg that would provide primary education for the many children of the area. A school building was accordingly built near the intersection of Main Street and the Fairfield Road.

By 1849 there was strong public interest in establishing a high school for boys, and a number of members of the community formed a joint stock

company to raise the necessary funds. Stocks valued at twenty-five dollars each were sold to a large number of purchasers (including Timber Ridge Presbyterian Church, which bought one share, and the Lexington Presbytery, which bought twelve shares), and the sum of two thousand dollars was thus raised. On October 23, 1849, the committee in charge signed a contract with John and James Withrow to build a brick foundation and walls for a building at a cost of five hundred dollars. There is no record of the origin of the bricks, but it is likely that they were made on or near the intended site by slaves who were skilled brick makers. Abraham Supinger was to furnish all materials and labor for the carpentry work at a cost of $470. James F. Russell was to paint the building inside and out, on the understanding that the committee would furnish all materials, but Russell would do the work, provide his own board, and receive $30 for the job. Thus, a two-story brick building, 80 feet long and 30 feet wide, was to be built at a cost of a thousand dollars.

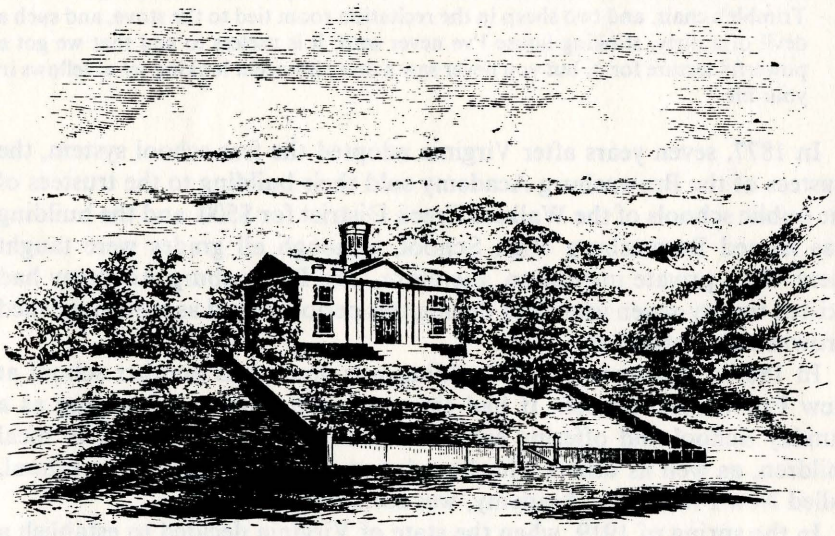
Land for the school building at the north end of Back Street had been bought in 1824 from John McBryde by the trustees of Brownsburg School: William W. Trimble, Henry B. Jones, William Withrow, James W. Gilkerson, and Andrew Patterson.

The new school, built in 1849–50, was called The Brownsburg Academy and was opened September 2, 1850, with the Reverend W. W. Trimble as principal. In 1853 the Reverend James Greer replaced Trimble as principal and sole teacher. The course of study included Latin, Greek, Mathematics, and Natural Philosophy, with due attention given to English, Spelling, Reading, and Composition, and was intended to qualify young men for an advanced placement in a good college or any of the practical pursuits of life. Terms were very reasonable. Pupils were boarded in the home of the principal, with relatives in the neighborhood, or in places approved by the principal. Board, including laundry, could be obtained in the homes of good families in the village and vicinity for $6 to $7.50 per month.

The large room on the second floor of the academy was used not only for classes but as a place to hold religious services, public meetings, and a "court of justice" for disciplinary matters. In 1851 the grounds of the Academy were enclosed by a fence and a cupola was added to the building, giving a finished appearance to the structure. In the cupola was an iron bell, cast in Richmond by John Taylor in 1800, that was used to call students to class and also on the occasion of public meetings.

Life at the Academy was vividly described in a letter written by the uncle of L. C. Lockridge of Raphine:

> I am very much pleased with my place of boarding. I couldn't have bettered myself within reach of the school. I find Major and Mrs. Brooks to be clever indeed, and Miss Harriet is a perfect angel. I can scarcely keep from falling in love with her, but



PRESBYTERIAL HIGH SCHOOL, BROWNSBURG, VA.

REV. JAMES GREER, A. M., Principal.

THIS institution is situated in Rockbridge County, Va., 22 miles from Staunton, and 13 from Lexington. Its location is in the midst of a beautiful and healthy region of country, and of a moral and intelligent community. There is belonging to the School, in addition to the new Academy Building represented above, a commodious Dwelling-house in the occupancy of the Principal, capable of accommodating a dozen boarders. Boarding may also be obtained in other respectable families in the village and neighborhood. The School is designed to prepare young men for College or the University, or for the active business of life. The Fall term commences on the 1st of September, and the Winter term on the 1st of February, and each continues five months, leaving one vacation, which comprises the months of July and August.

EXPENSES PER TERM OF FIVE MONTHS.

Boarding, washing, room furnished, light, and fuel,	$50 00
Tuition—In the Latin, Greek, and Higher Mathematics,	20 00
In the advanced classes in English, including Philosophy, &c.,	15 00
Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, and English Grammar,	12 50
Contingent Expense fund,	75

Board may be had a short distance in the country at $8 or $8½ per month.

Bills payable each term in advance.

TESTIMONIALS.

From the Rev. Wm. H. McGuffie, D. D., L. L. D., Prof. of Moral Philosophy in the University of Virginia.

UNIVERSITY OF VA., January 9th, 1855.

I have entire confidence in the Rev. J. GREER as a Disciplinarian and Instructor, and can cordially recommend his Academy to such as desire a safe, efficient, and well conducted School for their Sons or Wards. WM. H. McGUFFIE.

From B. R. Wellford, M. D., of Fredericksburg, now Professor in Richmond Medical College.

I have long been intimately acquainted with the Rev. JAMES GREER. Of his character as a man and his abilities as a teacher, I cannot speak more highly than they deserve—I have never known a man to whom I would sooner confide the education of a pupil. B. R. WELLFORD.

From the Rev. George Junkin, D. D., President of Washington College, Va.

Having attended the examinations of the HIGH SCHOOL at Brownsburg, I feel it simply due to the energetic, talented, and successful Principal, to testify to the strict accuracy and thoroughness of the mental drilling to which his pupils are subjected; and feel strongly confident in recommending this School to all parents as a sound and safe place of deposit for their most precious and invaluable treasures.

GEORGE JUNKIN.

you know that would not do, as it would interfere with my studies—but I swear I cannot help but love her a little anyhow.

He went on to add the following glimpse of a student prank at the Academy:

We had some fun the other morning at the Academy. When we went up there,

> behold there was an old ram tied to the bell rope, and another tied to Mr. Trimble's chair, and two sheep in the recitation room tied to the stove, and such a devil of a dirty, stinking house I've never seen; it is useless to add that we got a powerful lecture for it, but you never saw a more innocent looking set of fellows in your life.

In 1877, seven years after Virginia adopted the free school system, the trustees of the Brownsburg Academy sold their building to the trustees of the public schools of the Walkers Creek District for $500, and the building was named Brownsburg High School, although all grades were taught there. As a private institution, therefore, The Brownsburg Academy had existed twenty-seven years and during this period served as a distinguished Brownsburg institution.

In 1889 a four-room brick building was erected as another school at New Providence Church. It had the combined purpose of serving as a Sunday School and offering secular education during the week to local children, as well as others who boarded at nearby families. This school, called New Providence Academy, was torn down in 1923.

In the spring of 1919, when the state of Virginia decided to establish a vocational agricultural department in one school in Rockbridge County, there was fierce competition between Brownsburg and Fairfield, with Brownsburg emerging as the winner. The first class of about twenty boys in this new department was enrolled in September 1919, with R. P. Wall as instructor. The first shop was merely a small enclosed porch on the back of the high school, but Wall set out at once to raise funds for a new building for his department. By soliciting contributions from members of the community and lobbying district, county, and state authorities, Wall raised $10,000, and during the summer and fall of 1921 built a new stuccoed building behind the high school. Before being put into use, however, the new building was mysteriously burned down during the Christmas holidays. Undaunted by this disaster, Wall addressed the task of rebuilding and found a strong ally in Dr. Thomas D. Eason, state supervisor of Vocational Agriculture. Eason came from Richmond to Brownsburg to confer with Wall, and the boys in the Agricultural Department gave him a banquet, complete with a song sung in his honor. Eason was so taken by surprise that he responded by announcing a gift of $500 from the state for a new building. The boys then sang a second song and received another $500. This went on until Eason had pledged $2500—the sum needed to supplement the insurance payment, and Wall soon oversaw construction of a new stuccoed building.

Under Wall's direction the boys in the Agricultural Department organized and conducted the Brownsburg Community Agricultural Fair. After three successful years it became known as the Rockbridge County

Agricultural Fair, and the following year was moved to Lexington, where it was an annual event for many years. During the depression interest in agricultural classes declined because of the feeling on the part of many of the local boys that there was no future in farming. Agricultural classes were discontinued and the high school took over the stuccoed building for classrooms.

In 1935 the second floor of the high school (the old Academy) was declared unsafe and the building was condemned by the state. In 1938 a large new brick building was erected and dedicated in September 1938. The eighty-five-year old former Academy was torn down and its bell was hung on an iron frame erected on Main Street by the Boy Scouts and Brownsburg Ruritan Club. The stucco building, however, was retained as classroom space and a lunch room.

Shortly after the new high school building opened, interest in agricultural classes and shop courses again developed, and this need was met by moving in a two-room school building from the Bustleburg area. This wood building still stands near the school and, having been given a brick facing, is now used as a reading center.

The most recent important changes in Brownsburg's educational arrangements occurred in 1961, when high school classes were transferred to Rockbridge High School, and in 1975, when elementary grades were moved to Fairfield. At present the only school at Brownsburg is the middle school, housed in the former high school, which succeeded the still vividly recalled Brownsburg Academy that existed from 1850 to 1877.

PART ONE

First Years and First Families: Rockbridge County, 1735-1745

Laura Moore Stearns

IT is easy enough to locate a place, to tell where it is. Describing *what* it is, however, is a more subtle endeavor. The latter calls forth not only strong visual images, such as "heavily forested mountains" or "cleared farmlands," it also demands perception and appreciation for the character of local people and the mystique of their history. The Rockbridge Historical Society's 1980 program theme, "A Sense of Place," encourages this refined discernment.

The "place," of course, is Rockbridge County, Virginia, and any "sense" of it must begin with Scotch-Irish Presbyterians of the eighteenth century. During the decade from 1735 to 1745 hundreds upon hundreds of these immigrants homesteaded what is now the Rockbridge area and what was then an uninhabited Indian hunting ground.[1] Arriving in such impressive

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Laura Moore Stearns, whose father's family were among the county's pioneer settlers, had been instructor of history at Southern Seminary Junior College for ten years at the time she delivered her paper in the school's Main Ballroom on October 27, 1980.

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1. Indian settlements once existed in the Rockbridge area in earlier times, but all were gone by the eighteenth century. Although several tribes continued to regard these Central Valley hunting grounds as their territorial possessions, the immigrant white homesteaders viewed the land as empty, more ready for the taking even than

numbers within so short a time, and having no competition or influence from any permanently entrenched neighbors, these pioneers carved a frontier society singularly stamped with Scotch-Irish manners, morals, and beliefs. The Rockbridge area remained overwhelmingly Scotch-Irish and Presbyterian until well into the nineteenth century, and that character has persisted to such an extent that even in the twentieth century, Rockbridge has been called the "most distinctively Scotch-Irish county in America."[2]

Who were these Scotch-Irish pioneers who flooded the Rockbridge frontier? The hyphenated term is, in fact, somewhat misleading. To the uninitiated, it implies the offspring from marriages of distinct Scottish and Irish families. In actuality, however, "Scotch-Irish" refers only to the more recent American descendants of Scottish peasants who first migrated to Ulster, the northern province of Ireland, during the seventeenth century, and then to the New World in the eighteenth century.

These ancestors originally abandoned lives of poverty and insecurity in the Lowlands of Scotland when, beginning in 1610, they were lured to Ulster by attractively advertised land options. James I, the English king, hoping to subdue the "wild" Irish Catholics in his realm by colonizing substantial numbers of Protestants in Ireland, had offered land grants in Ulster to Scottish lords and English merchants. The grantees could lease parcels of the land for thirty-one years to colonists—a considerable improvement over the traditional Scottish one- two- or three-year feudal leases, and since at that time increasing numbers of Scottish peasants were falling from the status of tenant to that of hired labor, those with wit and ambition were quick to see the economic advantages of migrating to Ulster.[3]

As Presbyterians in that seventeenth century age of fierce religious intolerance, they mixed very little with the indigenous Catholic population

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were places with established Indian villages that had to be seized more brutally—a practice in which the whites were not reluctant to engage.

2. Weyland F. Dunaway, *The Scotch-Irish of Colonial Pennsylvania* (Chapel Hill, 1944), p. 105.

3. James G. Leyburn, *The Scotch-Irish: A Social History* (Chapel Hill, 1962), p. 101. Historians generally agree the term "peasant," used in the medieval European sense of that word, was not necessarily derogatory. The medieval peasant was simply a tiller of the soil who owed a part of his annual crop as well as other obligations to the lord or freeholder on whose land he labored. Naturally some of the peasant population, which comprised the vast majority of people in the Scottish Lowlands, were stupid, lazy, and coarse. But others were intelligent, hard working, and principled. Those who migrated must surely have been among the latter, for those were the ones with enough perception to pursue fresh opportunities.

in Ireland.[4] They married almost exclusively among themselves, or with other colonists of the British Puritan or French Hugenot persuasions, whose Calvinist backgrounds were compatible with Presbyterian Calvinism. The Scottish immigrants to Ulster thus maintained their distinctive Scottish Presbyterian faith. Neither by blood nor culture, then, were they truly Irish.

But after four generations in Ulster, the descendants of those original colonists were significantly different from their Scottish Lowland ancestors. Their Presbyterianism, constantly threatened by the ever-present fervor of the Irish Catholics, had grown more intense, more uncompromising, more severely disciplined. Most important, the men and women of eighteenth century Ulster were natives of Irish soil. For them Scotland had become but a faded folk memory. Ireland was where they were born; Ireland was the only home they knew; Ireland was where their parents and grandparents and great-grandparents had planted farms and mingled with English Puritans and French Hugenots to create a stock of people ethnically distinct from Scottish Lowlanders. Just as second- and third-generation immigrants to the United States think of themselves as Americans rather than Poles or Germans or whatever, so the eighteenth century Ulstermen regarded themselves as Irish rather than Scottish—or specifically as Irish Presbyterians to keep clear their select position among their Irish Catholic neighbors. When they removed to the New World, they did not object to being called Irish by American colonial officials.[5] In fact, the areas of Virginia, now Rockbridge and Augusta Counties, where so many of them settled in the 1730s and 1740s, were known in those days as the "Irish Tract."[6]

The term Scotch-Irish was coined in America much later, and it does not appear to have been used with any frequency until after the middle of the nineteenth century. It may have been adopted in response to the enormous influx of Irish Catholic immigrants during the 1840s and 1850s. Great prejudice existed against these proverty stricken newcomers to nineteenth-century America, largely because they were an unfamiliar Catholic minority in a predominantly Protestant country. A Colonel Christian, for example, in an 1859 address on the Scotch-Irish to Washington College alumni, most carefully emphasized that Scotch-Irish was *not*

4. Ibid., p. 139. This religious exclusiveness by both Presbyterians in Ulster and Catholics in the rest of Ireland partly explains why Ireland continues to be racked by conflict today.

5. Ibid., pp. 141-44.

6. Ibid., p. 205.

an amalgam of both Scotch and Irish families; that being Scotch-Irish simply meant one's Presbyterian family had in the distant past moved from Scotland to live in northern Ireland before coming to America, and that Scotch-Irish virtues stood well above the "rude breeding" of Catholic Irishmen.[7]

The Irish Presbyterians, whose American posterity would call themselves Scotch-Irish, began arriving in the New World in huge numbers after 1717. By some estimates, as many as 200,000, or possibly even 250,000, of them had settled on the American frontier by the time of the Revolution.[8] They were driven from northern Ireland to America for much the same reasons their ancestors had migrated from Scotland to Ulster one hundred years earlier—the hope for economic improvement. Prosperity had declined in Ulster due to British restrictions on the linen and woolen trades. Also, the insidious practice of "rack-renting"—the doubling of a tenant's rent when his original lease ended—was on the rise, and many were being evicted from their farms. These problems were compounded by a series of droughts, hard winters, livestock diseases, famines, and outbreaks of smallpox in Ireland during the eighteenth century. Furthermore, being forced to tithe to the Church of England was a bitter burden, both economic and religious, and Irish Presbyterians deeply resented this intrusion on the practice of their faith.[9] Such conditions in Ulster, combined with widespread propaganda about the wealth of America and the success of earlier colonists, provided the impetus for migration. As one observer put it, in America they expected to enjoy "a free conscience and a full stomach."[10]

Getting to the New World, however, was no easy matter. The journey across the Atlantic in small ships was an exercise in misery for most, and it was expensive. Unless one was a convict or other undesirable whom the authorities were anxious to deport to the colonies, the emigrant had to arrange to pay for passage. Some Irish Presbyterians did come as convicts, though were not necessarily murderers or other "hard-core" criminal types. In that unenlightened age, they more often were simply unfortunate debtors with no means to discharge their obligations.

A more frequent method of getting to the New World was to indenture one's self—that is, find a patron who would pay the passage in return for a

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7. Bolivar Christian, "The Scotch-Irish Settlers in the Valley of Virginia," *Washington and Lee University Historical Papers,* No. 3 (Baltimore, 1892), pp. 3-4.

8. Dunaway, *Scotch-Irish of Colonial Pennsylvania,* pp. 33-40; Leyburn, *Scotch-Irish,* p. 157.

9. Leyburn, *Scotch-Irish,* pp. 163-65.

10. R. J. Dickson, *Ulster Emigration to Colonial America, 1718-1775* (London, 1966), p. 1.

number of years service in America. This ingenious arrangement bore no stigma and provided a grand opportunity for the less affluent to better themselves. Thousands upon thousands of Irish Presbyterians came to America as indentured servants. In fact, according to one source, "only one in ten could pay his own passage."[11]

Of most interest were those Irish Presbyterians who did pay their own passage, for importing one's self to America took considerable resources. First, there was the cost of transportation on the ship, then enough money must be left over to buy land, tools, seeds, and the other necessities for homesteading in the New World. This cost perhaps £10 or more (about $30 to $35 in American currency of the times). Though a small amount by twentieth-century standards, this represented a whole year's wages for an eighteenth-century Ulster laborer.

Yet, despite the economic distress prevailing in Ulster, a respectable number of Irish Presbyterians were able to afford their own passage to America.[13] Every early county where they settled kept records of these more prosperous immigrants. John McDowell, who came to Rockbridge (still a part of Orange County at the time) and who rose to prominence in this area, was one example. The Orange County Court of 1739 recorded that McDowell gave proof of having imported at his own expense not only his wife and family, but also a servant (perhaps indentured).[14]

There are no figures to indicate how many among Rockbridge's earliest settlers may also have had servants; probably McDowell was in the minority, though evidence does exist of others.[15] In any case, when the Rockbridge area was settled during the 1730s and 1740s, Irish Presbyterians of more substantial means had begun migrating to America, and undoubtedly many of Rockbridge's original homesteaders had imported at least themselves.[16]

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11. Quoted in Leyburn, *Scotch-Irish,* p. 174.

12. Dickson, *Ulster Emigration,* p. 87.

13. Leyburn, *Scotch-Irish,* p. 142.

14. Joseph A. Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County, Virginia, from 1726 to 1871,* 2d ed., revised and enlarged (Staunton, Va., 1902), p. 37.

15. Lyman Chalkley, *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia, Extracted from the Original Court Records of Augusta County, 1745-1800,* 3 vols. (Rosslyn, Va., 1912), 1: 305.

16. Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County,* pp. 38-39, 258; W. W. Scott, *A History of Orange County, Virginia* (Richmond, 1907), pp. 225-29. All records concerning the inhabitants of what is now Rockbridge County were kept in the Orange County courthouse until 1745, and then in the Augusta courthouse until 1778, when Rockbridge was at last set off as a separate county. In their listings of those who had proved to have imported themselves, both Waddell and Scott were working from the

Having paid their own passages to America, notwithstanding, these Irish Presbyterian families were not "well-born"—at least not in the sense of having aristocratic ancestry. Indeed, for sound reasons, those born into securely privileged positions seldom migrate, and certainly not if a change of location is likely to reduce rather than enhance their status. This was the case when Scots first left the Lowlands for northern Ireland. Those going were from the struggling classes who hoped the longer land leases offered in Ulster would permit them a more stable livelihood. Scottish noblemen were not among them. It defies logic to think that a great, or even a lesser, lord would have abandoned his own lands and privileges to assume the rank of a tenant in Ulster. It is most unlikely, therefore, to find any noblemen perched among the branches of any Scotch-Irish family tree.[17]

If one seeks upper class ancestors, however, it may be possible some Scotch-Irish are descended from the Scottish gentry. This very small class of people, though lacking aristocratic titles, did hold their own lands, sometimes large tracts, which they rented to tenants on much the same basis as the lords. Conceivably, some of these may have migrated to Ulster, and later to America, if they could obtain land grants substantially more than what they already possessed. But again, this was a class sufficiently secure and privileged that not many were likely to find the risks and rigors of colonization enticing.

By and large, then, the Irish Presbyterians who migrated to America were descendants of the tenant classes of the Scottish Lowlands and had been tenants themselves in Ulster. Though many had become prosperous in Ireland, they generally were not among the property owning upper classes of feudal Europe. Surely one of eighteenth-century America's greatest attractions, even for the most well-off of Ulster tenants, was the ready opportunity to acquire land of one's own.

This is precisely what the frontier region of present day Rockbridge had to offer in the 1730s. Word was spreading about rich land available for homesteads, due partly to the advertising efforts of Benjamin Borden, a land speculator from New Jersey, who had moved into the northern section of the Virginia Valley. In 1735 Borden was promised a grant of one hundred thousand acres, located in what is now Rockbridge County, if he

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Orange and Augusta records, and so they made no distinction as to which among these many early settlers lived in the Rockbridge area specifically. Without further research, therefore, it is impossible to ascertain any precise number of those in Rockbridge who had paid their own passage to America.

17. Leyburn, *Scotch-Irish,* pp. xiv, 16.

could settle one family in the area for each one thousand acres within two years, a time limit later extended.[18]

Borden was not alone in this kind of enterprise. William Beverley had received an even larger grant just to the north of Borden's in present-day Augusta County. Since official government policy of colonial Virginia stressed populating the frontier, Beverley's terms were similar—to settle a specific number of families within a two-year period. These two entrepreneurs industriously circulated information in both America and northern Ireland about their lands, and Beverley's grant was filling rapidly with Irish Presbyterians. Shortly they would spill south into Borden's tract.[19]

Some came directly from northern Ireland, passing through Pennsylvania, which had long been the favored point of entry for most Irish Presbyterians because of that colony's liberality in religious toleration.[20] The newcomers, finding the best lands in Pennsylvania either too costly or already taken by their predecessors, pressed on to the Central Valley of Virginia where acreage was still plentiful and inexpensive.[21] Other early settlers on Borden's land (most likely the majority) had been living for a while, or had even been born, in Pennsylvania. But after two decades of heavy Irish Presbyterian migration into Pennsylvania's back country, many had grown dissatisfied with the "crowded" conditions, and the ambitious or restless among them sought wider spaces on the Virginia frontier.[22] A very few others came from New Jersey or from east of the Blue Ridge.[23]

In all probability, these Irish Presbyterian hordes would have descended upon the Rockbridge region without any inducement from Borden. Two historians, in fact, have viewed the supposed benefits of Borden's grant with skepticism. According to both, individual settlers could just as easily have purchased this land directly from the colonial government, thereby avoiding the legal tangles which so often followed the purchase of a title from Borden himself.[24] Thus, Borden's services as proprietor were not

18. E. Pendleton Tompkins, "Borden's Grant," *Proceedings of the Rockbridge Historical Society* 1 (1941): 14.

19. William Couper, *History of the Shenandoah Valley,* 3 vols. (New York, 1952), 1: 272–79.

20. Pennsylvania had no established church, while many of the other colonies did. In most New England colonies, for example, the Puritan faith was established, and in the southern colonies Anglicans had established the Church of England.

21. Dunaway, *Scotch-Irish of Colonial Pennsylvania,* p. 103.

22. Ibid., p. 105; Leyburn, *Scotch-Irish,* p. 206.

23. Couper, *History of the Shenandoah Valley,* 1: 265, 293.

24. Ibid., 1: 306; Oren F. Morton, *A History of Rockbridge County, Virginia* (Staunton, 1920), p. 32. Borden kept poor records, and there was strong feeling among many of the settlers who acquired their titles from him that he had not dealt

absolutely necessary to settle the area, and since he was promised his grant at the precise moment when the cutting edge of the Irish Presbyterian southward migration into the Valley of Virginia had advanced to the Rockbridge area, most certainly settlers would have flowed onto the land without Borden's advertisement.[25]

John Peter Sallings, for instance, who had explored the region during the 1720s, homesteaded near Balcony Falls to the south of Borden's grant around 1732—three years prior to Borden's first agreement with the government to recruit settlers.[26] No doubt there were others as early deed books show patents to smaller amounts of land outside Borden's great tract. The first was recorded in 1740.[27] Some of these could have preceded the settlers Borden collected, as did Sallings, for usually a homesteader actually lived on his land a number of years before receiving a title, and Borden brought no settlers until late in the year 1737 and gave no titles until 1741. It is impossible, therefore, to draw up any definitive list of families who may have been the first to live within the present day bounds of Rockbridge County until more research is done on the early settlers outside Borden's tract. Certainly evidence indicates the settlement of the grant was not the only facet of pioneer Rockbridge history.

Settlement of the grant, however, has been more thoroughly researched. Indeed, it rightly should be the primary focus of any early Rockbridge history, for the great bulk of the pioneer population homesteaded on this tract, and these settlers were the Irish Presbyterians who so powerfully molded the region's subsequent character.

But again there are obstacles to compiling any accurate list of which families appeared earliest, although common concensus holds that John McDowell, his father, Ephraim, and his sister and brother-in-law, Mary and James Greenlee, were the first. In September of 1737, they were traveling to Beverley's grant, planning to make their homes there, and the story of how Borden accidently stumbled into their camp while in the area searching for his own land is so well known, it hardly bears retelling. McDowell, of course, was a surveyor and agreed to locate Borden's tract in

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fairly with them. The litigation over his estate after his death lasted 150 years, and it is well documented by Couper and Morton, as well as by Waddell, Chalkey, and numerous others.

25. Couper, *History of the Shenandoah Valley,* 1: 279. Couper notes, however, that government officials of colonial virginia believed the promise of a large grant to a private individual on condition settlers be brought in provided the surest incentive for populating the frontier, and this was why the granting of such large tracts of land to men like Borden and Beverley was common practice.

26. Morton, *History of Rockbridge County,* pp. 19–20.

27. Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County,* p. 41.

return for one thousand acres. Mrs. Greenlee testified to this in 1806 when giving her famous deposition in one of the innumerable suits brought against the Borden estate. Her mind was perfectly clear, despite her very advanced age, and her detailed eyewitness account of the earliest years of settlement deserves being called the "Cornerstone of Rockbridge History."[28]

Such a unique tale from so valuable a document may perhaps be the reason McDowell's little group has been so generally accepted as the original grant settlers. But it is possible the McDowells and Greenlees were not really "first" in time; they may simply have been the first to contract a formal arrangement with Borden.

It would not be unreasonable to assume that some families had already moved onto Borden's future land prior to his appearance in 1737. As noted, there probably were settlers in other parts of Rockbridge before Borden's arrival, and since no boundaries were drawn as yet, why not a few also on the acres which would someday belong to the proprietor? This was certainly the case when William Beverley received his grant just north of Borden's, and Greenlee stated in her deposition that a number of people did settle without first talking with "old Borden."[29] When Borden finally issued titles after his grant was confirmed in 1739, perhaps a few of the recipients had been such pre-Borden "squatters." Borden no doubt would have been pleased to do business with them, for their existence would surely have been to his advantage in accumulating the one hundred families he needed to earn the one hundred thousand acres.

Even after Borden arrived and contracted his initial agreement with McDowell, the settlers who followed by no means entered the grant in a systematic single file. They came in groups, haphazardly and probably in large numbers at a time—more like an invasion than by any orderly procedure. Since Borden's final patent gave him 92,100 acres—1,000 for each family settled—the government "processioner" must have counted ninety-two families a mere one year later in the fall of 1738 when it was time to judge whether or not Borden had sufficiently fulfilled the terms to receive the grant.[30]

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28. Tompkins, "Borden's Grant," 1: 15. The deposition is printed in full in Couper, *History of the Shenandoah Valley,* 1: 274–79.

29. Joseph A. Waddell, "Scotch-Irish of the Valley of Virginia," in *The Scotch-Irish in America,* Proceedings and Addresses of the Seventh Congress at Lexington, Virginia, June 20–23, 1895 (Nashville, Tenn., 1895), p. 82; Couper, *History of the Shenandoah Valley,* 1: 269, 278.

30. Morton, *History of Rockbridge County,* p. 27; Couper, *History of the Shenandoah Valley,* 1: 294; F. B. Kegley, *Kegley's Virginia Frontier* (Roanoke, Va., 1938), pp. 38–39.

One would naturally expect these ninety-two families to have been the first settled on the tract, but in the absence of the processioner's list, there is no way to determine whom he counted. Moreover, it was possible that either more or less than ninety-two families existed. Mrs. Greenlee, in her deposition, told a story about how the servant girl of a James Bell trotted from one cabin to another, giving the processioner a different name at each, and thus was counted perhaps five or six times. Greenlee also indicated that gossip abounded about others who were counted several times in the same way.[31]

This tale appears to have been authentic, for the Augusta County Court Records of 1751 show that Benjamin Borden, Jr., during a suit for several deeds against his late father's estate, referred specifically to the case of the servant girl, as well as to another instance in which the wife of a settler performed the same trick of going to another cabin ahead of the processioner and presenting herself as the wife of a different settler.[32]

On the other hand, the junior Borden later claimed the number of families was 145.[33] This, too, could have been so, because settlers continued to "squat" on the land without making purchase arrangements, probably expecting eventually to receive Borden's usual "cabin right," which was one hundred acres with the privilege of buying additional land in return for building a cabin and planting crops.[34] Very likely some did receive titles later. Did the processioner search for any of these squatters? Or did he seek out only those with whom Borden had a formal arrangement? Perhaps he simply travelled through the grant at random, counting those whom he found by happenstance or by word of mouth, thus remaining ignorant of some families who had moved into this wilderness area. In any case, the grant was based on a tally of ninety-two.

Yet a list of the earliest titles conveyed by Borden between 1741 and his death in 1742 included only fifty families.[35] Mrs. Greenlee believed these first deeds were given for the "cabin rights."[36] If one could know how many settlers the processioner really did count more than once, the total might come closer to his ninety-two. However, any precise one for one connection between the names on the list and the identity of the actual first settlers remains speculative. The first of the titles was not issued until fall,

31. Couper, *History of the Shenandoah Valley,* 1: 275.
32. Chalkley, *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia,* 1: 305.
33. Couper, *History of the Shenandoah Valley,* 1: 294.
34. Ibid., 1: 278.
35. A list and an analysis of these is appended.
36. Couper, *History of the Shenandoah Valley,* 1: 278.

1741—three years after the processioner's count. Any of the persons on the list could have arrived since that 1738 tally, and therefore would not have been among those who were chronologically first.

To add confusion to the matter, the settlers started buying and selling land among themselves before titles were given.[37] Under the circumstances, it is quite possible some settlers who finally did have a deed recorded may have purchased the "cabin right" from a more restless pioneer who had moved on.

Furthermore, the recording of deeds was sometimes delayed for many years beyond the physical act of settling. Witness the case of John McDowell, who was certainly the first to make a formal contract with Borden. McDowell's lands were not legally titled until 1755, and then to his son years after the father's untimely death in an Indian skirmish of 1742. The Greenlees, too, did not receive a title until 1747.[38] Cunninghams, McKees, Hamiltons, Gilmores, Logans, and Irvins, among others, were reputed to have settled around Kerrs Creek perhaps as early as 1736, but none by these names were titled until after Borden's death.[39]

Then there were those among the earliest settlers, like Andrew Moor (Moore), who failed to receive titles because of legal problems. In 1750 Moor alleged he had bought seven hundred acres of Borden's tract in 1738, but that Borden had surveyed it to William Evans and George Henderson.[40] Another litigant was the same James Bell whose servant the processioner had unwittingly counted so many times. Bell filed suit against the Borden estate in 1751, claiming he had entered one hundred acres prior to 1738, but had failed to receive a deed. In this same suit, Bell mentioned sixteen other men who also had each entered one hundred acres with Borden on February 21, 1738, but who, like Bell, still had been given no deeds.[41]

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37. Kegley, *Kegley's Virginia Frontier,* p. 58; Leyburn, *Scotch-Irish,* p. 205; Morton, *History of Rockbridge County,* p. 28.

38. Morton, "Conveyances in Borden Tract, 1741-1780," in *History of Rockbridge County,* pp. 345, 348.

39. Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County,* p. 170; Morton, *History of Rockbridge County,* pp. 343-50. The first title to a Cunningham (1748) appears on p. 344, the first to a McKee (1757) on p. 348, the first to a Hamilton (1751), on p. 343, the first to a Gilmore (Gilmer) (1748) on p. 345, the first to a Logan (1753), on p. 346, and the first to an Irvin (Erwin) (1748) on p. 345.

40. Chalkley, *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia,* 1: 303.

41. Ibid., p. 305. The names were: Alex. Breckinridge, George, James, Robert and Adam Breckenridge, John Moore, Quantin Moore, George Henderson, Thomas Armstrong, John Bell, John Walters, William McCanless, Robert Poage, Seth Poage, Daniel McAnaire, and John Grove. However, John Moore, George Henderson,

Obviously early settlement in the grant did not guarantee receiving one of the first titles, and in the absence of any incontestable written documents to prove who really was settled in the fall of 1738 when the processioner arrived to count heads, it is impossible to produce any complete list of those who did establish the very first "cabin rights" on Borden's grant.

Unless one is pursuing some very specific geneological quest, the issue is perhaps not so important. Certainly the Irish Presbyterian population continued to swell dramatically after the processioner's 1738 count of the questionable ninety-two original families. Some of the newer-comers may well have been among the fortunate recipients of the first titles issued by Borden between 1741 and 1743. But some of the later-comers, such as Archibald Alexander (1747) and John Bowyer (1753), had more influence on the developing community.[42]

Rather than quibble about who was "first," a better question to ask is what traits allowed these former Ulster tenants, now pioneers in the Virginia wilderness, to endure. Aristocrats they were not. But then the well-born have often been feeble frontiersmen, while these descendants of Scottish peasants possessed a heritage of withstanding adverse circumstances. Their traditional tenaciousness in surviving the grimmest conditions had been accentuated by their century of colonial experience among the enemy Irish Catholics in Ulster. Just as their grandparents and great-grandparents had once intruded upon and dominated the Catholics of northern Ireland, so now these Ulstermen were prepared to push aside the heathen Indians of the Virginia frontier.[43]

During the first year they must have followed the Indian example of eating the area's abundant fresh game, but they quickly planted grain seed as the first step towards taming the Rockbridge wilderness. Shortly these crops, especially wheat, became the staple of their diet.[44]

Second only to the need for full stomachs, their lives centered on their passionate Presbyterianism. One of their very first community acts was to petition William Gooch, governor of Virginia colony, for the right to establish congregations for worship. This was May 1738—not so long since John McDowell had first met Borden and several months before the

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William McCanless, and Robert Poage were listed among those who received the earliest deeds; perhaps their hundred acres each referred to in this suit were lands other than their original "cabin rights." Also see Kegley, *Kegley's Virginia Frontier,* p. 43.

42. Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County,* pp. 122, 180.

43. Morton, *History of Rockbridge County,* p. 23.

44. E. Pendleton Tompkins, *Rockbridge County, Virginia: An Informal History* (Richmond, 1952), pp. 60–61.

government processioner would arrive to count heads.[45]

Religious services on the Sabbath were an all-day affair beginning at ten in the morning and continuing to sunset. The settlers gathered to hear two lengthy sermons, completely unadorned and unbroken by any ritual, with a pause only for lunch. The mood of this meal was somber—even the children played no games and made no noise. It was not a picnic.[46] The worshipers held absolute beliefs about right and wrong, convinced as they were that the Presbyterian way was the only way to salvation. Principles were never compromised. They esteemed strong discipline and, like cabin building, barn raising, and tree felling, the enforcing of morals was community business. Standards were strict—dancing, for example, was viewed with suspicion in the earliest days—and transgressors were publicly admonished by the Presbyterian session.

A lighter side to Rockbridge life developed as time passed, especially on court days and at wedding feasts, but the modern mind invariably pictures a stern, dour people—stubborn, narrow-minded, intolerant, even cantankerous. Perhaps such traits were an asset in the wilderness. Levity and amusement had little value when so much hard work was vital for survival. Frontier Presbyterianism was not an easy faith, but then neither was frontier life an easy one.

No towns, church buildings, or school existed. There was no law enforcement aside from community pressure. No court held session, except in Orange County far to the east over the Blue Ridge. Augusta County, which included present day Rockbridge, was set off in November 1738, but the court was not organized to do business until 1745. Settlers were forced to travel almost one hundred miles across the mountains to attend to any matters requiring legal records—including the performance of marriage ceremonies.[47] Surely this must have been an onerous journey, for there were no roads and horseback was the only means of transportation. In fact, the earliest settlers on the Rockbridge frontier arrived with all their belongings on pack horses, and it would be some years before any kind of wheeled vehicles could be used.[48] The first shelters consisted of lean-to camps, followed by simple, small log houses. Furniture was scanty and crude.[49] And there was the constant menace of wolves, cougars, and Indians.[50]

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45. Ibid., p. 73.
46. Ibid., p. 39; Leyburn, *Scotch-Irish,* pp. 288–89.
47. Couper, *History of the Shenandoah Valley,* 1: 363.
48. Ibid., 1: 280.
49. Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County,* p. 44.
50. Tompkins, "Borden's Grant," p. 18.

Such rude conditions, however, did not discourage these tough, determined Irish Presbyterians. Within the single decade between 1735, when Borden was first promised the grant, and the establishment of the Augusta County court in 1745, they had succeeded in transforming the raw Rockbridge wilderness into an orderly, more civilized community. The population had grown well beyond the first ninety-two families counted by the processioner in 1738, and as noted, at least fifty settlers had received deeds to their lands. Four Presbyterian meeting houses had been organized (Timber Ridge, New Providence, Falling Spring, and Monmouth).[51] One, and perhaps two, grist mills had been constructed—Hays' Mill towards the northern part of Borden's tract and James Young's on Whistle Creek.[52] Though farming remained the primary occupation of virtually all, various tradesmen were practicing specialized skills: a blacksmith, a wheelwright, a wagon-maker, a joiner, among others. A start towards education, always a major Presbyterian concern, had been launched by bringing in indentured servants as schoolmasters.[53] An Augusta County military force of twelve companies with about fifty men each had come into existence. Captain John McDowell's company was composed of men from the southern part of Borden's grant, while those in the central and northern part served under captain John Buchanan.[54] The days of the pack horse were now numbered, for a petition had been approved and work begun to build a road from James Young's through Timber Ridge.[55]

Preposterous as it may seem, the settlers of Borden's tract had even voted to tax themselves. One attraction of the frontier was that the government exempted pioneers from taxation during the initial years of homesteading. But the settlers soon found the lack of public funds an inconvenience. Money was needed to construct roads, to pay bounties for killing the wolves which constantly threatened livestock, and to provide an eighteenth-century form of welfare for the poor, who apparently were present from the beginning.[56]

One of the more intriguing features of the Rockbridge frontier community was the rapid emergence of distinct social classes. Though they had shared a common background of tenacy in northern Ireland and had come to America to escape common economic troubles, the Irish Presbyterian

51. Ibid., p. 19.

52. Ibid., p. 20.

53. Tompkins, *Rockbridge County,* p. 66.

54. Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County,* p. 45; Couper, *History of the Shenandoah Valley,* 1: 309.

55. Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County,* p. 45.

56. Ibid., p. 43; Couper, *History of the Shenandoah Valley,* 1: 329.

migration was not tinged in any way with the crusading spirit of liberty and equality. To return to the point made earlier, they were Ulstermen and their loyalty was to the culture and traditions they had known in Ulster. They hoped to recreate familiar patterns in the wilderness, including strong patriarchial families, adherence without question to Presbyterian discipline, and respect for men of substantial means. Their impulses were conservative rather than liberal.

Naturally, during the initial days of settlement every family lived in the same crude, makeshift arrangements, but no one intended to maintain this primitive egalitarianism. Those who could acquired servants and hired help, and their situation improved. Within months the social distinctions of Ulster were manifest, with recognized leadership devolving on those making the most rapid material progress. On the Rockbridge frontier, as in old Ulster, such leadership was not distinguished by aristocratic titles or the feudal privileges of the land owning gentry. Yet even in the Virginia back country where so many could buy their own farms, all understood the lines drawn between the "good" families, the "middling" groups, and the "lower orders." In the absence of any traditional European marks of status, there arose on the frontier an unwritten code for judging the "better sorts." One's home must advance quickly from lean-to shack to small log cabin to some larger structure of finer quality. One's land and crops should be clean with additional acres cleared every year (a sign of industrious farming). One must acquire numerous cattle and other domestic animals, especially sheep, for the latter were hard to tend while their wool provided better quality clothing. One must keep a weed-free, well-cultivated garden. And one's wife and daughters, though laboring long unrequited hours with cooking and house cleaning and sewing, must never, never work in the fields.[57]

By fulfilling these criteria, a man presumably demonstrated his possession of the best hard-working, sober Presybterian qualities, and incidentally, such materially rewarded virtue was deemed a sign of having been blessed by God's grace along the single path to Presbyterian salvation. Any such man was surely deserving of the respect and deference due a superior.

Yet the realities of Rockbridge frontier life constituted a crucible for values. Space was a primary influence; the existence of vastly more unsettled regions always just a little farther to the west exerted a continual pull. Anyone, even the "better sorts," might be lured by this prospect of ever greater expanses of land, and those who were restless, adventurous, or unwilling to submit to established discipline and mores moved on. Some achieved distinction in other wilderness settings. Those who remained in

57. Leyburn, *Scotch-Irish,* pp. 257–63.

Rockbridge demonstrated their commitment to stability, the accepted community morals, and the emerging social order.

Thus it was that even as early as 1745, Rockbridge's particular character, which descendants of the early pioneers would call Scotch-Irish, had begun to take a defined shape. Those who supported the community structure being forged by the more rooted Irish Presbyterian settlers stayed, while those who did not left. So Rockbridge developed as an essentially conservative area, criss-crossed by a tightly knit network of Irish Presbyterian family relations in which Presbyterian discipline prevailed and special social dignity was accepted as a preordained reward for the virtuous.

This conservatism, which could so easily have become smug and complacent, was charged with an energy fostered by the freedom of movement possible in the spacious American wilderness. So rich were the fresh privileges of opportunity that the inherited privileges of mere birth could never entirely solidify. Each generation had to earn again its own right to status; each generation must renew its individual claim to respect through hard work and honorable accomplishment.

This had been the Irish Presbyterian experience when they had pioneered in Ulster, and this was a mark of Irish Presbyterian vigor on the Rockbridge frontier. The result was an emerging community in which one of the most cherished traditions was a family history of stable, steady achievement by each son and grandson and great-grandson. Through the on-going years, the Scotch-Irish descendants of those early settlers have come to consider this trans-generational sense of responsibility one of their finest qualities.

APPENDIX

Following is an alphabetical list of the earliest deeds conveyed in Benjamin Borden's grant through 1743, the year of the proprietor's death. The deeds are recorded in Orange County, as that is where all records concerning the Rockbridge area were kept until the organization of the Augusta County court in 1745. This list is extracted from Oren F. Morton, "Conveyances in Borden Tract, 1741–1780," *A History of Rockbridge County, Virginia* (Staunton, 1920), pp. 343–50. Morton presents in consecutive order the name of the purchaser (sometimes that of a spouse in parentheses), the number of acres, the price, the year of recording the deed, and the location if known. £, s, and d stand for pounds, shillings, and pence. If one wishes to figure the prices in American currency of the times, the

eighteenth century pound = $3.33, the shilling = 16 2/3 cents, the pence = 1 7/18 cents.

Morton gives no date beside four names, but these same four with a 1742 date do appear on a list of first Borden deeds in William Couper, *History of the Shenandoah Valley,* 3 vols. (New York, 1952), 296–99. Couper also notes that the original Isaac Taylor deed was conveyed to Isaac Taylor, Jr., in 1746. However, Couper does not include John Carr (Kerr) or William Finley who was most probably the William Fearnley on another list in Lyman Chalkley, *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia: Extracted from the Original Court Records of Augusta County, 1745–1800,* 3 vols. (Rosslyn, 1912), 524–25.

One of the difficulties in compiling names of the early Rockbridge settlers is that the eighteenth century recognized no standardized spellings, and often the same individual's name appears in different places spelled differently. For example, the Robert Heastane on Chalkley's list must surely have been Robert Houston. And it is reasonable to assume that Finley was Fearnley (Fernly) (Fernley) because Borden mentioned in his will a daughter, Mary, who was married to a William Fearnley, and the Finley on Morton's list, whose consort was Mary, seems to have purchased land which was unusual in its description as simply part of a larger tract. As son-in-law, perhaps he was planning to buy (or inherit) the rest of it.

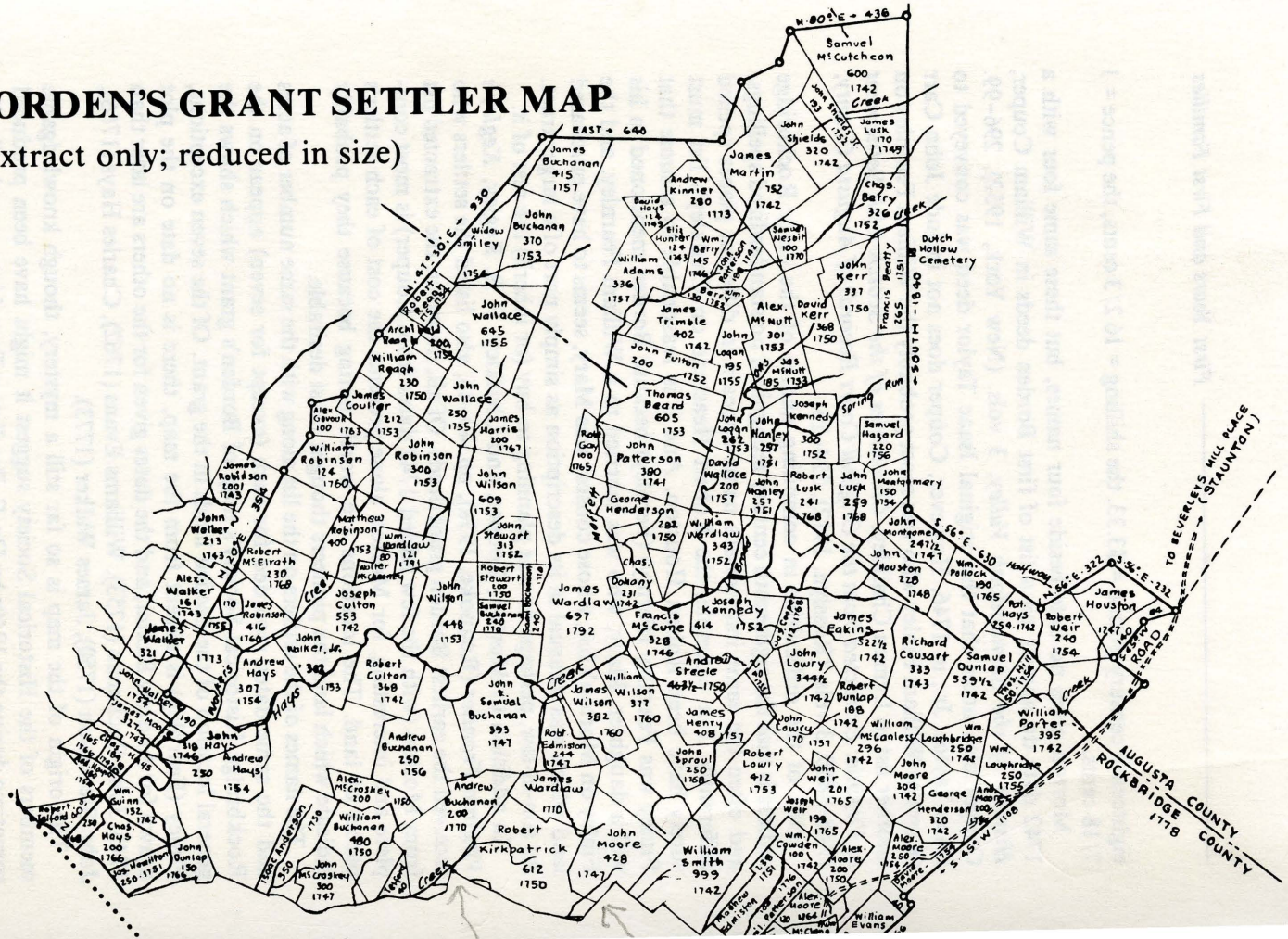
In addition to Morton, Couper, and Chalkley, F. B. Kegley, *Kegley's Virginia Frontier* (Roanoke, 1938), pp. 43–45, also listed the settlers who received the earliest Borden grant deeds. Of all, however, the extracted list from Morton (with the few added 1742 dates from Couper) is most complete and interesting, for Morton alone presents the cost of each settler's parcel of land. The locations are worth noting because they probably indicate which land the pioneers thought most desirable.

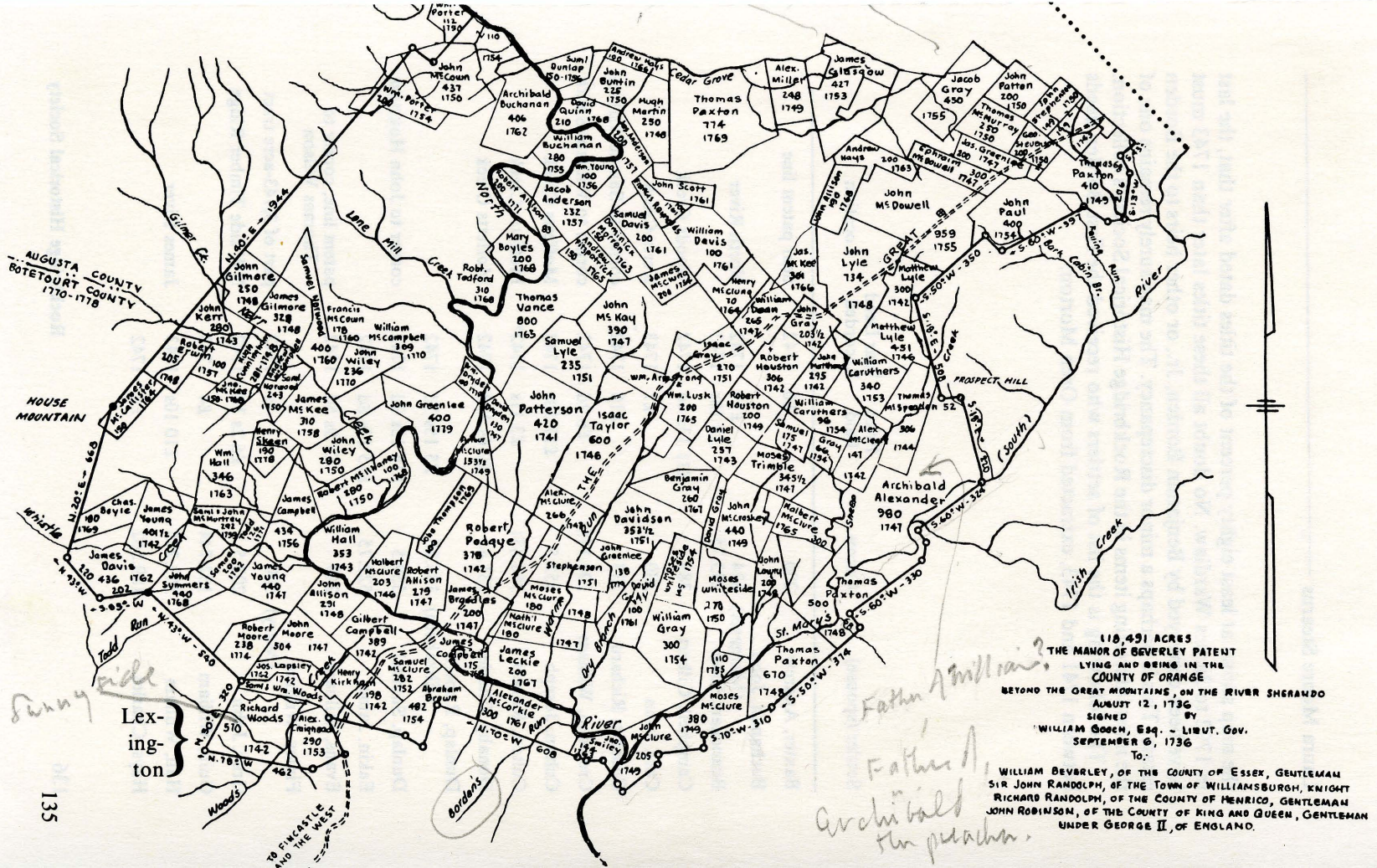
The names of the settlers on the list along with the same number of acres and the same dates recorded for each (except for seven) appear on the Rockbridge Historical Society's map of Borden's grant which shows the general location of the deeded lands in the grant. Of the seven exceptions, Finley (Fearnley) is absent from the map, there is no date on the plot drawn for Andrew Baxter, and the dates given for the others are later than 1743: John Buchanan (1753), Williams Evans (1762), Charles Hays (1766), John Stevenson (1750), James Walker (1773).

The origin of the map is so far still a mystery, though knowledgable members of the Historical Society suggest it might have been produced sometime during the 1940s by Dr. E. Pendleton Tompkins, once the Society's librarian and one of its most active early members. Whoever was the author, his claim that all the settlers on the map received their grants from Benjamin Borden, Sr., cannot be true. The elder Borden died in 1743, while

BORDEN'S GRANT SETTLER MAP

(Extract only; reduced in size)


N. 80½° E. - 436
Samuel McCutcheon 600 1742
Creek
EAST - 640
James Buchanan 415 1757
John Buchanan 370 1753
Widow Smiley
1754
N. 67° 30' E. - 930
Robert Reed 1754
John Wallace 645 1755
Archd. Reed 200 1755
William Keagh 230 1750
James Coulter 212 1753
John Wallace 250 1755
James Harris 100 1767
John Robinson 306 1753
William Robinson 124 1760
James Robinson 200 1743
John Wilson 609 1753
John Stewart 313 1762
Robert Stewart 100 1750
Samuel Buchanan 240 1770
John Wilson 448 1753
John Walker 213 1743
Robert McElrath 230 1768
Alex. Walker 161 1743
James Robinson 416 1760
James Walker 321
1773
Matthew Robinson 400
Wm. Woodlaw 121 1774
Joseph Culton 553 1742
John Walker, Jr. 343 1793
Andrew Hays 307 1754
Robert Culton 368 1742
John Hays 318 1746
Andrew Hays 250 1754
Hays Creek
Wm. Quinn 152 1761
Chas. Hays 200 1766
John Dunlap 150 1766
Andrew Buchanan 250 1756
Alex. McCroskey 200 1750
William Buchanan 480 1750
John McCroskey 300 1747
Robert Anderson 350 1738
Andrew Buchanan 200 1770
Robert Kirkpatrick 612 1750
John & Samuel Buchanan 393 1747
James Wardlaw 1710
James Wilson 382 1760
James Wilson 377 1760
Robt. Edmiston 144 1741
John Moore 428 1747
William Smith 999 1742
James Buchanan 415 1757
James Martin 152 1742
Andrew Kinnier 280 1773
John Shields 320 1742
James Lusk 170 1749
Chas. Berry 326 1752
Creek
Dutch Hollow Cemetery
Francis Beatty 265 1751
SOUTH - 1840
John Kerr 337 1750
David Kerr 368 1750
Alex. McNutt 301 1753
John Logan 195 1755
Jas McNutt 185 1753
William Adams 336 1757
James Trimble 402 1742
John Fulton 200 1752
Thomas Beard 605 1753
John Patterson 380 1741
George Henderson 282 1750
Joseph Kennedy 300 1752
Spring Run
John Manley 297 1751
David Wallace 200 1757
John Manley 251 1761
Robert Lusk 241 1768
John Lusk 259 1768
John Montgomery 247½ 1747
Samuel Hazard 220 1756
William Wardlaw 343 1752
Chas. Doheny 231 1742
Francis McCune 328 1746
Joseph Kennedy 414 1752
James Eakins 522½ 1742
Andrew Steele 463½ 1750
John Lowry 344½ 1742
Robert Dunlap 188 1742
Richard Cousart 333 1743
Samuel Dunlap 359½ 1742
Robert Lowry 412 1753
John Lowry 110 1751
William McCanless 296 1742
John Weir 201 1765
Joseph Weir 199 1765
John Moore 304 1742
George Henderson 320 1742
Wm. Laughbridge 250 1742
Wm. Laughbridge 250 1755
William Porter 395 1742
Robert Weir 240 1754
James Houston 1742
John Houston 228 1748
Wm. Pollock 190 1765
Robt. Hays 259 1742
Wm. Crawford 1768
Wm. Crawford 1768
Wm. Crawford 1768


AUGUSTA COUNTY
BOTETOURT COUNTY
1770-1778
HOUSE MOUNTAIN
Gilmer Cr.
Lane Mill Creek
North
Todd Run
Whistle Creek
Lexington
Woods's
Borden's
Cedar Grove
Thomas Paxton 774 1769
Archibald Buchanan 406 1762
William Buchanan 280 1755
Hugh Martin 250 1748
John Buntin 225 1750
Alex. Miller 248 1749
James Glasgow 427 1753
Jacob Gray 450 1755
John Patton 200 1750
Thomas McMurray 250 1750
Thomas Paxton 410 1749
John McDowell
John Paul 400 1754
John Lyle 134 1748
Matthew Lyle 451 1746
Matthew Lyle 300 1742
John Gray 203½ 1742
William Caruthers 340 1753
Thomas McSpadden 52
PROSPECT HILL
South Fork Cabin Br.
Irish Creek
Archibald Alexander 980 1747
Thomas Paxton 500 1748
Thomas Paxton 670 1748
St. Mary's
Moses Whiteside 270 1750
John Lowry 209 1748
John McCroskey 440 1749
Halbert McClure 300 1765
Benjamin Gray 260 1767
John Davidson 353½ 1751
Isaac Taylor 600 1746
John Patterson 420 1741
Samuel Lyle 235 1751
John McKay 390 1747
Thomas Vance 800 1765
Robert Poage 378 1742
James Bradles 200 1747
Stephenson 138 1751
John Greenlee 400 1779
James McKee 310 1758
John Wiley 280 1750
John Wiley 236 1770
William McCampbell 309 1770
Francis McCown 178 1760
Samuel Matthews 400 1760
John Gilmore 250 1748
James Gilmore 328 1748
John Kerr 280 1743
Robert Erwin 205 1748
James McCutchen 150 1748
Henry Sheen 190 1778
William Hall 346 1763
Chas. Boyle 180 1769
James Young 401½ 1742
James Davis 436 1762
John Symmers 440 1768
James Young 440 1741
James Campbell 434 1756
William Hall 353 1743
John Allison 251 1748
Robert Allison 279 1747
Halbert McClure 203 1746
Gilbert Campbell 389 1742
John Moore 304 1747
Robert Moore 238 1774
Jos. Lapsley 1742
Samuel McClure 282 1752
Henry Kirkpatrick 198 1742
Abraham Brown 482 1754
James Leckie 200 1767
Alexander McCorkle 300 1761
John McClure 380 1749
Richard Woods 510 1742
Alex. Creighead 290 1753
Samuel McClure 175 1747
Moses McClure 180 1748
Nath'l McClure 180 1747
Moses McClure 175 1747
Alex. McClure 147 1742
Gray 66 1754
Samuel 175 1747
Moses Trimble 345½ 1747
Robert Houston 306 1742
Robert Houston 200 1749
Daniel Lyle 257 1743
Isaac Gray 270 1751
Wm. Armstrong
Wm. Lusk 200 1765
John McClure 153½ 1749
Henry McClure 10 1764
William Dean 265 1747
Jas. McKee 361 1766
John McClure 110 1755
Moses McClure 380 1749
John McClure 205 1749
Alex. McClure 266 1749
Robert McClure 180 1748
Robert McClure 180 1747
Samuel McClure 175 1747
Robert McClure 180 1747
Samuel McClure 175 1747
Robert McClure 180 1747
Samuel McClure 175 1747

the map shows at least eighty percent of the titles dated after that, the last in 1792 to James Wardlaw. No doubt all these titles later than 1743 must have been conveyed by Benjamin Borden, Jr., or other heirs to the Borden estate. This is perhaps a minor discrepancy. The map surely remains one of the most interesting items in the Rockbridge Historical Society's collection.

The following is the list of settlers who received the first Borden deeds between 1741 and 1743, extracted from Oren Morton:

Settler (spouse)	# acres	Price Paid	Year Deed Recorded	Location
Baxter, Andrew	200	£6	1742	near patent line
Buchanan, John (Margaret)	634	£19	1742	North River
Buanchan, John	293.75	£8 18s	1743	
Campbell, Gilbert	389	£11 13s 4d	1742	Woods Creek
Carr, John	280	£7	1743	Kerrs Creek
Cousart, Richard	333	£10	1742	corner to Samuel Eakins
Crowden, William	200.175	£6 2d	1742	corner to William Smith
Culton, Joseph	553.5	£17 10s	1742	Moffetts Creek
Culton, Robert	368.831	£3 11s	1742*	Moffetts Creek
Donahy, Charles	231.45	£2 6s 11d	1742	Moffetts Creek
Dunlap, Robert (Elizabeth)	188.85	£5 15s 3d	1742	
Dunlap, Samuel	559.5	£16 15s 9d	1742	corner to John Houston
Eakin, James	522.75	£15 13s 8d	1742	
Evans, William	249	£7 9s 5d	1742	patent line, corner to Thomas Wilson
Finley, William (Mary)	500	5s	1742	part of 3,143-acre tract
Gray, John	203.5	£6 2s 1d	1742	NW side Timber Ridge
Guin, William	132.744	£4	1743	
Hall, William	353.275	£10 10s	1743	James River
Hays, Charles	189.562	£6	1742	

Settler (spouse)	# acres	Price Paid	Year Deed Recorded	Location
Hays, Patrick (Frank)	254	£7 12s 5d	1742	Beverly line
Henderson, George	320	£9 12s	1742*	
Houston, Robert	306.634	£9 3s 10d	1742	N side Timber Ridge
Hunter, Elizabeth	124	£3 14s 5d	1742	Moffetts Creek
Kirkham, Henry (Margaret)	198.456	£5 19s 4d	1742*	Woods Creek
Lapsley, Joseph	383	£10 2s 10d	1742	Woods Creek
Lockridge, William (Agnes)	265.444	£7 19s 4d	1742	
Lowry, John,	344.25	£10	1742	Moffetts Creek
Lyle, Daniel	257	£7 14s 6d	1743	corner to Robert Houston
Lyle, Matthew	300	£9	1742	SE side Timber Ridge
Martin, James	752	£22 11s 3d	1742	Moffetts Creek
Mathews, John	295.45	£8 18s 5d	1742*	near Timber Ridge, corner to John Gray
McCanless, William	296	£8 17s 6d	1742	corner to John Moore
McClary, Alexander	147.05	£1 8s 3d	1742	
McCutchen, Samuel (Frances)	600	£18	1742	Beverly line
Moore, James	327	£10	1743	Hays Creek
Moore, John	30.75§	£9 2s 5d	1743	
Patterson, John	380.125	£11 12s 6d	1741	Moffetts Creek
Patterson, John	420	£12 12s	1741	Mill Creek, adjoining Isaac Taylor, John Henderson, Israel Pickens, Robt. Poage
Poage, Robert	378	£11 10s	1742	Poage's Run
Porter, William	395.5	£12	1743	
Robinson, James (Hannah)	200	£8	1742	Hays Creek
Shields, John	320	£9 12s	1742	
Smith, William	999.619	£9	1742	
Stevenson, John	199.881	£6	1743	Falling Spring Branch
Taylor, Isaac, Jr.	600	£18	1746	Mill Creek, "by a scallopy hill"
Trimble, James	402	£12 1s 2d	1742	Hays Creek

Settler (spouse)	# acres	Price Paid	Year Deed Recorded	Location
Walker, Alexander	161	£4 16s 7d	1743	Hays Creek
Walker, James	321	£11 10s	1743	corner to Alex. Walker
Walker, John	213	£6 10s	1743	corner to James Walker
Woods, William	382	£11 9s 2d	1742	Woods Creek, cornering on patent line and Joseph Lapsley
Young, James (Sarah)	401.5	£12 10s	1742	Whistle Creek

* Data from Couper, *History of the Shenandoah Valley,* 1:296–99.

§ This is almost certainly wrong, possibly a misprint, for the early settlers received at least 100 acres for each "cabin right."

Aspects of Black Religious and Educational Development in Lexington, Virginia, 1840–1928

Theodore C. DeLaney, Jr.

WRITING in the *Negro History Bulletin* in 1939, Carter G. Woodson, a noted black educator, stated, "A definitive history of the Negro Church . . . would leave practically no phase of the history of the Negro in America untouched."[1] This quote provided great inspiration for me as I searched for a place to begin the task of compiling a history of black people in the Lexington area. The history which follows is by no means complete but represents a mere scratch of the surface.

The churches in Lexington which date from ante-bellum days all have histories which included attempts at slave evangelization. While such evan-

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1. Carter G. Woodson, "The Negro Church, an All-Comprehending Institution," *The Negro History Bulletin* 3 (October 1939): 7.

gelization seemed popular throughout the South, slaveholders alternated from support to nonsupport for these endeavors to bring the gospel to slaves. At times owners were uncomfortable with the idea of religious slaves. At other times owners felt more frightened of slaves who were not religious.

The period following the American Revolution marked a time when evangelists blanketed the South and pursued slaves as a source of new Christian converts. In Virginia, Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists each demonstrated concern for the slaves' souls. Slave Sunday schools and slave membership in white churches became fairly common during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[2]

The Sabbath School

A particularly religious man, Thomas J. (later General "Stonewall") Jackson worked hard to evangelize slaves of the Lexington area. Reorganizing Dr. William Henry Ruffner's Sabbath School for slaves in 1856, Jackson and other prominent white Presbyterians met on Sunday afternoons to teach the gospel to slaves. In spite of the famous Confederate general's role, detailed records of the Sunday school no longer exist. Except for Colonel J. T. L. Preston, Margaret Junkin Preston, and Anna Morrison Jackson, the names of the other Sunday school teachers have been lost.

Although this school has received considerable attention from historians because of Stonewall Jackson, slave Sunday schools existed in other areas of the South. Unfortunately, little is known about the school's impact on the slaves, or of the obviously dedicated teachers who helped to make it a success. Additionally, other area churches made similar efforts to evangelize slaves, but those efforts failed to receive the attention given to the Jackson Sunday School.

The earliest Presbyterian attempt to evangalize slaves in Virginia began in 1750 under the leadership of the Reverend Samuel Davies of Hanover County. "Since part of the Christian's duty was to read and understand the Bible, Davies devoted considerable time to the task of teaching the Negroes how to read."[3] Uninhibited by later laws which prohibited teaching slaves to read, Davies enjoyed a successful ministry.

An early example of local evangelization occurred in 1799, when the Lexington Presbytery admitted the Reverend John Chavis to its pulpit. A

2. Milton C. Sernett, *Black Religion and American Evangelism* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1975), pp. 30–45.

3. George William Pilcher, "Samuel Davies and the Instruction of Negroes in Virginia," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 74 (July 1966): 294.

North Carolina free black, he had been called as a missionary to local blacks. The Presbyterian church required a well-educated clergy, and Chavis had studied at both Princeton University and Washington College.[4]

Ollinger Crenshaw also cited other early attempts to evangelize local slaves. He noted that John Erskine, a black preacher, appeared in the pulpit of Lexington Presbyterian Church in 1819, and that black and white children attended a local school together in the 1820s.[5] Baptism of slaves at Lexington's Grace Episcopal Church (later Robert E. Lee Memorial Episcopal Church) appears in church records as beginning in 1843. The list of communicants for April 1, 1852, included the name Susan, "a colored woman." These same records list black baptisms, confirmations, recipients of Holy Communion, and burials.[6]

Dr. William Henry Ruffner and the Reverend Tucker Lacy established the original Sabbath School for Slaves at Lexington Presbyterian Church in 1845. It served about one hundred pupils. Ruffner, a stalwart clergyman and president of Washington College, preferred evangelization of slaves to American missionary efforts abroad. After he left the area in 1848, his Sabbath school languished until reestablished by the pragmatic Thomas J. Jackson in 1856.[7]

In the formative stages of the Jackson school, Major Jackson visited all of the principal slaveholders and encouraged them to send their servants to the school. He then approached the more influential slaves and invited them to come to the school or to send their children. At the actual organizational meeting, Jackson informed the slaves that he had spoken to their owners, and the owners approved his plan. He admonished them to attend regularly, though he explained that the owners would not make attendance mandatory.[8] In order to insure good attendance, Jackson often visited the owners of regulars who had been absent to make inquiries. In addition he had slips printed with the names of each pupil on which he made out monthly reports. The reports mainly served to reinforce the slaves' attendance.[9]

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4. G. C. Shaw, *John Chavis, 1763-1838* (Binghampton, N.Y.: Vail-Ballou Press, 1931), pp. 16, 26.

5. Ollinger Crenshaw, *General Lee's College* (New York: Random House, 1969), p. 76.

6. Records of the Robert E. Lee Memorial Episcopal Church, Lexington, Va.

7. Joseph B. Earnest, Jr., *The Religious Development of the Negro in Virginia* (Charlottesville, Va.: Michie Company, 1914).

8. Margaret Junkin Preston, "The General's Colored Sunday School," *Sunday School Times,* September 3, 1887.

9. Ibid., p. 3.

Sabbath school sessions began promptly at three o'clock with Jackson saying the opening prayer. Usually, more than a dozen young white teachers were present for the opening prayer, but attendance of students and teachers both seemed to vary.[10] A strongly worded newspaper article indicated the attendance problem and Jackson's disfavor for voluntary attendance.

> To us it seems natural that everyone should wish their young servants to attend this school; if not for reason of their welfare, at least it prevents their mischief. Now those wishing their servants to attend must see to it that they do come—"compel them to come in"—if not we may expect small attendance. This school has not only been badly attended, for so large a place as Lexington, but also the teachers are too few for the numbers that do come.[11]

Signed "Veritas," the article also charged the other churches with complacency. The Presbyterian writer seemed to challenge teachers from other churches to join the effort.

> We fear that other denominations take no interest in this work, because they consider it as a Presbyterian School. To such we would say, that they should bear in mind that this is a monopoly among Presbyterians because they "faithful among the faithless found", receive no help from other churches.[12]

Aside from attendance concerns, three references indicated that the Sabbath school may have conflicted with state laws governing the religious instruction of Negroes. No problem would have existed if the school had limited itself to oral instruction provided by white teachers. All were white, and Margaret Junkin Preston wrote: "The instruction was almost wholly oral, as only a few of the older servants had been taught to read."[13] Although she left open the possibility of a legal problem, Junkin did not elaborate.

An article signed by G.H.M., a former substitute teacher at the Sabbath school, reported: "Some of the Bourbon Aristocracy criticized his [Jackson's] action, and even went so far as to threaten prosecution."[14] J. D. Davidson wrote of an encounter in front of the County Courthouse which involved Jackson, Colonel S. McD. Reid (clerk of the Court), William McLaughlin (an attorney), and himself. Reid told Jackson that he had examined the statute, conferred with the commonwealth's attorney, and

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10. G. H. M., "Stonewall Jackson in Lexington," *Southern Historical Society Papers* 9 (January-December 1881): 43.
11. "The Colored Sunday School," *Lexington Gazette,* November 8, 1860.
12. Ibid.
13. Preston, "The General's Colored Sunday School."
14. G. H. M., "Stonewall Jackson in Lexington," p. 44.

determined that the Sunday school constituted an unlawful assembly.[15]

Although Margaret Junkin Preston reported that the Sunday school attempted to teach its pupils to read after the Civil War, evidence strongly suggests that the teachers taught reading before the war.In an 1858 letter, Jackson described the format of the school and mentioned a system of rewards. For scholarship, he rewarded slaves with "testaments" or Bibles.[16] The letter also reported an enrollment of ninety-one students and a school-like atmosphere. Teachers kept roll-books in which they noted the pupils' knowledge of the lessons. Examinations and grades were also given.

Lylburn Liggin Downing, born on May 3, 1862, in the household of Governor James McDowell, became the best-known black person associated with the Jackson Sunday School, which continued to operate after the war. Once public school became available to blacks in Lexington, he enrolled. After earning a degree in sacred theology, he served as pastor of Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church in Roanoke for forty-two years. Although he knew Stonewall Jackson only from stories, Jackson made such a lasting impression on him that he designed a stained-glass window commemorating the Confederate general. Erected in his Roanoke church, the window was restored in 1980.

John Alexander Holmes also attended the Sunday school. He later joined the Methodist Episcopal Church and became a prominent minister. Holmes married Sarah Bollin, and one son, Dr. Dwight Oliver Wendell Holmes, served as president of Morgan State College in Baltimore.

Margaret Junkin Preston reported that three Negro churches had formed in Lexington by 1887, and the Presbyterians decided to permit the Sunday schools of those churches to absorb the Negro children.[17] Two of the three Negro churches formed still exist in Lexington today.

Randolph Street Methodist Church

Due to their notorious anti-slavery stance, the Methodists met difficulty when establishing ministries to Southern slaves in the late eighteenth century. Methodist conferences regularly made declarations against slavery, but the church softened its position by 1816. The Methodist Compromise deemed slaveholders ineligible for membership in states having laws which

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15. J. D. Davidson, "Stonewall Jackson in Lexington, Virginia," *Southern Historical Society Papers* 9 (January-December 1881): 45, 46.

16. Thomas J. Jackson to Professor J. L. Campbell, June 7, 1958. Photocopy in author's possession.

17. Preston, "The General's Colored Sunday School."

provided for emancipation and freedom.[18] Coincidentally, the newly organized white Methodists purchased land for a church on Randolph Street in 1816. The property had been owned by Henry McClung.[19]

The Methodists in the South often designated black men to serve in ministerial roles called *exhorters.* After 1832 exhorters could only preach in the presence of "respectable" white observers. Licensed at the first meeting of the Methodist Conference for the Lexington Circuit in May of 1832, Isaac Liggins preached to area blacks on the topic of migration to Liberia. Liggins seemed to reflect the views of some of Lexington's white citizenry who still identified with the Virginia Colonization Society eighteen years later.[20]

By 1864 the white and black members of Lexington's Methodist Church separated. The white members moved into another building on Jefferson Street, while the blacks remained in the Randolph Street building. The Washington Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church accepted the black congregation into its membership.

Although the white members left the Randolph Street building to the black members, its ownership remained an unresolved issue. In 1887 a church court in Atlantic City assigned the church officially to the blacks because they had remained in attendance. The white Methodists won control of the cemetery in the rear of the church, but instead of claiming it, they only removed a few of the bodies. After these removals, cemetery ownership reverted to the black Methodists.

In 1883 the congregation built a parsonage across the street from the church. About 1892 they tore down the frame church building and replaced it with the present brick structure. A black Methodist layman, Richard R. Jones, served as the architect and contractor of the new church. Jones lived in a nearby frame house on Nelson Street. During construction of the church, the congregation worshipped in the carpentry shop adjacent to his home.[21]

In 1917, during the pastorate of Reverend E. A. Haynes, the congregation added the rear portion of the building and installed a pipe organ. Andrew Carnegie, the noted philanthropist, donated half of the cost of the organ. Fire damaged the church in August 1929 and completely demol-

18. Sernett, *Black Religion and American Evangelization,* p. 38.

19. Albert M. Cupp, *A History of Methodism in Rockbridge County, Virginia* (N.p., 1955), p. 12.

20. *Lexington Gazette,* October 10, 1850, p. 2.

21. Cupp, *History of Methodism in Rockbridge County,* pp. 115–16.

ished the steeple, but a restoration had been completed before the year's end.[22]

The white Methodists joined the Methodist Episcopal Church South over the issue of slavery. The Northern church had identified with the abolitionist cause. The black congregation's ability to survive on their own proved one of the most remarkable features of the separation. Formed into a strong community, they persevered through their faith.

In 1947 Hugh Williams lamented that so much of the church's history had only been committed to memory. He recalled the church yard during his boyhood as a neglected place with "dilapidated fences around many of the family burial plots."[23] More recently M. Leroy Richardson and later Margaret Walker have written histories of the church.

Extraordinarily successful in the South, Methodist evangelicals, along with their Baptist bretheren, literally claimed the entire black population. In their wake they left isolated cases of black Presbyterians or black Anglicans. Today, the Methodist and Baptist churches represent the largest black congregations in the United States.

First Baptist Church

"Virginia Negroes as a large majority went into the Baptist Church . . . despite the fact that Methodist slaveholders in Virginia were about as numerous or even more numerous at one period than Baptist slaveholders. . . . [T]he Negro slave in Virginia, unlike elsewhere, did not necessarily unite with the church of his master."[24] Although the Baptists did not organize in Lexington until 1841, and the Presbyterians represented the majority of the population, no evangelical group appealed to local blacks more than the Baptists.

If the Baptists had any notion about catching up with the Methodists in evangelization of slaves, that is exactly what happened. Symbolically, they baptized a black man as their very first convert in Lexington. After his baptism, Milton Smith served as deacon for the black membership. Like the Presbyterian John Chavis in 1801 and the Methodist exhorter Isaac Liggins in 1832, Smith served in a specific ministerial role to Lexington's blacks.

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22. Ibid., pp. 117–18.

23. Hugh A. Williams, "History of Randolph Street Methodist Church" (Pamphlet, privately published, 1947).

24. Luther P. Jackson, "Religious Development of the Negro in Virginia from 1760 to 1860," *Journal of Negro History* 16 (April 1931): 236.

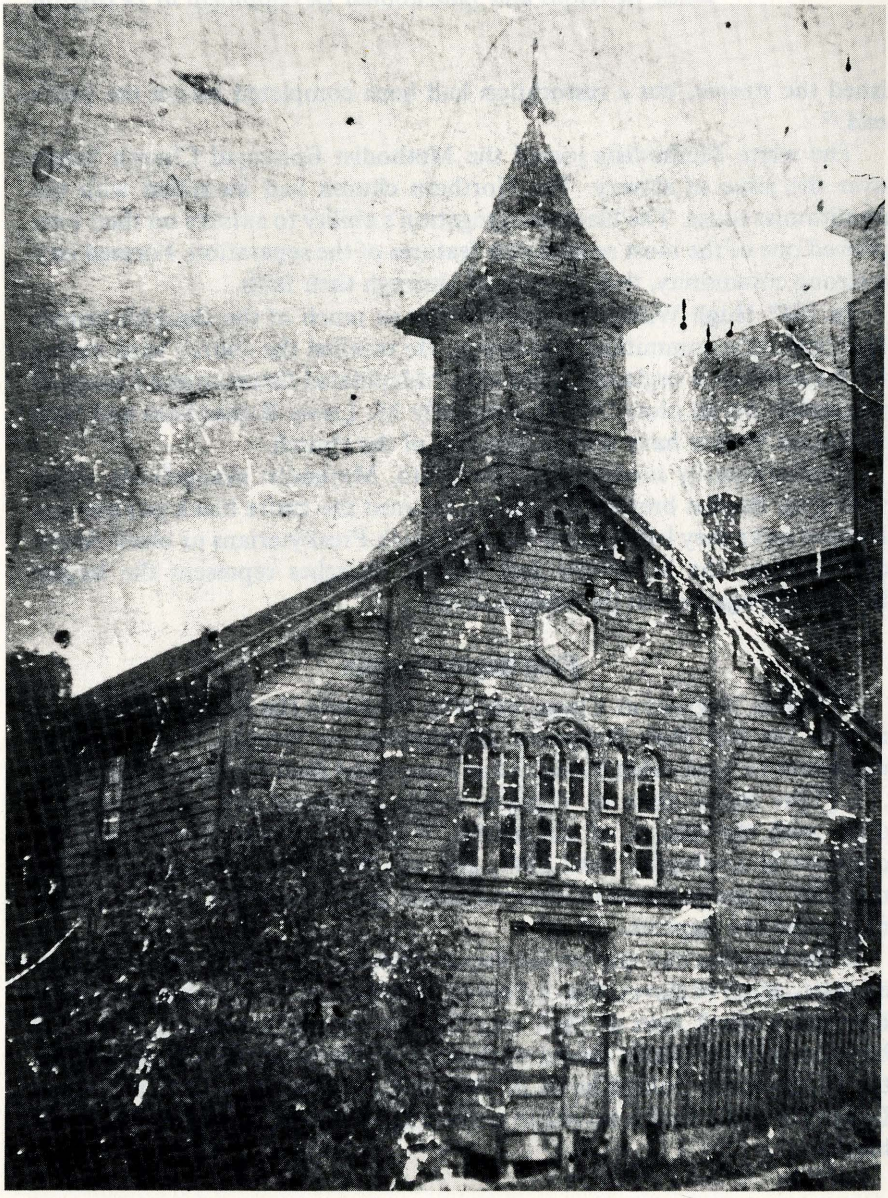
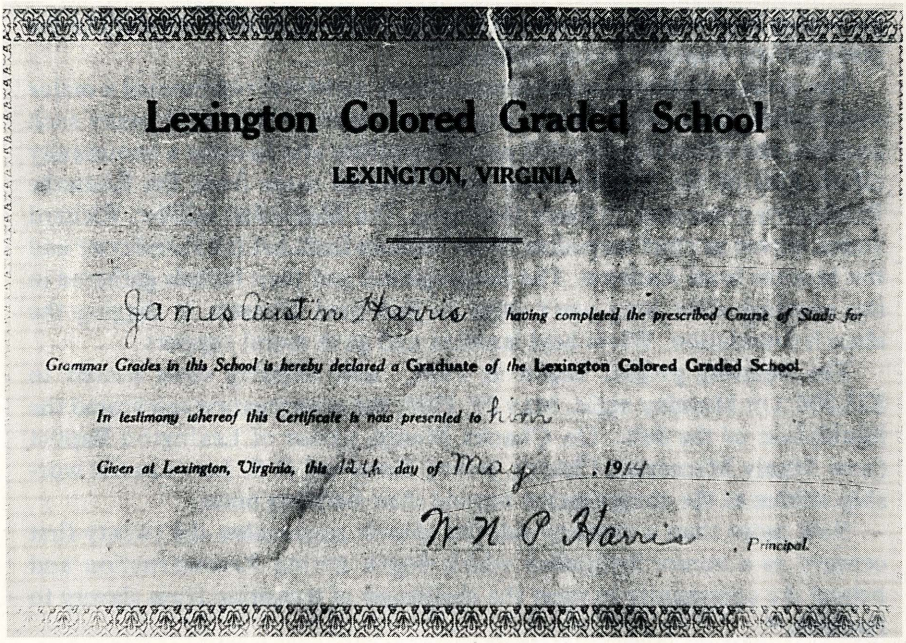


Figure 1. *The Lexington African Baptist Church. To the right of the frame building is the present First Baptist Church.*



Lexington Colored Graded School

LEXINGTON, VIRGINIA

James Austin Harris having completed the prescribed Course of Study for Grammar Grades in this School is hereby declared a Graduate of the Lexington Colored Graded School.

In testimony whereof this Certificate is now presented to him

Given at Lexington, Virginia, this 12th day of May, 1914

W. H. P. Harris, Principal.

Figure 2. *Diploma from the Lexington Colored Graded School awarded to James Austin Harris in 1914. (Photo courtesy Thomas M. Harris, Sr.)*

The Baptist church attracted large numbers of black converts for several reasons. Mainly, the church identified with the masses of underprivileged people in the United States. Highly democratic in its governance, the local church did not answer to higher church authorities. The local, democratic nature of the church permitted its black membership to mold its own forms of worship to conform with the community's needs and culture.[25] The requirement of seminary training prevented newly emancipated blacks from becoming Presbyterian ministers, but no such barrier prevented entry into the Baptist clergy.

On September 22, 1867, the black and white members of Lexington Baptist Church separated. One black woman, Nancy, remained with the white congregation.[26] Two elders, J. B. Cowen and J. William Jones, organized the new Lexington African Baptist Church. For twenty-five

25. Ibid., p. 198.

26. Oren F. Morton, *A History of Rockbridge County* (Baltimore: Regional Publishing Company, 1920), p. 178.

years they held worship services in a frame building on a lot adjacent to the present First Baptist Church building.[27]

The present building, an impressive brick structure, represented a major undertaking for a small rural congregation in the 1890s. Like many such projects, the effort transcended parish identities and became a community effort. One of the first financial contributions came from the Roanoke Presbyterian minister Lylburn Downing. The Methodist builder, Richard Jones, served as chief carpenter. Brick masons included Irk Poindexter and the Moores from Amherst. The congregation and their friends gathered in the evenings after long work days to join paid laborers in digging the church foundation. Wives held lanterns and gave moral support.

The building project began in 1884, and building costs soared to $25,000. On Monday night, May 29, 1905, the congregation celebrated the liquidation of the debt. Dr. Charles Manly, pastor of Lexington Baptist (now Manly Memorial) Church, joined Reverend P. S. Lewis in the worship service as the congregation burned their building bond.

Now more than a century old, the church approaches the twenty-first century as a secure institution which began during Reconstruction and helped the community to meet the challenges of transition from slavery to freedom.[28]

The Lexington Colored Graded School
Lylburn Downing School

In 1871 Lexington polled citizens operating schools to ascertain whether they were willing to have their schools merged into the proposed public school system. Two black schools operated at the time—one operated by a Sam Johnson, and the other by the Reverend Milton Smith of the Lexington African Baptist Church. Johnson agreed to have his school become a part of the public system.[29] Nothing is known of the fate of Smith's school.

The colored graded school occupied a building located on the lot adjacent to Randolph Street Methodist Church. Built in 1819 as a school for white boys, the building later served as a hospital during the smallpox outbreak in 1860. On October 1, 1862, Jane Cobb of New Jersey purchased the building and reopened it as a school for white boys.

27. "A History of the First Baptist Church" (pamphlet, privately printed).

28. Ibid.

29. George W. Diehl, *A Brief History of Public Education in Rockbridge County, Lexington, Buena Vista, 1748-1980* (Lexington: Rockbridge Retired Teachers Association, 1980), p. 28.

After the Civil War, Miss Cobb became involved with the movement of northern Friends who established schools in the South for the children of former slaves.[30]

On December 2, 1872, Mr. and Mrs. N. C. Brackett of Jefferson County, West Virginia, deeded the building to a board of trustees "for the colored people" of Lexington. Friends from the North, with whom Miss Cobb had become associated, aided this purchase. The trustees included Harvey Harper, William Drummond, Horace Abrams, John Jones, Eli Abner, David Kennedy, and Samuel Edmondson. Later court-appointed trustees included William Price and Hugh Williams. The deed of conveyance provided that the trustees would hold the property for the education of local blacks. Prohibiting control by any church or sect, the deed placed other limitations on the trustees. The building and property could not be sold or leased without consent of the "majority of the colored people of Lexington."[31]

When the Town of Lexington began operating a colored graded school, they rented the Randolph Street school from the trustees for a modest sum. The trustees provided building maintenance.

The subject of a Negro high school came before the School Board at its meeting on April 17, 1899. The board budgeted a sum of $200 for a teacher's salary if sufficient pupils expressed interest. This action resulted from a petition signed by Harvey Jamison, R. R. Alexander, and James Jackson who represented the black citizenry of Lexington.[32]

Reverend W. P. Todd became the principal for the black high school in 1899, but the school closed in April 1900 because of insufficient patronage. The board asked Todd to return to the school by June of the same year because the community wanted a black high school. On June 11, 1901, he reported a total enrollment of nineteen students. The community pledged money for the principal's salary. In 1901 the black community paid $163.10 of the pledged $205 and white contributions brought the total amount collected to $203.37.[33]

From 1901 to 1930 the high school ordinarily offered only a two-year program. Some years the school offered a third-year program, but it usually did not. Black families sometimes managed to afford to send children to normal school academies in order to complete their high school educations.

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30. Deed Book NN, December 2, 1872, p. 446, Rockbridge County Court House, Lexington, Va.

31. Ibid.

32. Diehl, *Brief History of Public Education,* p. 20.

33. Ibid., p. 37.

Aside from the Lexington Colored Graded School, another black school, the Newtown School, operated on the present Ross Road extension. Closed in 1921, the students from this school transferred to the Lexington Colored Graded School.

Alfred Pleasants, a local black physician, remembered attending the Lexington school. He described an unsafe, dilapidated building that had outlasted its usefulness. Because the building dated to 1819 and had received a minimum of maintenance, the black community badly needed a new school building.

Meeting at the First Baptist Church in early April 1920, the black community decided to secure a new school building. The meeting that night featured speeches on relevant topics. C. M. Wood delivered an address entitled "Lincoln and the School." Reverend R. W. Stennett lectured on "How to Secure a Building." Mrs. Isaac H. Rowland, the school's principal, spoke on "The Need of a New School Building."

> The building we now occupy has already outlived its usefulness. . . . Three of the rooms used as classrooms are in the oldest part of the building. The other two classrooms are in the front in what is commonly styled the new part, but they are . . . no better appointed as classrooms than the other three. In every room there are wide cracks in the floor—germ harbingers for nearly half a century.

Mrs. Rowland's accounts verified Alfred Pleasants's description. She noted unsanitary conditions and the lack of heating facilities. According to Mrs. Rowland, the teachers spent one-eighth of their time stoking fires in old stoves. During windy periods, the stovepipes often fell apart, filling the classrooms with smoke. She concluded by challenging black citizens to join the effort to uplift the Negro race.

> If the colored citizens of Lexington intend to help in the great propaganda of racial uplift, they must improve their public school. Public education is the basis and we must join the rank and file or the colored children of Lexington will drift toward the open sea; driven there by their environment, the fault of the colored citizens of Lexington who refused to be aroused from their sleep.[35]

In April 1924, the Lexington Town Council considered the needs of the colored school. Instead of issuing bonds to erect a new building costing $15,000, the council decided to increase the levy on real and personal property taxes from $1.70 to $1.90 per $100 assessed.[36] No complaints about the tax increase appeared in subsequent issues of the local newspaper.

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34. *Lexington Gazette,* April 7, 1920, p. 3.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid., April 16, 1924, p. 3.

On September 11, 1927, the community dedicated the new school named in honor of Lylburn Downing. At the time of the dedication the faculty consisted of only five teachers: Mrs. Isaac Rowland, principal, Miss Laura Price, Mrs. Kissie Banks, Miss Nellie White, and Miss Jessie Morrison. Mrs. Banks had taught at the Newtown School.

Conclusion

Prior to school desegregation in the early 1960s, Randolph Street Methodist Church, First Baptist Church, and the black school occupied central places in the lives of Lexington's black community. In these places the community freely expressed its common culture and shared its common concerns. More than places of worship, the churches became community centers in a very real sense. The school also served a dual role in the lives of younger blacks. Aside from providing education, the school formed values and fostered ambitions. To some extent these institutions had their origins in Jackson's Sabbath School. Unfortunately, the Sabbath School existed as a paternalistic institution that conveyed values which whites hoped to instill in the black participants. The new institutions provided freedom and the promises and dreams of the future. Today the Sabbath school and the colored public school have faded into the past, but the two churches remain as living monuments to the history of Lexington's black community.

Sam Heflin (L) and Rupert Latture (R) talk across their common backyard fence in Lexington, April 1981. (Courtesy News-Gazette.*)*

Pre-World War I Student Life at Washington & Lee and VMI: Recollections of Rupert Latture and "Sam" Heflin

RUPERT N. Latture and Sterling M. ("Sam") Heflin had remarkably similar careers at Washington and Lee University and the Virginia Military Institute respectively. During the period immediately preceding American involvement in World War I Latture and Heflin were students at the two institutions, and from the 1920s until the mid-1960s they taught at their alma maters and knew each other well.

Rupert Latture (1892-) matriculated at Washington and Lee in 1911 and became an outstanding student both academically and in extracurricular activities and sports. Rowing was his favorite athletic activity. He joined the Washington and Lee faculty as an assistant professor in 1920 and retired as head of the Department of Political Science in 1962. After that Professor Latture served as special assistant to the president on a large number of projects until 1982.

Sterling M. Heflin (1894-1982) entered VMI in 1913 and graduated three years later, thanks to his excellent academic record. Heflin was also on the VMI football team. He became a member of VMI's academic staff in 1919 and also served for more than thirty-five years as coach of the Rat football and wrestling teams. He retired as head of the Physics Department

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The program for the Society's April 17, 1981, meeting in Lee Chapel on the Washington and Lee campus was "Lexington—Seventy Years Ago: Recollections of Two Senior Statesmen." Richard R. Fletcher, president of the Rockbridge Historical Society, introduced the speakers and directed their discussion by posing questions. The taped program has been condensed and cast into the form of a dialogue by Winifred Hadsel.

in 1964. Thereafter Colonel Heflin served the Institute in a number of advisory capacities, and particularly as coordinator between VMI and the Committee for the New Market Battlefield Park.

When asked to recall student life as they had known it at Washington and Lee and VMI, Latture and Heflin recollected a number of vivid experiences that pointed up the similarities and differences between the two institutions as they existed about seventy-five years ago. In this article these recollections are presented in the form of a dialogue in order to retain as much as possible of their original character.

Latture: Let's talk, first of all, about how we happened to come to Lexington to attend college. As for me, I almost didn't get here. I graduated from the Bristol, Tennessee, High School in 1911, and won a Washington and Lee scholarship. But I didn't think I could supplement it adequately, so I planned to go to the University of Tennessee. However, the principal of my school went up to Lexington to see his uncle, the former Virginia Attorney General William A. Anderson, and while there got into a conversation with Dr. George H. Denny, president of Washington and Lee. My principal must have talked about me to Dr. Denny, for in early September Anderson came through Bristol and telephoned me, asking me to meet him at his hotel. Luckily, I was at home, and when I got to the hotel I was told that Dr. Denny wanted me to come on up to Lexington and that he would see to it that I was taken care of. Well, I quickly changed my plans and went to Lexington. However, Dr. Denny left Washington and Lee in December and I had to manage without any care from him.

The way I arrived in Lexington is something I remember very clearly. I came up with a high school friend on a train that went to Buena Vista. There we waited an hour or two for "the Virginia Creeper" (the C&O train) to come from Balcony Falls. When that train arrived at the "Y" at East Lexington, it turned around and backed into Lexington. Hence, I got into Lexington backwards.

Heflin: In my case my coming to VMI must have been foreordained, for I certainly had very little to do with it. In 1913 I was a good old country boy who had grown up outside Leesburg and gone to Leesburg High school, which had involved traveling six miles each way either on horseback or by horse and buggy. At that time my father rented a farm from a Mrs. Walter Harrison, and she found that I was a real good lackey who could carry things for her into or out of Leesburg. As a result Mrs. Harrison and I became good friends and she took a notion I ought to go to

college. Money was a problem so she suggested I try for West Point, but that fell through. Then the treasurer of Loudoun County, who was a VMI graduate, heard about me and said, "Listen, how about going down to VMI? If you want to get into the army you could manage that just as well from there as from West Point." So when the third of September, 1913, came along, I went to Leesburg, got on a little train that went into Washington, transfered to the Southern and went to Lynchburg, where I waited a good long time and finally got into Glasgow. Then I came along into East Lexington and from there I also backed into Lexington.

When I arrived at VMI I found that there were about a dozen of us Rats waiting to register, but General Nichols, the superintendent, told us that registration was closed for that day and that all of us should go up town to the Lexington Hotel. We spent the night there, and I remember that we were put on cots in a room at the back of the ground floor.

When we got over to VMI the next morning we registered and found that we were late in getting into the dining hall, so we were marched in as a separate group. We were still real curious about everything around us, but we were told that Rats weren't supposed to look around. There was a lot of yelling at us, and after the meal a number of the cadets crowded around us, giving us a "reception" before we reached barracks. I was lucky at that point, for the First Captain, who was also captain of the football team, came up to me and said, "Mister, what's your name, and are you a football Rat?" I don't know why I said, "Yes, sir," but I did. So he took me out of the crowd and into his room until football practice began, and then he sent me out to the team.

Latture: My first impressions of Washington and Lee remain very vivid because I hadn't been on a college campus before. I was interested in everything I saw. But, of course, my first problem was that of finding a place to live. Somebody suggested that my friend and I go to Mrs. George Deaver's Boarding House directly across Washington Street from the Stonewall Jackson House. We got a room there, with each of us paying $5.00 a month for a room with a double bed. The two of us slept in that bed for four years and we were still speaking to each other at the end. The meals were $15.00 a month and they were excellent. Washington and Lee tuition was then $85.00 a year, and since I had a scholarship for only $50.00, I had to raise the rest of the money myself, but I somehow managed.

As soon as we were settled in Mrs. Deaver's Boarding House, we went over to the campus to the Registrar's Office and the Treasurer's Office, and then we were full-fledged students at Washington and Lee.

Heflin: Another part of my introduction to VMI involved clothes. I still have my account book for my years as a cadet, and I was amazed when I looked at it the other day to find that I must have disposed of everything I arrived in except my underwear, because I was completely outfitted with the Rat uniform for the breaking-in period. That uniform then consisted of the ordinary cadet cap, gray wool shirt and trousers, and a set of gym clothes. We didn't have coveralls, as they did some time later, or any other types of clothing. We just wore our basic Rat uniform all the time, and I remember being hot as the dickens during drill on those warm early fall days of 1913.

Latture: Over at Washington and Lee clothes were also important. One of the first things I had to do was conform to conventional dress. In those days Washington and Lee required all students to wear coats and ties and hats. I still have the "beanie" I was required to wear until Christmas and the hat I wore between Christmas and Easter. There was no getting out of wearing this headgear; if you didn't, you'd find that the committee of students enforcing the rules would make it very difficult for you to sit down for several days.

Another thing I had to learn about in my first days at Washington and Lee was the rule requiring me to speak to everyone I met on campus, and I also had to learn about the honor system. I was very much impressed by the honor system, and during my years as a student I heard about very few alleged violations. However, in my senior year, when I was vice president of the student body and a member of the executive committee responsible for enforcing the honor system, we did have a very serious case of a senior law student who was found guilty of stealing law books. But for the most part the honor system was very effective and strictly enforced.

Heflin: At VMI I found that one of my big problems at the beginning was getting used to the schedule. We got oriented right quickly to the fact that the VMI day ran from 6:15 in the morning until 10:00 at night. From 10:00 at night until 6:15 in the morning it was up to us to try to get enough sleep. But I never did get enough sleep the whole time I was at VMI.

I almost never had time to get to town. I think it was only because I had spent my first night at the Lexington Hotel that I knew there was a town up there.

Latture: I, on the other hand, lived in the town and I had a chance to see the merchants: H. O. Dold, who had a store where Bierer's Pharmacy is now; J. Ed Deaver, who had a clothing store; and Mrs. Pettigrew, who had a candy store on Washington Street and who sometimes got so interested

in talking that she gave me more candy than I paid for.

On campus I made friends in my classes and in the literary societies which met on Saturday night and held debates and studied parliamentary procedure. Quite a few of those members of the literary societies became public figures: politicians, lawyers, ministers, etc. Once I joined the boat crew I also made friends on the river. Many of these friends I made as a student turned out to be life-long friends.

Heflin: Over at VMI I first came to know the other three Rats who shared my room. Then it wasn't long before I knew everybody in my section because I went to classes in my sections. I was also in a company since that was a basic unit at VMI. Many of these people have remained my friends all my life.

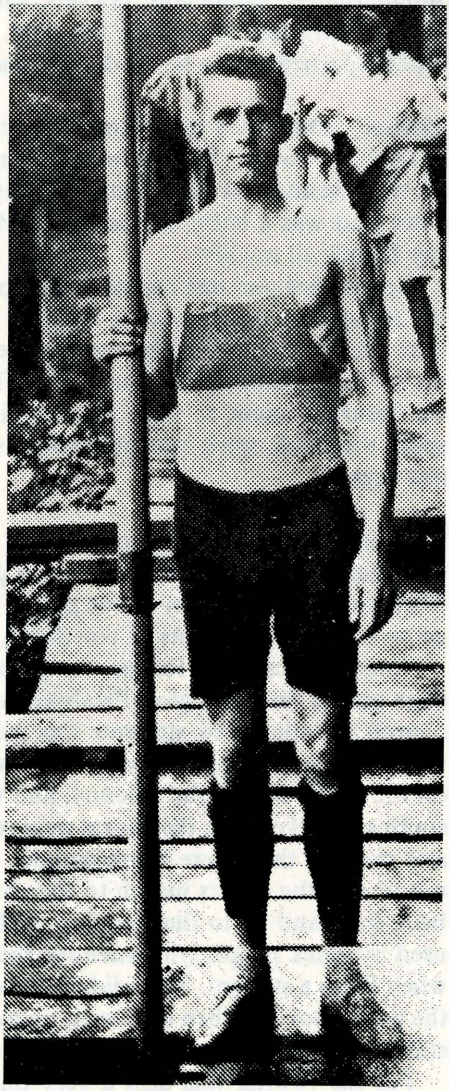
Sometimes you met cadets when you didn't want to meet them. One of the things that worried me as much as anything else when I was a Rat was that one of the older cadets would meet me on Monday morning and hop on me for something I'd done wrong. Then he'd come around to my room on Saturday night to have me explain my behavior. That meant that I spent the whole week worrying about what might happen to me on Saturday night.

Latture: Now let's try to recall what we did for recreation in those days. At Washington and Lee there was a good deal of walking out to House Mountain or some other scenic place. Then there was the Lyric Theatre to go to on Saturday nights, if you didn't have a literary society meeting.

Another recreation for me was going to Dr. James Lewis Howe's Bible class and to the Lexington Presbyterian Church on Sunday. In those days church attendance by students was much more common than it is now. I recall that in the Presbyterian Church we Washington and Lee students sat on the north side of the balcony, and the cadets sat in the balcony on the south side. Of course, the cadets were required to attend church somewhere and many of them were Presbyterians. It was a beautiful sight to see a large number of the cadets march to the church, break ranks, and come in the back door and up to their section of the gallery. That back door was also used by black people who attended the church, and there were quite a few when I was a student. They didn't come in the front door. They came in by the back door and then they went up to the balcony into a section, which is still boxed off, next to where the cadets sat.

For me rowing was also a very important recreation and I made the varsity crew. The two boat clubs were called the "Harry Lee" and the "Albert Sydney," and I belonged to the latter. The Harry Lee club named its boat *Annie Jo* for Miss Annie Jo White, who was the Washington and

Lee librarian and founder of the Fancy Dress Ball. The Albert Sydney club named its boat for Lucy Gordon, Dr. Reid White's lovely daughter. We rowed up to Furrs Mill and then the starting gun was fired that began the mile-long race down the river to the dam just above Moses Mill, near where the Route 11 bridge now crosses the river. The races were exciting features of commencement in those days. Nearly all the town people, as well as parents and students at Washington and Lee, lined up for either the red or the blue. They cheered and displayed the colors as they stood on the cliffs, the roads, and the banks of the river. I wish Washington and Lee still had a crew, but the river just isn't suitable for intercollegiate competition, and hence rowing was given up.

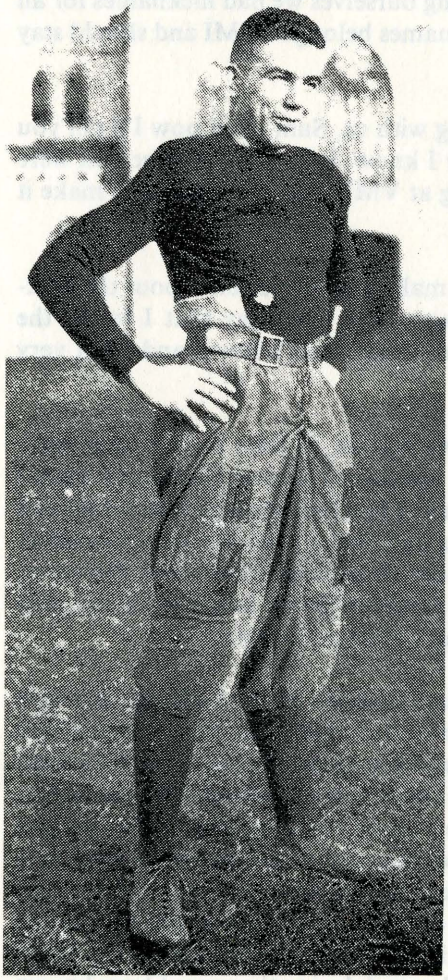


Rupert Latture of the Albert Sydney boat club. (W&L Calyx, *1915.)*

Heflin: To me football was what rowing was to you. From my first day at VMI I played football, but our team wasn't a very strong one during the period I was a cadet. I think the game I got the biggest kick out of was the one we played down at Georgia Tech. We took fourteen fellows down there, along with the coaches and manager, and found when we got there that Tech had *two* teams out there practicing. Nevertheless, we wound up ahead at the end of the first half by 7 to 0. But at the end of the game they beat us 28 to our original 7, or something like that.

But as far as other recreation was concerned, we Rats had to find that mainly on the Post. We got up at 6:15, made up our room

before breakfast, had breakfast by 7:30, began classes at 8:00 and went on with them until 1:00. Then we had lunch from 1:00 to 2:00, and had laboratories from 2:00 until 4:00. At 4:15 we had drill and at 5:15 went to parade. At 6:30 we ate supper. Then there was close call to quarters at 7:30 and a formation at 9:00 for tattoo. Then there was a half hour of chasing around barracks until the bugle blew taps at 10:00. Then we slept until the bugle blew in the morning.



*Sam Heflin in VMI football gear. (*The Bomb, *1916.)*

People can't understand VMI unless they've been there. When I was at Cornell the chairman of my department often asked me about life at VMI, and he said he just didn't see how students could do academic work as well as athletics and military drills. He said he thought it just couldn't be done. But I said, "Well, I can't convince you because you have never had any students under your complete control all twenty-four hours of the day." I remember that I was so taken up by the schedule that I got so I couldn't remember whether something had happened last week or two months before. And after I had been there a couple of years, I didn't know whether a particular thing had happened to me in this or that year; but I did know that whatever it was, it had happened to *me.*

Latture: On the academic side I think we should try to recall what we thought of our professors. I suppose one of the revealing things on this subject is what nicknames we gave our professors. At Washington and Lee "Grannie" Campbell was professor of political science; "Slouch" Howerton was professor of philosophy; "Sissy"

Stevens was professor of physics; "Skinny" Williams was professor of law, as was "Sunny" Jim; and I believe my favorite teacher, who was professor of French, was "Cutie" Easter. "Bugs" Hoyt was professor of biology, and "Judas" Holt was professor of Greek.

Heflin: We had Colonel Pendleton for chemistry, Colonel Mallory for physics, Colonel Ford in history, Colonel Jones in engineering, and Colonel Watts in mathematics, and Colonel Kerlin in English. In public we always stuck to the "Colonel" part, but among ourselves we had nicknames for all of them. However, I think those nicknames belong in VMI and should stay there.

Latture: I think you're not levelling with us, Sam. And now I'll tell you something you probably don't know I know. It is the nickname you were given when you first started teaching at VMI. I am now going to make it public. It was "Teddy Bear."

Heflin: Well, I'm still not going to make any revelations about the nicknames we had for our VMI professors. But I will say that I found the professors the most impressive people I had ever known, and I felt very respectful toward them.

Latture: That was, I think, also true for me, at least for the most part. But at Washington and Lee we had a number of student instructors when I was there. In my freshman year, I think, I had four student instructors and only one professor. Since tuition was only $85 a year, the school couldn't have managed without a large number of student instructors. However, after Dr. Henry Louis Smith became president things began to change, and he found more money to hire better qualified professors.

Heflin: Speaking of professors, I am reminded of the buildings in which we had our classes. It certainly is true that there has been construction going on at VMI ever since I knew anything about the place. When I came here in 1913, the parade ground was about half its present size. The superintendent's house was located about where the midpoint of the present parade ground is, and the two houses between it and barracks were on a line with it. All baseball and football games were played on that small parade ground. The grading of the old parade ground began during the first winter I was there, and I think it is true to say that almost the entire area around the parade ground has changed during the years I have known VMI.

When I was a cadet the old Jackson Memorial Hall was on the left side of the Jackson Arch as you entered. In this building the gymnasium was in the basement. J. M. Hall was on ground level and there was an academic room on the top floor. The library was a separate building adjacent to J. M. Hall and facing the parade ground. The main academic building was across the north side of barracks. Barracks then was only the front section of the building on the right side of Jackson Arch, and there were about 373 or 374 cadets in it when I was a Rat. By the time I graduated a couple of rooms in barracks had been remodeled, making it possible to raise the number of cadets to 380–390. The barracks have been full ever since, and now the extended barracks hold about 1300.

Latture: At Washington and Lee there was also a great deal of construction during the years I was a student and later on. I particularly recall that the building of the Doremus Gymnasium meant a lot to us students. The old gymnasium burned in 1913, and the Fancy Dress Ball for that year had to be held in a skating rink on Main Street, where the Manly Memorial Baptist Church now stands. By the spring of 1914 the new gym was nearly finished, and the Fancy Dress Ball was held there. The Fancy Dress Ball was quite an occasion then, what with the beautiful costumes, the grand march, the dancing, and all.

> Latture and Heflin noted that they had not known each other during the two years their college days in Lexington overlapped. It was only during the long period that both were professors at their respective alma maters that they had become good friends and neighbors whose backyards shared the same fence.

Heflin: When I was a cadet I knew only one student at Washington and Lee, and I knew him from my high school days in Leesburg. I wasn't able to see him very often, but sometimes on Sundays I managed to run up to where he lived on Main Street to see him for a few minutes. But the schedule I have talked about made it very difficult to find time to make friends outside barracks.

Latture: I'm afraid I didn't come to know even one cadet while I was a student at Washington and Lee. I'm sorry now that I didn't have that pleasure.

Heflin: Well, it's true that Washington and Lee and VMI were pretty well

separated at the time we are talking about. But I remember that there were some occasions when the two schools got together. At one of the finals when I was a cadet we had a parade for our speaker, and at the conclusion of it we cadets were allowed to go down to the river to watch the Washington and Lee boat races. It was on that day that the wife of the chief Buildings and Grounds man at VMI gave birth to twin boys, and the parents called them Harry Lee and Albert Sydney.

The Collierstown Story

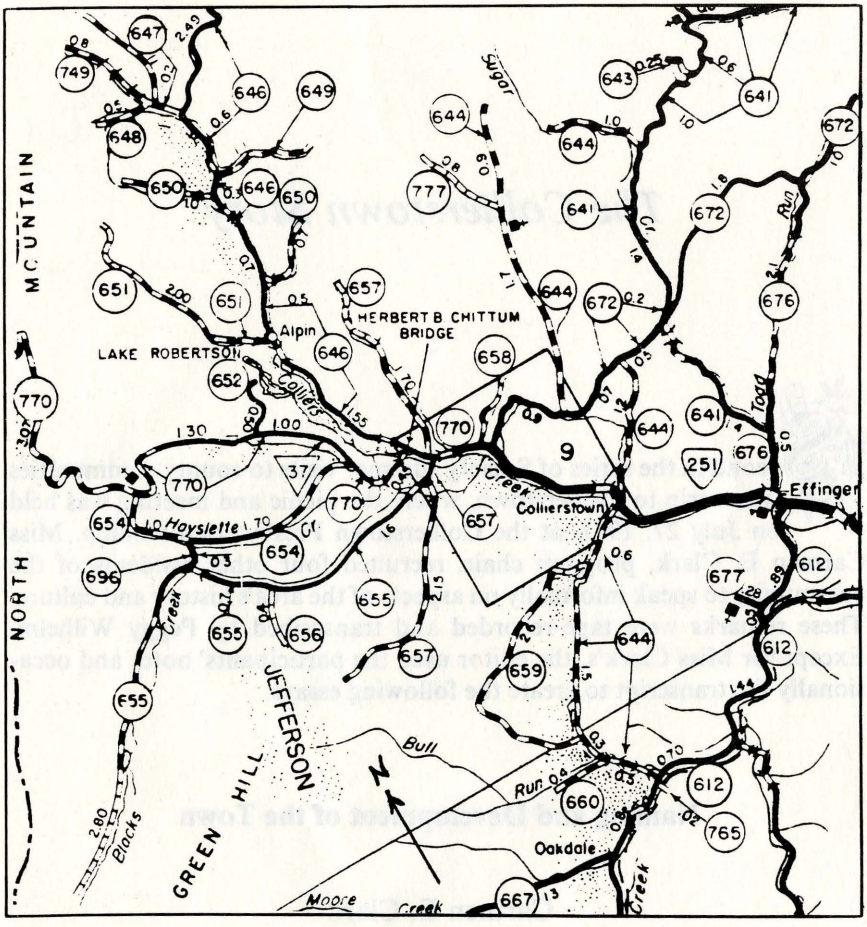
Second in the series of Society summer visits to county communities was a trip to Collierstown, where the picnic and meeting was held on July 27, 1981, at the Collierstown Presbyterian Church. Miss Carmen E. Clark, program chair, recruited four other residents of the community to speak informally on aspects of the area's history and culture. These remarks were tape-recorded and transcribed by Peggy Wilhelm. Except for Miss Clark's, the editor used the participants' notes and occasionally the transcript to create the following essays.

Naming and Development of the Town

Carmen E. Clark

Once a cousin, driving in from Ohio, called me from Lake Robertson, asking directions to my house. Fearing he would get lost on the shortest route across the hills, I suggested that he return to Collierstown, turn right across the iron bridge, and follow the Blacks Creek Road. He then replied, "But where is Collierstown? I have driven all along the creek trying to find it."

The reason my cousin had trouble finding Collierstown was, of course, that the town is so loosely strung out along the road running through it that it is hard to tell when you are "there." Insofar as it has a center, that center is the Presbyterian Church, with the scattered nearby buildings that include Morrison's store, the Methodist and Baptist churches, the post office, Effinger School, and the hall. But in addition, Collierstown has for



The Collierstown area.

many years included nearby settlements such as Alphin and Marmion, both of which once had their own post offices. Today, therefore, Collierstown is an area as well as the loosely organized nucleus of buildings near the Presbyterian Church.

Colliers Creek derives its name from John Collier, who secured the first grant of land on what can best be identified as the northernmost branch of Buffalo Creek. In a royal patent signed by Governor William Gooch and dated January 12, 1746, John Collier obtained four hundred acres of land in return for payment of a fee rent of one shilling yearly per fifty acres and

agreement to cultivate and improve three acres of every fifty of his tract within three years.[1] John Collier did not content himself with his original land, but went on in 1751 to purchase eighty-one additional acres adjoining his patent, and in 1756 to buy another 277 acres on "Collyer's Creek."[2] Reference to the creek in the 1756 document indicates that the Collier family was by then of sufficient importance to have its name attached to the stream along which its lands lay.

John Collier's home stood on the north side of the creek, opposite the present Morrison storehouse.[3] The house was built of logs and the center part of the structure was one and a half stories, approximately 24′ x 18′ in size. The logs were apparently sawed with a pit saw that produced 7″ x 14″ timbers.

John Collier's will is dated October 27, 1760, and it was probated in Augusta County on August 20, 1765.[4] His widow, Cecily, and James Gilmore were executors. His heirs were Alexander, John, Moses, Aaron, and Margaret. Members of his family continued to farm the richest lands along the creek for some years after his death.

But soon after the Revolution, the Colliers began to sell their land and move west. In March 1778 John and Jean Collier and Sisela (his mother, Cecily) sold 181 acres to John Kirkpatrick for 500 pounds.[5] In August 1778 Alexander and Sarah Collier sold eighty-plus acres to Austin Smith.[6] Alexander went to Kentucky about 1780.[7] In May 1779 John Collier, of the County of Washington, sold forty acres to Smith Williamson. Moses Collier was a witness.[8]

About ten years later Robert Collier, probably a grandson of John, Sr., of Lincoln County, Virginia, (later Kentucky) sold 122 acres on a draught of Colliers Creek to John Leech.[9] John Leech later sold his farm to Henry Black and moved west.[10] Robert Collier sold 122 acres lying on a branch of Buffalo Creek, part of a tract formerly belonging to John Collier, Sr., and

1. Letters Patent, Book 25, 1745–1747, p. 261, Virginia State Library, Richmond.
2. Bayard H. Colyear, Rear-Adm. USN (Ret.) to Mrs. Otis N. Morrison, September 16, 1964.
3. Augusta County, Virginia, Circuit Court, Will Book 3, pp. 403–4.
4. Ibid.
5. Rockbridge Circuit Court, Deed Book A, pp. 44–45.
6. Ibid., pp. 42–43.
7. Colyear to Morrison.
8. Rockbridge Circuit Court, Deed Book A, pp. 194–95.
9. Rockbridge Circuit Court, Deed Book B, pp. 37–38.
10. Gardner P. Hutton, "Reminiscences of Colliers Creek and its Tributaries 62 Years Ago," *Rockbridge County News,* March 20, 1902, p. 2.

adjoining John Leech and John Houston, to James Leech.[11] Robert Collier also sold 188 acres on Colliers Creek known by the name of Colliers Town to Humphrey Montgomery.[12] This land, which in 1788 adjoined John Davidson, was passed from Humphrey Montgomery to his daughter Polly, who married Squire John McCorkle, and later to her nephew, Lafayette Sehorn.[13] Moses Colyer went to Kentucky about 1784. One of his descendants has found twelve variant spellings of Collier. One branch of the family changed it to Colyear because it was spelled that way originally in Scotland.[14]

Despite the departure of the Colliers from Virginia, their name remained attached to the creek along which they had owned land. As a small settlement grew along the stretch of country bordering the creek, "Collierstown" was applied to the emerging village.

Captain J. F. Harper and J. C. C. Moore kept the first store in Collierstown. The original receipt for Lehman's Celebrated Worm Tea was available at Harper & Moore, Collierstown, in 1835, according to *The Lexington Gazette.*[15] Poague's store on Colliers Creek was mentioned in 1836.[16]

The Collierstown Post Office was established in 1836 near John McCorkle's mill. His younger brother, Captain Henry McCorkle, was appointed the first postmaster[17] and held that position as long as he lived. The postage on letters was 25 cents payable at the office of delivery. The mail was brought from Lexington on Sunday morning.[18] Many of us recall the post office in the old mill located just across the creek on property now owned by the Presbyterian Church. Captain Henry McCorkle was also a storekeeper. When the Lexington-Covington Turnpike was completed, the Turnpike Company built a house below Squire John McCorkle's property. Captain Henry McCorkle moved into this house and collected toll. Squire John McCorkle's inn was a wagon and stage stand where the stages changed horses.

Dr. William A. Wilkinson was the first physician in Collierstown. All along the creek were coopershops, merchant mills, sawmills, blacksmith shops, tanyards, carding mills, distilleries, a chopping mill, wagonmaker shop, and McComb's hatter shop. Addison Gilmore had a tanyard and

11. Rockbridge Circuit Court, Deed Book B, p. 1.
12. Ibid., pp. 36–37.
13. Rockbridge Circuit Court, Will Book 15, pp. 341–42.
14. Colyear to Morrison.
15. *Lexington Gazette,* July 24, 1835, p. 3.
16. Ibid., April 1, 1836, p. 2.
17. Ibid., May 20, 1836, pp. 2, 4–5.
18. Hutton, "Reminiscences of Colliers Creek."

sawmill on land now owned by Clarence and Ernestine C. Hotinger. James T. Tolley, at the head of Blacks Creek, was a shoemaker. Robert Clark farmed and had a small tub mill for corn.[19]

When Colonel John Jordan built the Lexington-Covington Turnpike—completed in 1832—over North Mountain to supply his furnace in the wooded country in Alleghany, he opened a path for the farmers of Collierstown to sell their produce. The Jordan Furnace and later the Lucy Selina Mines became important industries employing many people from Collierstown.

As the towns of Clifton Forge and Covington were developed along the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway, with their large shops in Clifton Forge, the Alleghany County demands for farm products increased. Collierstown farmers and truck gardeners supplied pork, poultry, eggs, butter, fruit, and vegetables to the housewives and restaurants in Clifton Forge who boarded the C&O shop employees.[20]

After the C&O shops moved from Clifton Forge, Lees Carpets at Glasgow provided employment for many of the small farmers, enabling them to keep their homes in Collierstown, raise some cattle and hay, and yet have a pay check each week.

The Friends of Temperance organized at Collierstown on February 5, 1866, with twenty-eight active and fifty associate members.[21] The Temperance Hall stood between Colliers Creek and the road approximately where Kenneth H. Bane's garage is now. For some years Mr. Tom Deacon conducted a Singing School there. It was also used for Justice of the Peace trials and referred to simply as "The Hall." Green Hill Lodge No. 97, A.F. & A.M. at Collierstown, was chartered on December 14, 1881.[22] It has long been extinct. The Modern Woodmen of America had an active chapter for many years at Collierstown.

In January 1893, Mr. A. Wallace Morrison opened his store in the center of Collierstown. It actually became the heart of the community. Telephone service was provided for the entire area. Political candidates and issues were discussed around the pot-bellied stove, and at election time the voting was done there. During one period one could even have his eyes tested and purchase spectacles at A. W. Morrison's store. His son, Charles, continued

19. Ibid.

20. Alfred Leyburn, "The Collierstown of Long Ago," *Rockbridge County News,* October 6, 1932, p. 6.

21. *Rockbridge County News,* April 5, 1900, p. 2.

22. William Moseley Brown, P. G. M., *Centennial History of Mountain City Lodge No. 67, A.F. & A.M. 1857-1957* (Staunton, Va.: McClure Company, 1957), pp. 4-5.

the business until his sudden death on December 25, 1977. Under father and son this store was in continuous operation for almost eighty-five years.[23]

The mountain scenery and tranquillity of Lake A. Willis Robertson Park, owned by the state and leased by the County of Rockbridge, located just off the old Lexington-Covington Turnpike (SR 770), now attract many visitors to Collierstown.

The current population of Collierstown is smaller than in former days. As early as the Revolution residents of Collierstown began to trek across the mountains to the new lands beyond the Ohio. The opening in 1784 of the Virginia Military Reserve in fertile Greene and adjacent counties of Ohio, and the U.S. Bounty Lands, 1812 and 1816, in Illinois and Missouri,[24] gave impetus to the migration of young Collierines. An amazing number of people in the midwest and beyond trace their ancestry to Collierstown.

Early Families and Personalities

Agnes L. Hotinger

While it would be almost impossible to name all of the early settlers of Colliers Creek and vicinity, tradition tells us that they included the Armentrouts, Forsythes, Halls, Harpers, Houstons, Leeches, Montgomerys, Moores, and Scotts. The Hulls and later the McLeods lived on land now owned by Adale Johnston. Josephine McLeod was a World War I army nurse who later became superintendent of nurses at the University of Virginia Hospital.

The mill, which can still be seen, originally belonged to John Collier, who sold it to Smith Williamson. The mill changed hands often, belonging

23. Ledgers of A. W. Morrison's Store, 1893-1977, courtesy of Mrs. Charles M. Morrison.

24. Charles O. Paullin, "Military Reserves, 1778-1816, With Dates of Creation." in *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States* (Washington: Carnegie Institution, 1932).

at various times to Thomas Scott, Philip Hull, Isaac Potter, and H. W. Wade. In 1922 it was again sold, this time to H. J. Wade, and in 1925 it was sold to E. C. Cummings. Mrs. E. B. Stilz, a returned missionary, now owns the mill.

Another prominent citizen was Joseph C. Tolley, a farmer and an elder in the Presbyterian Church; he is perhaps best remembered for his interest in the county Sunday School Association. W. P. Leech, a Civil War veteran, lived in the house now owned by Clinton Leech. He was also an elder in the Presbyterian church for nearly four decades, and for most of that period he was clerk of the Session. All of these people lived in nor near Marmion.

Just up Colliers Creek lived the Blacks, Hamiltons, and Ayres, all of whom were known for their musical abilities. Whenever they got together with the Deacons of Buffalo community, they sang beautifully. Fred Sanford and his sister lived just above the school. Fred is remembered for his bad memory. One story told of him relates that one day he went to Hostetter's store and asked Mr. Hostetter to fill up his car's gasoline tank. Mr. Hostetter, trying to oblige, went outside, but soon he came back to ask where the car was. Fred had forgotten to bring it with him.

The Seahorns were quite influential in the community at one time. They operated a flourishing business growing cress, owning ponds in Collierstown and Marmion as well as considerable land. Other local businesses included stores run by the Hostetters, Goodbars, Elliots, Ayres, and Morrisons. A. W. Morrison operated his store for forty-three years, closing finally in 1978; at this time the building houses a craft shop. Morrison is remembered here as the kindest man who ever lived in Collierstown, and his store served as a real community center.

Dr. W. A. Wilkinson was the first physician to settle in Collierstown. He was a man of fine intellect, wonderful memory, and untiring energy. Having acquired a large amount of property, he willed each of his children—William, John, Alfred, Cornelia, Sara Virginia, Cynthia, Agnes, Mary Ann, and Rebecca Jane—nice farms and homes when he died in 1871. He also donated land for the Union School, the Friends of Temperance Hall, and the Presbyterian Church. By 1888 the community had three doctors: S. M. Hileman, J. L. Leitch, and W. H. Rogers. In 1897 or 1898 Dr. H. R. Coleman came to town. Several people still living in this area were ushered into the world by Dr. Coleman. He took care of all the ills and afflictions of the community's people; it was never too hot or too cold and the snow was never too deep to prevent him from answering a call for help. One night he was attending a school Christmas play when he was told that he was needed some distance away. The snow was quite deep that night, and

his car turned over an bank. He summoned help, got the car uprighted, and continued on his mission of mercy.

Collierstown has been represented in almost every field of endeavor. The town has sent two citizens to the House of Delegates (J. F. Harper and Charles Armentrout), two to the ministery (W. F. Wilhelm, Presbyterian, and James H. Fitzpatrick, Episcopal), two to the law (J. H. Gilmer and Chapman J. Seahorn), two to medicine (W. H. Rogers and Guy Sanford), one into editing (W. Phil McCorkle), and, alas, several to jail. The town has also furnished a wagonload of school teachers. My brief comments have included only a few of the people of Collierstown, but you can see that it has been a good place to live.

The Development of Community Schools

Emory M. Potter

Early schools in the Collierstown community were similar to those found in all frontier settlements. Education was originally a private matter with either a family member or a hired schoolmaster being in charge of teaching the three R's. As the number of settlers increased, families united to build "field schools," usually on land unsuitable for farming, and hired a teacher.

In the early nineteenth century there was a Union School located in a field near the Sanford home. Some time before the Civil War, Captain James Harper, who took a deep interest in everything happening in the community, built a new school house on his property, although its exact location has been lost. To find a teacher, he went to Boston and returned with Miss Rachel L. Hays to run his Commoran Institute, a boarding school for young girls. The school lasted a decade or so, and the teachers tended to marry well in the community. There was also a school in the 1880s and 1890s, not far from the Presbyterian Church, called Marmion High School. It was on the Black farm, now owned by Charlie Potter, Jr., and it is possible that it used the building built for the Commoran Institute.

By the late-nineteenth century, public schools were being started all over the state. These, along with the field schools, resulted in the establishment of schools on practically every one of Colliers Creek's tributaries. These

schools were in session for only about four or five months each year.

During 1906–7, Collierstown Graded and High School was built, which led to the consolidation and closing of many of the smaller local schools—Maple Grove, for example. This also led to the first school "bus"—a horse-drawn wagon that brought pupils to Collierstown from Maple Grove. In addition, many pupils rode horses to school, and a number of families had stalls to house their animals during the school day. Initially, Collierstown High School was a four-year school, but within a few years it went to two years. Those who wished to complete the final two years had to go to Brownsburg, Rockbridge Baths, Palmer, or elsewhere as boarding students. The high school was combined with Effinger High School in 1922, but the elementary school lasted until the late 1950s.

There was another school at the junction of the Lexington-Covington Turnpike (now County 672) and State Road 251. Apparently it was called the Collierstown Colored School, although some older residents of the community say that white children also attended, but in a separate room. Another school for black children was located around Painters Mill.

The Blacks Creek neighborhood had its share of schools, including Lower Blacks Creek School and Upper Blacks Creek School. An inventory from the former just after the turn of the century noted the following items on hand: one soap, no good; one ax, no good; one bucket; one dipper; one new Virginia map; seventeen rickety desks. In 1918 these two schools were colsolidated with Collierstown Graded School and Effinger High School. There was also a Blacks Creek Colored School which existed until the late 1960s.

West of Collierstown on County 770 (also part of the old Lexington-Covington Turnpike) was Rough and Ready School. Allegedly it derived its name from the carpenters who built it, who said: "It's rough, but it's ready." This school existed until the early 1930s, when it was combined with Collierstown Elementary School. The second of the two buildings which housed the school still exists and is the residence of Hubert Paitsel.

North of Collierstown, toward Denmark, was Unexpected School. The people in this area had wanted a school but did not expect to get one; thus, when one was built it was Unexpected. The school had two locations; one at the junction of county roads 647 and 749, and another was built around 1918 at the junction of 646 and 749. It too was closed in the late 1930s. The building served the Presbyterian Church as Unexpected Chapel, an outpost which continued until 1966. It is now part of the residence of Vernon Montgomery.

I have already mentioned Maple Grove School, which was located near the junction of 646 and 651 in the Maple Grove community. It closed in 1907 with the opening of Collierstown Graded and High School.

Upper Blacks Creek School, c.1912. Left to right: (front row) Roy Hayslett, Greenlee Weade, Howard C. Nicely, Herman Knick, Ollice Higgins, Jesse Crutchfield, Crowder Long, Edith Clark, Nellie Hayslett, Radie Clark, Edie Ayers, Delores Knick, and Mollie Ayers; (second row) Admiral Cervera Clark, Tom Crutchfield; (back row) Pearl Reid—teacher, Clara Weade, Cuba Crutchfield, Mertie Weade, Viola Nicely, Ellen Hayslett, Graham Crutchfield, Warner Hayslett, Vernon Hayslett, Guy Hayslett. (Courtesy Viola V. Nicely.)

Yet another school with an odd name was Bird Forest, on 644 near Little House Mountain. The large number of birds inhabiting the cedar trees in the vicinity gave it its name. It closed in the late 1930s. Not far away, on 641, were Cummings Field School and House Mountain School.

In the Effinger neighborhood, at the junction of 641 and 676, was Montgomery Field School. Then north on 676 were the two locations of Greever School. Where Toad Run enters Colliers Creek a four-year high school was built. It opened in September 1922 as Buffalo High School, but its name was changed in December to Effinger High School to honor former school superintendent George W. Effinger. The frame building remained a high school until 1939 and served as an elementary school until 1960; it is presently an apartment building. In 1939 the high school moved

across Colliers Creek to a new brick building. It continued in that location until 1960 when it was combined with Lexington High School. Since then the building has served as an elementary school.

That Effinger Elementary should be the only school remaining in the greater Collierstown area is an indication of the extent of change in the region. Industries have moved on, employment decreased, families became smaller, the population declined, and people increasingly had use of automobiles. All these factors had considerable impact upon educational needs in the area. However, as you look over the historical record, you can see that over the decades these schools have produced good citizens and have given the state and nation representatives in most professions and vocations.

The Area's Churches

Charles A. Potter

As you would expect, the Collierstown region has been home to many churches over more than two centuries. The first I wish to discuss is Oxford Presbyterian Church, which was organized in 1768 on Buffalo Creek. It is first mentioned in the minutes of Hanover Presbytery in 1775 when it joined Falling Spring and High Bridge Presbyterian churches. A number of ministers served intermittently, but a pastor was not settled at Oxford until 1778.

Oxford's first building was made of logs and had been erected in 1763; sections were added over time giving it the shape of a cross. In 1811 a new stone church was built near the present site. Rev. Andrew B. Davidson, who began his work in 1803, held services alternately in Oxford and Collierstown, but in 1842 disagreement within the congregation led him to drop the Oxford preaching and to continue his efforts at Collierstown. The Oxford group petitioned the Presbytery and was reestablished as Old Oxford Presbyterian Church in September 1843. The "Old" was dropped from the name in 1860. After the Civil War the congregation raised the funds to build the present building, which was dedicated in August 1868.

The Collierstown Presbyterian Church was organized by Rev. Davidson and others in August 1842. The first place of worship—called Ship Rock Meeting House after a local rock formation—was a large shed located

along Colliers Creek near the farm now owned by Kenton Hotinger. In the mid-1850s the congregation decided to construct a brick building on a more suitable site. The present church's land was donated by Dr. W. A. Wilkinson, a local physician who had served as an elder in Old Oxford Church. The present building took two years to complete and cost over three thousand dollars; when it was dedicated in June 1856 the name was changed to Collierstown Presbyterian Church. In 1910 the building was extensively remodeled and the present ceiling installed. In 1951 the Sunday School Building was dedicated. At one time the church had outpost chapels at Unexpected and Bird Forest.

Collierstown United Methodist Church is composed of three formerly independent congregations: Cedar Grove on Blacks Creek, Mt. Moreland on Sugar Creek, and Collierstown on Colliers Creek. The hymn "Little Brown Church in the Wildwood" would almost describe all three of these early one-room rural churches. Collierstown Methodist Church was organized about 1837 by the Rev. George W. Humphreys and John Lynn. For many years it was known as Colliers Creek Methodist. The Collierstown circuit was formed from the Lexington circuit with Elliot's Hill, South Buffalo, and Midway. The first report mentioning a preacher's salary was in 1838; he received $3.30.

Perhaps the most outstanding contribution the Collierstown church has made to the world was in the work of one of its members, Dora Jane Armstrong Clark, who died in 1963. She grew up in the church, giving herself to the work and worship; after preparing herself as a registered nurse, she became a missionary in the Belgian Congo, arriving on September 16, 1925. She served two terms in that field and founded a leper colony, the first to be established in that colony.

Mt. Moreland Methodist Church was, like Collierstown, a part of the Methodist Episcopal Church South. It was built in 1895 with labor donated by members of the community. The building was remodeled around 1950. Cedar Grove Methodist Church was part of the Methodist Episcopal Church North, belonged to the West Virginia Conference, and was part of the Eagle Rock Charge. In the spring, summer, and fall, the ministers used to walk from the parsonage at Eagle Rock to Mt. Moreland; in the winter they rode horseback, weather permitting. The only presiding elder than can be recalled now was a Dr. Ressinger, who lived at Buchanan, West Virginia. On the same charge were Rapps Mill, Mt. Horeb, Jack Town, Cedar Grove, and Eagle Rock. Leaders of Mt. Moreland church included Mr. and Mrs. Alfred Clark, Mr. John Nicely, and Mrs. M. V. Wilhelm. Cedar Grove sent two members into the work of the church: Dr. W. Palmer Clark, a Methodist minister, and Miss Homie R. Clark, a deacon.

All three churches plus Mt. Horeb merged to form Collierstown charge

in 1939. The Mt. Moreland and Cedar Grove churches united under one roof at Collierstown in 1966. Collierstown Methodist Church became Collierstown United Methodist in 1972. The present educational building was built in the early 1970s.

New Hope Baptist Church, initially known as Salem Church, was organized by nineteen charter members on August 22, 1858, at the headwaters of Colliers Creek on James Goodbar's farm. The name change was made in 1871. The congregation first met in a log building, and the members were apparently unable to pay for the church lot. J. M. Pilcher visited New Hope on Sunday, August 30, 1879, and reported: "I learned during the afternoon that the lot, purchased ten years ago, had not been paid for, and consequently they had not title to the property, but owed a sum that was rapidly doubling itself. Mr. James Goodbar, the original owner, gave the lot, on the condition that we should enlarge the house and enclose the lot. It was joyfully accepted."

As a result of changes in membership, the congregation voted on August 8, 1891, to relocate 1.2 miles down Colliers Creek at the rear of the Maple Grove School. The congregation met in the Rough and Ready School near Stone Castle at the foot of North Mountain until the new frame building was dedicated on November 26, 1893. In 1960 a new church was built on the old site of Collierstown Graded School and an independent Baptist church was formed from the New Hope and Oakdale congregations.

On April 20, 1894, three young Adventist ministers—S. A. Mundy, Sherman W. Good, and Stephen Bowe—arrived in Collierstown after a rough trip on foot and horseback from Jackson County, West Virginia. Finding the building which they had arranged to use for their services locked against them, they conducted a meeting the next day in Rough and Ready School. A church body was organized with twenty-five to thirty members. Mr. John Alexander Nicely, a charter member, donated land and many others gave timber and labor to build a chapel at the foot of North Mountain. Located above the surrounding valleys, the church could be seen for miles, and from the steps one had a panoramic view of the area. It was named Union View Advent Christian Church and the building was dedicated on August 16, 1896. The present brick structure, on the same site as the earlier frame chapel, was dedicated on July 31, 1960.

The local black community used to gather on Sunday afternoons on Keiger's Hill under a big old oak tree to sing and worship. In 1874 John Replogle, an elder in Oxford Presbyterian Church, donated land for a church at the intersection of what is now County 672 and State 251 for the Cedar Hill Baptist Church. The church is still used on the third Sunday of August, when the former members have their homecoming and picnic.

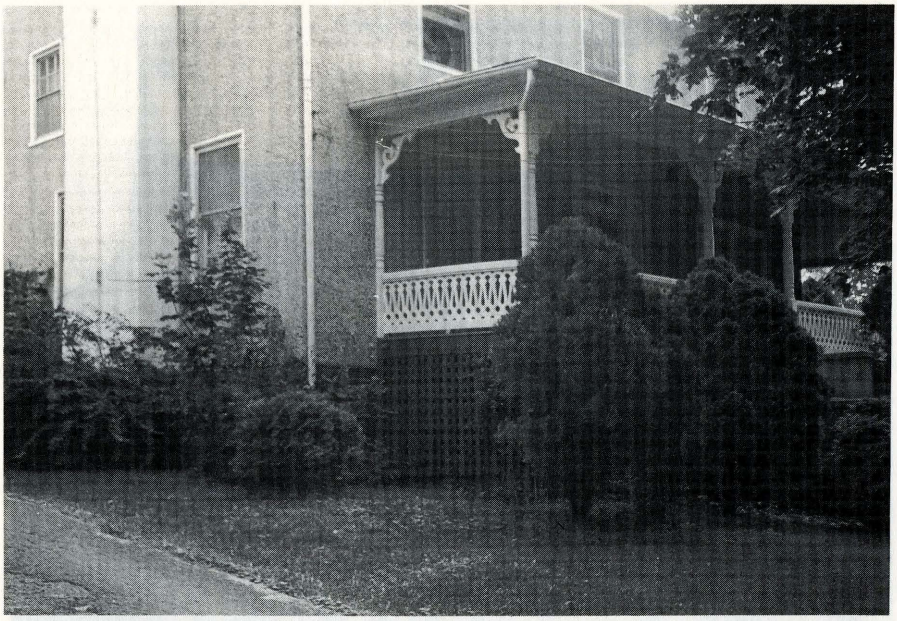
Some Historical Homes

George B. Ax

I would like to discuss four of the more interesting homes in the Collierstown area. We must realize that on this side of the Blue Ridge the old buildings were not, for the most part, as elegant as those found at Monticello and eastward. They were pioneering here in those days, and this area was settled by Scotch-Irish and Pennsylvania Germans who were frugal people.

The first building, now owned by Mr. and Mrs. Kenton Hotinger, is located one mile west of Collierstown. Inhabitants of this area have long referred to it as the Abraham Hotinger house. The first structure was a small, two-story, log building presumably built by Andrew Elder about 1760. There is no record of how long it was used before owners started making additions. Later it was remodeled and the beaded poplar weatherboarding was added over the original log structure. About 1957 the present owners stuccoed it. The house is rectangular with an L-shaped kitchen addition in back. The foundation of the building and the three brick chimneys are stone. The roof is metal. The interior walls are plaster, and the floors are pine. The three-panel pine doors are 3½ feet wide, and the front door has a transom and side lights. Despite its age, the house is in excellent condition.

The second home, on County Road 672 about eight miles west of Lexington, is owned by Mr. and Mrs. Paul Zimmerman. Older residents know it as the former home of Charles G. McCorkle, although it has had at least nine owners. The house, initially a two-story log structure, was apparently built by John Summers about 1775. It had a clapboard roof and an eight-foot-wide stone chimney in the center of the building; two smaller stone chimneys were built at either end of the house. Some years later—the date is not known—a frame addition was made on the rear, and the house now contains ten rooms. The entire structure has been covered with weather-board and painted, but the original log structure has been preserved. There is a two-story stone spring house in the yard that was probably built at the same time as the house. Local tradition, which has neither been confirmed nor successfully denied, says that the stone-walled cellar was used in the early days as a refuge against attack by Indians.



Hotinger Home, c.1760. (Courtesy G. B. Ax.)

Zimmerman Home, 1775. (Courtesy G. B. Ax.)

Old Home of Jacob Armentrout, c.1775. (Courtesy G. B. Ax.)

"Alphin," 1850. (Courtesy G. B. Ax.)

The third structure was supposed to have been built by Andrew Elder about 1775. It is owned by Mr. and Mrs. Lorenzo Black and is known as the old Jacob Armentrout house. It is located two miles west of Colliers-town on Route 770. The two-story building was built primarily of different colored sandstones, which gives it a very pleasing appearance. It is forty by sixty feet with two stone chimneys built in the walls with large fireplaces. The roof was originally clapboards, but later these were replaced with tin. The stone-walled cellar is under the entire house. Local tradition asserts that during construction workmen carried the stone on their shoulders from a nearby quarry.

The last house is "Alphin" which my wife and I own. It is located on Colliers Creek on the west side of County 646 about two miles from Lake Robertson. William Collier, a builder, did the house in 1850. Unlike the other three, this two-story, ten-room (originally twelve) house is in the so-called Victorian style. The red brick used in its construction was made across the creek. There are five wall chimneys and fireplaces; a sixth interior chimney served the kitchen. The floors are the original pine. Most of the windows contain the original glass, but there are no sash weights. It seems that during the Civil War the lead weights were turned in to make ammunition and they were never replaced.

Drawing from the 1897 W&L Calyx *showing a train going (the wrong way) into Lexington station.*

Bringing the Railroad to Lexington 1866–1883

Matthew W. Paxton, Jr.

IN the wheeling and dealing, boom and bust post-Civil War era, the railroads dominated the news. Even quiet little Lexington, Virginia, felt great ambition to become a railroad center. In the local news sheets the railroads vied for top billing with the statewide political battle between the "funders" and the "readjusters."

At that time the town's railroad ambitions were not so farfetched, for in 1881 the village of Big Lick, fifty miles down the Valley, had a population of but four hundred souls.[1] In that year east-west and north-south rail connections were secured for the town which would soon become the railroad boom city of Roanoke. Also in 1881 the first train from Richmond chugged into East Lexington.

But the rail connection most desired was the one with Baltimore, and that was to come, only after great difficulties, several years later. The late

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Matthew W. Paxton, Jr., a descendant of one of the county's pioneer families and an expert on local history, has been editor of the *News Gazette* for many years. His paper was delivered in Washington and Lee University's DuPont Hall Auditorium on October 26, 1981.

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1. William Couper, *History of the Shenandoah Valley,* p. 1033.

Rockbridge historian E. P. Tompkins recalled that "less than two years after the conditions of extreme privation of 1864, the citizens of Rockbridge County were so desirous of good transportation that they were willing to burden themselves with . . . debt." In October 1866 they approved a $100,000 bond issue to help finance the Valley Railroad. The company would construct a line from Salem to Harrisonburg, where it would connect with other lines reaching up the Valley to Harpers Ferry, at which point it would connect with the Baltimore and Ohio system. Additional county bond issues were voted by overwhelming majorities in 1868 and 1871. The total Rockbridge subscription amounted to $525,000.[2]

The legislative bill chartering the Valley Railroad was one of many acts of incorporation passed by the General Assembly of 1864 for the rebuilding of the state's war-shattered economy. On April 4, 1866, a convention was held in Staunton with eight counties represented and the railroad was organized.[3] Colonel M. G. Harman of Augusta County was elected president. The eleven directors included two from Rockbridge, D. C. E. Brady and J. T. Patton.[4]

One of the conditions of the Rockbridge railroad bonds was that capital be obtained from Baltimore to help construct the railroad which would largely benefit that city.[5] Efforts to obtain this needed capital were climaxed by a visit to Baltimore in April 1869 of a delegation from the Valley that included General Robert E. Lee, who was then president of Washington College.

The Baltimore newspapers described in detail the visit of the delegation from "Augusta, Rockingham, Roanoke, Botetourt and Rockbridge counties and the town of Staunton, Va., soliciting a subscription of $1 million on behalf of the Valley Railroad." The descriptions left no doubt that Baltimore was, at heart, a Southern city.

After the group's arrival in Baltimore on Wednesday, April 21, it assembled and, on motion of Colonel M. G. Harman, president of the Valley road, called General Lee to the chair.

At noon on Friday, April 23, the Baltimore press reported:

> the Corn and Flour Exchange was crowded by members of the Board of Trade, members of the Corn Exchange, distinguished officials and others assembled to receive General R. E. Lee and other delegates. . . . Shortly afterwards General R. E. Lee appeared, accompanied by the delegates in

2. E. P. Tompkins, "The Valley Railroad," Rockbridge Historical Society Collection, Washington and Lee University Library, Lexington, Va.

3. Couper, *History of the Shenandoah Valley,* pp. 974–75.

4. Lexington *Gazette and Banner,* April 11, 1866.

5. Tompkins, "Valley Railroad."

behalf of the Valley Road, and he was received with applause and cheers. The presiding officer said the object of the meeting . . . is to aid in the construction of a road to connect with the Virginia Valley.

Col. Harman, at the request of Gen. Lee, then said the Valley Road wanted $1 million in aid from the city, and the counties and towns along the road would give the $1,200,000. . . . He said, "I frankly state that without your aid we cannot build this road. . . . If you give us this aid, in a short time you will get that remuneration and the same return as you now get from the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. For four years, since the late war, we have tried to finish the line, which for 20 years previous we had been prevented from constructing by the eastern counties of the state. . . . If we receive the aid, the road will be completed in two years. I hope the Board of Trade will endorse it."

A favorable resolution to city council was promptly adopted. The newspaper account continued: "General Lee proceeded out of the hall, the crowd pressing all around him, seeking the privilege of shaking him by the hand. . . . As the General reached the street in view of the crowd there assembled, everyone, as moved by one impulse, lifted their hats and remained uncovered until he was gone."

An official audience with the mayor and council of Baltimore had been arranged for Friday at 4:00 P.M. in the Western Female High School Building. General Lee, acting as spokesman for the Valley Railroad, alluded to a survey of the route made in 1866. "This report is very full in regard to the through connections which this link establishes with the entire southwestern part of the country. . . . It exhibits the advantages Baltimore would derive. More than 40 years ago Baltimore offered a bonus to Virginia for the mere right-of-way through her domains. Now the right-of-way is not only freely granted, but in addition the counties along the way have taxed themselves nearly a million." Noting that the Salem terminus was on the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad, Lee declared: "This route will afford the shortest line of travel from the large and populous portion of the North to much of the best part of the South."

After quoting the Baltimore newspaper accounts of Lee's visit, the *Virginia Gazette* of Lexington reported: "We learn from delegates from this county who have returned that there is every probability that in one way or another Baltimore will take $1,000,000 of stock in the Valley Road." Almost two months later the Lexington newspaper noted that Baltimore City Council had approved an ordinance to extend the aid to the railroad, but it had tacked on the sticky provisions that the legislature must first approve it and then a vote of the people of Baltimore be taken.[6]

General Lee himself reluctantly succeeded Colonel Harman as president of the Valley Railroad on August 30, 1870. In the last letter he wrote before

6. Lexington *Virginia Gazette,* April 28 and June 23, 1869.

his death, Lee said, on September 28, 1870, "I expect to have to visit Baltimore this fall in relation to the Valley Railroad."[7]

A few days after Lee's death on October 12, 1870, Robert Garrett, of the family that controlled the B&O, was elected president of the Valley Railroad and this indicated that Baltimore capitalists had decided to support the road. On October 31, 1871, the City of Baltimore subscribed ten thousand shares of stock at a par value of $100 and at about the same time the B&O subscribed ten thousand shares.[8]

Work on the line commenced in earnest and it was opened from Harrisonburg to Staunton on March 3, 1874. A contract had been signed with the Mason Syndicate on May 20, 1873, for completion of the line from Staunton to Salem and work was started in July.[9] The Lexington *Gazette and Citizen* reported on November 13, 1874: "The arched culvert over Woods Creek, back of the University grounds, has been finished. It is a most complete and substantial piece of masonry and reflects credit upon the builder, E. J. Leyburn, Esq. The material used in its construction is beautiful gray limestone from the quarries of Prof. J. J. White, near town." However, as the result of the panic of 1873, the B&O compelled the Valley Railroad to suspend construction in December 1874 and loaned it $244,275 to discharge its liabilities to contractors.[10] The long delay that followed probably sealed the doom of Lexington as a railroad town.

From the time railroad building resumed after the Civil War, the railroads in Virginia had been involved in a complicated power struggle which was closely enmeshed in state politics. A key figure in the struggle was William "Billy" Mahone, who became widely known as a leader of the "readjuster" movement, aimed at scaling down the state debt. As president of three Southside Virginia railroads, he succeeded in 1870 in merging them into a single line linking Norfolk and Bristol, which eventually became the Norfolk and Western. He was opposed by John W. Garrett, who wanted to tap the trade of southwestern Virginia for the B&O. Mahone argued in his newspaper, the *Richmond Whig,* that "non-consolidation with Norfolk, must and can result in nothing else than consolidation with Baltimore."[11]

7. J. Randolph Kean, "The Development of the 'Valley Line' of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 60(October 1952): 546; Couper, *History of the Shenandoah Valley,* p. 991.

8. Kean, "Development of the 'Valley Line'," p. 547.

9. Ibid.

10. Lexington *Gazette and Citizen,* November 13, 1874; Kean, "Development of the 'Valley Line'," p. 549.

11. Allen W. Moger, *Virginia: Bourbonism to Byrd, 1870-1925,* pp. 14-15.

The next year both the B&O and the Pennsylvania won rail links in Virginia over Mahone's opposition. All of this manipulation was accomplished through purchase of the state's interest in roads it had helped build before the war. The Pennsylvania secured control of the Richmond and Danville and the Richmond and Petersburg roads, and the B&O got the Orange and Alexandria line.

The state's policy was to divest itself of its railroad bonds at a fraction of their prewar value and also "to allow anybody to build a road anywhere, provided they ask no money from the state." The result was a long series of railroad bankruptcies.[12]

Competition between the B&O and the Pennsylvania came into play in the Valley, where railroad construction was stalled for a long period after the panic of 1873.

The *Shenandoah* Valley Railroad had been chartered in 1867 to begin at Hagerstown, where it could connect with the Pennsylvania, and to extend down the east side of the Valley, roughly parallel to the Valley Railroad. The Shenandoah Valley line had difficulty in raising capital. Construction was started in 1870, but was suspended in 1873. Not much headway was made until 1879 when northern capitalists, generally associated with the Pennsylvania, began buying stock. The road was completed to Waynesboro on April 18, 1881. Then, in an amazing burst of speed, it was opened to Roanoke in June 1882. The depression of 1884 forced it into receivership on April 1, 1885, and it was sold under court order to the N&W in 1890. But in the meantime it had tapped at Roanoke the valuable coal traffic of southwest Virginia and had made an "end run" on the Valley Railroad.[13]

While the Shenandoah Valley Railroad slipped into Rockbridge County through the side door, the leaders of the county were still fretting over the lack of progress of the Valley Railroad, in which the county had invested its money. The Valley line stockholders, meeting in Staunton in November 1878, sought to divorce the line from the B&O. Failing this, they met again in December and proposed to lease the completed portion of the road to the C&O. This would have enabled the C&O to pick up the valley trade at Staunton and leave the B&O with an unimportant local line at the upper end of the Valley.[14]

Rockbridge interests felt they were being unfairly taxed for long-promised railroad service they had never received. J. B. Dorman was sent

12. Ibid., p. 17.
13. Kean, "Development of the 'Valley Line'," p. 549.
14. Lexington *Gazette and Citizen,* November 22 and December 13, 1878.

to Baltimore to advise the B&O authorities that the Rockbridge County Board of Supervisors planned to petition the legislature to dissolve the Valley Railroad and revoke its charter if it did not resume construction in good faith.[15]

The years 1880–81 were pivotal ones for railroading in Rockbridge. This period saw not only the completion of the first railroad into Lexington, but also the proposal of a grand scheme to connect Pittsburgh with Lynchburg by way of Lexington and Goshen Pass,[16] as well as the announcement of plans to complete the long-delayed Valley Railroad from Staunton to Salem through Lexington. Finally, these years saw the beginning of the successful "end run" of the Shenandoah Valley Railroad.

The Lexington *Gazette and Citizen* reported on October 20, 1881, "that extension of the Valley Railroad to Lexington, Va., is to be a fact in the early future is definitely indicated by an advertisement in the Baltimore *Sun* for proposals from contractors for grading, etc." It is significant that, while earlier plans had called for completion of the line to Salem, the railroad was now talking about completion only to Lexington.

The same issue of the *Gazette and Citizen* carried a long article on the completion of the Richmond and Alleghany's line up the Maury River to East Lexington. The line would later become a part of the C&O system. The newspaper recalled that the bill authorizing the sale of the James River and Kanawha Company's canal works to the Richmond and Alleghany became a law in 1878 and on March 5, 1880, the final contract between the companies was executed.

Track laying began July 8, 1880, at Maiden's Adventure, near Richmond, and on Friday afternoon, October 14, 1881, the last rail was laid on the Lexington division, the main line from Richmond to Clifton Forge having been completed a month earlier. The next day trains started almost simultaneously from Natural Bridge, East Lexington, and Richmond, meeting at Howardsville, where the road was formally declared open.

The *Gazette and Citizen* reported that on the eve of the official opening "the special train reached Natural Bridge about sunset and the official party there met President French [of the Richmond and Alleghany] and his party who had come from New York and Boston via the White Sulphur." A banquet was held at The Bridge and during the evening's toasts one speaker commented that "Richmond, the queen city of Virginia and

15. Tompkins, "Valley Railroad."

16. "Report Upon the Proposed Railway from Pittsburgh, Pa. to the James River Valley in Virginia," Rockbridge Historical Society Collection.

the queen of the James River Valley, would soon be wedded to the Great Lakes by the Richmond and Alleghany Railroad."[17]

The arrival of the railroad, bringing fast, modern travel to Lexington, was heralded by the local newspaper with the exclamation, "hereafter, the whistle and not the horn [of the canal boat] will announce the arrival and departure of travelers to and from Lexington."[18] But the advent of rail transportation turned out to be a mixed blessing. It was not long before the *Gazette and Citizen* reported: "We regret to say that the Richmond and Alleghany Railroad again desecrated the Sabbath day and caused others to desecrate it, in running an excursion train from Lynchburg to this place on Sunday last. We hear of conduct upon the part of certain persons who came upon the train which a proper regard for our readers compels us to refrain from publishing. We would be glad if our town authorities would take such steps as would prevent our town being deluged with a class of people detrimental to decency and good order on the Sabbath day."[19]

At the time the Richmond and Alleghany Railroad reached East Lexington with its line up the James and North [Maury] rivers in 1881, work on the Valley Railroad was moving forward at a painfully slow pace. The *Staunton Vindicator* noted in March 1883 that track laying would start southward "this week" and the road to Lexington would be finished in time for the ceremonies dedicating the recumbent statue in Lee Chapel in June. This great occasion, presided over by General Jubal Early, came and went and still there was no Valley Railroad connection to Lexington.[20]

Meanwhile, under the heading "A Blow at Baltimore," the local paper reported:

> holders of Shenandoah Valley Railroad Co. general mortagages of which there are $3,930,000 outstanding at 6 per cent are jubilant over the discovery that a traffic contract has recently been made with the Pennsylvania so favorable . . . that while the latter corporation does not exactly guarantee the bonds . . . it consents to provisions which are said to virtually effect the same result. The Shenandoah Road promises to send business to the Pennsylvania Road.[21]

The Baltimore newspapers continued to plug for connections with the South with the plea, "Our city has in the past invested heavily in the roads that connect us with the West. And now that our trade becomes each year more identified with the South the same policy should be extended to

17. Lexington *Gazette and Citizen,* October 20, 1881.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid., June 14, 1883.
20. Ibid., March 29 and June 28, 1883.
21. Ibid., July 12, 1883.

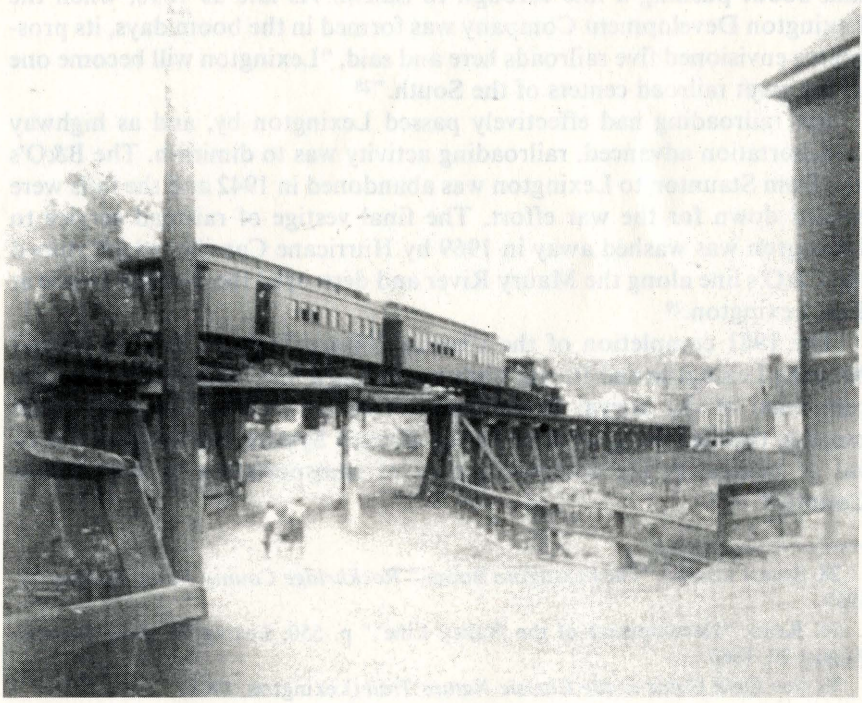
Southern connections."[22] But the *Gazette and Citizen,* commenting on a railroad purchase elsewhere said, "It is highly probable that the Shenandoah Valley [railroad] will again flank the B & O by occupying the territory south of Salem, Va. and into North Carolina."[23] But on September 10, 1883, a mixed train for the accommodation of passengers began running regularly on the Valley Road between Staunton and Raphine Station. Reported the *Staunton Vindicator* at that time, "The track is laid a mile or two beyond Fairfield, and at the rate the work is being done, should be completed to Lexington by the last of October."

The lead article in the *Gazette and Citizen* on October 18, 1883, was headed "Almost Here," and began: "For 10 years we have been talking and writing about the Valley Railroad, alternating hopes and fears finding expression in what we had to say. . . . We are gratified to say that the Lexington connection is at last virtually accomplished. . . . The track on Monday evening was just opposite Col. Harman's house and about 500 yards from the trestle across the Valley Pike at Willow Springs, leaving a gap of 1¼ miles, which the manager informed us would be completed by Thursday evening, and before our county readers receive the *Gazette* this week, the connection will be made with the Richmond and Alleghany Railroad at the River. The first train through from Staunton will bring the material for the construction of the Lexington depot, which will be of Baltimore pressed brick and will be one of the handsomest on the line of the road."[24]

The next week the paper trumpeted "Finished," and told that "the first through passenger train on the Valley Railroad, (a special) arrived at the junction with the Richmond and Alleghany Railroad on Saturday evening last, with the cadets of the VMI returning from the Winchester Fair."[25] The two rail lines were connected with a "Y" for turning the trains around. The R&A granted the Valley Railroad trackage rights from the "Y" to its East Lexington terminus and the Valley Line granted the R&A trackage rights from that point to the station in Lexington. Turning at the "Y," trains had to back up a fairly steep grade into Lexington.

The railroad era had finally arrived in Lexington. The newspapers announced a double daily from Lexington to Baltimore, with a sleeping car from Lynchburg to Baltimore on the night express. There would be a choice of either day or night trains to northern cities. The schedule for the

22. Ibid., October 11, 1883.
23. Ibid., August 7, 1883.
24. Ibid., October 18, 1883.
25. Ibid., October 25, 1883.



Chesapeake and Ohio train on the trestle at Jordan's Point, backing up the hill to the Lexington station.

sleeper called for it to leave Lexington at 8:00 P.M. and pass Staunton at 10:00 P.M., arriving at Baltimore at 7:30 A.M., Philadelphia at 12:50 P.M., and New York at 3:30. Coming south the train would leave Baltimore at 7:30 P.M., arrive at Staunton at 3:00 A.M. and reach Lynchburg at 7:30.[26] An elderly resident of Greenville in Augusta County recalled not long ago that with the advent of the railroad the villagers became city people. They would catch the early morning train and in a few minutes arrive in Staunton for a day's shopping.

The cost of completing the railroad from Staunton to Lexington had been $1,250,000, and another $800,000 had been spent in construction between Lexington and Salem.[27] Local railroad enthusiasts continued to

26. Ibid., November 8, 1883.
27. Kean, "Development of the 'Valley Line'," p. 548.

talk about pushing a line through to Salem. As late as 1890, when the Lexington Development Company was formed in the boom days, its prospectus envisioned five railroads here and said, "Lexington will become one of the great railroad centers of the South."[28]

But railroading had effectively passed Lexington by, and as highway transportation advanced, railroading activity was to diminish. The B&O's line from Staunton to Lexington was abandoned in 1942 and the rails were melted down for the war effort. The final vestige of railroad service to Lexington was washed away in 1969 by Hurricane Camille, which ruined the C&O's line along the Maury River and destroyed the wooden trestle at East Lexington.[29]

The 1981 completion of the Chessie Nature Trail on the old railbed between Lexington and Buena Vista marked in a most appropriate way the centennial of the arrival of the railroad in Lexington. The trail, made possible through the generosity of the Chessie System, has sparked a revival of interest in the colorful history of transportation in Rockbridge County.[30]

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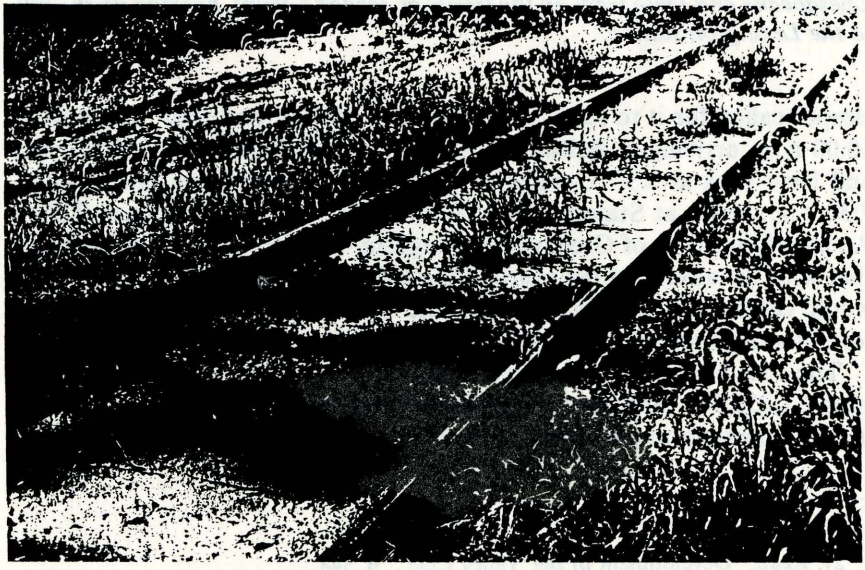
28. Stuart Moore, "The Lexington Boom," *Rockbridge County News,* January 29, 1959.

29. Kean, "Development of the 'Valley Line'," p. 550; Lexington *News-Gazette,* August 20, 1969.

30. See *Field Guide to the Chessie Nature Trail* (Lexington, 1988).



Archaeological Interpretations of Upland Historical Sites in Rockbridge County: The Opportunities and Challenges

John McDaniel, James T. Adams, Jr. and Randall Ray

THIS paper is presented to provide an update of the historic site archaeological investigations being conducted by Washington and Lee University within Rockbridge County, Virginia.

The research area we selected is located in west central Rockbridge County, Virginia, and encompasses 8,864 acres. The zone includes a segment of the Kerrs Creek floodplain and some of the highest elevations within the county—for example, Big House Mountain at 3,645 feet. Most of the area is timbered with approximately 10 percent open land located primarily along Kerrs Creek and the intermittent streams which drain the area. The percentage of flat land is low compared to the more heavily settled areas of the county. There are few extant structures within the area and it has received little historical attention.

Our area maintains the four micro-environmental zones found within the larger Ridge and Valley physiographic province of Virginia. Those are:

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floodplain, hollow, steep slope, and ridge top. (See the map on p. 457.) From the beginning of our investigation we were confident that the excavation of sites from our area would allow us to address important cultural questions relevant to historic adaptation.

Our initial field work was oriented to the location of sites. We set up a sampling strategy using the Stratified Cluster Sampling Technique (Rootenberg, 1964). Rootenberg's methodology allowed us to search all of our environmental zones without bias to hollows, floodplain, or visible structures. There are a number of archaeological advantages conferred by our area: (1) The sites have provided us with large numbers of durable artifacts; (2) Few sites have been systematically "collected"; (3) We have rarely been refused access to historic sites within our area; (4) Very little historical archaeological work has been done in the area (we have, in fact, never encountered a historic site that has been professionally excavated); and (5) Despite the fact that our research area is relatively small, it includes all four micro-environmental zones.

Sites

To date we have identified seventy-five historic sites and thirteen prehistoric sites. While most of the sites are located in either the hollows or floodplains, we have found a significant number on the much less hospitable ridge tops and steep slopes. The state of preservation of the sites varies substantially. We have found sites with extensive above ground components and others with virtually no visible structural remains. We have tested sixteen historic sites and excavated four. The three sites described below are representative of sites found on the floodplain and within the hollows.

Cunningham Floodplain Site (44RB89)

The Cunningham Site is the only floodplain site we have investigated which dates to the eighteenth century. It is located approximately 1000 feet south of Kerrs Creek, on a colluvial fan overlooking the floodplain. The oral tradition states that the inhabitants of the site were among the earliest within the area. The largest prehistoric site identified within our research area is contiguous to the Cunningham Site.

We initiated testing of the site, a raised mound of cut stone and dirt, during the autumn of 1979. Eleven 3′ x 3′ test squares produced three thousand artifacts, a significant percentage of which date to the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Ceramics representative of the period included creamware, pearlware, mocha and annular wares. A large percentage of the ceramics were service vessels. Bone handled tableware, silver plated

buttons, hand-wrought nails, and a few early farm tool parts comprised the bulk of the artifacts recovered.

During the summer field season of 1980 we excavated sixty-eight 3′ x 5′ trenches. In addition to many more small artifacts, remains of a large cut-stone foundation were uncovered. The entire chimney base and west wall of the foundation remain intact. Over nineteen thousand artifacts indicative of an initial occupation between 1775 and 1785 were excavated.

Knick/Hughes Site (44RB121)

Our second site is the Knick/Hughes Site. When we first investigated the site in 1979 with the aid of a local informant, he referred to the site as "the Knick homeplace" and provided a story about a Knick brother who deserted the Confederate Army. Subsequently, we named the site for the Knicks. Our documentary research later revealed that Knicks had neither owned nor occupied the site or hollow. The Knick/Hughes Site is the richest hollow site thus far investigated, producing over sixty-seven thousand artifacts from a hundred-year period of continuous occupation.

Taylor Hollow Site (44RB143)

The last site is the Taylor Hollow Site. This site is located in a large mountain hollow between the two House Mountains to the south of U.S. Route 60. The hollow is atypical within our research area as it enjoys a high percentage of flat land. This hollow is also better drained than most, maintaining a number of springs and streams.

Our research indicates that the Taylor Hollow was initially settled during the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century by three Taylor brothers. The Taylors assembled one of the largest tracts of land in our research area, over seven hundred acres. They owned the property until the early twentieth century.

We tested this site in 1980, implementing thirty 2′ x 2′ test squares. Ceramics, including pearlware, mocha wares, and stonewares were recovered. Intensive excavation was initiated in the spring and summer of 1981 and 1982. Structural remains consisting of two hearths and chimney bases and an intact foundation were uncovered. A varied inventory of over seventeen thousand artifacts was excavated. Ceramic analysis places this site's initial occupation to the early nineteenth century.

Non-Archaeological Data Sources

Documents

From the beginning of our research a major effort has been made to explore all of the documentation available for the time period in question. Even though we're dealing with the relatively recent past, the history of the

hollow residents is not well documented. As James Deetz has indicated, the histories of the commen men who lived in areas such as ours has been largely neglected in favor of a concentration on elite and politically powerful groups (Deetz 1977).

Records do exist. We have tried to use all sources of documentation available. These sources include account books from local stores, diaries, wills, deeds, census, and church records.

Of all these types of documentary evidence, the account books from eighteenth and nineteenth century county stores have proven to be the richest sources of data. By cataloging the names within the account books, we have been able to match accounts with inhabitants of specific sites we have excavated. These data not only allow us to make comparisons between the artifacts we excavate and what was actually purchased, but also allow us to address items that are not archaeologically durable. A key to the effective use of account book data is establishing a tie between the names provided with families who occupied specific sites we have excavated. Deeds have been especially informative. We have searched deeds for our research area and created maps which show boundaries of properties with names of deedholders. Such a map can be superimposed over a topographical map giving us land ownership patterns and demographic patterns.

Another particularly rich source of documentary data is the diary. We have one that has proven invaluable. This document is in reality a history of our research area written by the late Cleopatra Teaford. These papers describe the location of individual families and public buildings within the area, the economic status of families, information about farming practices, and social and religious activities. We have "tested" the accuracy of the Teaford Papers and been impressed. The locations of the Cunningham and Taylor sites were described in detail, and several other sites unknown to any of the living inhabitants were discovered following descriptions provided in the papers.

While I have indicated the value of documents, they do present challenges. Deeds, wills, and church records are often nonexistent for the early periods of occupation. The task of tracking down specific properties is complicated by the fact that during the eighteenth century a large portion of our research area was part of another county.

Account books are available for only a few stores and often only address relatively brief time periods in the store's history. Even the invaluable Teaford Papers are repetitive and difficult to follow.

Oral Histories

From the inception of our work we were determined to take advantage

of the knowledge possessed by the current residents of the area, many of whom are descendants of the inhabitants of the sites we are excavating.

We have spent literally hundreds of hours talking to residents of our research area since we began work in 1979. One important advantage we enjoyed is that Jim Adams lived in this area from 1974 until 1977, and he established many contacts before we began our work. Most residents of the area enjoy talking about history. Also, many members of the population are unemployed and they have time. The subjects which members of the population will discuss are many and varied; in fact, we have encountered very few subjects about which they will not provide information. In some instances they are quite willing to provide comments on behavior and members of their families engaged in things that were illegal—for example, the illegal production of alcohol or the failure to obey game laws oriented to hunting seasons and bag limits.

If there is one lesson that we have learned from our work, it is that any oral report must be assessed carefully. According to virtually all oral reports, every cabin site at the top of each hollow "was built in the seventeen hundreds." Our subsequent testing of these sites have invariably indicated that none are of eighteenth century origin. Descendants enjoy the early dates because a site that is older is immediately more interesting. Also, when an eighteenth century date is attributed to a site, that date—de facto—places one's ancestors back "in Indian times." The appeal of this period is seductive. There is no question that the adherence to the seventeenth century dates is a function of this romantic appeal. In conducting our interviews, one of the major challenges is to keep people's attention and responses focused on the mundane affairs of life. If one does not work hard at this, the data provided will be oriented to Indians or bear hunting. The informants are not attempting to deceive, nor is there any implicit dishonesty on their part; rather, they want to provide the researcher with interesting subjects. They *know* you will be more interested in what their grandfather told them of the Kerrs Creek Massacre than you will the farming activities you asked about.

We have also encountered informants with obsessions about contemporary subjects. One insisted on describing, in tedious detail, the process by which Route 60, the major road in the area, was built. This event was of such fascination to this informant that every response would be used to provide some measure of data on the history of the highway. Another similar example involved an informant who was determined to provide her philosophy of religion for us. Often the responses became attempts to convince us of the value of her chosen faith.

There was only one incident in which we encountered what we perceive to have been a calculated attempt to deceive. In this situation the informant

wanted us to think a site was on her property when in fact she knew it was in another area.

Specific Problems Encountered to Date

1. Many of the standing structures have been and are being destroyed.
2. The probability of destruction of this type of historic site is increased because many people still perceive them to be of little importance.
3. Sites located in rural areas, even when placed on the National Register, are difficult to protect. In the context of today's settlement, these areas are isolated and secluded and no one is close by to report vandalism.
4. There are certain types of sites within this area that provide very few artifacts. Two site types that provide this low visibility are the still and the saw mill.
5. Our research area is one in which survey is difficult. Access is limited by the lack of roads and the rugged terrain. These problems are compounded by vegetation and weather. In the summer the vegetation is so dense that it makes travel off the roads difficult and visibility limited. In the winter the frozen ground makes all walking a challenge and vehicular travel hazardous. The last comment is not an exaggeration. On one occasion our four-wheel drive truck slid off an icy secondary road and slid fifty feet down a steep embankment.
6. Finally, informants who are knowledgeable about the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are becoming scarce. Since our research began in 1979 eight valuable informants have died.

General Findings

1. The hollows were intensively occupied during the last half of the nineteenth century. There is evidence of eighteenth century settlement in the floodplains, but the major move into the hollows was not initiated until 1820 or 1830.
2. Although the mouth of the hollow adjacent to the floodplain is the favored settlement spot, any relatively flat area within the hollow would often be occupied.
3. Although our hollow and floodplain zones were the favored settlement locations, we have found sites on ridge tops and slopes.
4. All of the sites we have intensively excavated provide evidence of numerous economic interactions outside our research area.
5. Occupation within a hollow did not progress from the mouth of the hollow to the rear. The initial occupation was usually at the hollow mouth, but the second settlement was usually at the back or top of the hollow with the middle area being occupied later.

6. Some of the hollow sites were not as isolated as they seem today. We have identified a number of old roads and trails which connected sites to one another and to population centers.

7. Documentary evidence has indicated in the earliest period of occupation of the floodplain area, descendants of the original settlers moved west out of the confines of Virginia.

8. Documentary evidence suggests in the nineteenth century there was considerable mobility of families within our research area. It appears that this mobility was stimulated by a desire for better agricultural land.

Specific Economic Findings

Most of the questions generated by our research have been in the realm of economics. Our most provocative economic questions concern what it was that stimulated, sustained, and ultimately discouraged occupation of the hollows. In addressing these questions we have focused on the following categories of economic behavior:

1. trade
2. agriculture
3. hunting
4. wage earning
5. production of goods for sale outside the area
6. consumption of goods
7. exploitation of natural resources for cash return

Trade

Data collected in this area have allowed us to assess self-sufficiency. We have attempted to determine not only if it was necessary to go to the local store for staples, but also if there was a need to go beyond that source. Evidence suggests frequent access to local stores and to sources beyond the stores.

Hence, preliminary evidence, both archaeological and documentary, indicates that the oral traditions of self-sufficiency are exaggerated.

Agriculture

We have ample evidence that agriculture was important. We have learned that significant change in topography, through terracing, was occasionally implemented to provide more area for agriculture. We are interested in determining the range of activities that can be defined as agricultural. Preliminary evidence suggests the agricultural activities were varied. We see evidence of maintenance of stock, crops, and orchards. One of our questions is whether the dependence on these respective types of agriculture varied with the specific historic period within the nineteenth and

twentieth centuries. It will also be important to try to determine the popularity of subsistence agriculture as opposed to agricultural efforts providing a cash return. The account books should be good sources of data concerning this question.

Hunting

The cartridge case is a common artifact on many of our sites. The cases not only provide precise chronological insights but also allow us to interpret the applications of firearms. The analysis of these data indicate an emphasis on non-selective hunting—that is, most of the cases are from shotguns that could be loaded to efficiently kill anything from squirrels to bear. There is a conspicuous absence of military cases or cases from firearms associated with personal defense. Also, while we do not have impressive collections of shells, none of the sites maintained an inventory that would indicate that hunting was the primary economic orientation of the residents.

Wage Earning

We know that there were individuals from this population who depended on wage earning opportunities in the general area. There were jobs at the nearby iron mines and, toward the later stages of the nineteenth century, at health and recreational spas.

We will also examine the nature of the relationships between these employers and the hollow folk. A number of questions will fall within this consideration. For example, was there implicit exploitation of this population? Is there evidence of the use of child labor?

A related question concerns whether there were individuals hired, on either a part-time or full-time basis, by the hollow folk themselves. This question of "hiring" promises to be one of the most provocative in the context of generating insights about critical economic changes in the area. For example, it is becoming clear that the economic influence of the iron industry had a variety of implications for residents of the hollows. We are eager to determine the extent of that influence—and, perhaps more importantly, its timing.

Production of Goods for Sale Outside the Area

We are interested in cottage industry in the area. We know that, for at least a short time, the inhabitants of the Hughes site were producing hardwood tool handles and shoe trees for sale at the iron mines. It remains to be determined to what extent this was a common activity.

Consumption of Goods

We are, obviously, interested in the types of goods the hollow folk

acquired. The artifacts excavated from the sites can be supplemented by the data from account books to provide particularly comprehensive insights on this question.

We will focus on comparisons between consumption of goods in our area and that being exercised at similar times in the town of Lexington and surrounding areas.

Exploitation of the Natural Resources—Mining—Lumbering

We are investigating lumbering activities. Specifically, we are curious about the role of specialists as opposed to the role of family operations in the timbering activities. Also, the very mechanics of the operation remain to be investigated. We are confident that lumbering was a major factor in contributing to ecological changes in the area. We will attempt to document the ecological role of the timbering practices of the nineteenth century.

Another subject of concern is mining. We know that iron ore was an important natural resource in the area. We are curious about the importance of other ores, or substances, that may have been mined.

Cognitive Insights in the Realm of Economics

The areas I have just discussed are essentially behavioral. We are focusing upon activities or, more precisely, we are attempting to determine the manner in which artifacts reflect economic activities. We are also interested in determining how members of the population perceived or conceptualized these activities. We are, hence, emulating the cultural anthropologist who stresses the importance of the cognitive processes that underlie behavior. We are confident that the range of data types that have been outlined will allow us to gain access to many economic values and beliefs of the population.

Questions of a cognitive nature would include whether the population maintained an economic world view. Was there a recognition of an economic community of which they were a part? Did the hollow folk perceive that they constituted an economic entity? The data we have collected indicates that the extended family constituted a corporate economic unit, but was there a perception of belonging to larger groups of economic consequence?

It should be informative to gain insights into the degree to which the theory of capitalism was understood and practiced. For example, what evidence is there of a recognition of profit motivation? Is there an understanding of the concepts of capital, savings, labor, investment, and return?

One area with which all members of the population interacted is that of natural resources. How did this group perceive natural resources? Is there

any evidence of the practice of conservation methods or a recognition of the implications of exploitation? We may be dealing with a group that felt harsh environmental abuse was natural or even commendable.

The consumption of goods is another area that allows effective access to values and beliefs. For example, is there evidence of what could be defined as conspicuous consumption? Here we clearly can use the artifacts themselves to gain insights about attitudes toward pride of ownership.

Finally, we are interested in examining how the economic values developed by the hollow residents diverged from those the group and their ancestors exercised before the settlement of our area. This will not be an easy step since it is probable that the ancestors of this group may have provided relatively few documents relevant to the specifics of their earlier economic adaptations. The degree to which our data will allow the efficient answering of all these questions remains to be seen; however, at this point we have some indications.

There are many artifact types that we think will be particularly helpful to us. I shall provide a few examples of the way we will use specific artifact types to achieve such answers. Perhaps our most abundant artifact is the ceramic shard. We feel that ceramics comparisons with our data from Liberty Hall (McDaniel 1979) will be most instructive. The comparison will allow us to assess to what extent differences in trade and the consumption of goods existed in the general area at the time of concern. It is already clear that at Liberty Hall there was much greater variety in imported wares; also, in the context of functions, we see a much greater emphasis on service as compared to storage vessels.

Another artifact type that promises to be helpful to us is that concerned with recreational activities—toys and musical instruments, for example. To date the Liberty Hall material has a much broader range of such items. However, there are some interesting artifacts that suggest we must be careful before we make any conclusions. The most provocative and surprising example is the discovery of the parts of the large organ from the Knick/Hughes Site. The current challenge of travel to the site originally made us doubt that the parts were in fact components of an organ. Interviews with local informants, however, made it clear that these large organs were popular. The evidence of the organ provides data relevant to numerous economic questions. Among those would be: (1) the consumption of goods in general and the degree to which cash was allocated to recreational goods in particular; (2) comparisons with goods consumption in the Town of Lexington; and (3) the nature of trade.

Our large collection of patent medicine bottles provides evidence of the manner in which funds were allocated to the procurement of medicine. We believe it will be instructive to compare the popularity of patent medicines

in the hollows with that of the residents of Lexington. For example, is it possible that the large quantities of these patent medicine bottles found on the sites is correlated with a decreased dependence on physicians?

In the context of exploitation of the environment, we have topographical features, such as gulleys from erosion and terraced fields, that will inform us about activities such as mining, lumbering, and agriculture that had significant impact. Also, it will be instructive to look at the changes that were imposed on the topography of the region for clues to impact. Old roads and terraced fields, which we have found, will provide interpretations.

The account book is an artifact type that we are confident will be invaluable to us. since the name of the purchaser is a part of the record and since, in many cases, we have determined who lived at which site, we can create a tie between the goods purchased and the site where they were subsequently used. Many interesting economic insights are being provided. Perhaps the most impressive finding is that there was extensive dependence on the stores and that many items that would have to be defined as "luxurious" were purchased by these hollow folk—for example, a "fine Russian hat" which sold at a local store for six dollars in January, 1842. At the same date, a quarter pound of powder, nine flints and four pounds of shot sold for thirty-one cents. Also on that date a "fine coat with trimmings" was purchased for $16.99, and thirty-three bowls, one set of plates, and one set of table spoons sold for $1.05 (Taylor 1984). These data give us insight on the cognitive question concerning conspicuous consumption discussed above.

In conclusion, we have in the last year turned our research to these economic questions that we perceived to be both provocative and capable of being answered. The data we have to bring to bear on these questions is both diverse and extensive. We do not expect to answer all these questions in a month or a year, but we feel that important answers will be forthcoming.

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Robert E. Lee's Views on Women's Education

Mary P. Coulling

ECAUSE he was superintendent of the U.S. Military Academy and also president of Washington College, many people know something of Robert E. Lee's carefully articulated views on the education of young men. What is not so well known is that he had equally strong ideas about education for young women, particularly as they related to his own four daughters. These views are spelled out in family letters, as his girls wrote to him and he replied to their concerns and reactions to the various schools that he and Mrs. Lee chose for Mary Custis (often called Daughter or Sister), Anne Carter (always called Annie), Eleanor Agnes (shortened to Agnes), and Mildred, whom her father usually referred to as "Life" or "Precious Life."

The Lees had seven children, all but the eldest born at Arlington, the Custis plantation high on the Virginia bluffs across the Potomac River from Washington, where Mrs. Lee herself had been born and reared. The second child and oldest daughter was Mary Custis, born in 1835, the year before Martin Van Buren was elected president. Four years later Annie

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Mary P. Coulling had been focusing her scholarly attention on the daughters of Robert E. Lee for nearly two decades when she gave the Society a preview of her book *The Lee Girls,* which was published in 1987. Her talk was made in DuPont Hall Auditorium at Washington and Lee University on April 26, 1982.

arrived, followed eighteen months afterwards by Agnes. Mildred, eleven years younger than Mary Custis, was born on February 10, 1846.

The girls' early schooling came from their mother and grandmother, both of whom were well qualified to teach. Mrs. Lee and Mrs. Custis had studied Latin and Greek, had a reading knowledge of French, and read Goldsmith, Southey, and Coleridge. In addition, Mrs. Lee was actively interested in current affairs and politics, and she had inherited a genuine talent for painting from her father, George Washington Parke Custis, George Washington's step-grandson, his adopted son, and one of his heirs. In a small classroom in the north wing of Arlington House, the girls began their studies: reading, writing, composition, and geography, using an old terrestrial globe on which were "traced all the principal voyages and discoveries, from Columbus in 1492 to Vancouver in 1795."[1]

When the family moved to Baltimore in 1849, Mary Custis attended a real school for the first time. Baltimore, then the second largest city in America, boasted four girls' academies or seminaries, and the little girl attended one of these, along with several cousins. Class rolls for these schools have long since disappeared, so it is impossible to know which particular one she attended, but from brochures and catalogs still extant, one may get a composite view of a typical school and its curriculum. Classes were held in a large private home, with the principal being a clergyman or a refined gentlewoman. The school year ran from early September till July, divided into two terms, with tuition averaging between $6 and $12 per term. Studies included "orthography, reading, and writing"[2] in the lower grades. Grammar, arithmetic, French, German, music, and drawing were added in the middle years, while history, philosophy, and astronomy were saved for the oldest pupils.[3] In all the academies, scholastic achievement went hand in hand with a heavy emphasis on "moral as well as physical and mental powers."[4] Mary Custis attended school in Baltimore for three years, from the ages of fourteen to seventeen.

In September of 1850, when Annie was eleven and Agnes nine and a half, they were left at Arlington after summer vacation to begin their studies with Grandmother Custis. Before long she discovered that the two

1. U.S. Army Quartermaster Corps, *Arlington and Its Associations* (Fort Humphreys, Va., 1932), p. 25; quoted in Mary P. Coulling, *The Lee Girls* (Winston-Salem, N.C.: John F. Blair, 1987), p. 13.

2. Folder, "Girls' Seminary, 1856–57, Principal: M. Louise Hiser," Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Md.

3. Ibid.

4. *Literary Budget* 1 (September 1852). Newspaper edited by the "Young Ladies of Misses Kilbourn & Healy's Academy," Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore.

The youngest (Mildred Childe, left) and eldest (Mary Custis, right) of General Lee's daughters. (Photos courtesy W&L Library Special Collections.)

girls preferred playing paper dolls to studying. "There is only one subject in which they are diligent," she wrote, "cutting up paper into babies and dresses and articles of furniture, strewing them—leaving a trail."[5] She finally persuaded them to begin reading out loud to her on a regular basis. Each taking a turn, they read the "story of a lovely child . . . successively under the influence of strong natural passions and ultimately of divine Grace."[6] The book was the enormously popular *Wide, Wide World,* by Elizabeth Wetherell, a painfully saccharine tale by today's standards, but a story guaranteed to make feminine readers of the period weep.

By January it was decided that the children needed a governess to live at Arlington and provide more professional teaching and discipline. The new instructor, Susan Poor, was described by Mrs. Custis as a "charming character,"[7] and she turned out to be an imaginative guide and a real friend.

5. Rose Mortimer Elizey MacDonald, *Mrs. Robert E. Lee* (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1939), p. 106.

6. Mrs. George Washington Custis to Cora Caroline Peters, 3 December [n.d.], Washington and Lee University Library (hereafter designated as W&L).

7. Ibid.

Robert E. Lee outlined to the new governess his hopes for the girls' education. "I particularly desire," he wrote, that Miss Poor "teach them to write a good hand, and to be regular, orderly, and energetic in the performance of their duties. I wish her to teach them to sing . . . to sew and knit and do everything useful and independent."[8] Always concerned about their physical well being, he added that he hoped the new teacher would "insist on their taking regular exercise."[9]

When Colonel Lee was appointed the superintendent of West Point in 1852, he took Mrs. Lee, Mary Custis, and Mildred with him, leaving the two middle girls at Arlington with Miss Poor. Mildred, now six years old, began attending the post school along with a handful of other officers' children. At first Mary Custis tried studying on the post, too, but before long she transferred to an unconventional girls' seminary in Westchester County, New York. Relatively new, Pelham Priory was already a popular school for young women, especially among southern families. Its proprietor, the Reverend Robert Bolton, was an Episcopal clergyman from Savannah, Georgia, who had studied for the ministry in England. To supplement his meager income, the clergyman began teaching young people in the neighborhood along with his own thirteen children. His reputation quickly spread.

The school took its name from the large house which he had built with architectural suggestions from Washington Irving. It must have been an extraordinary-looking place, built in "medieval English style" with a stone tower at one end and a brick tower "to give the effect of a Jacobean addition" at the other end. In another direction a "half-completed chamber was erected, affording the effect of an abandoned or partly ruined chapel"—a folly.[10] Terraced gardens, boxwood hedges, and a small lake purported to give the appearance of an English estate.

Inside the three-storied brick building the atmosphere was no less unusual. The main classroom on the first floor was a gloomy place with stained glass windows and walls hung with armor, swords, daggers, and spears. Nearby was the study hall, furnished with carved high-backed chairs and heavy oaken tables. Books for the pupils to study from were "tied to the backs of the tables by long strips of tape."[11] Around the walls of the study

8. Robert E. Lee to Mrs. Custis, 17 March 1852, Virginia Historical Society (hereafter designated as VHS).

9. Ibid.

10. Reginald Pelham Bolton, "Bolton Priory at Pelham Manor," *Westchester Historian* 6, no. 3 (1930): 54–58.

11. Emily Early Lindsley, "The School for Girls at Pelham Priory," *Westchester Historian* 9, no. 4: 86–89.

Agnes Lee. There is no photo known of Anne.

room stood dark specimen cases filled with stuffed birds and geological artifacts. Upstairs, reached by winding stone staircases, were the two large dormitory rooms for boarding students, affectionately dubbed "Broadway" and "Fifth Avenue" by the pupils. The hall leading to the private apartment of the school's spinster housekeeper was nicknamed "Maiden

Lane," attesting to the healthy humor of young women even in the midst of such gloom.[12]

Mr. Bolton was an admirer of Thomas Arnold, the famous English headmaster of Rugby, and he adapted Arnold's curriculum for boys to his American young ladies. European history, Latin, Greek, and Biblical studies were added to the more traditional curriculum for girls, such as art, piano, and the harp. There was also time for recreation in season—morning walks two by two in pleasant weather, ice skating and sledding in the winter months. Not only did Mr. Bolton believe in what he called "a system of proper education . . . which at once reaches the health, head, heart, and hands," but he encouraged a certain freedom "which does not needlessly multiply prohibitions and commands,"[13] a most unusual pedagogical idea for the era. Most of the teachers at Pelham Priory were women, including several Bolton daughters and a young New York educator, Blanche Berard, a close friend of Mrs. Lee's first cousin, Markie Williams, augmented by several male professors who commuted daily from New York City.

Permeating every phase of life was the intense religious atmosphere of the school. This strong moral influence has been well publicized by a small book about one of the Bolton daughters, published in 1850. *The Lighted Valley* is the lugubrious biography of Abby Bolton, who, between bouts of terminal tuberculosis, taught at the Priory, studied in England, traveled, and tried to persuade all around her to find peace in religion. Mrs. Lee and her mother had read Abby's story during the hot, quiet summer of 1850.

There is no way of knowing what Mary Custis Lee's reaction to Pelham Priory was. None of the family letters mention her impressions, nor do they refer to her adjustment to the new situation. Her few extant letters from the school contain comments about visits to New York City, the cold weather, how many trunks a friend needed for a trip, and a request to one of the servants at Arlington, Old Nurse, to make her up some hair conditioner, "if she has time to make me a bottle of pomatum. . . . Mine is completely exhausted and habit and my scurvy hair have rendered it almost indispensable. [signed] Mariella."[14] The signature is one which Mary Custis used off and on from that year till 1872. Perhaps the heavy Gothic influence of Pelham Priory made plain "Mary" seem too ordinary.

12. Ibid.

13. William Jay, introduction to R. Bolton, *The Lighted Valley* (New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1850), pp. xiii–xiv.

14. Marielle [Mary Custis Lee] to Mrs. Robert E. Lee, 20 May [1853], VHS.

Back at Arlington, Annie and Agnes were making more progress with Miss Poor than they had with their indulgent grandmother. They studied penmanship, composition, and other "useful knowledge,"[15] practicing their skills through regular letters to their father. Both girls took piano lessons, and Agnes began, at Miss Poor's suggestion, to keep a diary in which she wrote for five years. Though she felt that "the everyday life of a little school girl of twelve years is not startling," contemporary readers find her journal a charmingly ingenuous account of family happenings.[16]

Along with mention of theme subjects she had been assigned—"I wrote my third composition yesterday [on the subject of] 'The Village Matron'—it was not superfine,"[17] Agnes mentioned horseback rides, walks, and ice skating with cousin "Washy" Washington Stuart, keeping up the program of daily exercise her father deemed so essential. As their knowledge increased, the girls were given a new task to teach servant children on the plantation, as their mother and grandmother had done before them, even though Virginia law expressly forbade teaching slaves to read or write.

After the death of Mrs. Custis and the departure of Miss Poor in 1853, Annie and Agnes moved to West Point to study piano and French under the supervision of two instructors on the post. Mr. Apeles, the leader of the academy band, taught them piano, giving them "long, hard exercises," Agnes wrote, and making them *"thump,"* presumably to keep steady time.[18] French lessons on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, with "three in the class besides ourselves," were taught by Mr. Agnel, who, according to Agnes, was "not strict, but teaches so thoroughly."[19] In their free time the girls took long walks, climbed mountains, and went sleigh riding in the winter.

Two years later, when their father was transferred to the command of a regiment in Texas, Annie and Agnes returned to Arlington with their mother. Now she and Colonel Lee began discussing boarding school for the two middle girls, since they were now sixteen and fourteen and had never had formal education in a regular academic setting. Lee's letters were filled with concern about appropriate schools and the need for adequate preparation. He urged Agnes and Annie to "labour at their French and music . . . try to progress in mathematics and English" and write to him "in

15. Journal of Agnes Lee, 24 December 1852, VHS; hereafter designated as Journal.

16. Journal, 20 [April 1853], VHS.

17. Journal, 17 March 1853, VHS.

18. Journal, 18 October [1853], VHS.

19. Journal, 18 October [1853], VHS.

either prose or verse."[20] Finally, the decision was made for the two to attend the Virginia Female Institute in Staunton, Virginia, along with three cousins, Ada and Mary Stuart and Annette Carter. The school was a relatively new girls' academy, opened in 1846, under the auspices of the Episcopal Diocese of Virginia, with high academic standards, a varied curriculum, and a religious atmosphere.

After several frantic weeks of preparation, which included purchase of a dozen towels, the labeling of all their dresses, and a long-overdue visit to the dentist, Annie and Agnes, accompanied by Mary Custis as chaperone, drove to Alexandria to meet the Stuarts and Carters for a long trip over the mountains to Strasburg and south through the Shenandoah Valley. After dinner in Staunton's hotel, the five new pupils and their families walked slowly up the hill toward the Institute, a white-columned brick building surrounded by gardens and a fence. Here they were met at the door by Mr. and Mrs. Sheffey, proprietors of the academy. The new surroundings, solemn teachers, and giggling schoolgirls were intimidating, and all the cousins "cried a little and refused to go down for tea." Fortunately, Mrs. Sheffey was a sensible woman, used to homesickness, so she sent supper to their room, with the tea sweetened with brown sugar, a palliative "which restored our drooping spirits."[21]

The Virginia Female Institute (known today as Stuart Hall, renamed in honor of Mrs. "Jeb" Stuart, who was the guiding influence of the school after the Civil War) was one of six private preparatory schools in Staunton, which at that time was principally a railroad center. Though the girls had looked forward to the green expanses and rolling vistas of the countryside, they saw little beyond their street because of the steep hills and high Victorian houses. All five cousins shared a room on the second floor of the substantial school building which had been designed to serve as both dormitory and classroom space.

School routine was strict, they soon found out, with early morning private devotions, two chapel services, and six hours of classroom work a day, leaving almost no freedom to walk, exercise, or even to be alone. The only outings came on Sundays, when the pupils were marched down two blocks to Trinity Episcopal church, "carefully guarded," Annie wrote, "as if we were gold." The Sheffeys tried to get their students into the front pews of the church "long before the formidable boys [of a neighboring school] make their appearance, but they by some strange chance always happen to arrive equally early and are waiting for us." At the end of the service, the

20. Robert E. Lee to Mrs. Robert E. Lee, 1 July 1855, VHS.
21. Journal, 16 March 1856, VHS.

Institute girls had to stay in their seats till the congregation had left, "but those obstinate boys have a great deal of patience and quietly wait for us at the door."[22] The Lee girls were amused by such maneuvers, but they felt themselves far too mature to make friends with such young lads. After all, they had known much older West Point cadets.

While they were at the "Staunton jail," as Annie used to term the school, both girls wrote a number of letters to an old friend from West Point, a girl named Helen Bratt, letters filled with their impressions, the tricks they played on friends and faculty, and their homesickness for Arlington and its freedom. These letters are preserved in the archives at Washington and Lee University, difficult to read because many are written both across the page and then turned and written vertically as well.

Most of the 120 students at the Institute were from Virginia, with a few girls coming from the Carolinas, Georgia, Alabama, and Missouri. There was even one brave soul who had traveled from the far off Indian Territory of Arkansas. Classwork was a challenge, for it included algebra, chemistry, botany, natural theology, political economy, geography, philosophy, logic, New Testament, and Latin, as well as the two subjects for which the girls were well prepared—French and piano.

Though the Sheffeys managed the school and served as its "houseparents" or "heads of the family" as the 1857 catalog put it,[23] the academic work was under the purview of a principal, the Reverend Mr. Phillips, described by Agnes as "handsome and attractive." Mr. Wheat, also a clergyman, "smart and intelligent . . . but *no* beauty," was vice-principal who taught in the collegiate department. French was under the tutelage of Mr. DeRinzie, considered "very leinient [sic]," while Miss Berkeley, "our cousin pretty and sweet but quiet strict and rather cold," served as assistant teacher. Piano, voice, and guitar lessons were supervised by Mr. Engelbrecht, "very good . . . we all like him," and Mr. Coleman, "the only *young* man on the faculty," taught drawing.[24]

After the daily routine of classwork and practicing and an evening meal, students went to their rooms for two hours of study. Studying in dormitory rooms, according to the 1856 catalog, "promotes intellectual improvement [and] engenders a home feeling enhanced by the friendly offices of roommates."[25] Five girls cooped up together in one room for two hours must have engendered something, but it may not have produced much knowledge.

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22. Annie Lee to Helen Bratt [November 1855], W&L.
23. Catalog of Virginia Female Institute (1857), p. 3, [Stuart Hall], Staunton, Va.
24. Journal, 16 March 1856, VHS.
25. Catalog of Virginia Female Institute (1856), 6–7, Staunton, Va.

Friday evenings were reserved for musical soirees or public recitations, activities which neither of the Lee girls found comfortable. Meals in the basement dining room appear to have been as unpopular as institutional fare in today's colleges and schools, and packages from home were eagerly welcomed and shared about.

In spite of their restrictions, the students managed to make their own fun. On the few holidays they put together balls and tableaux with elaborate costuming. One friend, Annie reported, came to a party dressed as Martha Washington, complete with wig, hoop skirts, and an accomplice in blackface to carry her train. Others attired themselves as American Indians and Chinese. Several dressed like boys, "and if there had only been some *real* boys," Annie sighed, "I think the girls would have been perfectly happy."[26]

Back at Arlington, Mary Custis began instructing her little sister Mildred, since Daughter herself had now completed her education and was supposedly qualified to teach. Aware of her tendency to be overbearing, Colonel Lee gave advice to his eldest daughter. "She must exert her self-control and ingenuity," he wrote, "by making it agreeable as well as instructive. . . . [As] much can be accomplished by the *suaviter in modo* as the *fortiter in re.*" (A very loose translation might be "a persuasive manner" as opposed to "severity of method.") Lee continued, "Anyone can *insist* but the wise alone know how to desist."[27] Mary Custis may have taken his advice too literally, for several years later, when Mildred misspelled Saturday with "two t's (Satturday)," Colonel Lee suggested that Sister had not "plied on enough of 'those extra lines.'"[28]

It was a long winter in Staunton, with snow on the ground from January through April and one last "furious snow storm" on April 20, 1856.[29] Fortunately, both girls were good students and enjoyed most of their curriculum which this term included geometry and rhetoric. "What do you think of our studying Geometrie [sic]," Annie asked Helen Bratt. "Are we not blue stockings and I assure you we think we are quite skilled in the art. We are going to affect *wonders* and . . . raise our sex above the weak trammels of novels and fashions."[30] Agnes was not quite so confident about an upcoming examination in rhetoric. "I don't believe I know two questions *properly* in the book."[31]

26. Annie Lee to Helen Bratt, 12 April [1856], W&L.
27. Robert E. Lee to Mrs. Robert E. Lee, 1 July 1855, VHS.
28. Robert E. Lee to Mildred Lee, 1 April 1861, VHS.
29. *Staunton Spectator,* 23 April 1856.
30. Annie Lee to Helen Bratt, 12 April [1856], W&L.
31. Journal, 26 [May 1856], VHS.

Spring rains and May sunshine finally melted the snow, but school did not let out till July after examinations and a public exhibition of music, both vocal and piano. The final performance was an elaborate affair with the school parlor decorated with evergreens, a large number of invited guests, and the pupils dressed "in white muslin—the senior class in white sashes, middles blue, junior pink."[32] Agnes was the seventh girl out of fifteen to perform and she became exceedingly nervous before sitting down on the piano bench with a weak smile to play Paganini's "Witches Dance." Annie's composition was entitled "Variations on La Violette." A valedictory address and presentation of awards concluded the long evening.

Both girls received a number of commendations which pleased their father. "I am very glad to hear that Annie received so many prizes," he wrote to Mrs. Lee. "I am also very glad to hear of Agnes' success. She is less constant than Annie in her application, but I am in hopes will improve with years."[33]

The summer passed all too quickly, and soon it was time to return to school. This year there were six in their already crowded dormitory room, with the addition of another Carter cousin. Agnes, in particular, felt more at ease in returning to the Institute, "confident in myself so much more independent."[34] She had not been in school long, however, before she became ill with the "most curious pains in my chest and back. . . . The next morning I found my face considerably covered with pistules." She had come down with a severe case of chicken pox, with "painful itching and burning . . . in my eyes and everywhere else."[35]

At Christmastime Colonel Lee, far away from the rest in Texas, received a long letter from Mildred, now ten years old, filled with news that she weighed sixty pounds and that she liked her new piano teacher. "You must be a great personage now," he replied. "Sixty pounds! Enormous. I wish I had you here in all your ponderosity." As to the change in teachers, he admonished that "you will like neither the teacher nor the subject unless you practice diligently and learn to play *well.* We are always *fond* of what we *do well.*"[36]

As the school term neared its end, and only two months before she was to graduate, Annie became ill, so sick the school authorities decided she had best return home. Mr. Phillips took her back to Arlington where her

32. Journal, 30 August [1856], VHS.
33. Robert E. Lee to Mrs. Robert E. Lee, 1 September 1856, VHS.
34. Journal, 20 October [1856], VHS.
35. Agnes Lee to Robert E. Lee, 19/21 October 1856, VHS.
36. Robert E. Lee to Mildred Lee, 22 March and 9 January 1857, VHS.

condition was attributed to overwork at school and "a weak stomach."[37] In spite of being separated from Annie for the first time, and filled "with frantic longings for home,"[38] Agnes managed to finish her examinations, take part in the final exhibition, and receive her diploma. A certificate was also awarded to Annie, even though the girl did not complete her work or take final examinations.

Although the United States was rapidly approaching the crisis which culminated in the Civil War, the next two years passed quietly enough for the family, with Colonel Lee on leave at Arlington trying to put the family plantation back on a sound financial footing, Mrs. Lee increasingly crippled with severe rheumatoid arthritis, and the older girls continuing with piano practicing, gardening, and household responsibilities. Mildred, by this time, was fourteen, and she had had by far the most haphazard education of the four daughters. In June of 1860 her parents decided to enroll her in a small girls' school in Winchester called simply "Mrs. Selina Powell's school." Started in 1856, the tiny academy, with only fifty pupils, had already attracted several Alexandria girls and a number of Lee cousins. Colonel Lee was interested that his youngest child should enter a school where she could "*learn* and *improve* herself." He even wanted her to have the opportunity to learn to dance, which would "give her good carriage, of which she is in need."[39] There is no record of dancing classes, but the school, operated by Mr. and Mrs. Charles L. Powell, offered the classics as well as providing piano and French. A brochure emphasized the academy's "advantageous location in the town of Winchester . . . enjoying the healthful breezes from the mountains . . . with a refined and intelligent society, and happy social and moral influences."[40]

When Mildred arrived in Winchester early in September of 1860, she found the academy housed in a large brick home near the center of town, a structure that served as both school and dormitory. In addition to Mr. and Mrs. Powell, the teachers included "Prof. E. Falk, Music, and Mademoiselle Vaucher . . . a French lady, who will reside in the family of the Principal, and converse with her pupils in her native language." In addition to teaching piano, Mr. Falk offered to his more advanced music students instruction in "pure Musical Composition and Thorough Bass." All these benefits, along with the opportunity to achieve "harmonious development of all the faculties of the mind," were to be had for only two hundred

37. Mrs. Robert E. Lee to Robert E. Lee, 22 May/4 June [1857], VHS.

38. Journal, 3 January 1858, VHS.

39. Robert E. Lee to Mrs. Robert E. Lee, 18 June 1860, VHS.

40. 1858 brochure about Mr. and Mrs. Charles L. Powell's Female Seminary, p. 3, Handley Library, Winchester, Va. (hereafter designated as Powell).

dollars for a ten-month session, including room and board, with additional costs for Latin, French, drawing and music, and $1.25 per month for washing, provided dresses to be washed did not exceed twelve.[41]

From the few letters sent back to Arlington or written to her father, one gathers that Mildred adjusted rapidly and enjoyed herself immensely. "I am glad you are comfortably located," her father wrote, "and that the prospects before you are so pleasant." He urged her to learn to play the piano "*well* . . . well enough to take pleasure in your own performance . . . and to impart true pleasure to those who hear you. . . . I want you to grow in size, strength, and wisdom, and at the same time to be an accomplished and useful woman."[42]

By the time Mildred returned to school after a quick Christmas holiday, the country was on the brink of civil war. South Carolina seceded before Christmas; Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, and Georgia left the union a few weeks afterwards. Sentiment in Winchester was heavily pro-secessionist, with townspeople cheering in the streets and church bells ringing on the day that Virginia voted to leave the Union. So it must have come as a surprise to realize how distraught the family at Arlington was, with Agnes writing to Mildred, "I cannot yet realize it. It seems so dreadful. . . . I fear we will have to go through a great deal of suffering."[43] Even after her mother and sisters had been forced to flee Arlington, Mildred seems not to have realized the seriousness of the situation. She wrote her mother a letter complaining that she did not have enough clothes and commenting on the poor quality of the food at school. In a sharp reply, Mrs. Lee responded that she was "both hurt and mortified that a *daughter of mine* at a time when her father's life is in peril [and] her home in danger of being trampled over . . . should allow a disappointment about a *bonnet* to be so deep in her mind."[44]

Before summer's end, the girl had come to see first hand the horrors of war. After finishing her classes, she prepared to join her mother staying with relatives in Fauquier County. At Mrs. Lee's suggestion, she brought with her all her "winter as well as summer clothes," storing her books in a box to be left at school with her name on it, since, wrote Mrs. Lee, "it is best to be prepared for any emergency."[45] Their summer home was only ten miles from Manassas Junction where the first great battle of the war

41. Powell, pp. 3, 5, 10.
42. Robert E. Lee to Mildred Lee, 22 October 1860, VHS.
43. Agnes Lee to Mildred Lee, 19 April [1861], VHS.
44. Mrs. Robert E. Lee to [Mildred Lee], 11 May [1861], VHS.
45. Mrs. Robert E. Lee to Mildred Lee, 11/12 June 1861, VHS.

was fought, close enough to receive large numbers of wounded. When she returned to the Powells in September, she learned that one of that couple's sons had been killed at First Manassas, and the atmosphere at the school was somber. General Lee wrote her in November to "labour at your books and gain knowledge and wisdom,"[46] admonitions she took so seriously that two weeks later he wrote worrying that she was studying too hard. She did not join her sisters, Mrs. Lee, and brother Rob for Christmas in eastern Virginia, but Rob wrote to her early in January about their family holiday.

Like many teenage girls, Mildred fretted that she was gaining too much weight at school, and her father suggested that "it is not necessary for young ladies to become ethereal to grow wise."[47] She was still in school when she turned sixteen. "Are you really sweet sixteen," General Lee wrote her. "That is charming, and I want to see you more than ever. . . . I am very glad to hear that you are progressing so well in your studies and that your reports are so favorable. . . . You must continue to do likewise to the end of the session."[48]

She did not stay in Winchester till summer, for when the Powells learned that General Stonewall Jackson was abandoning the town in March, they hastily closed the school. Mildred journeyed east and south to join her mother, first at the White House, a family home on the Pamunkey River, and later in Richmond. With Annie and Agnes she journeyed to North Carolina, to the Jones Springs Spa near Warrenton. From there she decided to travel to Raleigh to enroll in St. Mary's school, a well-established preparatory girls' school supported by the Episcopal Diocese of North Carolina.

When pupils at St. Mary's learned that General Lee's daughter was about to enter the school, they became "quite a flutter," even though General Polk's daughter and a number of other children of prominent families were already enrolled. One of the older teachers, a Miss Evertson, suggested to the awestruck young women that Mildred Lee was "no more than an ordinary mortal like the rest of us."[49]

Unfortunately, Mildred at first did not find the girls friendly or outgoing, partly because she enrolled late and the others had had a chance to become acquainted with each other. She wrote of her unhappiness to

46. Robert E. Lee to Mildred Lee, 15 November 1861, VHS.

47. Robert E. Lee to Annie Lee, 2 March 1862, VHS.

48. Robert E. Lee to Mildred Lee, in J. William Jones, *Personal Reminiscences, Anecdotes, and Letters of Gen. Robert E. Lee* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1874), p. 388.

49. Annie Moore Parker, "Personal Recollections of St. Mary's," *The St. Mary's Muse* 11 (December 1906): 23.

Agnes, who replied that she could understand. "It is really very forlorn to go all by yourself among so many strange girls after they have had time to know each other well."[50] A month later things seemed to have improved very little, judging by another letter from Agnes who wrote, "I am sorry in your school too 'the girls don't speak,' and I hope you will have too much self respect to indulge in such nonsense."[51]

Dr. Smedes, the principal, and the teachers were kind, and gradually Mildred became used to the routine and the other girls. Classes were held five days a week, with students studying traditional subjects like Latin, French, Bible history, church catechism, music, and art. The Reverend Dr. Smedes not only served as principal and business manager, but he also taught Biblical subjects. Madame Gouye, "gentle and elegant," taught French, while the music department was under the supervision of a German gentleman, Professor George V. Hanson. Piano lessons were given by Miss Stella Shaw, a "sweet and plump" young lady who was alleged to have been abandoned at the front door of St. Mary's as a foundling.[52] As the war progressed, pupils found themselves having to adjust to a variety of textbooks, and all the young women were asked to bring pencils, paper, and erasers from home because of the blockade.

Classes were held in a large three-storied building known as Old Main. On either side of this structure stood two stone dormitories, East and West Rock. Mildred's room was in West Rock in the front west corner on the second floor. There were no classes on Saturdays. After morning prayers and the weekly visit from the school's washerwomen, the girls gathered to mend their clothes and black their boots. Saturday afternoons were free for reading, for visiting approved families in Raleigh, or taking drives with Dr. Smedes and his family. The principal kept copies of Scott, Dickens, Cooper, and Thackeray in his large private library, and he encouraged the girls to come and browse.

Part of Mildred's early unhappiness stemmed from her worry over the health of Annie who had contracted typhoid fever soon after the girls had reached Jones Springs. Mildred was not prepared, however, to receive word near the end of October that Annie had died, and that Mrs. Lee and Agnes were burying her in the small cemetery at the Springs before they returned to Richmond. "Had we known sooner" that she would die, Agnes wrote, "we might have sent for you."[53]

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50. Agnes Lee to Mildred Lee, 13 October 1862, VHS.

51. Agnes Lee to Mildred Lee, 23 November 1862, VHS.

52. Martha Stoops, *The Heritage: The Education of Women at St. Mary's College, Raleigh, North Carolina, 1842–1982* (Raleigh: Saint Mary's College, 1984), p. 66.

53. Agnes Lee to Mildred Lee, 20 October [1862], VHS.

Truly bereft now, Mildred asked for permission to go to Richmond for Christmas. General Lee advised against the trip, fearing that she might get caught and be unable to travel back because of shifting battle lines. "She is no child now," he counseled, "but a young woman anxious to obtain wisdom." Mrs. Lee added a postscript, as if to soften the stern words of her husband. "My dear Mild .... You know how much pleasure it would give me to have you here but perhaps on the whole you had better remain. Things are so unsettled, and I have no home to offer you."[54]

So along with many other refugee children, Mildred stayed at St. Mary's during the holidays. The Smedes did their best to make the vacation pleasant, with special food and games in the big parlor on the second floor of Old Main.

During the second term the girl began studying astronomy, a subject her father told her he had enjoyed more than "any other branch of study." He was pleased to learn of her good report card in so many subjects. "I hope," he wrote to Mrs. Lee, that "she may understand them all."[55]

In June she finally returned to Virginia to spend the summer with her mother and Agnes in a rented house. Still not very happy at St. Mary's, she talked about not returning to school. Dr. Smedes urged that she continue and General Lee agreed that another year of school would be wise. "I agree ... in the importance of Mildred's continuing her studies," he told his wife, "believing it best for her morally and intellectually."[56] He was disappointed that he did not get to see her over the summer. "I wanted to see how you were, how you looked, and whom you resembled," he wrote Mildred from his camp at Culpeper. "I am glad however that you have returned to school for your sake. I think it is the best course you could have pursued. I hope you will be able to learn a great deal this year. Endeavor to learn all you can."[57] Later in the fall he wrote again to congratulate her on her progress. "I ... feel assured that you will continue to improve by diligent application. ... The more you know, the more you find there is to know in this grand and beautiful world."[58]

In spite of his hopes that she would finish out her second year at St. Mary's and receive a diploma, Mildred decided to return to Richmond at the end of the first term. Perhaps she was apprehensive that Union forces might cut her off; perhaps she just felt that it was important to be close to

54. Robert E. Lee to Mrs. Robert E. Lee, 18 November 1862, and postscript to that letter, Mrs. Robert E. Lee to Mildred Lee, VHS.

55. Robert E. Lee to Mrs. Robert E. Lee, 27 March and 12 April 1863, VHS.

56. Robert E. Lee to Mrs. Robert E. Lee, 11 June 1863, VHS.

57. Robert E. Lee to Mildred Lee, 27 July 1863, VHS.

58. Robert E. Lee to Mildred Lee, 10 September 1863, VHS.

her mother and her two remaining sisters. She was seventeen and a half and she did not attend school again.

Of the four institutions to which he sent his daughters, one may suppose that General Lee would have approved most of Pelham Priory, as strange as that school was, both because of its balance of "health, head, heart, and hands" and because of its emphasis on self-discipline rather than too many rigidly set out rules. An innovative educator himself, he surely appreciated the varied curricula to which his girls were exposed. But more important than the subject matter itself, he cared about the way in which they studied, urging them to practice diligently, to do all they could, to be regular, orderly, and energetic. Only by such constant application to studies, he felt, could his daughters absorb enough to share that knowledge with others. Schooling, he believed, was not an end in itself, but a tool for the future.

How, then, did his daughters use their education? Annie and Agnes, the only two who received diplomas of graduation, might possibly have become professional people if they had not died so young—Annie as a writer, for she had a genuine talent for description, and Agnes as a teacher. But Annie's skills at descriptive narrative never reached a public larger than her own family, and Agnes had time to teach only a few cousins while she lived in Lexington, before her death at the age of thirty-two. Mary Custis, certainly unsuited by temperament to be a teacher, used her knowledge of French and her understanding of British and European literature throughout the rest of her long life, for she spent most of her adult years abroad.

And what of Mildred, her father's "Precious Life," the daughter he called his Lightbearer? She could not have guessed that winter of 1863, when she left school, that within ten years her father, mother, and Agnes would be dead. For the next decade she kept house in Lexington for Custis, her oldest brother, who never married and whose arthritis became increasingly severe, and in eastern Virginia for Rob, her youngest brother whose wife had died. The remaining twenty years of her life—she died at the age of fifty-eight—had many happy moments, but there were also periods of extreme loneliness, alienation from Mary Custis, and a sense of rootlessness, almost despair.

Not many years ago I discovered in the Lee papers a short poem which Mildred Lee had copied out a few years before her death; a poem that seems to indicate that she had come to understand her father's premise that education is far more than information, that a true dedication can provide inner resources and self-discipline. Here are the two enigmatic verses:

> With the dull brain weary and worn
> With the eyelids red and heavy
> A schoolgirl sat in a student's dress
> Bent o'er her nightly study.

Learn! learn! learn!
Through weariness, hunger, and pain
Till she toss'd down her book with a groan
Half vowed not to touch it again.

Learn! learn! learn!
While the morning chimes are few,
And learn! learn! learn!
When it tolls at midnight, too.
'Tis Oh to be a slave
To a resolve which I once did make
And now I'm not sufficiently brave
But must own if I e'er undertake.[59]

59. Poem in handwriting of Mildred Lee, at end of Journal, after account of death of William Henry Fitzhugh Lee, 16 October 1891, VHS.

The Meeting House by the Falling Spring

H. Middleton Raynal

N the bank just to the south of the Falling Spring Presbyterian Church is a large tree stump. The grove of massive white oaks on the hill top which comprises the church property is a source of pleasure and pride to the congregation and to its pastor. The stump has a circumference of 125 inches, but the largest of the oaks still standing in the church yard measures 163 inches, four feet above ground level. Of course there are many other large trees in Rockbridge County, but I bring these up because they have witnessed all the events and people that I want to talk about.

In the spring of 1982, after the workmen had felled the tree and finished their work for the day, I got a magnifying glass and some pins to use as markers and counted the annual growth rings. That oak tree we cut down had been standing there since 1697. It stood before the first white man entered the Valley of Virginia. It was a healthy sapling when Governor Spotswood led his Knights of the Golden Horseshoe from Williamsburg, and in the summer of 1716 reached the summit of the Blue Ridge and

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H. Middleton Raynal was pastor of Falling Spring Presbyterian Church for many years prior to his retirement in November 1989. The Society met at the church on July 26, 1982, to hear the results of Rev. Raynal's lengthy study of the church's pre-Civil War history.

looked over into the great Valley, admiring the grassy prarie which extended between the Blue Ridge and the Alleghanys. When the Spotswood party returned to Tidewater, their reports on the valley beyond the mountains attracted others, some of whom wanted a better place for themselves, while others saw this new territory as an opportunity for financial gain.

It was still sixteen years before John Lewis led a party of Scotch-Irish settlers into the Valley in 1732 and established the first homes in what was to become Augusta County, but following Governor Spotswood's visit, there were a number of persons who either on foot or horseback crossed the mountains to spy out the land.

The year 1726 has been the traditional date for the first visit by one who was to play an important part in the early days of settlement in our region. John Peter Salling and a companion by the name of John Marlin made one such journey of exploration. Accounts of this visit differ but the usually accepted one says that Salling and Marlin left eastern Virginia, followed the James River, passed through the Blue Ridge at the James River Gap, and came into the Valley at the open bottom above Balcony Falls. When John Peter Salling reached the place where the James and North Fork join, he decided that the land on which the village of Glasgow now stands was the place of opportunity he was seeking.

It was still some years before Salling had secured a patent and moved with his family to become one of the earliest settlers in this part of the Great Valley. There is no indication that the two explorers got any closer to the present-day site of Falling Spring Church on that first trip in 1726 than the ancient Warriors' Path of the Indians which extended from New York to North Carolina and through Virginia, roughly following the line of what is now highway U.S. 11. But by 1726 our oak tree already had a diameter of five inches.

Part of the John Peter Salling story tells of his capture by the Indians, being taken as a prisoner to the Mississippi, held by the French, and eventually gaining release. We do know that he was in Williamsburg in 1741 and applied for a patent to the land he had coveted at the junction of the two rivers. He was living here in December 1742 at the time of the fight between the men under Captain McDowell and the Indians at the mouth of the North Fork. This battle is commemorated by a State Landsmarks Historical Marker beside Highway 130 in Glasgow.

Salling, his wife Ann—for whom the mountain is named—five children, and a bachelor brother established one of the first homes in what is now Rockbridge County. This home became noted, for it was the first one encountered by a traveler when he passed through the Blue Ridge and up the James River Valley. On the famed Joshua Fry-Peter Jefferson map,

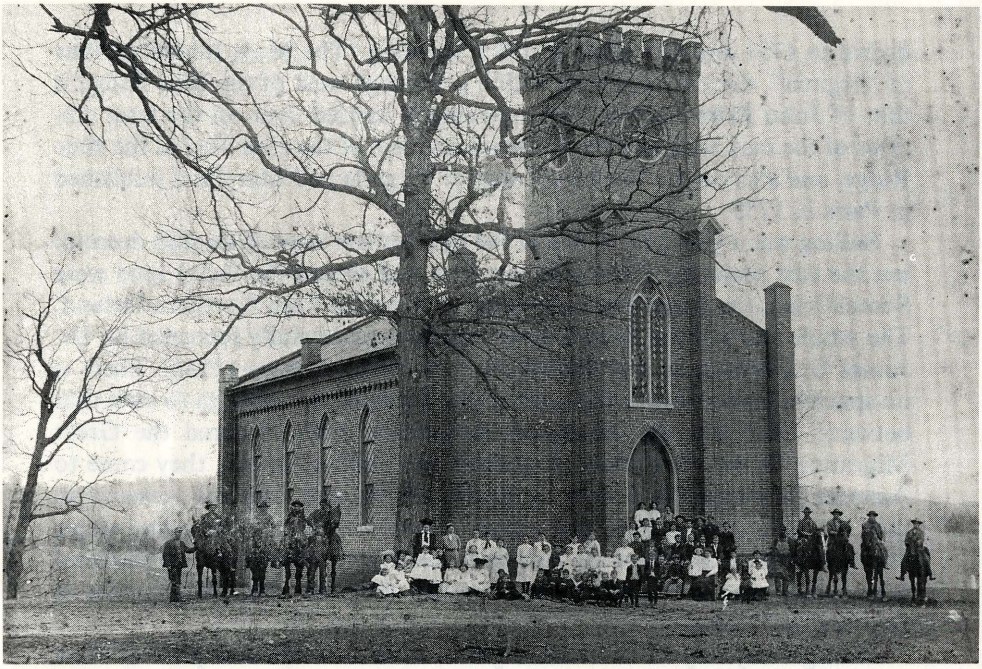
drawn in 1751 and published in 1753, showing "The Most Inhabited Part of Virginia", the one homesite which is marked west of the Blue Ridge is that of John Peter Salling. This marking is carried over on the later editions of the map which show extensive revision of the area west of the Blue Ridge, and also on the Vaugundy map of Virginia and Maryland published in Paris in 1755.

Salling was a German. A few of the first settlers were of English descent, but the vast majority of the pioneers who first settled the Valley land were Scotch-Irish, the Ulstermen who came to America from Northern Ireland. The whole story of the Scotch-Irish has been masterfully recorded by Dr. James G. Leyburn in *The Scotch-Irish: A Social History* (1962). There is no space here to examine this part of our heritage; it is enough to note that between 1717 and the American Revolution there occured the Great Migration of the Ulstermen. A quarter of a million strong, they came to America to escape the poverty, political unrest, and religious persecution they had known. Jammed into small compartments of tiny sailing ships, they endured the rigors of the Atlantic crossing, for they had heard of land they could own; abundant land, far richer than any they had known in Scotland or Ireland.

A large majority of these immigrants landed at Philadelphia or New Castle. The lands they first came to were already claimed, so they moved on west across Pennsylvania. The colony of Pennsylvania had a great attraction to them because of its policy of religious freedom. These staunch Presbyterians remembered persecutions and religious wars, and besides economic well-being, they sought liberty in their worship. By the 1730s all the best land in Pennsylvania had been claimed clear to the mountains. Some small parties of the home-seeking immigrants looked across the Potomac River and saw the Valley of the Shenandoah extending southward. By 1735 enough had come to establish the first Presbyterian congregation west of the Blue Ridge—Opequon near present day Winchester. In a very few years the river had become no barrier at all and the Warriors' Path of the Indians had become the trail for migration south.

For the first 125 years after the settlement of Jamestown, the close ties of church and state held sway east of the Blue Ridge. Those of non-Anglican religious persuasion found little or no toleration in Virginia. But now a new factor entered the picture. The well-established residents of Tidewater and the Williamsburg government they controlled came to be concerned at the spread of French power in the Mississippi Valley and the threat of the Indians. If settlers could be induced to move into the Great Valley, they would form a buffer between the savages and the old settlements.

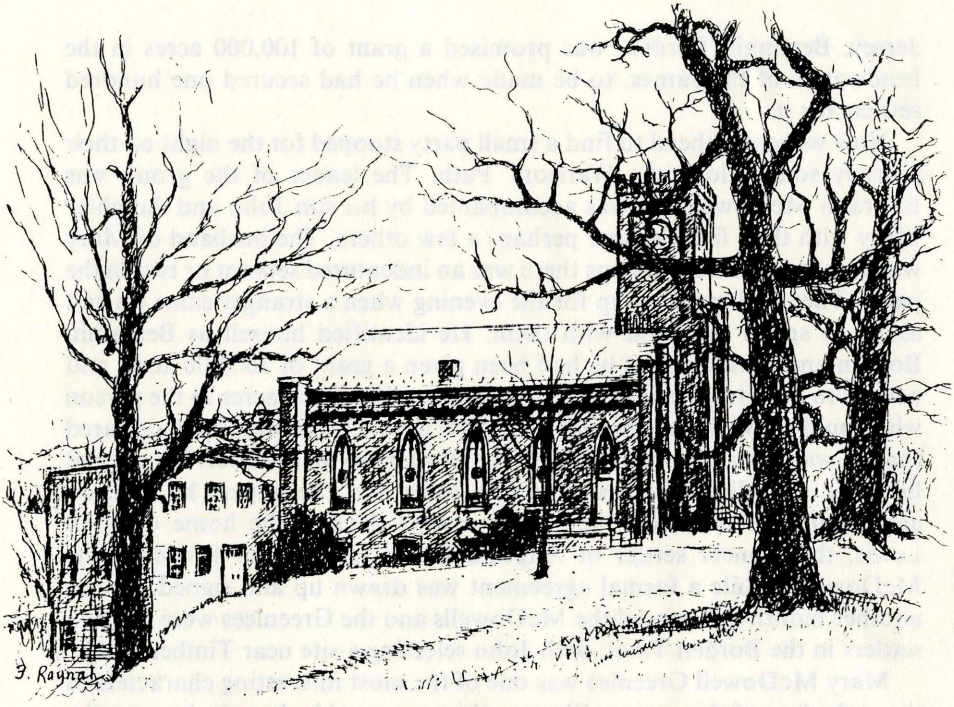
Here we come upon another example of the tragic trail of broken



A nineteenth-century view of Falling Spring Church.

promises and forgotten treaties made with the Indians—made and then conveniently forgotten or ignored when the white man found the agreements restrictive of his desires. In 1722 Governor Spotswood, together with the governors of Pennsylvania and New York, had met with the Five Nations and made the Treaty of Albany which declared the crest of the Blue Ridge to be the boundary of Indian territory through Virginia. Now the powers in Williamsburg wanted settlers in the Valley, so in spite of the earlier promise to the Indians and the fact that it would mean compromise with the position of the Established Church in Virginia, agreement was made with the immigrants that they could move into the valley, and assurance was given that they would not be hindered in the observance of their religion. Governor Gooch wrote to the Presbyterian Synod at Philadelphia in 1738:

> As I have always been inclined to favor the People who have lately removed from other Provinces to settle on ye western side of our great mountains, so you may be assured that no Interruptions shall be given to any Minsts. of your Profession who shall come among them so as they



Drawing by Florence (Mrs. H. Middleton) Raynal of Falling Spring Church shortly before the oak discussed in the text (extreme left) was felled.

> conform themselves to the Rules prescribed by the Act of Toleration in England. . . . & behave themselves peacably towards ye Government.

To promote the growth of the colony, Virginia had provided that any immigrant who had paid his own fare could claim "head-rights" to fifty acres of public land and an additional fifty acres for each male member of the family. He had to prove his importation, settle on the claim, build a home, clear a minimal area for cultivation, and pay an annual "quit-rent" of one shilling for every fifty acres. These liberal terms attracted many substantial settlers to Virginia, particularly from the Scotch-Irish and German immigrants who flooded to the Valley after the assurance of religious freedom. In addition to the ones who claimed "head-rights," the governor issued large grants to favored individuals. The grant was promised on the condition that the one receiving it would secure settlers for the land.

The Beverley Grant of 118,000 acres was made in 1736 and by 1738 enough settlers had moved in to cause the General Assembly to found the new Augusta County with Staunton as its county seat. A man from New

Jersey, Benjamin Borden, was promised a grant of 100,000 acres in the headwaters of the James, to be made when he had secured one hundred settlers for it.

Now we move ahead to find a small party stopped for the night on their journey south along the Warriors' Path. The leader of the group was Ephraim McDowell. He was accompanied by his son John and daughter Mary with their families and perhaps a few others. The husband of Mary was James Greenlee. Perhaps there was an indentured servant or two in the party. They had made camp for the evening when a stranger came up and asked to spend the night with them. He identified himself as Benjamin Borden and declared that he had been given a grant of 100,000 acres and needed to find it. He said that he would give a thousand acres to the person who could show him the boundaries of his grant. John McDowell declared that he was a surveyor and would take Borden up on his offer. He opened his pack and displayed his surveying tools and the papers he had; an agreement was reached. They spent several days at the home of John Lewis, the pioneer settler of Augusta and a kinsman or friend of the McDowells, while a formal agreement was drawn up and signed. Before another month had passed the McDowells and the Greenlees were the first settlers in the Borden Tract, with John selecting a site near Timber Ridge.

Mary McDowell Greenlee was one of the most interesting characters in the early days of this region. She was thirty years old when she became the first known white woman settler in what is now Rockbridge County. When she arrived she had two children. Before her husband, James Greenlee, died about 1764, she was the mother of six more. Though uneducated, she had a keen mind and was an astute business woman. For one period she operated a tavern; during this time she was called into court for breaking some of the laws of the county on the sale of alchoholic beverages. On another occasion she was before the court accused of holding an Indian boy in slavery. After hearing the evidence, the court did not find her guilty, but did order that the boy should be taken from her home and kept at another place until the case was finally settled.

In 1780 Mary moved from Timber Ridge to Greenlee Ferry on the James. The early records of Falling Spring Church show that Mary, her sons John and David, and three of her grandsons were associated with this congregation. Among the most important documents in the early history of Rockbridge are the depositions she gave in November 1806 in connection with a lawsuit by one of the Borden heirs. Her clear memory of events which had occurred almost seventy years before was remarkable. She lived past one hundred years; having been born in 1707, she died in 1809. In his history of this county, Oren Morton reported a bit of doggerel that circu-

lated after her death. It indicates that Mary was not universally loved. The poem states:

> Mary Greenlee died of late;
> Straight she went to heaven's gate;
> But Abram met her with a club,
> And knocked her down to Beelzebub.

The Sellers, the McDowells, the Greenlees—these were just the vanguard of the influx to come. Being a clergyman, I presume that I will be allowed to paraphrase a bit of Scripture. Based upon verses in Hebrews I, I would say:

> What more can I say? For time would fail me to tell of the Paxtons, the McClures, the Walkers, the Moores, the Houstons, the Drydens, Trimbles and Poagues—who through faith in God and in themselves conquered the wilderness, made promises, faced wild animals, built homes, overcame loneliness, established community, won strength out of weakness, put Indians to flight.

These Scotch-Irish who responded to the opportunity for land in the Beverley and Borden tracts were humble folk. Their situation in life was one thing which had brought them on this great adventure. These were daring and ambitious folk—unwilling to continue in the dreary, subservient, hopeless life of their fathers—who had cut ties, dared the long ocean crossing, sought for a place of opportunity, and had now come to this lovely valley. By November 1739 enough had come within the bounds of the Borden Tract that the patent was issued under the name of King George II, signed by Governor William Gooch, and Borden began to issue deeds to those with whom he had made agreement.

The new settlers had little of this world's goods. What they owned they brought with them: a few tools, some blankets, a gun, and some small stock of supplies. At first they came by horseback or by foot, following the Indian trail, perhaps with a pack-horse. As time passed the trail was widened until ox carts and wagons could traverse it. Some of the earliest court orders issued were to settlers for building roads in particular localities. What began as the Warriors' Path of the Indians widened and lengthened and came to be known as the Great Wagon Road. It was the chief avenue for the movement of pioneering settlers not only into the western part of Virginia, but also into the Carolinas, Georgia, and beyond.

If a family owned one book, it was almost certainly the Bible. Carefully wrapped and packed, it was one of the few possessions they brought with them to their new homes; for these Scotch-Irish Presbyterians it was essential. The Bible of Scotland was the Geneva version first published in Lon-

don in 1560. The Presbyterians preferred the Geneva Bible to the more modern King James version. It was the first Bible published in Scotland, and the Scottish Parliament had ordered: "Every householder worth 300 marks yearly rent, and every yoeman or burgess worth 500 pounds shall have a Bible and a Psalm Book in the vulgar language under the penalty of ten pounds." They had come at least partially on religious principles, and the Bible was the first book in the wilderness.

There was much work to be done by the settlers when they had finished their long trek from Pennsylvania and selected their home sites. There was land to clear, log cabins to be erected, and daily needs to be provided for. Each member of the family worked from early morning until dark—that is, until the Sabbath came. Their Presbyterian heritage made them subject in conscience and conviction to the Ten Commandments. From childhood they had learned the Sixth Commandment: "Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labor and do all thy work, but the seventh is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God." Perhaps for the first few weeks the father would gather the family around him, read from the scriptures and then they would have prayers. Even in the wilderness the Sabbath was holy unto the Lord.

Before long they felt the need to share in the community of faith, as had been their tradition. There were no churches or ministers, but near them were friends, and all up and down the Valley little groups began to gather on the Sabbath days. Perhaps it would be at the cabin of one who had been an elder of the church across the sea, or perhaps in a convenient grove of trees. The usual order of worship called for singing of the Psalms in Rouse's version. Some of them had Psalm books with their Bibles, harking back to the tradition carried on in obedience to the order of the Scottish parliament mentioned above. Passages of the Bible would be read. Then sometimes they would have a reading from a cherished book of sermons or a commentary brought with them from Ireland or Scotland. In addition there was the catechism of the Westminister Assembly of 1647, one of the basic documents of Presbyterian doctrine. Many had memorized the questions and answers, and "saying the catechism" formed a part of family worship as well as gathered worship.

In time these informal gatherings of believers organized themselves into what were called "societies," using a name that was familiar from the Covenanters in Scotland. It did not take long for the folk in one of these societies to decide that they needed a meeting house. The individual cabins were too small to hold the growing numbers who gathered. An open meeting in a grove of trees was fine except when it rained or in the winter. We have no way of knowing when the first house of meeting was erected

for any one of the societies. We can assume that at least some of them were built in the 1740s. In the Order Book of the Court of Augusta County dated May 20, 1748, is found the oldest proof that we have. The record declares: "On the motion of Mathew Lile it is ordered to be certified that they have built a Presbyterian Meeting House at a place known by the name of Timber Ridge, another at New Providence and another at a place by the name of Falling Spring, intended for worship." (Order Book No. 2, p. 20)

The incoming settlers had not stopped when they reached the southern boundary of the Borden Tract. Just beyond the Borden Grant there was the winding valley of a healthy stream called Buffalo Creek, which drained a major part of the land between the James and North Rivers. Along Buffalo Creek and its branches—Poagues Run, Broad Creek, Colliers Creek, Whistle Creek, North and South Buffalo—was found most attractive land which was soon claimed as the settlement expanded. Almost a mile upstream from where the Buffalo flows into the North Fork was a place where the waters of a strong spring tumbled down a steep bank and fed the Buffalo. After the flood of 1870 there was a change in the course, but today if you stand on the bridge crossing the stream at Buffalo Forge and look a few yards upstream, you can see the fall which comes from a large spring located at the foot of the hill at the back of the present church property. It was upon this bank beside the Buffalo, behind the old William Weaver home now owned by Mr. and Mrs. D. E. "Pat" Brady, that the Presbyterian society in this section of the county built their first meeting house of logs. And just as the society to the north gave their new place of worship a name descriptive of its location and called it Timber Ridge, the folk in this community identified the building as the meeting house by the Falling Spring. Our oak tree now had a diameter of five and one-half inches.

Until 1740 there were no Presbyterian ministers in the colony of Virginia. In that year a young man, newly ordained by Donegal Presbytery, John Craig, came by order of Presbytery "to ye work of ye holy ministry in ye Congreg'n on ye South of Beverley Manor in Virginia." Craig organized the Old Stone and Tinkling Spring Churches in Augusta County and was their pastor, but he considered the whole frontier to be his parish. With his saddle bags loaded and Bible in his hand he went forth all across the region. Howard Wilson's *The Lexington Presbyterian Heritage* (1971) lists twenty-eight places beyond his own congregation at which Craig preached between 1740 and 1749. We know that he was familiar with the society which gathered at the meeting house by the Falling Spring, for in his roll of children whom he baptized he lists one of the places where he conducted

baptism as being where "North River joins the James." Some of these names—Allison, McCluer, Cunningham, and Moore—appear on the oldest lists we have of folk associated with Falling Spring.

There were no organized churches in the James River Valley in the early 1740s, but during this decade societies had gathered at Timber Ridge, South Mountain, Whistle Creek, on the Calfpasture, and by the Falling Spring. These were all places visited by the Reverend John Craig in his itineration. In 1741, the spring after Craig had come to Augusta, Donegal Presbytery, impressed by the reports of the open door of opportunity in what was called "the back side of Virginia" and by the repeated pleadings from the societies, appointed a young licentiate, Andrew McDowell, to come spend the summer supplying in the vacancies. His work was so well received and the people found so much blessing in having more ministerial service than could be provided by Craig alone, that they turned to the Presbytery again. On June 15, 1742, Presbytery received a call which is listed as "from the Head of Shenandoah & James River." Presbytery placed the call in the hands of Mr. McDowell and agreed that he should be ordained and approved to accept this call from Virginia. We do not know what factors entered into McDowell's decision, but after three months' consideration he turned down the call.

In the period which followed, other than occasional visits by Craig, the only ministers the societies had opportunity to hear were occasional itinerants. Repeated requests to the Presbyteries and the Synods brought no ministers "to come and settle among us." This was a time when there was a division among Presbyterians of this country. Mainly based upon disagreements about educational standards for ministers and response to the evangelistic emphasis of the Great Awakening, there was a split in the Synod of the Presbyterian Church resulting in withdrawal of the more liberal of the clergy and churches and their establishment of the Synod of New York "New Side." John Craig remained faithful to the "Old Side" Synod of Philadelphia, but a large majority of the work that was now carried out in sending ministers and organizing churches was accomplished by the "New Side" Synod.

The coming of the Reverend John Blair, sent by New Castle Presbytery to Virginia in 1745, was the start of a spurt of new work. After visiting congregations east of the mountains, he crossed the Blue Ridge and toured through the societies of Augusta County before returning to Pennsylvania. His Presbytery approved his accepting work in the Valley, and he became the first resident Presbyterian minister in what was to be come Rockbridge County. He formally organized New Providence and Timber Ridge and "set in order" what is identified as "Forks of James." Most historians have identified "Forks of James" with what became Hall's Meeting House and

later Monmouth Church, but I believe a case can be made for the meeting house by the Falling Spring being the society which was "set in order" by Blair in 1746. The limitation of this paper will not allow me to make my argument here, but at least let it be said that some evidence points in that direction.

The success of Blair's work inspired the Synod of New York, and at their meeting in May 1747 they instructed one of their members—the Reverend Eliab Byram—to "go to the new settlements in Virginia and spend some time among them." He arrived in September 1747 and decided to make the area between the James and North Rivers—"the Forks of James"—his place of ministry. The meeting house by the Falling Spring was one center for the people among whom he concentrated. There was still some uncertainty about the "New Side," a carryover from the time when John Craig was the only regular minister they had known, but Byram overcame their reluctance and, if it had not been done the year before by John Blair, he organized the society into the Falling Spring Presbyterian Church and ordained their first elders—probably Thomas and William Paxton, John Greenlee, and Joseph Snodgrass.

When spring came Byram returned to New York in time to report on the fulfillment of his missionary assignment. The Minutes for May 18, 1748, record his report. Later in the Minutes of the same meeting we find a formal call being presented to the Synod of New York for Eliab Byram, inviting him to become pastor of Falling Spring and New Providence. Since the early Minutes of New Castle Presbytery for this era no longer exist, this is the earliest record we have proving the existence of Falling Spring Presbyterian Church. Byram chose to return to his former congregation in New York. Synod's minutes indicate that he declined to accept the call from Virginia.

For the next twenty-five years there was no settled minister for this congregation. The church was served by visits from nearby ministers such as Craig and Blair, by John Brown after he had come to New Providence, or by itinerates, most of whom were young licentiates proving their fitness for ordination by missionary work. Two such should be mentioned since they each spent some months as residents of the community and each was called as pastor but did not accept. They were James Powers and Samuel Eusebious McCorkle. In 1772 Powers came from New Castle Presbytery for a "trial of his gifts." He ministered to this congregation, to Oxford (organized in 1768) and to High Bridge (organized in 1771). The same three congregations, called the Fork of James group, united in calling Powers in 1773 and McCorkle in 1775. But Powers chose to go as a missionary to the frontier of Pennsylvania and McCorkle, after being turned down in his proposal of marriage to Betsy, daughter of the Reverend John Brown of

New Providence, accepted a call from the old Thyatire Church in Rowan County, North Carolina, the congregation in which he had grown up.

Another of those pioneer settlers was John Mathews. He and his wife, Ann, had come from Ireland and had followed the customary route through Pennsylvania and up the Wagon Road until they reached the Borden Tract. He bought 297 acres from Borden but also on June 10, 1742, he received from Governor Dinwiddie a patent for 1,600 acres which was described as "lying and being in the County of Augusta on Mill Creek in the Forks of James River." This patent included the present property of the Falling Spring Presbyterian Church.

Though these Scotch-Irish had been assured freedom of religious expression, the colony of Virginia still remained politically tied to the Church of England as its established church. Shortly after the new county of Augusta was formed in 1745, a directive came from Williamsburg that the freeholders of Augusta should select twelve men to form the vestry of the parish. John Mathews, from the southern end of the county, was one of those chosen. In 1752 the parish, with its center at Staunton, secured the Reverend John Jones as its first parish minister. The Minutes of the vestry show that in 1755 the vestry ordered him to preach at several places within the bounds of the parish, including "at John Mathews Sr. in the Forks of James." The records do not show the minister's obedience to this charge, but if the directive was followed, it was the occasion of the first Episcopal service held in Rockbridge.

Tradition says that the John Mathews home was located near the bottom of the present cemetery close to the Spring. John Mathews, Jr., lived there, was married, and had six children. Sometime before March 22, 1764, the entire family was murdered and their home was burned to the ground. The perpetrators of this foul act were never discovered, though the speculation was that it had been Indians.

It was late summer of 1775 before Falling Spring secured her first resident minister. The oak tree had grown to seven and one-half inches in thickness. After being disappointed in the response to their calls to James Powers and Samuel Eusebious McCorkle, the Forks of James group invited James McConnel, a recent graduate of Nassau Hall (now Princeton University), to become their pastor. By now the churches in Virginia had been organized into a separate Presbytery under the name of Hanover. (I was interested to discover that when Hanover Presbytery named a commission to ordain and install James McConnel as pastor of Falling Spring, High Bridge, and Oxford Churches, one member of the commission was the Reverend Archibald Scott, pastor of Hebron and Bethel Churches, who was my great-great-great-grandfather.) We know little of the pastorate

of James McConnel here. The early records of this and the other old valley churches were tragically lost about the turn of the century.

In connection with the centennial of the organization of the first Presbytery in America in 1706, it was planned to write a history of Presbyterian expansion in America. Beginning in 1796 Hanover Presbytery called upon the churches to send their record books to be used in this project. A number of the Sessions in this area—including Monmouth, Timber Ridge, Lexington, and Falling Spring—sent their books to Philadelphia on the assurance that they would be diligently cared for and returned to the clerks of Session. But while they were in Philadelphia the building in which they were stored caught fire and all these irreplaceable records were destroyed.

James McConnel was pastor here for twelve years. We do know that in 1782 he was named by Hanover Presbytery to join Archibald Scott on the Board of Trustees of Liberty Hall. His last days were were not happy ones. Accusations were made against him, whether founded or not, we do not know. When Presbytery investigated they found insufficient evidence to support the charges and took to task the High Bridge congregation for failing to pay their part of the promised stipend. Because of this unpleasantness and financial difficulties, he felt that he should resign, which he did in 1787, and moved to the Ohio Valley.

During the ministry of McConnel, another family which was to play an important part in history of this region moved into the Forks of James. "Soldier John" Grigsby, father of fourteen, with his second wife, Elizabeth Porter, moved over from Orange County in 1779, following his eldest son, James, who had come the year before. James deeded four hundred acres to his father, which was to become Fruit Hill plantation. The Grigsby daughters married into the leading families of the community—the Paxtons, McNutts, Trimbles, and Welches. The manor house built by John Grigsby set a new standard which was followed by his children in their homes like Fancy Hill, Hickory Hill, Rose Hill, and others which still grace the south Rockbridge landscape. One of his grandsons, Benjamin Grigsby, was licensed to preach the Gospel by Hanover Presbytery on April 24, 1792, the first minister furnished to the church by Falling Spring. Benjamin was the father of Hugh Blair Grigsby, the noted historian and man of letters.

The second pastor of Falling Spring was Samuel Houston, V.D.M., a native of Rockbridge County and first cousin to the father of General Sam Houston of Texas fame. After military service during the American Revolution, he completed his studies for the ministry and was ordained on August 20, 1783. He took most seriously the significance of his calling. Though others might apply it to him, he was unwilling to assign to himself the adjective "Reverend." Instead, when he signed his name, he listed

himself as Samuel Houston, V.D.M.—the letters stood for the Latin words "Verbi Dei Magister" which in English means minister of the Word of God.

While in his first pastorate at Providence Presbyterian Church in Washington County, Tennessee, he was one of the leaders in the abortive movement which sought to establish the state of Franklin. After six years he returned to his home in Rockbridge. As a member in good standing in Hanover Presbytery, he became Stated Supply to this congregation in 1789. At this period he is listed in the Minutes of Hanover as "Bishop of the United Congregation of Falling Spring and High Bridge."

In September 1791 he was called as pastor by the two congregations. Two-thirds of his time was assigned to Falling Spring and one-third to High Bridge. During the latter part of his time in Tennessee his wife, Mary Hall, had died. Being without family, he made his home with Joseph Culton Walker, a ruling elder at Falling Spring, and his wife, Jane Moore. Their daughter Margaret became Houston's second wife on January 7, 1794.

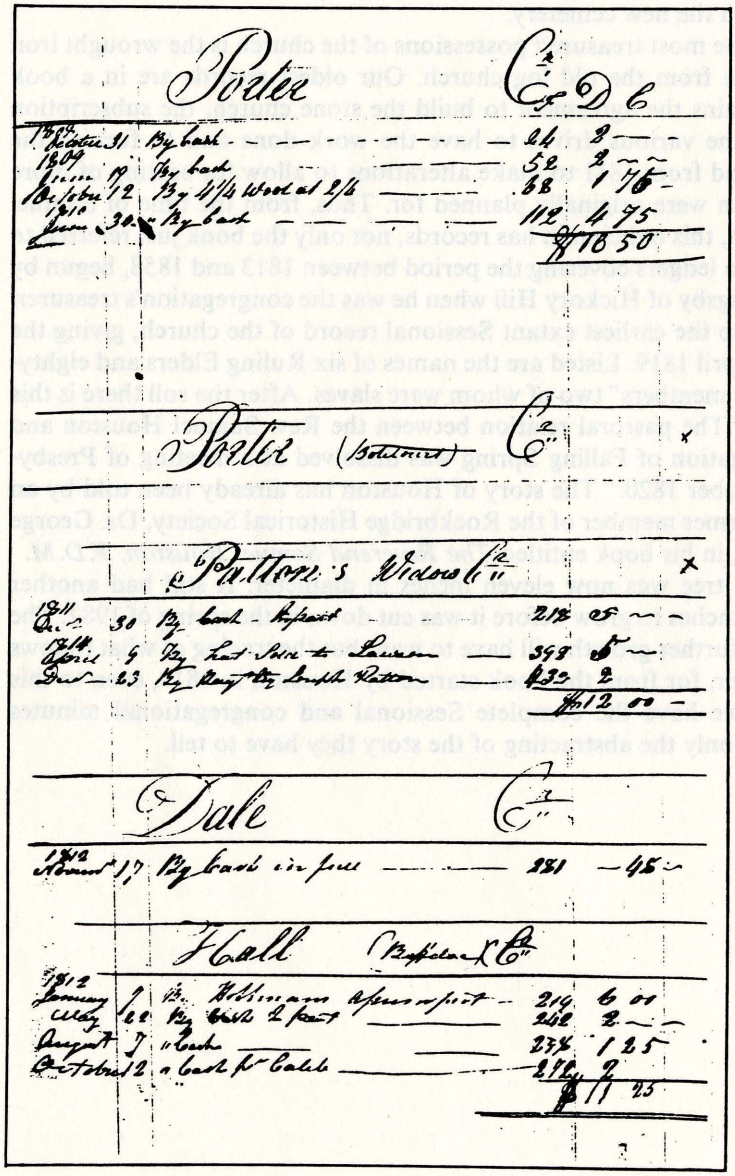
Also living in the home was Mrs. Walker's niece, Mary Moore, the noted "captive of Abb's Valley" who had been carried away to the Ohio country and spent three years as captive of the Shawnees after they had killed her father. The name Mary Moore has been passed on to generation after generation of girls in Virginia and beyond, many of whom are unaware of the thrilling story of the little girl whose name they bear. In a letter written by Houston years later, he told of a Sunday morning at Falling Spring when Walker and his wife presented one of their children to receive baptism. The parents were standing in front of the congregation, holding their child, and Houston extended the invitation of Christ to the rest of the congregation. Mary Moore, then a girl of about 13, stepped forward and declared that she wanted to accept Christ as her Savior. She was received on the profession of her faith into the membership of Falling Spring Church.

During the twenty-nine-year pastorate of Samuel Houston, Falling Spring entered a whole new era of its life. A few years after his arrival, the old log church on Buffalo Creek, though it had been repaired and later clapboarded, was in need of replacement after fifty years of service. An agreement was drawn up and forty-seven heads of families or individuals made subscriptions to build a new meeting house "on the land of Colonel Posey." Thomas Posey was the husband of Martha Mathews, who was one of the heirs of the murdered John Mathews family. The new stone edifice was completed and ready for occupancy by the spring of 1794; a committee composed of James Dryden, James Caruthers, and Joseph Walker was appointed to assign pews with the choice seats being given to those who had contributed the largest amounts toward its erection.

On April 7, 1794, John Grigsby died and was laid to rest in the shadow of the building to which he was the largest single contributor. His was the first grave in the new cemetery.

One of the most treasured possessions of the church is the wrought iron door handle from the old log church. Our oldest records are in a book which contains the agreement to build the stone church, the subscription lists from the various drives to have the work done and to furnish the building, and from 1811 to make alterations to allow for seating of more persons than were originally planned for. Thus, from the time of Samuel Houston on, this old church has records, not only the book just referred to but also two ledgers covering the period between 1813 and 1858, begun by Reuben Grigsby of Hickory Hill when he was the congregation's treasurer. There is also the earliest extant Sessional record of the church, giving the roll as of April 1819. Listed are the names of six Ruling Elders and eighty-six "private members" two of whom were slaves. After the roll there is this statement: "The pastoral relation between the Rev. Samuel Houston and the congregation of Falling Spring was dissolved at a meeting of Presbytery in October 1820." The story of Houston has already been told by an honored former member of the Rockbridge Historical Society, Dr. George West Diehl, in his book entitled *The Reverend Samuel Houston, V.D.M.*

The oak tree was now eleven inches in diameter. It still had another twenty-six inches to grow before it was cut down in the spring of 1982. The story of its further growth will have to wait, but the tracing of what follows will be easier, for from the book started by Houston in 1819, even to this very day, we have the complete Sessional and congregational minutes which wait only the abstracting of the story they have to tell.



Ledger page from John Ruff, Lexington hatter, 1809–14. (RHS Ledger Collection, W&L University Library.)

Lexington Ledgers: A Source for Social History

Edwin L. Dooley, Jr.

he year 1859 was a milestone for the Virginia Military Institute. Colonel Francis H. Smith, the superintendent, had just returned from Europe, where he had visited a number of scientific and engineering colleges. On his return to Virginia, he strongly recommended to the governor that the VMI faculty be expanded in order to offer new scientific and technical courses. Smith succeeded in obtaining permission to expand the faculty, and he also received funds to expand the Corps of Cadets and to enlarge the Barracks. During that summer, therefore, the west wing of Barracks was constructed and a dozen new cadet rooms were put into service. Evidence or traces of this activity can be found in an old Lexington business ledger. On August 31, 1859, at the cost of $324.00, the ledger indicates that VMI purchased one dozen bookstands, one dozen washstands, one dozen tables, two blackboards, and other equipment necessary to outfit the new rooms. Official VMI records show that the cadets moved in on the same day.

Edwin L. Dooley, Jr., special assistant to the superintendent of the Virginia Military Institute, and Barbara Crawford, artist and teacher at Southern Seminary Junior College, collaborated on a discussion of how to use archival material in research, especially the material in the Society's collection at the Washington and Lee University Library. Ms. Crawford talked about her use of the J. H. Meyers Hardware Store Ledger (1849–52). Their presentations were made in Mary Moody Northen Auditorium in the W&L library on October 25, 1982.

The Vestry minutes of Grace Memorial Episcopal Church tell us that Dr. William Nelson Pendleton began his ministry at the church early in 1852. It is generally believed that he also started a classical school after the Civil War and that this school was continued after his death in 1883 by his daughters in their home known as "The Pines" (now 111 Lee Avenue). Evidence that the school was begun much earlier, however, can be found in a business ledger entry, dated May 1858. There it is recorded that Dr. Pendleton purchased three dozen stools, five tables, a dining table, a blackboard, and a bookcase fitted up with a door. The 1860 Census of Lexington confirms the existence of a school by listing the names of a dozen male students between the ages of fourteen and eighteen, from a variety of states, residing in the Pendleton household.

Also in May 1858, an entry in a ledger shows that Thomas J. Jackson purchased a crib and a hair mattress for his new daughter who was born April 30 to his wife Anna. The joy of the Jackson household quickly turned to sorrow, however, when the baby became seriously ill. On May 22 Jackson wrote to his sister Laura saying that the baby was very ill of jaundice and might die. On May 25 the baby, Mary Graham Jackson, died. The following day the ledger shows that Jackson purchased "one fine cloth coffin and box" for his daughter.

These interesting vignettes of life in Lexington suggest the kind of historical information which may be found in business and store ledgers. Generally thought to be mere records of ceaseless business dealings devoid of the drama and color of other historical records, ledgers have been left to gather dust on shelves in out-of-the-way places. The fact that they have survived at all is perhaps due more to their sheer weight and size than to their perceived value. Today, however, with increasing frequency, students of local history are finding that ledgers contain much more than the simple transactions of individuals. Used properly, they can also reveal relationships between individuals and the ways in which communities were organized and changed.

Learning to use ledgers in historical research is not difficult. The first task is to identify the owner and type of business for which a particular ledger was kept. Normally, this is a simple task because the name of the business often appears in gold letters on the spine of the ledger. But what if the book contains no such markings? Can it still be identified? This is what I set out to determine in the summer of 1982 when I consulted a ledger which had neither a business name on its cover nor a title page.

I began my investigation of the unidentified volume by noting some obvious features. It was a leather-bound book measuring fifteen inches by ten inches and containing approximately 300 light blue, ruled pages. Only 194 of these pages contained business records which covered the period

from January 1857 to June 1860, and each page was headed with the title "Lexington, Va." and the date. The inside front and back covers, where one sometimes finds names, sketches, or other helpful information, were blank.

Toward the end of the ledger, however, carefully preserved between its pages, were three small and yellowed slips of paper containing additional business records. Two of these documents described transactions between persons whose names appeared in the ledger. These could be ignored since it was unlikely that the owner would have recorded his own name in the ledger. The third document, dated May 1860, contained a record of several transactions between "Robert Logan and Milton H. Key, deceased." Logan's name appeared three times in the ledger, but Key's name was nowhere to be found. A subsequent search for Milton Key's name in the 1860 Lexington Census, which was compiled in June of 1860, only turned up the name of Rebecca Key, age 32, and two children. Could this have been Milton Key's widow, I wondered, and could he have died in May or June of 1860?

Turning to the *Lexington Gazette,* I found the answer. In the issue published on Thursday, May 17, 1860, the following notice appeared: "Died, on Friday morning the 11th inst., at his residence in this place, MILTON H. KEY, aged about 34 years." A Will Book for 1860, located in the County Court House, and cemetery records compiled in 1960 by Colonel William Couper, confirmed that Milton Key died May 10th, 1860. Thanks, then, to a scrap of paper tucked into the ledger, I was able to identify its owner. But the exact nature of his business remained a mystery. The answer to this question could be found in two sources: the ledger and the newspaper. Working backward in the *Gazette,* I located an advertisement in the Thursday, April 5, 1860, issue which read:

> No change in Firm; Milton H. Key; CABINET MAKER AND UNDERTAKER: MAIN STREET, LEXINGTON, VA.; Would inform his patrons and the public that he still continues without any change of firm, to carry on . . . Cabinet making in all its branches, and Keeps constantly on hand and makes to order all kinds of Furniture and Chairs. He holds himself ready at all hours to make Coffins from the common to the finest, and will carry them in a neat Hearse to any part of the country. Also, he has on hand various sizes of Raymond's Patent Metalic Burial Cases which he will convey to any part of the county or State, October 21, 1858.

Had the newspaper not supplied the information needed, the ledger itself would have provided the answer. One has only to tablulate the

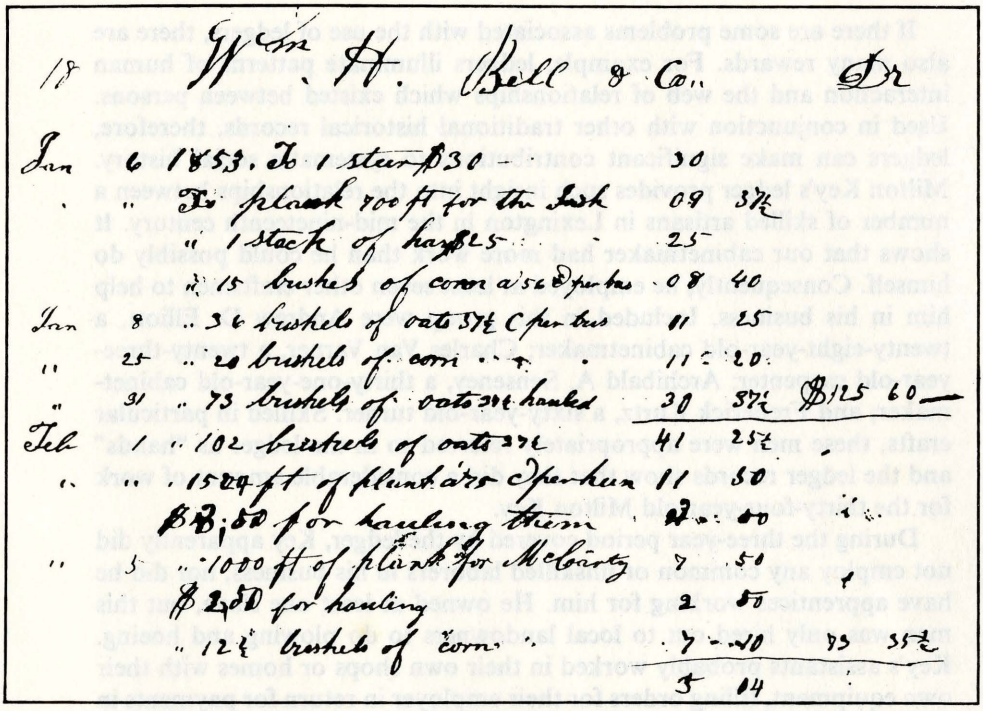
different types of transactions recorded in its pages to obtain a clear idea of the enterprise for which it was kept. In the course of the three and a half year period covered by the ledger, we find transactions involving, among other items, the following:

250 tables
207 chairs
200 bedsteads
160 coffins
136 stools
127 washstands
80 wardrobes and china presses
36 dressing bureaus
34 bookcases and showcases
34 utility tables, desks, secretaries

Any ledger, similarly analyzed, will reveal the nature of the business and, possibly, the owner of the business.

In addition to identifying the ledger and its owner, the researcher must also understand the accounting system displayed on its pages. This can be difficult because nineteenth century businessmen and clerks did not employ the same accounting procedures we use today. This fact, coupled with handwriting which is often nearly impossible to decipher, makes using some ledgers especially troublesome.

In the 194 pages of Milton Key's ledger there are no fewer than three accounting systems, but not one of these systems incorporates the concept of a running balance or net income figure for the business. There is, in short, no so-called "bottom line" figure. Each month, in the first part of the ledger, the clerk simply entered several lists of names of persons who had purchased items from Key or to whom Key had extended credit during that particular month. At the end of each month the clerk entered another list of names of persons who had settled all or part of their accounts. That there was no attempt in the ledger to reconcile these transactions suggests that a separate cashbook or some other record may have been used. Adding to the difficulty of this bookkeeping system is the fact that most of the transactions, although assigned dollar values, did not involve the exchange of cash for goods and services. Instead, a system of bartering predominated. Payments were usually made in goods and services ranging from potatoes, hay, sugar, butter, coffee, cabbages, and shoes to planks, iron, furniture, or even the loan of a slave. Lumber was always taken in exchange for work. Whatever goods Key could not use himself or sell at a profit, he used to pay several men who worked for him. Payments in cash



A portion of page 18 of C. M. Dold's ledger showing the William H. Bell & Co. account, January-February 1853. (RHS Ledger Collection, W&L University Library.)

were not rare, but only VMI and most professors at the Institute and Washington College paid all of their bills in cash.

Later in the ledger the separate alphabetical lists of debits and credits were replaced with a single monthly list of the names of persons who had charged items to their accounts or who had settled portions of their accounts. Debits were sometimes identified by the letters "DR" and credits were almost always identified by the letters "CR". The practice of using the letters "DR" and "CR", which appears in many early ledgers, makes it easier for the researcher to identify income items. And although the system still seems awkward, it is possible for the researcher to reconstruct individual accounts, calculate balances, and measure the health of the business. Moreover, it is even possible to draw certain tentative conclusions about economic conditions in the community, as reflected in the ledger. Until a number of ledgers from one time period have been analyzed, however, such conclusions would have to remain preliminary and incomplete.

If there are some problems associated with the use of ledgers, there are also many rewards. For example, ledgers illuminate patterns of human interaction and the web of relationships which existed between persons. Used in conjunction with other traditional historical records, therefore, ledgers can make significant contributions to systematic social history. Milton Key's ledger provides such insight into the relationships between a number of skilled artisans in Lexington in the mid-nineteenth century. It shows that our cabinetmaker had more work than he could possibly do himself. Consequently, he employed at least seven other craftsmen to help him in his business. Included in this group were Andrew D. Elliott, a twenty-eight-year-old cabinetmaker; Charles Van Varner, a twenty-three-year-old carpenter; Archibald A. Senseney, a thirty-one-year-old cabinetmaker; and Frederick Kurtz, a sixty-year-old turner. Skilled in particular crafts, these men were appropriately referred to in the ledger as "hands" and the ledger records show that they did a considerable amount of work for the thirty-four-year-old Milton Key.

During the three-year period covered by the ledger, Key apparently did not employ any common or unskilled laborers in his business, nor did he have apprentices working for him. He owned at least one slave, but this man was only hired out to local landowners to do plowing and hoeing. Key's assistants probably worked in their own shops or homes with their own equipment, filling orders for their employer in return for payments in the form of cash, goods, the extension of credit, or a combination of the three. The ledger indicates that the hourly wage was fifteen cents, the normal work day was ten hours, and the normal work week was six days. At that rate a workman could have earned in a year a maximum of about $470 or its equivalent in goods or credit. The actual annual income was probably closer to $300.

The ledger also provides information concerning the subsistence expenses of Key's assistants. There is evidence to suggest that house rent was calculated at the rate of one-quarter of the normal monthly wage, or, in the case of these men, $9 per month. Most food items were not inexpensive, even though the ledger amounts seem quite low to us today. For example, a man had to work nearly two hours for one pound of coffee, over thirty hours for one barrel of flour, three hours for one bushel of potatoes, and over an hour for one pound of sugar. Meat and dairy products, which were plentiful in the area, were relatively inexpensive. Nearly eight pounds of beef could be bought for about sixty cents, or four hours of work, and one pound of butter cost a man one hour of work.

Of Milton Key's several assistants, Amis Senseney, Fred Kurtz, and Andy Elliott seem to have been most dependent upon him as an employer,

inasmuch as their names appear regularly each month in the pages of the ledger. Elliott called himself a cabinetmaker, but he often undertook other tasks only slightly related to his skills. For example, on several occasions he was paid by Milton Key not only for making a coffin, but for hauling it, driving the hearse, digging the grave, and attending the funeral. Such diversification—and it is not rare in the ledger—leads us to question the occupational specialties or titles claimed by some men in the 1860 Census.

A good example of someone who practiced occupational diversity was Milton Key. In addition to cabinetmaking and undertaking, he also did some farming, built additions to houses in town, and was involved in lending money. He regularly lent or advanced money in the form of direct cash payments or by settling accounts which his customers had with other merchants and tradesmen. In addition, he was a director of the Lexington Savings Institution in 1860. Through these activities he must have become well known to the wealthier persons of the community.

Key's customers were, in fact, some of the most influential persons of the town, and his ledger provides interesting details about their buying habits and preferences. Of the total of 441 persons listed in the 1860 Lexington Census as heads of households, having a profession, or holding a job of any sort, Key had dealings with 123 persons, or 28 percent of the total. Of this number forty-four were skilled artisans; thirteen were wealthy proprietors, managers, or officials; twenty-seven were professionals, including most of the professors of VMI and Washington College; and nine were among the wealthiest in the town, including such persons of style and consequence as David Hopkins, James L. Jordan, Samuel McDowell Reid, Jacob Ruff, Eli Shores Tutwiler, and Joseph and Mathew White.

Wealthy and influential persons of any community are apt to leave an abundant supply of written records of their activities and accomplishments. In such cases ledgers serve mainly to fill small gaps in the records or to provide interesting details about their lives. On the other hand, for those persons who leave no written records—especially common laborers, servants, farm hands, and other unskilled persons—ledgers provide unique traces of their lives and activities. For example, in Key's ledger we find that Alexander Minor, a black servant, was somehow able to purchase with cash a china press costing the impressive sum of $18.00, and that a member of the Ailstock family, a black laboring family, was able to purchase a fine walnut coffin in 1858 for the above-average cost of $10.00. These glimpses into the lives of two members of the free black laboring class of Lexington suggest important research activity which could shed light on a segment of society about which little is known. Indeed, the closer one examines Lexington ledgers, the more one is struck by the exciting research possibilities

contained in their pages. Studies of the changing cost of living, the buying habits and preferences of different socioeconomic classes, the introduction of new products and processes into the town, links with major markets, and the structure of finance and credit are some research topics which come to mind.

Milton Key's ledger is just one in the rich collection of Lexington ledgers which has survived the ravages of time. Thanks to Rockbridge County officials, members of the Rockbridge Historical Society, and especially the staff of the Washington and Lee University Library, an appropriate setting has been provided for these treasures. Many of you, I hope, will turn your attention to their unexamined pages and, as a consequence, enrich your understanding of Lexington's past.

Lewis Miller's Virginia

Barbara R. Luck

LEWIS Miller currently ranks among America's best known folk artists, and because the facts of his life have been widely published,[1] I will offer only a skeletal outline of his biographical background by way of orientation, fleshing out this brief comment with additional facts as I go.

Born in York, Pennsylvania, in 1796, "Louie" Miller, as friends called him, was the tenth child of German immigrants. Much of his inquisitive nature and love of learning have been attributed to his schoolmaster father. In 1813 he was apprenticed to a house-carpenter, his older brother John, and he worked at that trade for some thirty years. About the same time that he undertook his apprenticeship, he also began sketching nearby farms, fellow citizens, and local incidents for reasons we can only surmise—but probably initially for his own enjoyment. Yet by exploiting his own natural talents and inclinations he developed an entrée into community

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1. Published sources include Lewis Miller: *Sketches and Chronicles* (York, Pa.: The Historical Society of York County, 1966) and Harry L. Rinker and Richard M. Kain, "Lewis Miller's Virginia Sketchbook: A Record of Rural Life," *Antiques* 119 (February 1981): 396–401.

life. There is every reason to believe that his efforts to record local happenings and scenes were received delightedly by friends and neighbors, thereby providing him the encouragement necessary for the nurturing of a budding sense of identification. Increasingly, as time went by, Miller began to think of himself as a "chronicler," a recorder of the life around him.

Yet the picture is not a simple one. Miller defies classification. Although I intend to focus on his abilities as an artist and as a historian, other facets of this multi-talented individual doubtlessly will creep into my commentary—as well they should. When one can lay justifiable claim to the titles of artist, botanist, carpenter, comedian, eulogizer, historian, linguist, musician, naturalist, philosopher, poet, song-writer, sculptor, travel writer, and zoologist—it is inevitable that boundaries will be crossed, and to concentrate too narrowly on any of of these "labels" is to miss the fullness of the man and the richness of his personality.

Why is Miller deemed a folk artist worthy of our consideration? He turned directly to the life around him for the source of his inspiration. Unlike many of his amateur contemporaries, he rarely copied prints, and when he did so, it was generally for authentication of the details of an historic event he could not have witnessed, or for help in rendering an abstract, romanticized idealization. But such instances are rare and the scarcity of this evidence seems to attest to an innate feeling that art derived from art represented only a secondhand impression of life. Why should he depend upon print sources when life in all of its glorious complexity thrust themes worthy of recording before his eye at every waking moment?

Another important factor is what Miller saw in life that he deemed worthy of recording. One finds inspiring themes in his sketches. Great historic events stirred his soul and he saw the power of creation in every magnificent vista of nature—just as he found its sublime aspects in the sweet and gentle character of women.

Man's cultural attainments formed another source of inspiration. He frequently commented upon the artistry and ingenuity of outstanding examples of painting, sculpture, and architecture, while he sketched their visual appearances. For example, his view of the Gothic chapel at Kidrich in Germany includes the notation that the purity of its style is particularly deserving of attention.

Elevating themes provided grist for the mills of many who aspired to create. Miller found far more to be worthy of his consideration and his subject matter encompassed man's mundane striving for existence as well. Viewed by most as too commonplace to record, all the small details of everyday life held endless fascination for Miller. Grinding sugar cane and hunting wild turkeys were only two of the many daily activities he recorded in the course of his Virginia sojourns.

Similarly, his work expresses the gamut of human emotions, and through his eyes we experience the joy of the birth of his great nephew, Charles Craig Miller, born in 1865, and the tragedy of the death of his nephew, Charles Edie, stabbed to death at age nineteen by a fellow student at Hampden-Sydney College in Farmville, Virginia. We also experience the homesickness roused in Miller by a German band playing at Yellow Sulphur Springs in Montgomery County, Virginia, in 1856. Above the drawing of this band Miller wrote: "Far dear to the traveler, weary and lone, are the songs of his distant native home."

He also illustrated the boyish pleasures of fishing in the spring sunshine, inscribing below the picture: "Carrying some fine catfish along. Life has its moments when happy." And finally, his grasp of human emotions included irony and pathos, as evidenced by his depiction of a local citizen found "pale and dull of whiskey" on the public street in front of the Temperance Hall in Christiansburg, Virginia.

Miller sketched many views with a deep sense of recording for posterity. For example, one finds consecutive views of the old and new Methodist churches in Christiansburg, many such drawings bearing documentary comment that enhances their value as tools of historic research. On his April 17, 1856, sketch of the old Methodist Church, for instance, he carefully noted later that the structure was pulled down the following May 13th.

His curiosity about the world around him was insatiable and he frequently described life's oddities, be they a dwarf or a mammoth chestnut tree. An equal scientific zeal for classification and orderliness compelled him to record detailed aspects of the flora and fauna around him, occasionally adding notes of useful personal reference, such as "star-root is good for colic," or "the mushroom is good to eat—if fried in butter," or on still another page, the "polecat is a stinking animal."

In addition to being encyclopedic in range, Miller's work is important because it is believable, and not only does his choice of subject matter convince us of this. In speaking of his Virginia scenes, he might well repeat the statement found in his *Chronicles of York:* "All of this Pictures Containing in this Book, Search and Examin[e] them. The[y] are true Sketches, I myself being there upon the places and Spot and put down what happened. And was close by of the Greatest number. Saw the whole Scene Enacted before my Eyes." This written affirmation is confirmed by the inclusion of his own figure, shown sketching or observing in some of his works as in his sketch of Natural Bridge during one of his numerous visits there.

His style provides still another testament to his works' credibility, for his inimitable shorthand conveys immediacy and spontaneity. There is no labored reworking. Instead, his quick, controlled brush captures the essence

of the moment and scene. His line is decisive, if not always accurate, and varieties of texture are suggested by stippling and stroking, while thin washes generally provide form and touches of color. The clear indication is that Miller actually witnessed the scenes he described and that he created each sketch in a matter of minutes, either on the spot or in retrospect when leisure allowed.

Just as he trusted his own judgment as to what was worth recording in life, he also trusted his own ability to record in a meaningful fashion. Although exposed to the works of other, more polished hands, including the great masters of Europe, he blithely stuck to the sketchy, suggestive, visual "reportage" that was uniquely his own. The afflictions of aging aside, the chronological range of his work shows little stylistic alteration. Without thought of acceptance in the art world or recompense for his work, and devoid of delusions of grandeur, Miller's sketches express self-confidence in his creative and documentary skills and commitment to the value of his self-appointed, lifelong project of recording the world around him.

Last but not least, Miller's work is important because its sheer volume gives us an extraordinarily complete picture of nineteenth-century American life. Thousands of his drawings exist, dating from about 1813 until the time of his death in 1882. Combine this time span and output with all-encompassing subject matter and reasoned credibility, and the value of Miller's work as a mirror to nineteenth-century material culture becomes evident. This may explain why the social historians discovered Miller before the art historians. Today the freshness, spontaneity, and charm of his very personal style assures him a revered spot in the hearts of American folk art students as well.

This essay focuses on Miller's Virginia work and I want to use a selection of these sketches to demonstrate what they can teach us about Miller as a person and an artist, and what they can teach us about life in the state in the mid-nineteenth century.

Well over three hundred Virginia drawings have been recorded. But counting Miller's work should remain open to interpretation since he frequently grouped small unrelated subjects on a single sheet and drawings of non-Virginia subjects without firm histories of having been done here must be considered with some caution. A few large collections and many scattered individual examples are privately owned today, but the bulk of the illustrations of Virginia are in two institutional holdings: the Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Center in Williamsburg and the Virginia Historical Society in Richmond. Most of the Folk Art Center's Virginia material consists of sixty-six pages containing one hundred and five drawings taken from two separate sketchbooks, these having been given to the museum in 1978 and 1979 by Dr. and Mrs. Richard M. Kain and Mr. and Mrs.

William H. Kain in memory of the two brothers' father, George Hay Kain. The Virginia Historical Society acquired its important sketchbook in 1953; it includes fifty-five pages of Virginia subject matter.

What was Miller doing in Virginia? He fed a developing wanderlust from an early age. Having begun with an exploration of "all the Towns and Villages in York County, Pa.," he soon was rambling further afield. A restless desire to see the world eventually took him to other parts of Pennsylvania, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, and even Europe, as well as Virginia. In 1831, the year after his mother's death, he made the first of fifteen recorded trips to the Old Dominion, at that time visiting his physician brother Joseph, who had settled in Christiansburg, the thriving seat of Montgomery County, in the southwestern part of the state. Christiansburg is located at the juncture of the New River and the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad,[2] two features that crop up repeatedly in Miller's work from that area.

Another of Miller's brothers, John, emigrated to Rockingham County, Virginia, and still another, Benjamin, settled in Upshur County, then in Virginia, and now in West Virginia. Miller had plenty of family ties to lure him south of York. He lived and died a bachelor, and it is apparent that, especially after the deaths of his parents (his father had died in 1822), he relied on his siblings, their spouses, and children for the affection and home life circumstance had denied him otherwise.

It was Joseph's family in Montgomery County that he visited most often, and it was with Joseph's descendants that he came to live after the Civil War. Thus, it is not surprising that the majority of his Virginia sketches were made in Montgomery County and in the surrounding areas comprising southwest Virginia. Geographically, the next largest group of Virginia sketches comes from the Shenandoah Valley, while a much smaller number shows the Piedmont and Tidewater sections of the state.

Individual sketches of Miller's may be used as springboards to a wider understanding of both the artist and life in Virginia in a bygone era. But establishing a chronology for Miller's travels is made problematic by several factors, such as back-dated commentary, lack of distinction between verb tenses, and the nonsequential compilation and distribution of his material. Drawings done at different times and in different places frequently were bound side by side in his sketchbooks.

Starting "back East," two sketches of Mount Vernon, taken from separate notebooks and done in 1849 and 1853, illustrate Miller's proclivities for travel journalism and underscore the fact that the nationwide adulation

2. The Virginia and Tennessee Railroad later became part of the Norfolk and Western line.

and deification of Washington, begun during his lifetime, continued unabated some fifty years after his death. The first father's home was an oft-visited American shrine long before 1858 when it was acquired from private hands by the Mount Vernon Ladies Association. Miller described the house as "the celebrated seat of the late president" and called it "venerable and convenient." His two sketches help to illustrate the diversity of his recording style. The larger, done in 1853, concentrates on the house per se, with more attention to architectural detail. The smaller view (Figure 1)[3] done in 1849, places Mount Vernon in its overall landscape setting, emphasizing its situation in relation to the broad Potomac River. On this sketch Miller specifically noted that he had "visited Mt. Vernon."

It was important to him that viewers appreciate the fact that his impressions were firsthand ones and his remarks also formed a kind of diary or journal for his own retrospective pleasure. He gave statistical facts about the house, much in the manner of a good guidebook, but he also added personal aesthetic assessments, noting that the lofty portico had a pleasing effect when viewed from the water, and that little copses, clumps, and single trees added a romantic and picturesque appearance to the whole scene.

The partridges juxtaposed with his 1849 view typify the impressionistic nature of his sketching. Miller did not intend such drawings to be viewed as isolated statements, but rather as running commentary. The partridges may have been something he spotted on the grounds of the mansion, but they could as easily bear no relation to the house. The important thing is that their appearance intrigued him to the point that he wished to record it, remember it, and share it with others.

Miller saw the highlights of eastern Virginia before heading west. Figure 2 shows a formalized view of Richmond. The medallion view (Figure 3) actually faces the title page of his *Sketchbook of Landscapes in the State of Virginia,* hence the grandiose nature of its format. Today, without a good tour guide, Richmond visitors are unlikely to be impressed by the city's long-standing economic dependence on the James River, but obviously Miller appreciated it. The waterway holds central sway in his view and the banner the eagle supports proclaims not "Richmond, Virginia" but "James River, Virginia."

At the bottom of the medallion are two symbols of Virginia and more broadly, America: a black slave and an Indian. The female head in the center may represent a Virginia beauty, but equally likely Miller simply

3. All photographs in this essay have been reproduced with the permission of the Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Center, Williamsburg, Virginia. Miller's notations on the drawings are transcribed in the Appendix.

Figure 1. *"Mount vernon on the banks of the potomac." (From* Orbis Pictus, *1849.)*

meant to associate revered feminine attributes with his idealized descriptions of the state.

At the top on the left are remarks illustrating the difficulty of assigning chronological sequence to Miller's work. Although this sketch undoubtedly was drawn in 1853, his commentary alludes to events that occurred in

Figure 2 (Left). *"Richmond is the present Seat of Government."* Figure 3 (Right). *"The frontispiece representing the Capital and park in Richmond." (From* Virginia Sketchbook, 1853.*)*

Richmond in 1811, 1864, and 1870: a theater fire, the destruction of the city during the Civil War, and a collapse of the roof in the Capitol Senate Chamber. Miller was concerned with events of interest, past, present, or future, and he sometimes neglected to date them—or he correlated inscriptions and dates with sketches that were out of chronological order. He was an avid, if occasionally confusing, historian.

After Richmond, Miller headed westward. Indeed, beneath a view in Prince Edward County he carefully recorded the various modes of transportation he had taken from Richmond. Obviously, he was more concerned with these and with depicting the imposing bluff of rocks overlooking the Appomattox River than he was with rendering the small rural com-

munity of Farmville, even though the sketch is labeled thus above the cropped top edge of the slide. Miller greatly admired dramatic rock formations and he repeatedly sketched others in the western part of the state without pretense of a town view. Above the drawing mentioned he advises us "See high Bridge in Prince Edward County," a somewhat cryptic remark since the bridge is not in the sketch. But the notation is typical of several Miller made in the form of guidance to travelers, noting features worth viewing for future reference. In another case he *did* a drawing of the "high bridge" showing the widely noted railroad structure from an unusual perspective above it. Equally unconventionally, his train speeds out of the picture at far right and is barely contained by the margin. By comparison academic artists who rendered the bridge generally chose a low vantage point that emphasized its height. We must not be seduced by the pitfall equation of "good art" and optical reality. The point of Miller's work is the speedy encapsulation of the *essence* of a scene. To that end he succeeds well in convincing us of the relative height of the bridge by including human figures for scale, and he aptly conveys the marshiness of the valley below. He carefully recorded the cleared slopes surrounding the approach to the bridge and the evergreens dotting the closer rolling land.

Miller's view of Lynchburg incorporated the features he remarked as most interesting: the canal and railroad, the latter on a "narrow defile" separating natural and man-made waterways. But he seems to have been far more intrigued by the slaves (in the lower portion of Figure 4) when he visited the place in August 1853. His drawing shows a merry dance, the women dressed in their best finery, and the musicians playing fiddle, banjo, and bones with gay abandon. Distinctions and details in the women's costumes help convince us of his close observation of the scene. The figures' bent knees and elbows, and the men, especially, shown on the balls of their feet, persuade us of the dance's vigor and liveliness.

Even the blacks shown at work (in the upper portion of Figure 4) demonstrate little dissatisfaction with their lot, and indeed Miller later commented that slaves were "a contented and happy race, happier far than the labouring class of poor in this country." Actually, like many compatriots, he grappled with the concept of slavery in a much more ambiguous way than these two drawings and the quote suggest, and we will consider the other side of the coin shortly.

The banner in the shoveler's hand admonishes us to "protect and encourage domestic & native industry," a relatively rare reflection of American national sentiment on Miller's part. The need to divorce America from economic dependence on foreign trade had been recognized in colonial times. It was heightened by isolationist policy in the early nineteenth century, and economic self-sufficiency was still very much a nationalistic con-

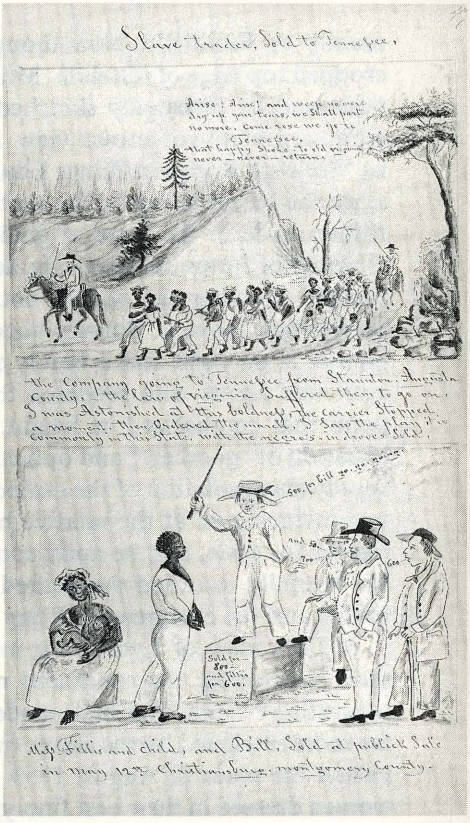


Figure 4 (Left). *"Represents our next door neighbor" and "Lynchburg—negro dance."* Figure 5 (Right). *"Slave Trader, Sold to Tennessee" and "Miss Fillis and child." (From* Virginia Sketchbook, 1853.*)*

cern in the 1850s. Here Miller sketches the contributions of hominy, corn, and home-spun wool to the desired state of affairs. His inclusion of the Virginia state seal at upper left—proclaiming "thus always to tyrants"—underlines a mood of patriotic defiance and self-assertion.

The depictions of the slave's plight in Figure 5 represent scenes Miller witnessed in Augusta and Montgomery counties. At the top the mass of slaves being sold and the distance of their move were among the factors that apparently awakened Miller's sensitivity to the broader implications of the institution of slavery. The band—or "company" as he described it—was being gang-walked from Staunton to Tennessee. Miller's proclamation of astonishment at this sight is not surprising. After all, slavery had been

abolished in his home state of Pennsylvania by the 1780s. But in Virginia, especially at mid-century, gang marches were a fairly common sight for there was a definite surplus of slaves in the state prior to the Civil War. Slaves to be sold into the lower South were dispatched to urban centers, biding there at assembly depots until a sufficient number had acumulated to make their gang drivers' trip a profitable one. Stirred by the trauma inevitably occasioned by such a move as this, Miller penned a slave's bittersweet comment above his sketch:

> Arise! Arise! And weep no more .
> Dry up your tears, we shall part no more.
> Come, Rose, we go to Tennessee, that happy shore.
> To old Virginia never, never return.

At the bottom of Figure 5 he showed three slaves—perhaps one family—being sold at public auction in Christiansburg. Though a common enough sight in the South, it was undoubtedly startling to Miller's Northern eyes, and he made a subtle contrast between the male slave's proud, calm stance and the white bidder's arrogant ones.

In Figures 6–7 are juxtaposed Miller's views of Staunton and Winchester. At the top the latter, located at the head of the Shenandoah, or Great Valley, was then the largest town in that region. The artists's elevated perspective, small details, and inclusion of routine activity in the foreground draw the viewer into the picture. He correctly depicted the town on the broad valley floor, bounded on the west by the Blue Ridge Mountains. Did Miller physically attain the vantage points requisite to the observation of such town views? Or did he rely on conjecture? Suspicions are aroused by the fact that, in most cases, it would indeed be impossible to recapture similar glimpses today. But one reason is tree growth. Miller's depiction of the treeless state of towns and surrounding countrysides is fairly accurate for mid-nineteenth-century Virginia, when a plethora of small farmers required vast acreage of cleared land. The picture is quite different today, due also in part to high-rise building. Generally only from the highest promontories does one gain a sense of the lay of the land and its settlements. Miller probably had to draw on imagination or word of mouth for some aspects of his townscapes, but by and large his views were plausible at the time, and specific, distinctive features in them convince one that he attempted a credible job.

In Staunton, for instance, he was careful to show Western Lunatic Asylum in some detail. This is the walled compound high on the hill to the right. Founded in 1825, this early state mental hospital was an important distinguishing feature of the town. Miller also made note of the Institute for the Deaf, Dumb, and Blind, founded in 1839, even though he could not

Figures 6–7. *"Winchester, the Largest town in the Valley of Virginia" and "View of Staunton." (From* Virginia Sketchbook, 1853.*)*

see it from his particular vantage point under the tree at right. The county courthouse and Lewis Creek are readily distinguishable in his sketch, as are Bessie Bell and Mary Gray, the two rolling hills in the background that mark Staunton's town site.

The water-carved rock formation known as Natural Bridge proved fascinating to Miller, as it has for thousands of other viewers. It gave the new county its name when Rockbridge was formed from Augusta and Botetourt in 1778. It has been drawn, painted, and printed by tireless travelers and artists at least since the eighteenth century. Miller visited the Bridge at least six times, beginning in 1831, and three of his sketches of it survive: one done about 1849 (Figure 8); one in 1853 (Figure 9); and one in 1867 (Figure 10).

Figure 11 shows the Natural Bridge Hotel, also sketched by Miller at the time of his 1867 visit. He made this particular trip in the company of six Christiansburg relatives: his great-nephew Robert, his niece Mary Gardner, and four great-nieces. From this and other drawings of the same group en route, one deduces that Miller, then aged seventy-one, rode with the women in the horse-drawn vehicle seen in the foreground. Robert, on the other hand, rode astride a horse, and it is probably his figure that Miller represented just above the horse-drawn conveyance in Figure 11. Other drawings suggest that the vehicle was a wagonette with two long seats facing one another along the sides behind a transverse one in front.

Miller's fascination with rugged limestone outcroppings is apparent in his 1849 sketch of a nearby bluff on Buffalo Creek (Figure 12), an area of the county well known for its steep, high cliffs. The romantic poem, "I'm Thinking of You," penned at the top of the page, is ostensibly unrelated to the sketched view below it, though the wild, natural sight might have inspired Miller's thoughts in such a direction. Such juxtapositions of texts and sketches occur constantly throughout Miller's drawing books, emphasizing their quality as collected jottings, impressions, and notes.

Miller's sketch of the Rockbridge County seat of Lexington (at the top of Figure 13) provides a thumbnail reference to the town's salient features. Dominated by impressive House Mountain in the near distance, the town itself was laid out in 1778 in a simple grid of half-acre lots which, though neat and orderly, completely disregarded the site's precipitous topography, resulting in some streets so steeply pitched as to be not only inconvenient but hazardous.

Miller clearly conveyed the sharp grade of Washington Street, meandering vertically here, by a lack of foreshortening and especially by his distinction of the high ridge on which Washington College, Virginia Military Institute, and a number of private buildings are seen to overlook the level of the central business district. Within the main part of town other points

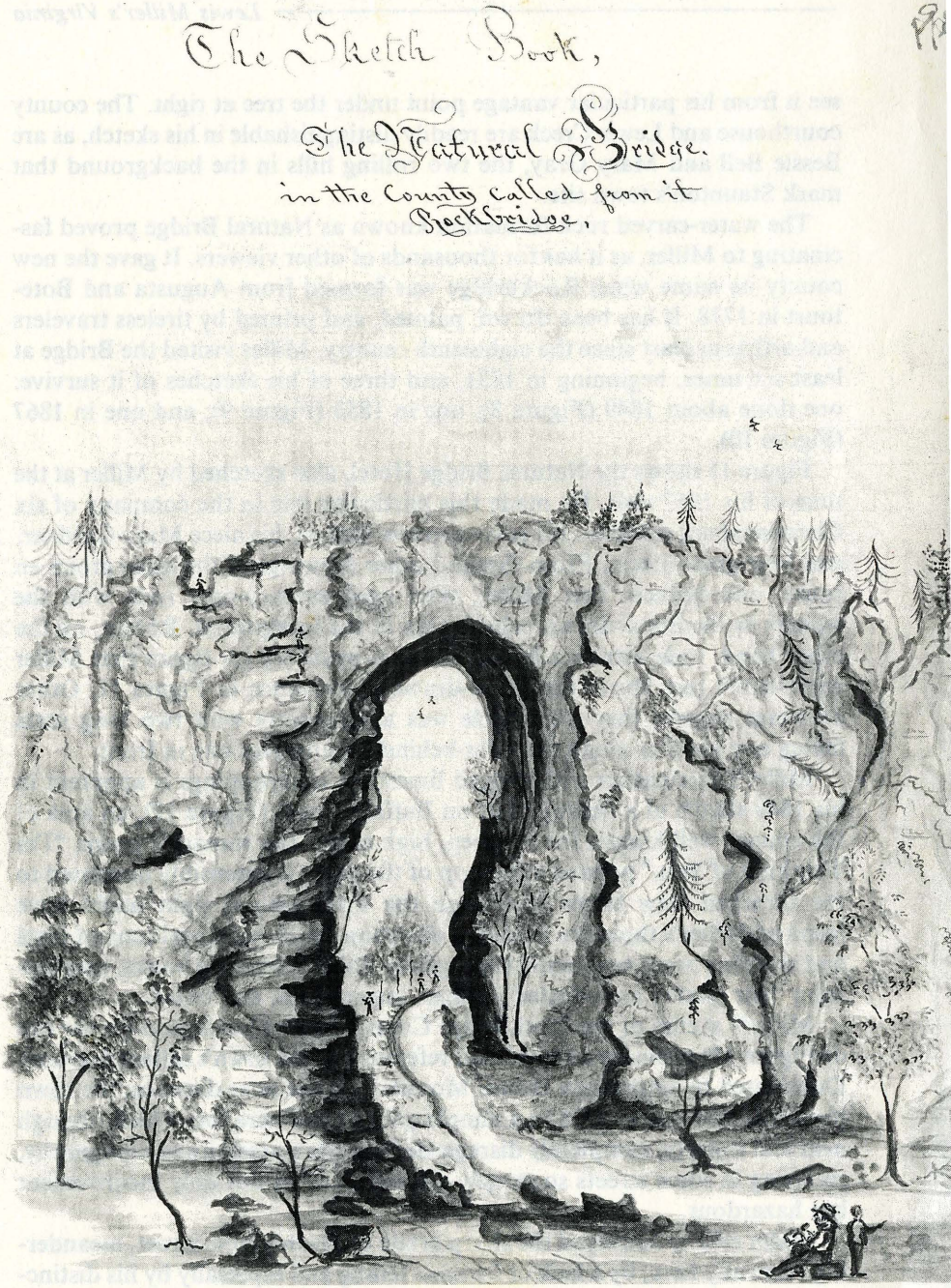


Figure 8. *"The Natural Bridge." (From* Orbis Pictus, *1849.)*

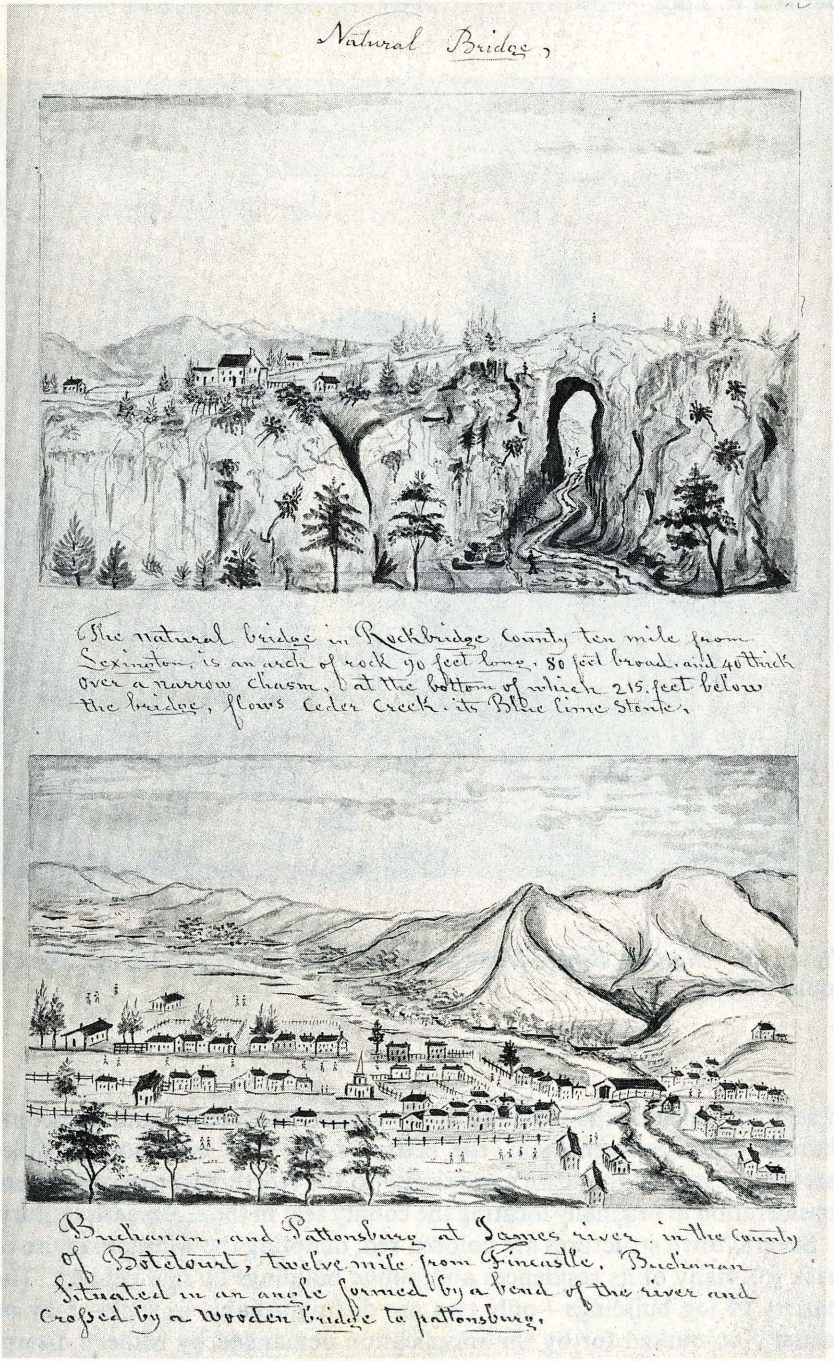


Figure 9. *"Natural Bridge" and "Buchanon and Pattonsburg at James River."* *(From* Virginia Sketchbook, 1853.*)*

Figure 10. *"Natural Bridge from the South Side." (From* Virginia Sketchbook, 1853.*)*

of reference include the towering spires of the Presbyterian and Episcopal churches and, between them, the belfry of the 1797 courthouse. Miller carefully described the town's proximity to the North River, an important consideration in originally locating the county seat in the eighteenth century.

Several town structures are colored red, denoting the widespread use of brick for many of its residences and public buildings by mid century. The scarcity of log buildings—only two are distinguishable as such—may be partially accounted for by the simplication demanded by Miller's distant view. But it is also true that much of the town's eighteenth-century log construction *had* been replaced by brick and frame by the time of the

artist's sketch, for the greater part of the town was destroyed by fire in 1796.

Subsequent rebuilding largely employed more durable materials and, according to one writer, had "more regard to regularity." Thus, Lexington was described in 1804 as a "handsome village with good buildings." Later,

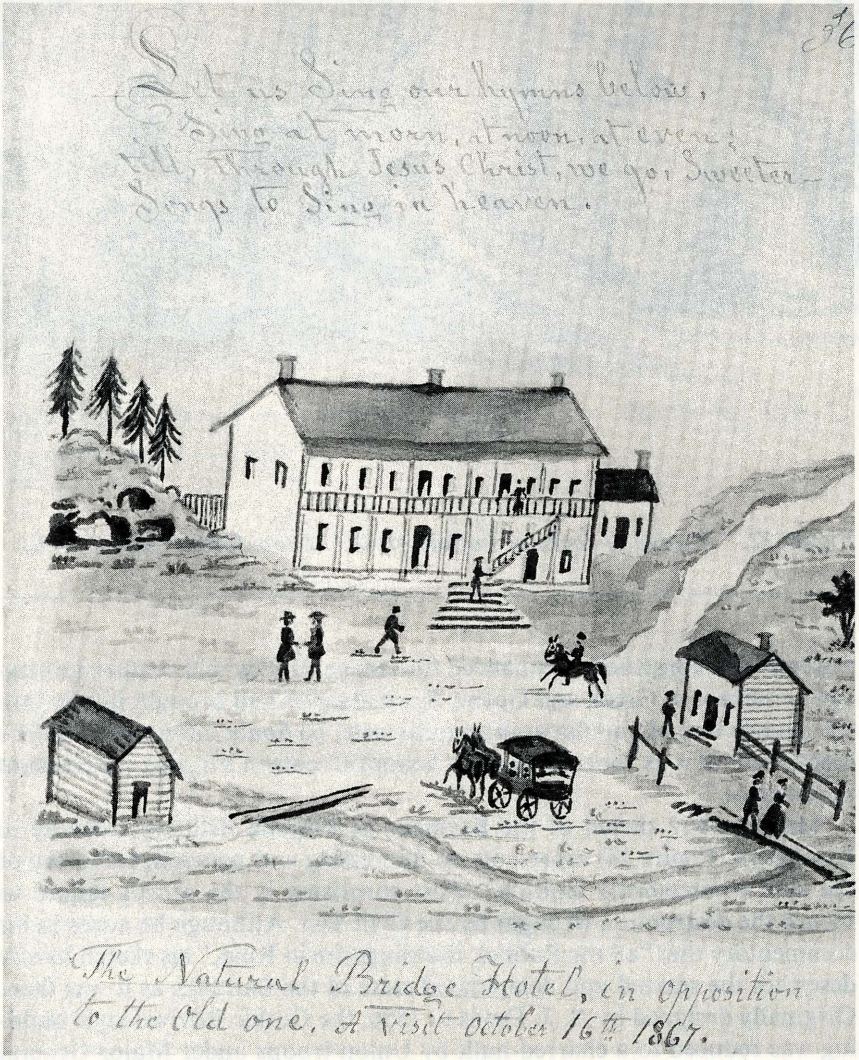


Figure 11. *"The Natural Bridge Hotel." (From* Virginia Sketchbook, 1853.*)*

Figure 12. *"A ridge of rocks at Buffalo creek." (From* Orbis Pictus, *1849.)*

Federal-style construction enhanced this image, and by mid century Lexington's embrace of Greek and Gothic Revival styles had brought it fully into the mainstream of popular architectural taste, no doubt influencing Miller's assessment of it as "one of the most beautiful seats in Virginia—a pleasant appearance."

Miller's 1867 sketch of the Barracks at Virginia Military Institute in Lexington (Figure 14) represents an interesting and personal summary of the spot's noteworthy features. Most surprising is the artist's failure to record the destruction wrought by the Civil War. Although he noted in his commentary that "all the Publick Buildings are in Ruin," his sketch hardly describes the scarred and delapidated state of the Barracks as it was then. Originally designed by A. J. Davis in 1850, the Gothic Revival-style building was reduced to a charred hulk by Union troops under Major General David Hunter in June 1864. Some rebuilding was attempted in the interval before Miller's visit, but the financial situation was grim and reconstruc-

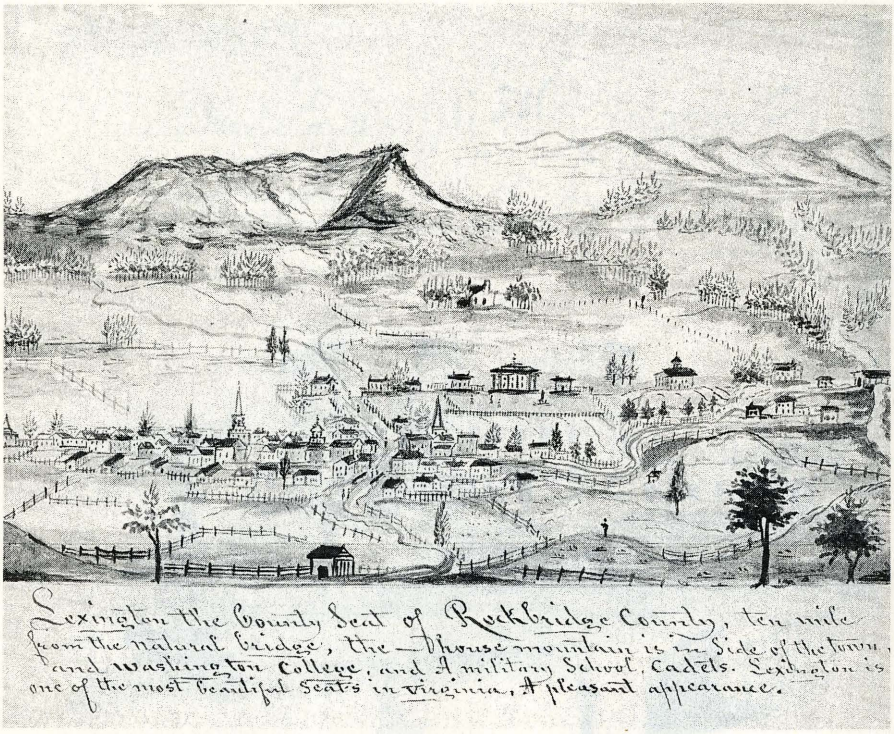


Figure 13. *"Lexington the County Seat." (From* Virginia Sketchbook, 1853.*)*

tion was slow. The artist's comment was certainly closer to the fact of the situation than his sketch.

His *optical* distortion of the Barracks is also evident. Miller's towers are somewhat out of proportion and two separate facades of the quadrangular Barracks are shown in a single plane. Yet Miller did record, in his own way, the impressive features of the building: its skyline crenellation, soaring Gothic towers, and gaping sallyports.

Miller also noted nonarchitectural sights that continue to attract tourists to this day: the cannons at far right are relief-chiseled French guns dating from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. They crossed the Atlantic during the American Revolution and were presented to VMI in 1859 and 1863. Ever since they have symbolized the school and its distinguished contributions to military history for civilians and soldiers alike. The cannons flank a statue of Washington that Miller remarked as being "well done." It is a bronze cast of Houdon's famous 1785 life-sized

Figure 14. *"Lexington Military School." (From* Virginia Sketchbook, 1853.*)*

marble. The casting was made by William J. Hubard and it was installed at VMI with great fanfare in 1856. Abducted as a trophy of war in 1864, it was returned to the school in late 1866, just months before Miller's visit.

It is characteristic of Miller that he chose not to dwell on the Civil War or its bitter aftermath. His sensitivity and perception enabled him to grasp the tragedy in its abstract, and it was brought home to him by the loss of friends and relatives fighting on both sides. Miller's sketches and comments gloss over the war's broader implications, making it clear that he concentrated on the positive in life as a means of conquering the ills continually besetting mankind.

Landscapes comprise the largest percentage of Miller's Virginia drawings, while portraits of individual farms and homesteads run a close second. In Figure 15 Miller had a personal interest in the Rockbridge County property of David E. Laird. Exemplifying his careful record-keeping, he specifically noted that his carpenter brother John had been working there in 1849. The house itself, one of the Valley's fine examples of neoclassical architecture, was actually built in 1829, so John may have been engaged in repair work or, more likely, helping to construct one of the outbuildings nearby. The brick exterior of the house is suggested by red dashes, and other quick strokes of Miller's brush convey neat garden plots and fence lines. His situation of the farm buildings close to the rocky banks of the North River—or North Fork of the James River, as he states—is about right. His swirling, wavelike depiction of the distant mountains is a somewhat fanciful stylization that appears in many sketches.

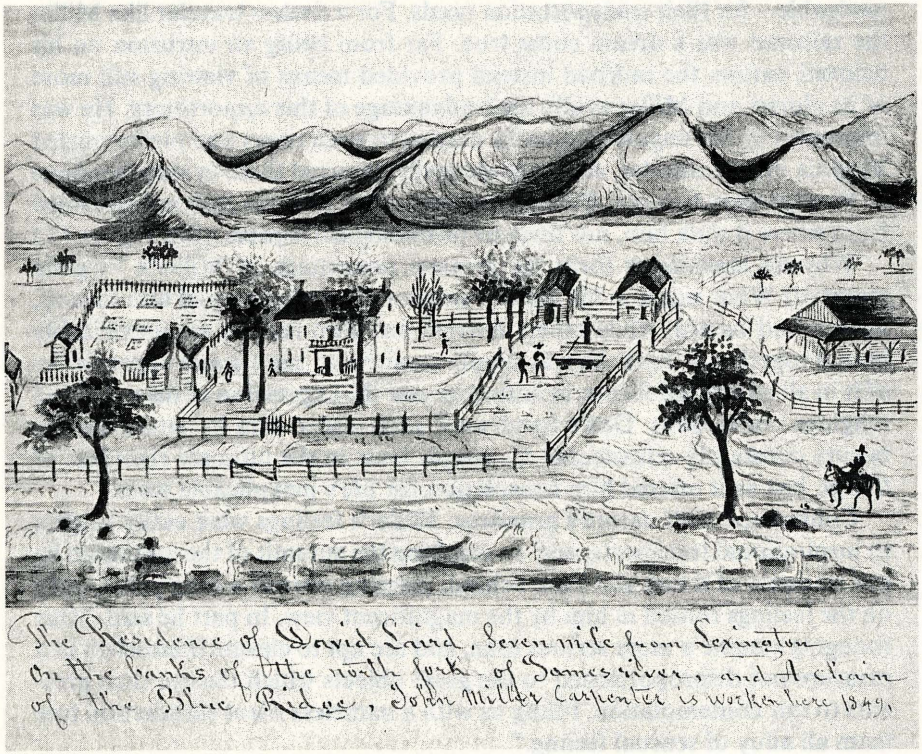


Figure 15. *"The Residence of David Laird."* (*From* Virginia Sketchbook, 1853.)

In Figure 16 Miller depicted "The Residence of Mr. Schener," locating it in his notes at three miles from Natural Bridge. The house, called Miranda, still stands and is still owned by the Shaner family. It has a long-standing tradition of having served as an inn, for in Miller's 1867 sketch of it he shows his great-nephew Robert Craig riding up to the gate, and below the composition he notes that Robert rode ahead of Miller and the rest of his traveling Christiansburg relatives in order to make inquiries about lodging. One unexplained mystery here is the double, second-story stairway and full-length porch Miller shows on the facade of Miranda. I am told that there is no architectural evidence to substantiate its existence.

Miller was intrigued by construction of the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad. Begun in Lynchburg in 1849, many northeastern sections of the line were in active use before a final push through formidable mountain passes extended it to the Tennessee border in 1857. These arteries opened new accessibility to a broader world for southwest Virginia's inhabitants, who heretofore had relied on foot, horse, and flatboat—where rivers were navigable—for their transportation needs. For a tireless traveler like Miller the railroad was a dream come true. Far from being an intrusion on his beloved nature, the railroad instead provided means of viewing still more of its glories and Miller avidly took advantage of this opportunity. He was impressed by the engineering skills needed to span rivers and pierce rugged Virginia mountainsides, and he graphically depicted them in sketches done in Montgomery County. But his true love affair with the railroad stemmed from where it took him, not from its technological aspects. (See Figure 17.)

Why do landscapes form the greatest percentage of Miller's Virginia material? What was it in his natural surroundings that caused him to stop, reflect, and record, while others hurried on? Two factors are inextricably bound together, I think: he was deeply sensitive to beauty and appreciative of it in all its myriad forms; in nature he saw the expression of his profound religious convictions. God's handiwork surrounded him in nature and its beauty constantly rejuvenated his simple trust in the ultimate rightness of things, just as it offered him consolation for life's inexplicable woes.

Confronted with nature's grandeur, Miller's feelings were easily subject to inspirational transports, and on reaching the summit of the mountain he put statistics of travel and time behind, penning instead a long prose essay on the feelings roused in him by the magnificent view. In part he said, "Our thoughts assume a more serious tone, and are apt to elevate themselves in a measure not disproportioned to the great objects which the eye then presents to our contemplation, filling us with a nameless silent satisfaction free from all alloy of sensual feeling."

Botanical drawings form only a small percentage of Miller's Virginia work, but he demonstrated diversity and skill in that genre. On one sketch,

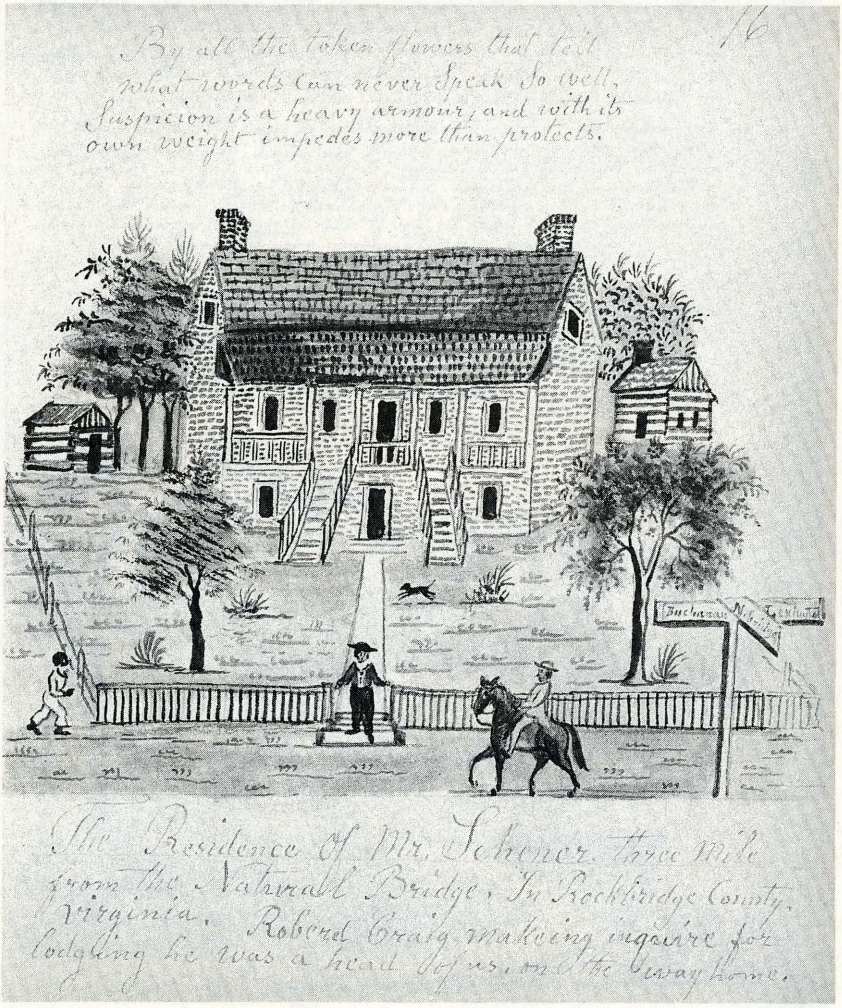


Figure 16. *"The Residence of Mr. Schener." (From* Virginia Sketchbook, 1853.*)*

for example, Miller noted that puff-ball dust could be used to stop the flow of blood from a wound. This was probably common knowledge, rather than his own observation, for herbals indicate that country folk have kept puff-balls on hand for the emergency staunching of wounds since times long past.

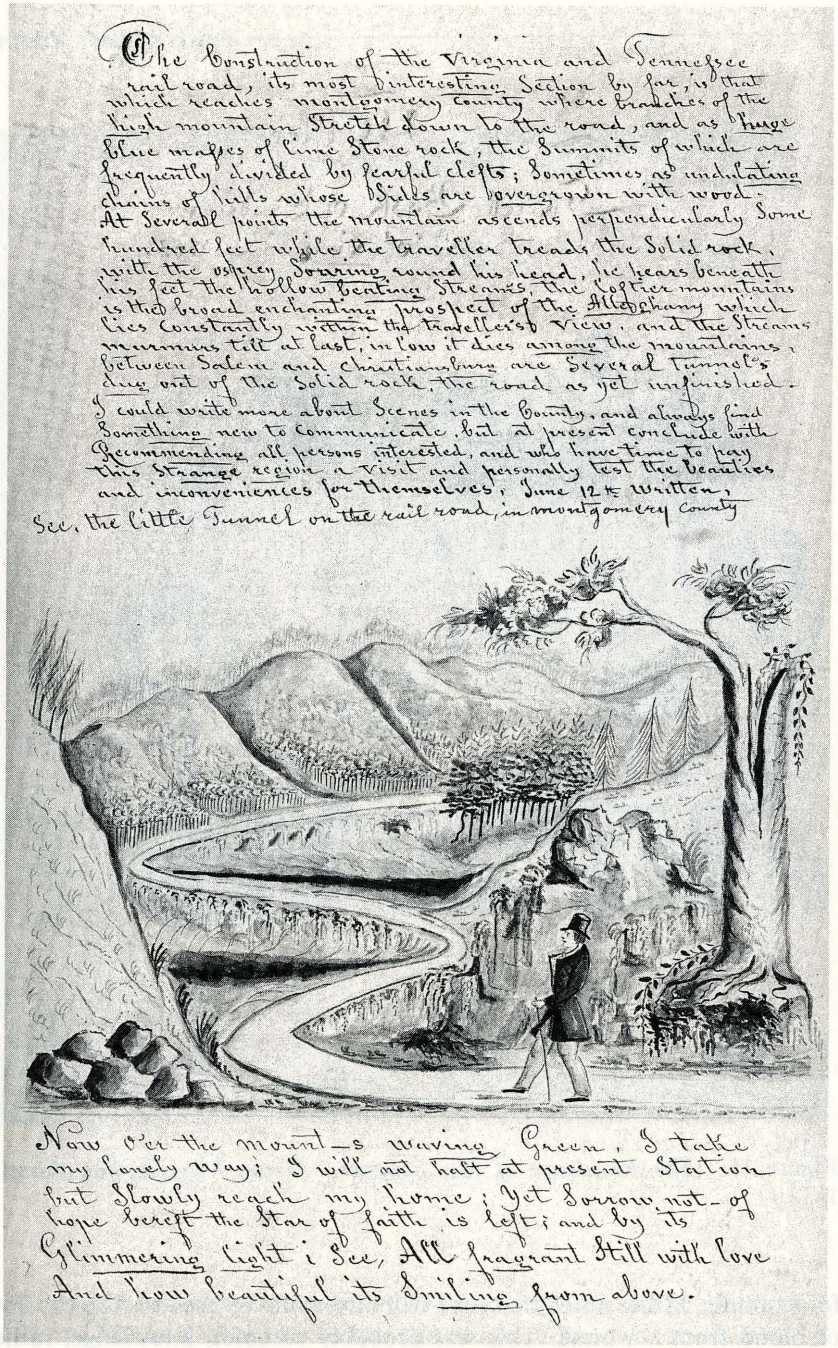


Figure 17. *"The construction of the Virginia and Tennessee railroad." (From* Virginia Sketchbook, 1853.*)*

On a drawing of the cucumber (or sometimes cow cumber) magnolia Miller related that the timber was useful to mechanics (that is, carpenters or builders) and that the seeds were used as medicine. The seed pods of another tree intrigued him, and beside a drawing of one he declared that the tree that grew these pods was very rare and grew only along the banks of the New River. He never learned its name, calling it only a "beans tree." But he did know—and note for future reference—that the mashed beans placed in water made a good fly poison. He probably referred to the Kentucky Coffee Tree which does indeed grow mostly west of the mountains. Flies were much more of a problem then than we can imagine now, with screened houses and pesticides, and it is possible that the tree was introduced into southwest Virginia specifically for its fly-killing properties.

Although Miller has been described by one writer as walking "cheerfully through Virginia, recording what he saw with the innocence and enthusiasm of a healthy child," some of his drawings and much of his writing make it clear that he struggled with tragedy and sorrow as well. Yet the grain of truth here is that he clung to his ideals in spite of life's inequities. His idealizations appear to have included Virginia's horses and women. In one drawing madame is pictured in exquisite habit, "a fair fashionable Daughter of Beauty. A Girl of Splendor" setting off on her morning ride. On a drawing of a horse Miller claimed "In thee alone, fair land of Virginia, is bred the perfect horse, in speed as yet unrivaled, while in other climes their virtue fails." Horse racing was an enormously popular sport in Virginia, and of course the Virginia-bred quarter-horse was known to be unbeatable in sprints.

Miller was at home in Montgomery County, and his drawings of that area outnumber those from any other Virginia county by at least three to one. After his brother Joseph's death in 1842, Miller continued visiting his sister-in-law, three nieces, and a nephew, staying with them, making them his family, and traveling about the countryside with them and with the next generation of their children. The Folk Art Center recently acquired a valentine made by Miller for his great-niece, Jane Harriet Edie, and it is typical of numerous tokens of affection he made for female relatives in Montgomery County. Some, like the valentine, celebrated specific occasions such as Christmas, birthdays, or May Day, but others were simple outpourings of his feelings.

Miller maintained a sense of humor and an active interest in the world around him, continuing to sketch actively throughout his later years, though age took its toll on his hand and, on the whole, religious subjects began to dominate his choice of subject matter toward the end of his life.

When he moved permanently to Christiansburg after the Civil War, he made his home with his niece, Emmeline Craig Walthall, who by then had lost one husband, possibly two, and her son, John, the inheritor of the

property. The artist is said to have made his home with Emmeline's daughter, Mary Taylor Craig, during his last years. But the 1880 census reveals that at least by that year he was boarding with Christiansburg farmer Chester B. Charlton and his wife, Kate. Apparently, the Charltons expected remuneration, for in February 1882, Miller wrote his York, Pennsylvania, friend George Billmeyer, asking for financial assistance and stating "my relations that were good to me are dead, now I am with Strangers and they look for pay." Billmeyer sent fifty dollars in return, asking "If I may make of you one request it is this: you give to me your curiosities such as carvings, pictures, and especially those pertaining to our town. I make this request only because it would be of interest to a number of our old friends."

Deviating from his emphasis on religious themes in his last years, Miller's touchingly grateful responses to Billmeyer included more than two hundred portraits of "Old York Citizens" made expressly for his friend, most of them rendered on the printed pages of an 1875 catalogue for the local Montgomery Female College. They prove that, whatever other debilitating effects of aging he suffered, Miller's memory remained sharp to the end. He recounted specific incidents associated with many of these by-then deceased citizens whom he had known personally in York in years long gone, and visually distinguishing characteristics make them individualistic portraits.

Four months later America's most prolific folk artist was dead at the age of eighty-six. His remains lie beside those of his brother in a family cemetery in Christiansburg. Yet the invaluable legacy of his nineteenth-century commentary and illustration offers testament that defies the grave. His hundreds of Virginia drawings provide gratifyingly vivid glimpses of a lifestyle we would otherwise see "only through a glass darkly." It is our great good fortune that Miller fell in love with the state, visited often, ultimately settled here, and tirelessly recorded his impressions for our continuing edification.

Appendix

Transcriptions of Miller's comments in the figures.

Figure 1. *"Visited mount vernon, June 5th, 1849." "Mount vernon, on the banks of the potomac, the celebrated Seat of the late president Washington, is pleasantly Situated on the virginia bank of the river where it is nearly two miles wide, it is nine miles below*

Alexandria. The mansion house itself appears venerable and convenient A lofty portico ninety-Six feet in length, Supported by Eight pillars, has a pleasing effect when viewed from the water; ornamented with little copses—clumps and single trees,— add a romantick and picturesque appearance to the whole Scenery."

Figure 2. Above: *"Accident happening in the city of Richmond, december 25th 1811, the Theatre burnt, and in the time of war, a great fire—1864. And in the State Capital the counsel or Senate room the Ceiling broke down and many lifes lost this was the last of April 1870."* Below: *"Richmond is the present Seat of Government, and Stands on the north Side of James river."*

Figure 3. Above: *"Lewis Millers Sketch Book of Landscapes In the State of Virginia, 1853."* Below: *The frontispiece representing the Capital and park in Ricnmond, its an Extensive Space laid out in walks and a fine monument raised in honor of the brave. The picture below is a tobacco farm, at James river, See, Gamble's hill, is situated at the west end of fourth street in the city."* Right side: *"Terrible Calamity in Richmond, in the Court room. Some of the timbers gave way and a large portion of the building fell with a crash killing and waunding A great number of persons. This was in the last of the month April, 1870."*

Figure 4. Top: *"Represents Our next door neighbor. A little black girl spinning wool."* Motto on flag: *"Protect and Encourage domestic & native industry."* Middle: *"O carry me back, O carry me back, to old Virginia Shore, home Spun, and homani block, & corn, this very valuable grain in Virginia and much is raised."* Bottom: *"Lynchburg—negro dance, August 18th, 1853."*

Figure 5. Top: *"Slave trader. Sold to Tennessee."* Caption in top picture: *"Arise! Arise! and weep no more/dry up your tears, we shall part/no more. Come rose we go to/Tennessee,/ that happy shore, to old virginia never—never—return."* Middle: *"The Company going to Tennessee from Staunton, Augusta County. The law of virginia Suffered them to go on. I was Astonished at this boldness, the carrier Stopped a moment, then Ordered the march. I saw the play it is commonly in this State, with the negro's in droves Sold."* Bottom, comments within picture: *"500. for bill, go, go, going." "and 50" "600" "700" "Sold for 800—and fillis for 600."* Bottom, picture caption: *"Miss Fillis and child, and Bill, Sold at publick Sale in May 12th Christiansburg, montgomery County."*

Figure 6. Top: *"Winchester; the Largest town in the Valley of Virginia."* Bottom: *"winchester seen from a distance, which Shews the blue ridge at the entrance of the great Valley, the whole of the broad plain, which Seem to recline against the clear blue of the distant Sky: while on the left the Scene is bounded by the heights of the chain of mountains, and crowned with forest trees."*

Figure 7. Top: *"View of Staunton."* Bottom: *"Staunton In Augusta County a flourishing town. A Short distance west of the blue ridge, here are the lunatic Asylum—and the deaf, dumb and blind Institute."*

Figure 8. *"The Sketch Book. The Natural Bridge, in the County called from it Rockbridge."*

Figure 9. Top: *"Natural Bridge."* Middle: *"The natural bridge in Rockbridge County ten mile from Lexington is an arch of rock 90 feet long, 80 feet broad, and 40 thick over a narrow chasm, and the bottom of which 215 feet below the bridge, flows Ceder Creek, its Blue lime Stone."* Bottom: *"Buchanan, and Pattonsburg at James river in the County of Botetourt, twelve mile from Fincastle. Buchanan Situated in an angle formed by a bend of the river and crossed by a wooden bridge to pattonsburg."*

Figure 10. *"The Natural Bridge from the South Side taken view in October 16th 1867."*

Figure 11. Top: *"Let us Sing our hymns below,/Sing at morn, at noon, at even;/till, through Jesus Christ, we go, Sweeter/Songs to Sing in heaven."* Bottom: *"The Natural Bridge Hotel, in opposition to the old one. A visit October 16th 1867."*

Figure 12. *"A ridge of rocks at Buffalo creek or river in Rockbridge Co. September 20, 1849."*

Figure 13. *"Lexington the County Seat of Rockbridge County, ten mile from the natural bridge, the house mountain is in Side of the town, and Washington College, and A military School, Cadets. Lexington is one of the most beautiful seats in virginia. A pleasant appearance."*

Figure 14. Top: *"Lexington Military School for cadets of the State of virginia all the Publick Buildings are in Ruin was dun in the late war, but the united States military."* Bottom: *"A Statue of Washington, in front of the Building, is well done, October 16th, 1867."*

Figure 15. *"The Residence of David Laird, Seven mile from Lexington on the banks of the north fork of James river, and A chain of the Blue Ridge. John Miller Carpenter is worker here 1849."*

Figure 16. Top: *"By all the token flowers that tell/what words can never Speak So well,/Suspicion is a heavy armour, and with its/own weight impedes more than protects."* Bottom: *"The Residence of Mr. Schener three mile from the Natural Bridge, In Rockbridge County, virginia. Robert Craig makeing inquire for lodging he was ahead of us on the way home."*

Figure 17. Top: *"The Construction of the Virginia and Tennessee railroad, its most interesting Section by far, is that which reaches montgomery county where branches of the high mountain Stretch down to the road, and as huge blue masses of lime Stone rock, the Summits of which are frequently divided by fearful clefts; Sometimes as undulating chains of hills whose Sides are overgrown with wood. At Several points the mountain ascends perpendicularly Some hundred feet while the traveller treads the Solid rock, with the osprey Soaring round his head, he hears beneath his feet the hollow beating Streams. The loftier mountains is the broad enchanting prospect of the Alleghany which lies constantly within the tranveller's view, and the Streams murmurs till at last, in low it dies among the mountains, between Salem and Christiansburg are Several tunnels dug out of the Solid rock, the road as yet unfinished. I could write more about Scenes in the County, and always find Something new to communicate, but at present conclude with Recommending all persons interested, and who have time to pay this Strange region a visit and personally test the beauties and inconveniences for themselves. June 12th written. See the little Tunnel on the railroad in montgomery County"* Bottom: *"Now O'er the mounts waving Green, I take my lonely way; I will not halt at present Station but Slowly reach my home; Yet Sorrow not of hope bereft the Star of faith is left; and by its Glimmering light, See, All fragrant Still with love And how beautiful its Smiling from above."*

"Zealous for the House of God": New Monmouth Presbyterian Church, Its First Two Centuries

I. Taylor Sanders II

ALMOST exactly ninety-nine years ago, on a hot Saturday in mid-August 1884, the people of the New Monmouth community gathered together to dedicate this structure to the greater glory of God. A distinguished local orator and pastor, the Rev. Thomas L. Preston, delivered the dedication sermon. For the better part of a year, the congregation had been without a house of worship. The old structure, after serving the congregation for about thirty years, had been torn down. Two years previously the church's leaders had decided that the old brick building, "good in the main" was "by reason of some defect in the foundations" plagued by "extensive cracks in the walls." Some members believed that it was unsafe. Everyone agreed it was unsightly. So on April 22, 1882, the congregation decided to tear the old one down and build a new one in its place.

For a congregation that numbered just over one hundred and for a church whose budget totaled well under $2,000, the project was a struggle.

I. Taylor Sanders II is professor of history at Washington and Lee University and the official university historian. The material in this paper, together with full documentation, can be found in his book *Now Let the Gospel Trumpet Blow: A History of New Monmouth Presbyterian Church, 1746-1980* (Lexington: New Monmouth Presbyterian Church, 1986). Professor Sanders's talk was delivered at the church July 25, 1983.

At one point during the summer of 1883, the building committee decided that all work on the building would be halted as soon as it was "under roof and spouted" unless the members came up with needed funds to complete the work. In the end they did and late in 1883 the church was ready. Local members had donated a great deal of labor and, where possible, old material was used.

For nearly a year the members had worshipped at other churches and the Sunday school had been suspended. The early 1880s had not been easy ones for the congregation or for Rockbridge County farmers. Only one new member had joined the church that year, and some members had drifted away during the time of dislocation. The church's elders, then, had good reason to praise their people for their "good spirit" with which they bore "the burden connected with building a new house of worship," and manifesting a "commendable interest in the outward welfare of our Zion."

The people of New Monmouth had faced a great deal of adversity during their church's long history. For two generations after its founding as the Forks of the James Meeting House in 1746, it was without a regular pastor. Meetings were held in a lean-to kind of structure on Woods Creek near Lexington or, when no pastor was available, in the home of members near Kerrs Creek. Just prior to the Revolution the congregation found a regular, if part-time, pastor in William Graham, a recent Princeton graduate, and soon thereafter they erected a frame meeting house "sufficient to hold several hundred people."

The new site was near the homes of some of the church's most ardent supporters. The church took its name, Hall's Meeting House, from a family who owned the adjoining land and who had been among the church's strongest supporters. By the mid 1780s Graham was busy teaching at Liberty Hall Academy and was relieved of his duties at Hall's. In the late 1780s the struggling congregation, after failing to find another pastor, called on Graham again. Graham already was conducting services at his academy house and in the town of Lexington, but he agreed to serve the church in September 1788, on the condition that a new structure be built to replace the "mere shell" which housed the congregation. The stone church was the result. Its ruins are near where Route 60 passes over Whistle Creek.

If the new building gave an aura of permanence to New Monmouth, it was the Great Revival in the county during the summer and fall of 1789 which insured the church's survival, at least for a time. New Monmouth, as the stone church was now called, was the center for the revival. Graham and his students were among the firmest champions. According to contemporaries, the revival improved the moral atmosphere of the neighborhood, brought many people to Christ, reinvigorated Graham, and led many talented young local men into the ministry. It may well have saved

New Monmouth and certainly played an important role in keeping alive Graham's college.

The first two decades of the nineteenth century were prosperous ones for the congregation. The Rev. George Baxter, who took over Graham's post at the college and at New Monmouth, was a gifted preacher and revivalist. He served New Monmouth and its outpost church in Lexington, which was close by and had the advantage of being in the growing town of Lexington. By 1819 New Monmouth had 192 members: the Lexington branch numbered some 112 members to New Monmouth's 80. The Presbyterians of Lexington were granted permission to establish their own church in the fall of that year. Although another revival came after the split and New Monmouth's numbers increased to 158 by 1823, the church was entering the most difficult years in her history.

Between 1830 and 1862 the church was served by no fewer than nine supply pastors. Many were talented ministers, and most were connected with the college as teachers. In time, however, this system proved a failure. The college students complained that their teachers were spending too much time preparing sermons. The New Monmouth's elders referred to these years as times of the church's "low estate." By 1855 the membership fell to 86. The congregation was wracked by controversy when the elders censured a prominent lay leader for advocating opinions favoring (or at least not condemning) dancing and card playing. These difficult years were summed up by an active member, who had spent his youth in the old stone church. He points out that after 1820 the church was in decay—like "a ripe fruit at its ripening, is in the first stage of its decay." By 1825 "Lexington had built a church of its own and the Monmouth congregation was cut in two and the larger half lost to the old church. New churches had sprung up on the other sides of her bounds and" by the 1830s "she was dismembered and shorn of her strength on all sides."

Perhaps the most fortuitous decision the New Monmouth elders ever made came during the early 1850s when they decided to move from the old site on Whistle Creek to the present location on land donated by the Laird and McKee families. The move placed New Monmouth farther away from a vigorous Lexington congregation and closer to the flood plain and hollows around Kerrs Creek which were becoming heavily populated. A simple brick structure was erected. On June 3, 1853, the session proudly reported that "the new church was opened for the first time for public worship." On the following day it was dedicated—with two sermons. The second sermon was an emotional one. It was delivered in a private home where a young mother, on her death bed, had her newborn child baptized.

As the months passed, new members, many of them previously unchurched, joined New Monmouth. By March 1855, the church had reor-

ganized its choir of some sixteen voices—apparently all male. By 1859 the church membership rose to 143 and included two black members.

With the coming of the Civil War, New Monmouth lost its regular pastor to the Confederate army's chaplaincy corps. Many young men were away and the entire session—those not in regular service—were members of the home guard. The church was fortunate, however, in finding the Rev. Samuel Brown, whose pastorate lasted from 1862 until 1873. Brown, who had been a preacher for thirty years, had recently been forced to resign from a pulpit near Warm Springs because of ill health. Although often ill, he served New Monmouth with dedication. He kept New Monmouth together until the arrival of the Rev. Daniel Allen Penick from North Carolina in September 1873. The following spring, when Penick was installed officially, some seventeen new members joined New Monmouth. The local newspaper reported that Brown, who delivered the charge to the pastor, rejoiced as he saw Penick "reaping the fruits of the seeds of truth sown by himself."

Penick served New Monmouth until 1905. Not only did he bring the church into the modern era, but he also established a family in Rockbridge County which through its talents and service has enriched the area for more than a century. During the early stages of his ministry, the church's growth was slow but steady. A system of outposts served the far-flung unchurched people in the region. By 1898 some 304 students were attending the various outpost Sabbath schools.

Penick and his session dealt with a variety of disciplinary problems ranging from intemperance to whether to accept as a member into the church a man who operated a distillery and saloon. The pastor and the session handled these cases (and many others) prayerfully and sympathetically. By the late 1880s the church had some 134 members. Yet the session, believing that they dwelled in the "midst of much coldness," prayed for revival.

It came in the spring and summer of 1889, when a noted evangelist, Dr. William Dinwiddie, took Lexington and Rockbridge County by storm. He preached on the simple question "what must I do to be saved?" The answer struck a deep chord in the community. This revival, one of the greatest ever in our region, had an impact on other churches besides New Monmouth. One hundred and ten converts joined New Monmouth. For the rest of Penick's tenure, the membership never fell below 200. Despite this growth, New Monmouth, like any institution, was affected by the economic and social problems of its neighborhood. During the later years of his ministry, the church suffered along with the entire region when the great balloon of the Valley boom teetered and burst on "Black Friday"—February 15, 1895.

A land boom, sparked by false hopes that this part of the Valley could become a great industrial center, made for heady times in the county during the early 1890s. Economic forces combined with chicanery to bring on Black Friday. The Bank of Lexington closed its doors when townspeople discovered that a bank official had embezzled some $180,000. Local citizens, farmers, the colleges, even the county treasury, suffered.

The scandal touched New Monmouth. The church's budget fell from some $1,250 in 1890 to just under $780 in 1897. The Gay Nineties were not bright for the many people who lost everything in the national panic of 1893, the deepest depression the country experienced up to the 1930s.

Yet Penick's long ministry laid a strong foundation for New Monmouth, which flourished during the first thirty years of the twentieth century. The short ministry of the Rev. R. E. Steele, a naval veteran, lecturer, poet, story writer, as well as preacher, lasted only two years, from 1907 to 1909. A visitor described New Monmouth of seventy-five years ago as a "modern brick church" in a "large grove" on a hill. The yard was full of horses and buggies. The church was filled by a "fine body of people, intelligent, upright, zealous for the house of God." Its 220 members were "accustomed to good preaching."

As New Monmouth entered the twentieth century, Steele offered a special message for the neighborhood's young people. Under his direction, church school enrollment jumped by 70 percent. Not only did he establish a young people's society, but he also organized a large adult Bible Class, began a Cradle Roll, preached at Kerrs Creek Presbyterian Church, and championed the church's outpost work in the surrounding area at Ford's school house, Union, and Chestnut Grove.

The next decade (1909–1919) belonged to Rev. D. N. Yarbro, a scholarly Kentuckian, whose preaching was "clear, forceful and convincing." He presided over the construction of a Sunday school building, named in honor of the Rev. Penick. During his ministry, extensive remodeling improved the sanctuary. The project called for the erection of a circular choir platform.

Major changes were also made in the rear of the church. Doors were moved from the vestibule to the sanctuary and rebuilt into the brick walls, one on each side. The large openings were closed by brick. (Today you can see the shadows of the old double doors from the pulpit—when the light is right.) A third door was added for the middle aisle. The old pews were replaced and a new seating plan adopted. The congregation had a Chicago firm build new pews made of oak, veneer, and elm. The firm's motto was "Select your seating, plan your design, send us your order and you're through. We'll do the rest."

Members of the congregation donated substantial volunteer labor to the projects. The plans for the new church school building (which replaced the old one-room session house) came from Professor D. C. Humphries, an engineering professor at Washington and Lee, who donated his time and gave valuable technical advice to the session.

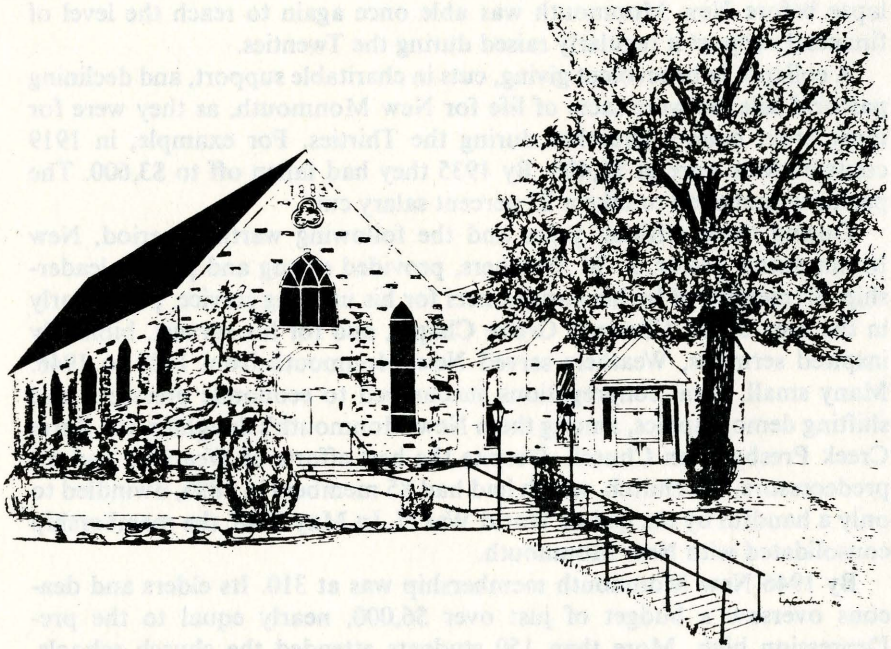
The First World War era was a time of confident optimism. In addition to expanding the physical plant, the congregation enlarged its program, particularly in areas of home missions—through outposts—and foreign missions. Between 1909 and 1919 the membership grew to 266 communicants, and foreign missions support tripled. Various ladies' missionary societies became influential within the church, which adopted a variety of outreach programs. Most interesting was a singing chorus to travel through the bounds of the congregation presenting "song services" in private homes. Special efforts were made to ensure that visitors felt at home here on Sunday mornings. And the session urged that services "be concluded within two hours and a quarter from the time of opening."

New Monmouth, already the mother church of Lexington Presbyterian and Kerrs Creek Presbyterian, spawned another offspring in 1910 when the Chestnut Grove outpost organized into an independent church. Unfortunately, the plan was premature. The church reverted to an outpost within a decade, despite the efforts of Yarbro and his successor.

The devotion of the congregation to Rev. Yarbro can best be seen in its reaction to his announced resignation in the summer of 1919. The elders took a move unprecedented in the church's history to protest his resignation. They urged him to stay and sent a delegation to Presbytery (meeting in Lexington) to make their case. Despite this action, Yarbro's decision was firm. He took leave of New Monmouth and moved to Chatham, Virginia, where he ministered to a group of churches.

New Monmouth's strength is seen in the rapidity with which it found a new minister. It only took several months to select the Rev. O. M. Anderson. He turned out to be one of the most dynamic ministers in its history. During his pastorate, the church entered the automobile age when it provided Anderson with a car allowance. A gifted public relations man, Anderson instituted a pastoral letter program and a congregational newspaper. In his messages to the congregation he cajoled them to greater service and publicly—if gently—rebuked them for backsliding. In one letter, for example, he told them that "non-attendance upon church services without a good excuse shows a lack of loyalty to the church and its great Head and is worthy of severe censure. We would urge those who are faithful in attending church to make consistent efforts to get non-church goers to attend."

He threatened disciplinary action against members who neglected the sacraments. When he learned that the church's young people were attend-



New Monmouth Church. (Sanders, Now Let the Gospel Trumpet Blow, *p. 115.)*

ing dances at Wilson Springs, he reminded them that "dancing is fundamentally wrong." He urged them to find some other form of amusement. He exhorted them to be an example to young people throughout the region, noting that "young people can have good times without dancing."

His leadership and various appeals sparked a responsive chord in the congregation. During his pastorate 260 new members joined, while contributions from the congregation amounted to more than $46,000. New Monmouth benefited from the relative prosperity of the twenties. It also benefited from Anderson's strong administrative skills and charismatic personality.

During the Twenties two groups formed that made crucial contributions to New Monmouth in subsequent years. In 1921 the Men's Bible Class was organized. Originally it had forty members. Since that time the group has operated as a *de facto* Men of the Church organization. Perhaps even more important was the merging of the three ladies' missionary societies into a women's auxiliary. This group ultimately became New Monmouth's vigorous Women of the Church. By 1929 the women raised some $1,019 or about one-sixth of the church's total contributions. Within months, however, the nation entered the Great Depression. Nearly two decades would

lapse before New Monmouth was able once again to reach the level of financial support it regularly raised during the Twenties.

A collapse in benevolent giving, cuts in charitable support, and declining pastoral salaries were facts of life for New Monmouth, as they were for most other county churches during the Thirties. For example, in 1919 contributions were at $6,400. By 1935 they had fallen off to $3,600. The pastor volunteered to take a 25 percent salary cut.

During these difficult years and the following wartime period, New Monmouth's pastor, J. W. Weathers, provided strong and patient leadership. Remembered by his parishioners for his untiring service, particularly in the area of the Chestnut Grove Chapel, and for his earnest, biblically inspired sermons, Weathers served New Monmouth from 1928 to 1946. Many small, rural congregations succumbed to economic pressures and shifting demographics, among them New Monmouth's daughter, the Kerrs Creek Presbyterian Church. Despite the best efforts of Weathers and his predecessors, the church, which had had 85 members in 1896, dwindled to only a handful by the end of World War II. In May 1948, the membership consolidated with New Monmouth.

By 1946 New Monmouth membership was at 310. Its elders and deacons oversaw a budget of just over $6,000, nearly equal to the pre-Depression high. More than 150 students attended the church schools, including three outposts. That summer, New Monmouth celebrated its two hundredth birthday. A highpoint was the return of Dr. Anderson, who led a week of evangelistic services. The festivities included sermons, picnics, social hours, and devotionals led by sons of the church who had entered the ministry. Our own Dr. Charles W. Turner, long-time archivist of the Rockbridge Historical Society, was one of the featured speakers.

On another occasion, sixty-five years earlier, at the dedication of this building, the Rev. Preston had followed the Scriptures and told the congregation to "go out into the highways and hedges" and "compel" people to come in so that the "house may be filled." This emphasis on missions and evangelism has been the major theme in New Monmouth's history.

In 1787, according to one of Graham's students, "the church truly had her harp on the willow, and in mournful ditty was lamenting the desolation of Zion." Few young men of talent were preparing for the ministry. Virginia's pulpits were filled by elderly preachers and the newly opened western lands were bereft of clergymen. The Revival was sparked by Graham and his congregation in this region when he took a group of his students to Hampden-Sydney College—where student prayer meetings smoldered and eventually burst into a full-fledged revival. By the 1790s Graham had begun a seminary at Liberty Hall and later in that decade his students, who worshipped with him at New Monmouth's new stone church—in specially

designated seats—were working the backside of Virginia as circuit riders. A number of them, John Lyle, Robert Wilson, Robert Stuart, and others, eventually went into Kentucky, where they founded schools (including the first female academy west of the mountains) and churches. The most brilant of these young men was John Poague Campbell, who briefly served as New Monmouth's co-pastor before moving west. All of them were active missionaries; moreover, Lyle was a leader in publishing religious tracts.

During the 1820s and for the next several decades, New Monmouth concentrated on home missions. Memorials to early elders stress their zeal in supporting missions. In the 1830s New Monmouth supported the Presbyteries' first missionaries who sailed to Greece. By the 1850s New Monmouth adopted its earliest plan of systematic benevolences. For the next several decades foreign missions increasingly interested the women of New Monmouth. In 1874 Mrs. D. A. Penick founded the Ladies Missionary Society. During the following decade it broke into several divisions. Younger women of the church rode on horseback throughout the wide bounds of the congregation soliciting funds and distributing tracts. By the early twentieth century the women organized a Young Ladies Missionary Society and sponsored children's groups who raised money and studied missions issues.

The most dramatic increase in mission support came in the later 1880s. For example, in 1860 New Monmouth's 143 members donated less than $45.00 for foreign missions. By 1889 the church's 134 members pledged some $165.00 to the cause. The increase reflects the work of the ladies, who for more than a decade publicized missions within the bounds of the congregation.

One of the leaders was Mrs. Mary Agnes McCutchan Morrison, whose son William became the most famous son of New Monmouth Church. The story of his work in Africa has been presented to this organization by the late Colonel Heflin. Morrison is memorialized on the walls of this church and in the Lee Chapel. Linguist, editor, champion of human rights, and administrator of great skill, he built the American mission in the Congo. During his years in Africa, he increased the number of schools and missionary stations from 5 to 450. His confrontation with the harsh Belgian authorities and his vigorous reform movement won him the admiration of people ranging from the Africans themselves and European heads of state, to Mark Twain and Arthur Conan Doyle, who said of him and his trial at the hands of Belgian justice: "Morrison in the dock makes a finer Statue of Liberty than Bartholdi's in New York Harbor."

A recent historian of the African mission field paints a portrait of Morrison as "resourceful, stubborn, and zealous of human freedom, who believed that an individual who witnessed wrongdoing and failed to intervene was "guilty as the perpetrator." He became a worldwide symbol. By

the time of his death in 1918 his Congolese church at Luebo had become "the largest Presbyterian church in the world."

Perhaps the most emotional moment in the history of this building took place in 1911 when Morrison was here on his last furlough. He had received an honorary degree from Washington and Lee, largely for his excellent Bantu language studies. His wife had recently died and he returned home to find his mother on her death bed. He led a service from this pulpit. In closing he asked the congregation to pray for him. He said that he was in double need of their spiritual support, now that he had lost the two people most dear to him—his mother and his wife. The entire congregation broke into tears, an observer reported, except for Morrison, who "alone remained calm and self-possessed."

For five decades Morrison symbolized New Monmouth's interest in missions. The church established a substantial fund in his memory that donated large sums for work in Africa. Unfortunately, the Depression stymied the fund and World War II killed New Monmouth's plans to erect a hospital in Africa in the missionary's memory.

Morrison's example intensified New Monmouth's long interest in missions. It inspired his classmates at Washington and Lee and made a strong impact on the young people of this congregation, on none more than Miss Mary Wilson McCown. She had joined New Monmouth in 1905 and was active in the missionary societies. After college, sparked by her cousin Morrison's example, she decided on a missionary career. She left for her long journey to China in October 1920. In her memoirs she expressed her thrill at setting foot on Chinese soil: "God had a place and service there for me; new customs, new languages, new friends, and the same blessed Gospel message for us all."

But for a six-year furlough, between 1925 and 1931, mostly spent in this region in home missions, she served nearly two decades in China. As a teacher and missionary, she described the hardships of the people with whom she worked, who "lived in constant fear of robbers, kidnapping, looting, and burning." She wrote of the suffering in cities and towns bombed and burned during the war between Japan and China. Captured and imprisoned by the Japanese, she was finally allowed to return home in 1942.

One can use her family, the McCowns, to exemplify the leadership, devotion, service, and stability which many New Monmouth familes have provided this church. Her grandfather was an elder for half a century; her father served as deacon and elder for fity-six years; and her brother, after being a deacon for sixteen years, was elected elder in 1942, the year Mary returned home. He served many years as Clerk of the Session before his death in 1959.

Another daughter of the church, Ella Banks Weathers, the daughter of the pastor, married a missionary and went to Japan in 1949. Until their return in 1966, the family received support from New Monmouth.

Over the years, a variety of missionaries learned to look upon New Monmouth as a second home, none more than Miss Lena Reynolds, who served many years in Africa as a nurse. Church records, especially those of the Women of the Church, bear testimony to the strong spiritual and physical support afforded these servants of Christ. The women prayed continually for their safety and rejoiced when they returned unscathed. When Miss Reynolds returned safely during the war, the women wrote, "We were thrilled that her life was spared when the ZAM-ZAM was torpedoed and other dangers threatened."

Since 1950 New Monmouth has sent thousands of pounds of food and countless dollars to refugees in Africa, India, and Southeast Asia, famine victims and earthquake victims in Central America, Japan, and hospitals and orphanages throughout the world.

One might say that the American missions movement paid New Monmouth back during the early 1950s when it sent to New Monmouth a new pastor who could well be counted among the most distinguished Presbyterians of his generation. Many of you are familiar with the career of Dr. Frank Price, pastor of New Monmouth from 1953 to 1955. New Monmouth's manse became his first home in America. Born in China, educated at Davidson and Yale, he returned to China as a young man where he championed rural development as well as the spread of the Gospel. Author, educator, scholar, translator, he spent his youth and more than thirty years of his adult life in China. After the war he was an advisor to the Chinese delegation at the organizing conference of the United Nations meeting in San Francisco.

Interned by the Communists in the late forties, Price and his wife were among the last American missionaries to leave China, returning to America in 1952. Price was honored by the Southern Presbyterian Church with its highest post—moderator of the General Assembly—an office his father had held. During his years at New Monmouth, before accepting an administrative post in New York, this church grew by fifty-four new members. It continued its emphasis on foreign missions and adopted a slogan—"the country church with the friendly welcome."

One of the men who witnessed the revival of the late 1780s at New Monmouth under Graham was John Holt Rice. He studied with Graham and in time founded Union Theological Seminary. Like Dr. Price, he was moderator of the General Assembly. Like his friend, Archibald Alexander, another of Graham's students at Liberty Hall, who was converted during the Revival and who went on to found Princeton Theological Seminary, he

was a champion of missions. Late in life Rice cast forth the following maxim for his brethren: "A member of a Presbyterian Church is a member for life of a missionary society." New Monmouth's history is evidence of his words.

William Graham might well have chuckled at the story told by the Rev. Preston during his dedication sermon in this building a century ago. Preacher Graham certainly would have nodded his head in agreement with the main theme of Preston's message. Preston told the congregation about a good but very impractical pastor of his acquaintance. He provided his horse with plenty of good food, but he never bothered to build him a rack in which to pour the oats. Preston said the old horse was left to eke out a scanty subsistence on "good" intentions. The poor creature could reach his food only by climbing the stable logs with his forefeet. Preston argued that Christians not only should provide spiritual food for their congregations but should provide the place where they can worship God. He said, "It is the duty of the people to provide a place in which to worship God and to see that it is filled."

William Graham believed that pleasing houses of worship promote "solemnity" as well as "decorum," and that the dignity of worship is pleasing to both man and God. He not only planned the old stone church, but also oversaw its construction and donated substantial sums for its completion. The building was some forty-five by fifty feet. Its walls, twenty-four inches thick, were of clean, closely set, blue native limestone and loomed twelve feet above the floor. When first built, its double doors, the galleries, pews and extremely high pulpit—with a sounding board shaped like a convex shield and attached to the ceiling by a great chain—were clean cut yellow pine. Steep stairs on the outside front of the sanctuary reached the gallery where benches at the rear were reserved for slaves. The structure's impressive walls and steeply pitched roof afforded an inspiring site for worshippers as they passed over the crest of nearby hills and descended into the little valley where the church lay on a knoll in the midst of a verdant grove of oak. It became the home of revivalism in this area until the 1820s.

A local man, who grew up in the church, wrote in the later nineteenth century that "in its prime" the old stone church "was the largest and best building of its kind or any other kind in the valley of Virginia. When I first knew it over fifty years ago, it was in every respect an ideal specimen of an old-fashioned country church." The care with which the New Monmouth congregation maintained her physical plant, even in times of economic hardship, has been one of the major themes in her history.

The church had emerged from the Depression and World War II in a strong position. Then on November 6, 1949, on a Sunday afternoon, the

Penick Memorial Sunday School Building burned to the ground. Although local fire companies tried to save it, a shortage of water led to the building's total loss. Local men helped fight the blaze while the women served sandwiches and hot coffee to the firefighters. Much of the effort was spent in trying to save the church, only a few feet away from the Sunday school, and its furnishings. New Monmouth people spent the night pouring water on the embers.

An editorial in the Lexington *Gazette* offered sympathy to the congregation:

> As we watched the burning building we could not help but think of the time and effort and hard work that many individuals and families had contributed in erecting this building that was now going up in smoke. We thought of the hundreds of children that had learned their Sunday school lessons in this building. . . We listened to one of the older members of the church recall how he had helped to build this building thirty-three years ago . . . members have begun to talk about rebuilding the Sunday school building.

During this period New Monmouth got strong leadership from her pastor, Rev. Carlyle A. McDonald, who served the church from 1947 to 1953. By May 1951, in just eighteen months, the new building had been completed at the cost of only $24,000—a figure kept low by the tremendous amount of free labor given by the men of the church.

As the church was being rebuilt, the Rockbridge area was hit by its worst flash flood up to that time, causing deaths and more than one million dollars in damage. The Rev. McDonald preached one of the strongest sermons of his tenure here the following Sunday, September 17, 1950, based on Isaiah 43:2—"When thou passeth through the waters I will be with thee." He told his parishioners that disasters—such as the fire and flood which the congregation had faced within a year—test our faith and our self-confidence and our trust in God. He urged the congregation to use this tragedy as a challenge to bring them closer to God and to heighten their concern for those less fortunate than themselves. He said: "This flood has probably inspired more growth in grace than many sermons." And he urged his people to persevere.

Since that time, more than thirty years ago, this community has suffered two other "hundred year" floods. The New Monmouth congregation has persevered. It has enjoyed a series of strong pastors and has been at its best when it emphasized its old themes of missions work, evangelism, and yearly revival services. In recent years it has shown even more emphasis on providing a beautiful house of worship—with its refurbished interior and new windows, installed during the late 1970s. As it was seventy years ago, it remains a "modern church" with a congregation "used to good preaching" and zealous for the house of God.

More than a century ago, Dr. John Leyburn described a communion service at the old stone church during the 1820s. Here are some excerpts:

> Great was the joy amongst us young folks . . . horses saddled and ready for mounting . . . baskets laden with the wherewithal for cold dinners. Most of the older people went on horseback, but the younger ones were afoot. . . it was a beautiful walk over the hills, through the well-tilled fields, and amid the noble forests . . . . (In those days many people walked barefoot to church and washed their feet in the nearby creek before the service.)
>
> The scene as we gained the summit of the last hill, bringing us in view of the Church, was most inspiring . . . the ministers and elders assembled . . . to exchange fraternal salutations . . . baskets and napkins filled with provisions, were deposited till the 'interval' between the public services, the stated time for taking refreshments; and here rustic mothers, who could not leave their babes at home brought their infant charges, listening with eager ears to the minister's words as they fell through the open door overhead, adjoining the pulpit;

Meanwhile inside:

> The village beauty the ere-while careless and wild young man, the sturdy bronze faced mountain farmer, and the old veteran with the weight of years upon him, together left their several pews and made their way through the crowded aisles . . . . The scene was too much for some of them. Hearts would overflow, tears would fall, and in the midst of the minister's address . . . one young man sobbed aloud, overcome by emotions. . . . The unconverted, who sat wondering spectators, felt the power of the eloquent appeal, they were cut to the heart, and resolved that they too must seek the Lord.

Horses have given way to automobiles. The old stone church, with its extravagantly tall pews, recessed aisles, and massive pulpit, have given way to this beautiful Victorian structure. The faces have changed. Instead of mountain farmers, there are professional people and business men and women. The emotionalism is nowhere near as evident as it was one hundred and fifty years ago, but the message, the eleoquent appeal to life in Christ, remains the same. New Monmouth continues to hearken to the words of Rev. Preston on that hot Saturday ninety-nine years ago when he told his listeners that the church's duty was to provide not only "spiritual food and the place to dispense it, but should also go out into the highways and hedges and compel sinners to come in and enjoy it."

VMI's Library, 1839–1939: Its History as Shown in Local Records

James E. Gaines, Jr.

THIS essay is an overview of the VMI library's development from opening day in 1839 until the late 1930s. The Institute's library followed the classic pattern of nineteenth-century academic libraries in this country. Collections were very small. As there was little money and very slow growth, gift books were important. Physical access to the collection was severely limited by very short hours of accessibility. The library was in the care of a distinguished and senior member of the faculty, with a student assistant or assistants doing most of the actual work.

The library coexisted with student literary societies which had their own libraries. VMI had the Dialectic Society and the Society of Cadets, and Washington College had its Washington Literary Society and the Graham Philanthropic Society. At VMI the library and librarian were frequently referred to as *state* library and *state* librarian to distinguish them from those of the literary societies. Finally, growing collections and pressures for

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James E. Gaines, Jr., has been head librarian at the Virginia Military Institute since December 1976. His paper was presented in the form of a slide show at the Rockbridge Historical Society's program held in the Rare Book Room of Preston Library on the evening of October 24, 1983. As space did not permit the reproduction of the thirty-three slides, the presentation has been edited to compensate for their removal. The history of Preston Library has been carried forward to 1988 and citations have been supplied for the materials quoted here in Dr. Gaines's essay in *A Crowd of Honorable Youths: Historical Essays on the First 150 Years of the Virginia Military Institute,* ed. Thomas W. Davis (Lexington, Va.: VMI Sesquicentennial Committee, 1988), pp. 171–83.

library services eventually forced the hiring of a full-time employee to look after the library. The continuing pattern was one of larger quarters, the establishment of a professional staff, and a succession of buildings.

A study of the historical records of the VMI library shows certain recurring topics, basically the same concerns that all libraries have today—the need for more money for books, for the staff (the early librarians at VMI were paid out of a library fee assessed the cadets), and for improvements in the building such as more space. Regulations appear frequently in memoranda and printed form concerning hours of service, the proper behavior of cadets and faculty, and so on. For example, Order No. 16, dated March 2, 1855, is written in the clear hand of the Cadet Adjutant:

> A catalogue of the Library of the Virginia Military Institute having been printed, the Library will be opened for the issue of books to cadets every Saturday morning from 9 to 10, and all those regulations and by-laws which govern the Library will be in force.
>
> No cadet will go into the Library Room but will indicate the book he desires by examining the catalog. Care will be taken to prevent all abuse of the public rooms of the Board of Visitors as injury to the carpet or furniture by tobacco spit or other causes will seriously impair the order and comforts of the room. Mats will be provided at the door for cleaning the shoes before entering the room.
>
> The Librarian will charge each cadet with any damage which may result in the use of any books and report him also if the damage result from carelessness or wilful injury. Copies of the catalogue will be left with the inspectors of each sub division, the Cadet Adjutant and Quarter-Master and Society of Cadets and Virginia Dialectic Society. By order of Col. Smith

Typical for the period are the short hours and the protectionist policies. Earlier, the library had only been open for one-half hour per week. One of the customs at VMI, which was apparently in force before these regulations and until 1939, was the practice of locating the Board of Visitors' meeting room in the Library. Since the library was open such short hours, the rooms certainly received good protection.

The comment on tobacco juice is interesting because it is a contemporary problem. Tobacco chewing has been quite fashionable among college students for a number of years now, and despite regulations against it, there are problems with tobacco juice in the late night hours when the staff are not in attendance: turned-over "spit cups," leaking trash cans, complaining janitors.

A May 22, 1840, invoice from Wiley and Putnam Company in New York shows the cooperative activity of the library at that time. In this order for office supplies and library books are marginalia showing personal books being ordered for J. T. L. Preston, VMI professor of modern languages, George Dabney, Washington College professor of languages, and

Washington College's Washington Society. It was quite common in those early days, given the difficulties of transportation and shipping, for the institutions to combine their orders to book dealers. This was cooperation of a very practical kind, and there are a number of similar examples in the files. Shipment was by schooner to Richmond, then overland or, later, by canal.

General William H. Richardson was a member of the Board of Visitors from 1841 until 1876, when he died at the age of 81. He was an *ex-officio* member of the Visitors in his capacity as adjutant general of Virginia, an office that he held throughout except for the Reconstruction period. Concurrently he was also secretary of the commonwealth and the state librarian. He was the library's particular friend because he insisted that the Institute have a library and obtained authorization to give the Institute duplicate books from the State Library. He also gave personal books and books that belonged to his only son, who graduated from VMI. In 1841 Richardson was instrumental in getting VMI an appropriation of $500 a year for five years for the purchase of library books. That was a lot of money in those days, and the library has probably never been so relatively well off.

Further, it was the library's good fortune to be able to purchase a substantial part of the professional library of Claudius Crozet, the state engineer and a member and president of the VMI Board of Visitors from its inception in 1837 until 1845. Crozet had been forced to resign by the canal interests in the state—he favored the railroads—and he was preparing to move out of state. Crozet had been educated at the École Polytechnique, had served as an artillery officer in the Napoleonic wars, had taught engineering at West Point, and was a very important figure in VMI's formative years.

Thomas Hoomes Williamson, professor of engineering, architecture, and drawing, was the fifth member of the faculty hired at VMI, and he served from 1841 until 1877. He was Francis Smith's roommate at West Point, but unlike Smith he did not graduate. At the time he took the job at VMI, he was a professional engineer in Norfolk. In 1854 he was given the duty of "state librarian" and was paid an extra one hundred dollars per year for this. His primary task was to compile a printed catalog for the library's collection, and that appeared the following year.

The catalog was an eighty-two-page pamphlet which cost twenty-five dollars to print poorly and on paper of miserable quality. We do not know how many copies were printed, but only two are known to survive. Of course, the problem with printed catalogs is that they are out of date from the time that they are printed. For that reason they were frequently printed,

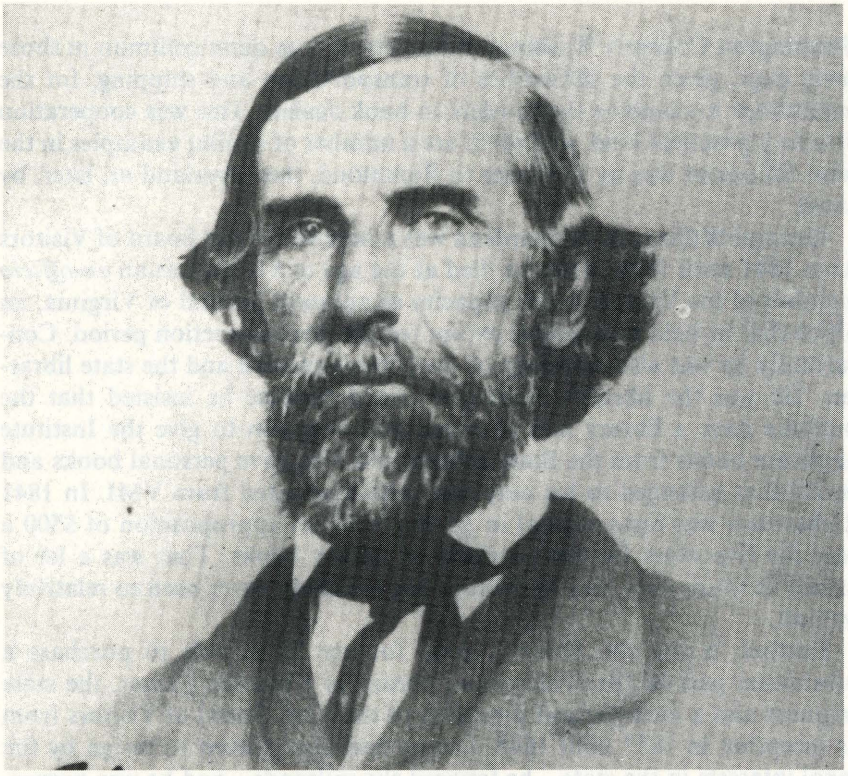


Figure 1. *Colonel Thomas Hoomes Williamson.*

as this was, with blank space so that new titles could be conveniently written in.

Figure 2, a part of the catalog section "Departments," shows the subject divisions made for the collection. As you can see, they are very broad, and I am not sure where Williamson found that subject scheme. This is merely rough classification. The first version of the Dewey Decimal System did not appear until 1876. Besides, the student borrower would not be looking on the shelf; the cadet librarian would get the book for him.

The range of subjects that might be included in a category was wide. For instance, listed under Chemistry was a seven-volume set of Audubon's *Birds of America.* The Miscellaneous subject category was overloaded, alphabetization was not very good, and there are books there that belong in other subject categories such as Law and Language. Also interesting is the next to last item in this category, the *Richmond Inquirer,* which con-

DEPARTMENTS.

I. Chemistry, Mineralogy, Geology, Agriculture, &c.
II. Engineering, Architecture, Drawing, Geography, &c.
III. Law Books.
IV. Language.
V. Mathematics, Education, Schools, Colleges, &c.
VI. Military.
VII. Miscellaneous, History, Biography, Travels, Religious, &c.
VIII. Natural Philosophy, Mechanics, Astronomy, Optics, &c., &c.
IX. Public Documents, &c.

CHAPTER I.

CHEMISTRY.

	Shelf.	No. Vols.	Case.
American Distiller,	5	1	11
Animal Physiology, (Dr. Carpenter) (2 vols.) (see N. P.)	6	1	11
Ansted's Geology,	8	2	11
American Farmer's Encyclopœdia,	9	1	10
Audubon's Birds of America,	9	7	11
Brande's Manual of Chemistry,	5	2	10
Berzelius on the Blow-pipe,	5	1	11
Book of Nature,	5	1	11
Book of the Farm,	6	2	10
Bakewell's Geology,	8	1	11

Figure 2. *A portion of the subject classification scheme in the 1855* Catalogue *showing the white space left for later additions.*

sists of twenty-four volumes placed *on the floor* in front of Cases 2, 3, 4, 5, and 14. Growth rates and oversize volumes make it difficult to keep collections in good order—now as well as then.

During the nineteenth century the library was quartered in the VMI Barracks. Figure 3, which depicts the Barracks floor plan for 1855, shows that the library was on two floors at the northern end of the west wing. Its rooms were double the depth of the cadet rooms and extended beyond the

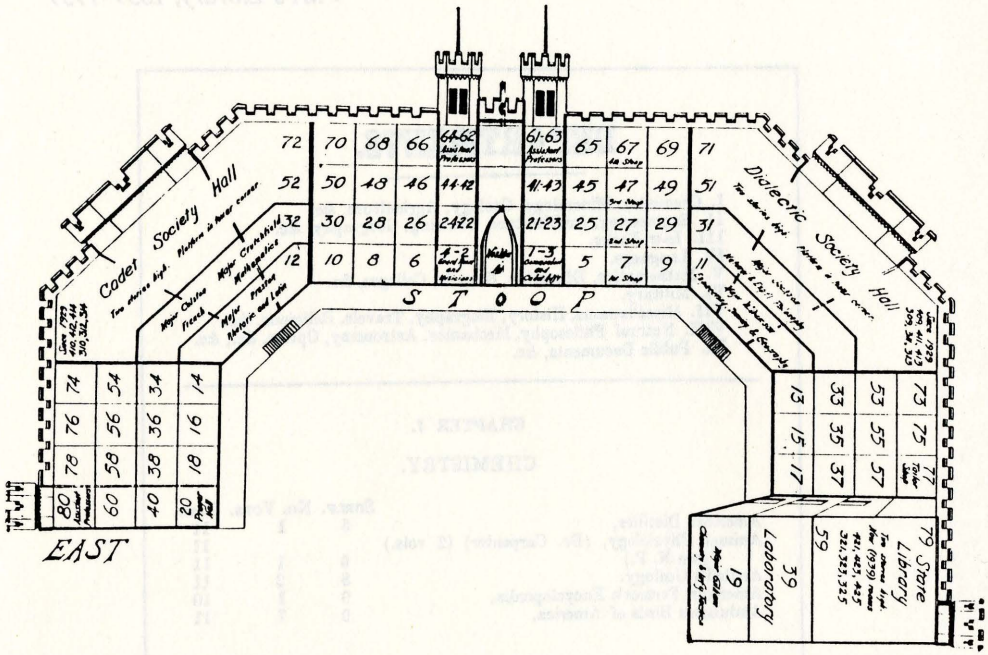


Figure 3. *The Barracks layout in the late 1850s and 1860s as seen from the courtyard looking out through Washington Arch. The "State Library" is at the lower right. (Couper,* One Hundred Years at V.M.I., *1:346-47.)*

stoop which ends at the doorway. It seems to me that the planners showed some insensitivity, placing the library in such close proximity to the chemistry laboratory and its odors. When the Barracks was rebuilt after 1865, the library was put in the two floors directly below its previous quarters so that the "Library Room" was on ground level.

On the eve of the Civil War, the Institute's library had few more than 3,000 volumes on its shelves. The 1855 catalog lists 2,949 volumes, but there was no significant money spent for library materials after the 1841 appropriation was exhausted. But the collection was well-selected, heavy on engineering, and apparently well housed.

On June 12, 1864, forces under General David Hunter occupied Lexington and shelled and burned the public buildings at VMI, including the library and the Institute's laboratory equipment. Some books were carried off rather than being burned, and a few eventually came back; the latest of these overdue books was returned in 1982. Almost all of them bear inscriptions of one kind or another. But because the 1855 catalog was used as a buying list for years afterwards, a number of those titles were put back into the collection.

The years that followed saw the collection grow very slowly, and by 1866 the collection consisted of only about 1,500 volumes. Many of those were gifts. The annual report of the librarian for 1878–79 shows that the library had increased to a total of 5,917 volumes. During that year, however, only four volumes were purchased at a cost of $10.15; all of the others, 166, were gifts to the library.

Henry Watson Williamson, younger brother of Thomas Hoomes, became state librarian in 1876. "Harry," as he was called, was an 1845 graduate of VMI, an artillery officer in the Mexican War, and a railroad engineer before the outbreak of the Civil War; he lost an arm during that conflict while serving as the lieutenant colonel of the Sixth Virginia Infantry. His request a few years after becoming state librarian for a raise is one of a number in the files, but his is the briefest and certainly the most forceful.

> Gentlemen:
>
> I have been librarian nearly six years at a salary of $100. per annum. I have worked hard to clasify & arrange the books; and have succeeded in getting the library to its present state—I think the "laborer is worthy of his hire"—which I consider to mean enough to pay for his board & clothes.
>
> I therefore respectfully ask your Hon. body to please increase my salary so that I can live.
>
> Respectfully Submitted
> H. W. Williamson
> Librarian V.M.I.

It is good to be able to report that he was raised to $250 a year before his sudden death in 1884.

Colonel Thomas M. Semmes was the librarian for ten years following Harry Williamson's death. He was an 1860 graduate of the Institute and a professor of modern languages. He left VMI with the other new graduates to train Confederate troops in Richmond and then served briefly in a staff assignment before being recalled to the Institute to teach tactics and French. He died in 1904, teaching until the end.

Colonel Robert A. Marr, a graduate in the Class of 1877 and the father of the more recent Colonel Marr of the Civil Engineering Department, was the librarian from 1894 to 1903. He was an energetic man who wrote new regulations for the library. Among other things he wanted faculty to be able to continue the practice of borrowing magazines from the library, even though they did not return them promptly. He also did the planning and oversaw the construction work which expanded the Library upward, incorporating space on the third and fourth stoops. He left VMI the following year and went to VPI, where he headed the Department of Civil Engineering; thereafter he moved to Norfolk, where he opened an office as an inventor.

Figure 4. *Library interior, circa 1900.*

Figure 4 shows the library's reading room around the turn of the century under Colonel Marr's administration. This photograph came from a student's scrapbook. Notice the diamond panes of a window on the far left, probably looking out over the parade ground. The walnut magazine table shown here has been reworked and is still in the library. There are the familiar paintings, the Volk equestrian statue now located in the VMI museum, and the dangling light bulbs—the Barracks was wired for electricity in 1893. This is the ground level room, and there were three galleries on the stoops above, but apparently access to those was from each stoop since there was apparently no inside stairway. Illumination is largely from the skylight on the roof, four floors above. In writing his history of the Institute, Colonel Couper was unable to find plans for this library, so he had to ask various old graduates to find that out.

Upon Colonel Marr's stepping down as librarian, an important policy decision was made by the administrative officials of the Institute. The library was now too big an operation to be handled on the side by members

of the faculty, and full-time staffing was now in order. Beginning in 1903 and continuing into 1907, the librarian was Miss Nannie Larrick, the first of several ladies who ran VMI's library. In those days it was possible to get a genteel lady who would work long and hard for relatively low wages. Unfortunately, there is little biographical data in the files about Miss Larrick, who left the job to marry.

In 1907 the first building specifically for the library was built at a cost of $35,000; it was located next to the Barracks and fronted on the parade ground. The collection numbered 14,850 volumes at that time. The first floor contained a reading room, a few offices—one of those later being given over to the museum—and the lowest level of the stacks. The second floor contained an apartment and the Board of Visitors' meeting room. The top floor was used in the early days by the Dialectic Society for debates but later served as a classroom. As far as I could find out, only the lower two of the four tiers of book stacks on the back of the building were equipped with shelving. The structure was torn down in 1949 to make way

Figure 5. *The 1907 library building.*

Figure 6. *Miss Nellie Tracy Gibbs.*

Figure 7. *Miss Margaret Vincent Jones.*

Figure 8. *Library reading room, 1932.*

for the new addition to the Barracks; unfortunately the plans for the building no longer exist.

Miss Nellie Tracy Gibbs was librarian from 1908 to 1931. She was the daughter of Major John T. Gibbs, VMI's quartermaster from 1866 until 1881, so she was able to function very effectively within the VMI system. She ran the library, established the VMI museum, gave tours to visitors, aided cadets and faculty in finding books and other materials for twenty years with no help other than one cadet assistant working one hour a week.

Fortunately, Miss Margaret Vincent Jones was hired in November 1928 as assistant librarian, so Miss Gibbs had some assistance at last. Miss Jones's responsibility, among others, was to prepare a card catalog for the library's collection. She was the first professionally trained librarian that VMI employed, being a graduate of the old Carnegie Library School in Atlanta and having served as the librarian at the Staunton Public Library immediately before coming to VMI. She was a native of Staunton. In 1931, Miss Gibbs became custodian of the museum and moved with it to new quarters in the then-new Nichols Engineering building. Miss Jones became librarian at that time and continued until her retirement in 1960.

Figure 8 shows the Reading Room during the 1932–33 academic year. Notice that the lights have been replaced with somewhat more powerful fixtures and that the room is now crowded with tables and chairs. Also of interest are the table lamps and, in the left center of the picture, a goose-neck lamp plugged into a wall sconce to provide light for the card catalog which has now grown to at least a sixty-drawer case. Miss Jones was able to get additional assistance for the library, and evening hours were instituted in 1932.

It was apparent by this time that the old building was inadequate as a library, and a new building was planned—Preston Library, the present building. It was constructed at a cost of $300,000, and once again it accommodated the museum. During military duty on November 1, 1939, the Rats moved VMI's books from the old library into the new—28,000 volumes. The history of Preston Library begins at that point, and that is another story in itself.

"Scalded to Death by the Steam": Railroad Disasters and the Ballads Written About Them

Katie Letcher Lyle

PROBABLY no subject in the world has produced as much music as the American railroad. It has served as many symbols to many people. Trains have been, musically, symbols of escape for rural Southerners and symbols of loneliness to prisoners and abandoned lovers. Trains have symbolized the restlessness of the American people and have given us epics like "The Wabash Cannonball," lyrics like "Nine Hundred Miles Away from Home," bluegrass breakdowns like "The Orange Blossom Special" in which the sounds of the train are heard, and elegies like "The City of New Orleans" with its haunting images of the dying railroad—"We've got fifteen cars and fifteen restless riders, two conductors, and twenty-five sacks of mail." Trains have even furnished Americans with metaphors for living, as in this song:

Katie Letcher Lyle is a well-known author of books for young adults and a professor of English at Southern Seminary College. This concert-lecture by "The Broken Rails" was presented at the Society's annual dinner meeting on January 23, 1984, in the ballroom at Southern Seminary. The lecture was given and the songs sung by Ms. Lyle, who was accompanied by Paul Shue and Willard Kibler. This lecture was based upon Ms. Lyle's book *Scalded To Death by the Steam: Authentic Stories of Railroad Disasters and the Ballads That Were Written About Them* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: Algonquin Books, 1983).

Life is like a mountain railroad
With an engineer that's brave.
We must make the run successfully
From the cradle to the grave.

Among these thousands of songs about railroads are several hundred ballads about train wrecks. On a map of the United States, if you were to put a pin where every major wreck took place, they occurred, as you would expect, in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York—not around here. But if you would take a second map and put a pin where every wreck song came from, you would find that the center is right here: the New River gorge, the western part of Virginia, and the eastern part of West Virginia. This is not to say that there were more wrecks here; in fact, there were not. There were really fewer wrecks, and hardly any major wrecks occurred here. The Chesapeake and Ohio has a wonderful safety record, and yet, the C&O has produced probably half of the songs in the book *Scalded to Death by the Steam.* There are obvious reasons for this.

I started on this book when a professor of mine from twenty-five years ago asked me to write it. The first thing you do when you research a subject is try to see what else has been done on it. I discovered that there were no books about train-wreck songs and only one article had been written by a fellow from Staunton, Virginia, named Paul Shue. That was forty miles away from me, and I thought, "That's lucky, but with my luck, he's probably dead." I called him the next day and discovered that he was definitely not dead. We have been good buddies ever since.

Paul gave me roughly a half century's worth of collected articles and information about train-wreck songs and became my faithful correspondent and road companion. He has been extremely helpful. One afternoon when I went to see him, he said that he had a friend he wanted me to meet, Willard Kibler. We immediately began fooling around with train wreck songs, and pretty soon we had a group called "The Broken Rails." We had been singing to ourselves for about a year before we were "discovered." This is our fifteenth concert as "The Broken Rails," so we are getting more and more "famous" all the time.

These songs are similar to each other, very much of a type. To begin with, they are not about the famous wrecks. In the wrecks that had songs written about them, one man is killed. Even if several people were killed in the wreck, one man is focused upon—or at most two. I believe this is because the human mind simply cannot comprehend mass tragedy. Back in the 1920s, a folklorist named Malcolm Laws predicted that there would never be any famous songs about plane crashes. This is because the human mind simply cannot comprehend that. It is simply beyond what we can think about; whereas we can sympathize with and empathize with one

human being's death. Usually this man was not heroic, yet we made him an instant hero.

The railroads have always been very popular in this country. So popular were railroad men, especially with juries—and especially engineers—that a nineteenth-century lawyer once complained in print: "It is invariably the custom of juries to exonerate from blame, on some ground or other, every railroadman charged with a crime when his neglect of duty results in a loss of life." He was very annoyed that the public sentiment lay with the railroad engineer instead of with the victim.

The people in these songs usually were like young men and their sports cars today. They had a big machine that was very powerful, and they simply could not stand not trying it to its limits. So they did, and they lost their lives as a result. This is a human failing, I believe, and particularly a failing of young men. Yet we have never been very careful in America about how we put our heroes together. We have chosen Elvis Presley as a hero, and he is probably not—if you did a profile of him—what you would think of as a hero. John Belushi. James Dean. So perhaps it is not strange that we also made heroes of these railroad engineers.

The songs are very formulaic. Out of the 202 songs that I eventually discovered about train wrecks, only two of them start with the "Come all ye" beginning that is so typical of mine-disaster songs, for example, or occupational songs of lumberjacks or seamen. Other occupations tend to have their ballads start with a sort of calling-in of the group. Train wreck songs hardly ever do that.

The stories are almost always raw action set against a serene natural backdrop. Usually the first introduction to the song gives you a scene: "Far away on the banks of New River" or "Just after the dawn of the new morning in the beautiful month of May." There is usually an imaginary conversation foreshadowing the disaster. The hero always speaks nobly: "Said Dolly to his fireman, 'We are running way behind, But when I pull the Big Bend Tunnel I mean to be on time.'" Usually one knows that these conversations were imaginary, because the people having them were the ones who died; so there are no witnesses to recount the conversation later.

The stories are told sparely and in a very straightforward manner. They are rather artless in that sense. There is frequent editorial comment, and the engineers are always, we are assured, faithful, brave, and true. The songs are not refined. These songs, like so much of Victorian music, are dreadful lyrics set to rather beautiful music. They are soaked in nostalgia, melancholy, and sentimentalism, and share the themes of youth, lost love, and death with other music of the period. At the end of these songs there tends to be a moral tag showing that they are firmly rooted in Christian culture, stirred together with Victorian sentiment. Americans have always

been a little afraid of pure pleasure; so what we do is add a little moral tag at the end to remind us that even if you had a good time listening to the song, don't forget there's a lesson here.

The older the song, the less accurate it tends to be. That is probably true of all folk songs. The least accurate of all is the first song we will sing, which is the oldest, about a young engineer named George Alley, who died on October 23, 1890. He left Hinton, West Virginia, with the "F.F.V.", the "Fast Flying Virginian," and was heading for Clifton Forge. He was just out of Hinton when the headlight of the train caught a boulder on the track. George Alley told his fireman to jump. He went down with the engine. Both his left leg and left arm were broken. He lived for five hours. His family—he had a wife and four children—arrived about ten minutes after he died. It's one of the saddest stories I know, and he was definitely not at fault.

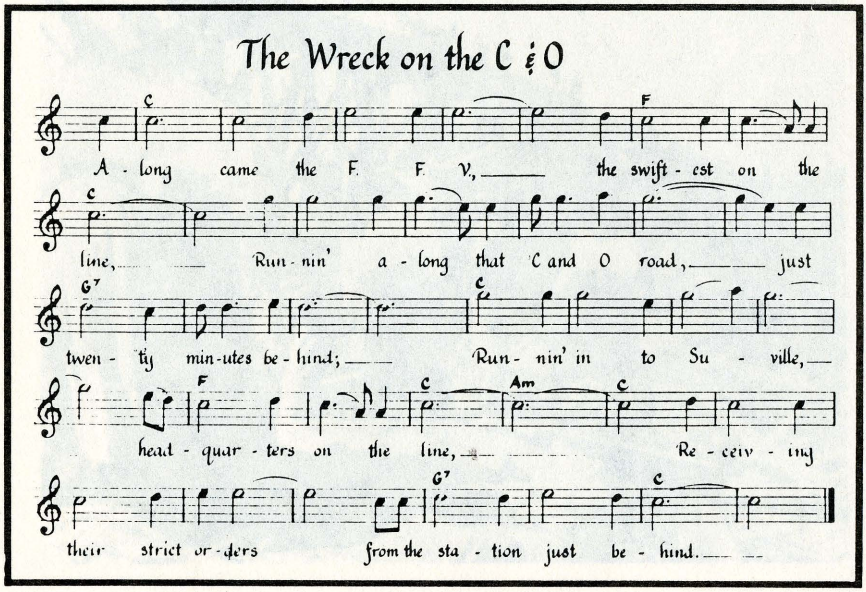
I finally discovered a charcoal drawing of George Alley. He had very black hair, a black handlebar mustache, and very soulful dark eyes. The same day I found that photograph, I happened to be interviewing Buddy Starcher in Richwood, West Virginia, who had some train-wreck songs. I told him I had found a picture of George Alley, and he wanted to see it. I went out to the car and brought it back in, and as he was staring at this picture, he said: "In my version, George Alley's got golden curly hair. I reckon that there George Alley must have got into some Clairol."

At least 286 versions of the song have been recorded. "The Wreck on the C&O" or "George Alley" or "Engine 143"—it goes by many titles. (This is the result of a study by a fellow in Columbus, Indiana, named Ron Lane who, for his master's thesis, decided to do an essay on the whole Alley family.) Almost all of the songs have one interesting inaccuracy; they all have George's mother arriving to give him words of wisdom right before he goes on his last ride. It turns out that George Alley's mother had been dead for seventeen years when he died. This is typical of the inacurracy of the older ballads. This is one of the many versions:

Along came the F.F.V., the swiftest on the line,
Runnin' along that C and O road, just twenty minutes behind;
Runnin' into Suville, headquarters on the line,
Receiving their strict orders from the station just behind.

Georgie's mother came to him with a bucket on her arm;
She said: "My darling son, be careful how you run;
There's many a man has lost his life in tryin' to make lost time.
But if you run your engine right, you'll get there just on time."

Up the track she darted, into a rock she crashed;
Upside-down the engine turned, and Georgie's breast is smashed;



(From Lyle, Scalded to Death by the Steam, *p. 43.)*

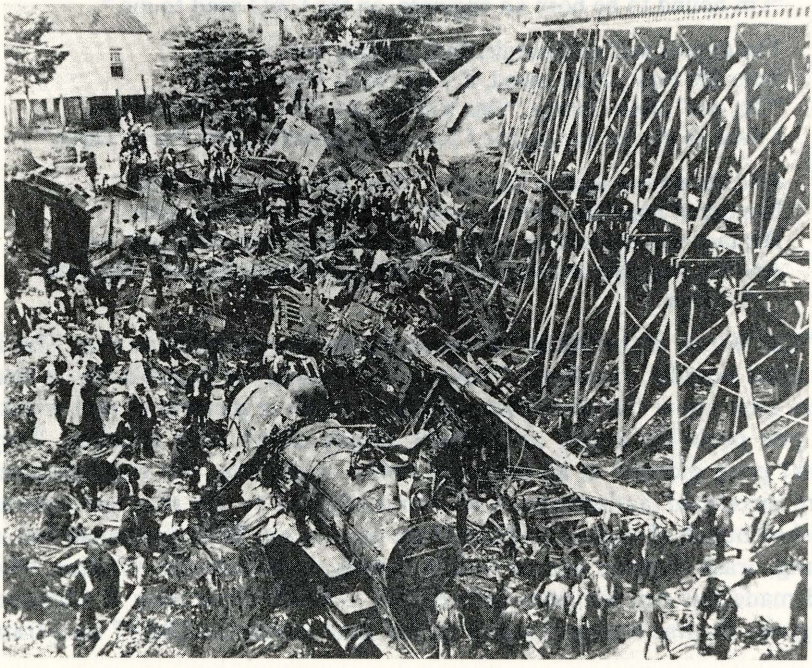
His head lay against the fire-box door, the flames were rollin' high;
"I'm bound to be born an engineer, on the C&O road to die."

The doctor said to Georgie, "My darling boy, be still;
Your life may yet be saved, if it be God's blessed will."
"Oh, no," cried George, "this will not do; I'd rather die so free;
I want to die for the engine I love: One Hundred and Forty-Three."

And the doctor said to Georgie, "Your life cannot be saved."
Murdered upon the railway, and laid in the lonesome grave.
His face was covered up with blood, his eyes they could not see;
And the very last words poor Georgie cried were "Nearer, My God,
To Thee."

"The Wreck of the Old 97" is the second song we're going to sing. This is the most popular one of all, I believe. The reason for it, probably, is that there were about five glass-plate negatives made of pictures of that wreck. As you probably know, newspapers simply didn't have cameras. They didn't print pictures at all until the 1940s—quite late. But these pictures were circulated nationwide, and everybody got to see that spectacular crushed bunch of engines and the steam coming up. What happened was, a young, brash engineer named Joseph Broady, from Saltville, Virginia, who had made this run but once before, took over the train crew at Monroe, Virginia. He was trying to make up lost time taking the Old 97 mail train

Sightseers in Danville view Old 97 wreck following its September 17, 1903, accident at Stillhouse Trestle. (Lyle, Scalded to Death by the Steam.*)*

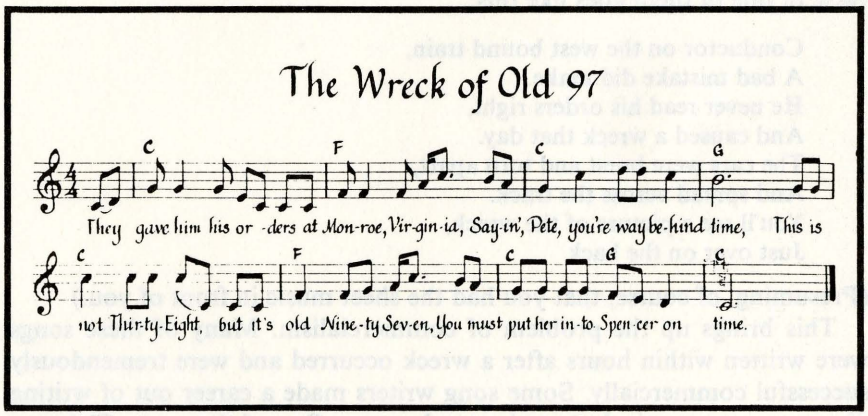


all the way to Atlanta, because for every half hour that they were late the company was fined a hundred dollars. The mail had been held up by late mail trains from the north and the west in Washington, so Old 97 was already an hour late when it left Monroe, and Broady tried to make up time.

Outside of Danville, Virginia, just north of the Dan River, was Stillhouse Trestle. It was five hundred feet long, wooden, curved, and forty-three feet above the ravine of Stillhouse Creek (not seventy-five as the songs usually claim). From there the line went on across the river on a railroad bridge and into Danville. There were signs at both ends of Stillhouse Trestle saying slow down to fifteen miles an hour.

On Sunday afternoon, September 27, 1903, people in Danville were sitting on their front porches and taking the breeze after Sunday dinner. One lady reportedly miscarried when she saw Old 97 crash off Stillhouse Trestle. It had a metal engine and four wooden mail cars with it, and they all ended up in splinters, except for the last one which was saved somewhat by falling onto the other three. Eleven people were killed in the wreck, but the song focuses, typically, on one person, Steve Broady.

This is the most popular of all train-wreck songs, and you have probably heard a version of "Wreck of the Old 97." This one is from a Vernon Dalhart record.



(From Lyle, Scalded to Death by the Steam, *p. 26.)*

They give him his orders at Monroe, Virginia,
Saying, "Pete, you're way behind time.
That is not 38, but it's Old 97,
You must put her in Center on time."

He looked round and said to his black, greasy fireman,
"Just shovel in a little more coal,
And when we cross that White Oak Mountain,
You can watch Old 97 roll."

It's a mighty rough road from Lynchburg to Danville,
And a line on a three-mile grade,
It was on that grade that he lost his average,
And you see what a jump he made.

He was goin' down grade makin' 90 mile an hour,
When his whistle broke into a scream;
He was found in the wreck with his hand on the throttle,
And a'scalded to death with the steam.

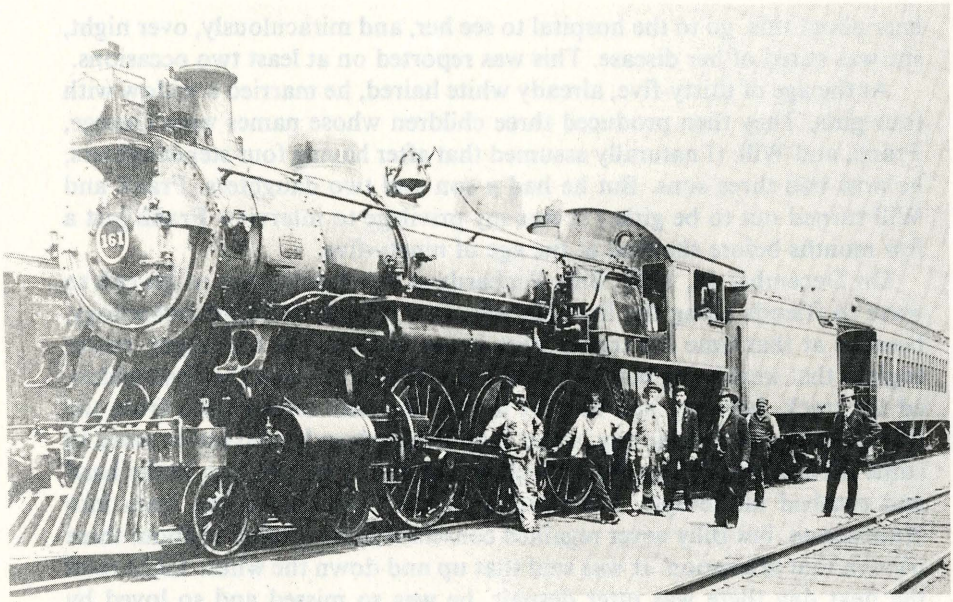
Now ladies, you must take warnin',
From this time now and on,
Never speak hard words to your true lovin' husband,
He may leave you and never return.

Sometimes these songs violated the conventions which the formula had set up. Just about a year after the wreck of the Old 97, on September 24, 1904, there was a wreck at Hodges and New Market in Tennessee. Two songs, at least, were written about it—neither of them very good—but a verse of one of them goes like this:

Conductor on the west bound train,
A bad mistake did make.
He never read his orders right,
And caused a wreck that day.
The cars were burst and torn apart,
And spread across the track.
You'll see a picture of the wreck,
Just over on the back.

(Presuming, of course, that you had the sheet music in front of you.)

This brings up the problem of commercialism. Many of these songs were written within hours after a wreck occurred and were tremendously successful commercially. Some song writers made a career out of writing disaster songs, particularly train-wreck songs. One of these was Cleburne Meeks, who wrote "Billy Richardson's Last Ride" and "The Wreck of the C&O No. 5" and several other train-wreck songs. He was a stickler for detail because he was a trainman. He was a hostler for the N&W for his entire career. Paul Shue and I had the pleasure of visiting him a couple of years ago. He was very gracious to us and reminisced a little about the past and admitted that he had made a good living out of writing train-wreck songs back in the 1920s.



Engineer Billy Richardson (third from the left with white beard) beside train No. 3 at Huntington, West Virginia. (Lyle, Scalded to Death by the Steam.*)*

One of the songs he wrote was about a trainman that he knew, and a trainman that I remember my grandfather telling me about when I was a little girl. My grandfather much admired this man because he was always on time. His name was Billy Richardson and he was quite a romantic figure along the C&O. It was said that you could set your watch by Billy Richardson's train. He had a habit that was very engaging to people, but also was to be the cause of his death. He waved to people all along the line; very friendly; made friends with all sorts of people. And it was said that he had several little flirtations with women along the line. He developed a kind of side-to-side hand wave so that if a husband or lover said to him, "Hey, what are you doing, flirting with my wife?", he could always say, "Oh, I wasn't flirting with your wife. I was just shaking the cinders out of my gauntlet." Billy Richardson was a tall, good-looking man with a shock of white hair and a long white beard. It was said that the right side of his clothes were always frayed from leaning out of the engine to wave to people.

Several miraculous cures were attributed to Billy Richardson. For instance, some young girl would be taken sick along the line—in the hospital and unable to wave to him every day—and Billy Richardson would

hear about this, go to the hospital to see her, and miraculously, over night, she was cured of her disease. This was reported on at least two occasions.

At the age of thirty-five, already white haired, he married a widow with four girls. They then produced three children whose names were George, Frank, and Will. (I naturally assumed that after having four stepdaughters, he now had three sons. But he had a son and two daughters. Frank and Will turned out to be girls.) It was my privilege to interview Frank just a few months before she died at the age of ninety-five.

On December 14, 1910, Billy Richardson was leaning out of his cab to wave to friends along the line. He was, in a way, a victim of technology, because at that time the tracks were being widened for the larger, newer engines that were being built—Malleys and Mikados—and they had widened the track, but they had not yet moved the mail cranes back from the track. On this particular day, when Billy Richardson leaned out to wave to some friends near Scary, West Virginia, the mail crane hit him in the head and crushed his temple. His fireman, Cecil Lively, took the train into Huntington, but Billy never regained consciousness and died at about three o'clock that afternoon. It was said that up and down the whole C&O road the next day there was utter despair, he was so missed and so loved by everyone. This is "Billy Richardson's Last Ride" by Cleburne Meeks.

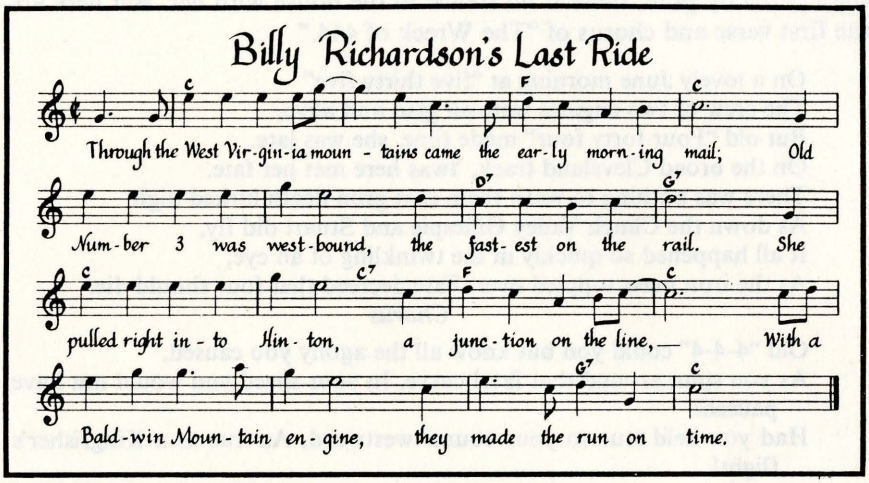
Through the West Virginia mountains came the early morning mail,
Old Number 3 was westbound, the fastest on the rail.
She pulled right into Hinton, a junction on the line,
With a Baldwin Mountain engine, they made the run on time.

Billy Richardson at Hinton was called to take the run,
To pull the fastest mail train from there to Huntington.
His fireman he reported for duty on the line,
Then reading their train orders, left Hinton right on time.

The fireman then said, "Billy, you know you're old and gray;
Your name is on the pension list—you should retire some day."
But Billy said: "Dear fireman, the truth I'm telling you—
I must die right in my engine cab, and nothing else will do."

Then pulling down New River came westbound Number 3.
By Thurmond, then by Cotton Hill, no danger could he see.
His head then struck a mail crane, while pulling down the line.
He'll never pull his train again to Huntington on time.

He's pulled the fastest freight trains, he's pulled the U.S. mail,
He's pulled the fast excursions to the music of the rail.
He lost his life on duty, in his engine cab so free;
He'll never pull his train again on westbound Number 3.



(From Lyle, Scalded to Death by the Steam, *p. 74.)*

Now, ladies, if your husband is a railroad engineer,
You know he is in danger, and death is ever near;
You know he loves you dearly when he is by your side;
Remember well that his next run may be his farewell ride.

In the course of my study I came upon one song, written by a woman, about the wreck of Engine 444. It was obviously on the Clinch Valley Line of the Norfolk and Western. It took me a long time to find out any particulars about this wreck. The song itself is so confused that it's impossible to tell what really happened from the lyrics. The images are there, though; you can tell immediately it was written by a woman because only a woman, I believe, would come up with the analogy of an out-of-control freight train—a double-header freight train—and a kingfisher's flight. Somehow, I think that no man would do that. The song is very strange. I have had pianists try to pick out from the sheet music what the tune is; it sounds like something halfway between John Philip Sousa and Gilbert and Sullivan, and has four excruciating verses.

The wreck occurred on June 8, 1913, near Norton. The train left Roanoke and headed for Norton but did not arrive, because while going around a curve it fell into a house in which lay a forty-year-old woman and her seventeen-year-old daughter. (In the song there is also a fiancé in the house, and I am sure that the lady did not intend to imply that the fiancé was sleeping with the daughter there, but that's the way it sounds in the song.) In fact, only four people were killed: the two engineers of the double-header engine and the woman and her daughter. As far as I know,

she's perfectly pure; there is no fiancé in the house with her. But here are the first verse and chorus of "The Wreck of 444."

On a lovely June morning at "five thirty five"
The crew of two engines were all glad and alive,
But old "Four forty four" made time, she was late.
On the broad Cleveland track, 'twas here met her fate.
There was nothing to warn them that grim death lurked nigh
As down the Clinch Valley Gillespie and Stuart did fly,
It all happened so quickly in the twinkling of an eye,
As the iron mass toppled over, Fate decreed that four should die.

Chorus

Old "4-4-4" could you but know all the agony you caused,
As you spun around that fatal curve, In your speed you would not have paused!
Had you held true to your course westward, As true as a Kingfisher's flight!
You would have been in Norton, Soon after it was daylight.

The next song is one that you will be familiar with, I imagine. On October 5, 1920, a young engineer named "Dolly" Womack and a mail clerk from Staunton named Charley Gulley were killed near While Suphur Springs, West Virginia. This was a very famous wreck song, widely circulated. By 1920, of course, wreck songs could be put on records, which stabilized them. Any time you put a song on a record and send thousands of copies of it around America, everybody listens to the same version of it. Everybody tends to learn the same version of it and gets the details fairly well set with not much divergence. Every now and then there is a slightly different version of one of these songs, but basically, once recording becomes popular, they stay the same. I always loved this one when I was a little girl because the names in the song were places I knew. This is "The Wreck of the C&O No. 5."

From Washington to Charlottesville, then Staunton on the line,
Came the old *Midwestern Limited,* train Number Five on time.
She was a Cincinnati train, the fastest on the line,
Through the valley of Virginia into Clifton Forge on time.

The engineer at Clifton Forge, Dolly Womack was his name,
Was there to sign the register and pull the speeding train.
His fireman, Charley Poteet, was standing by his side,
And receiving their train orders they climbed in the cab to ride.

Then Dolly to his fireman said, "Oh Charley, well you know,
For years I've been an engineer to ride the C and O.
For many years I've had this run, just twenty-five in all,
And when I blow for Covington they will surely know my call."

From Covington to Jerry's Run, old Number Five did roll,
Through the Allegheny Tunnel with a crew so brave and bold.
Then westward to the mountain state, White Sulphur Springs on time.
With orders to switch over there and take the east main line.

"I know my engine is all right, she's the U.S. Mountain kind,
One hundred thirty-seven she will put us there on time."
Said Dolly to his fireman, "We are running way behind,
But when I pull the Big Bend Tunnel I mean to be on time."

Just four miles father down the line he hit a broken rail,
No more to pull old Number Five, no more to pull the mail.
The engine did not overturn but a steam pipe broke in two,
Two hundred pounds of pressure killed poor Dolly grave and true.

Until the brakes are set on time, life's throttle valve shut down,
Some day he'll pilot in the crew that wears the Master's crown.
With a clear block in to Heaven's gate he'll pull his mighty train,
And there in God's own roundhouse he will register his name.

This next song is my favorite of all, because I figure it is responsible for my getting my husband. In 1960 I met him at a party in Lexington and I said, "Oh, your name is Royster Lyle? Did you ever have a relative killed in a train wreck?" He didn't think he had, but he was interested enough to find out who I was and to call up the next day to see what in the world I had meant. I had been singing these songs since I was ten or twelve years old, and I was interested to know whether Harry Lyle was a relative of his. We were never able to find a Harry Lyle in the Lyle book, but when I was able to find a picture of him, I had no doubt that they were kin.

Harry Lyle was a brakeman. The engineers and firemen were the ones who were thought of as important; the brakeman was in a different category. So unimportant was this brakeman that the only paper I could find that reported his death was a paper from Clifton Forge. The Richmond *Times-Dispatch,* for instance, did not report his death.

Engine 1256 was pulling a freight train on the night of January 3, 1925, when a landslide blocked the rails at Alum Rock Bluff, just west of Glen Wilton, Virginia. The slide was hidden around a curve, and by the time the engine's headlight had illuminated the obstruction, it was too late. This is "The Wreck of the 1256" in which Harry Lyle was killed.

On that cold and dark cloudy evenin',
Just before the close of the day,
There came Harry Lyle and Dillard,
And with Anderson they rode away.

From Clifton Forge they started,
And their spirits were running high,

As they stopped at Iron Gate and waited,
Till old Number Nine went by.

On the main line once more they started,
Down the James River so dark and drear;
And they gave no thought to the danger,
Or the death that was waiting so near.

They were gay and they joked with each other,
As they sped on their way side by side;
And the old engine rocked as she traveled
Through the night on that last fatal ride.

In an instant the story was ended,
On her side in that cold river bed;
With poor Harry Lyle in the cabin
With a deep fatal wound in his head.

Railroad men, you should all take warning,
From the fate that befell this young man;
Don't forget that the step is a short one,
From this earth to that sweet Promised Land.

On May 24, 1927, the Virginian Railroad had a wreck which occured just the other side of a tunnel leaving Ingleside, West Virginia. A five-car passenger train coming from Roanoke failed to yield to a ninety-car coal train coming out of West Virginia. The Virginian Railroad was built straight through from Norfolk to the hills of West Virginia with one aim in mind—to get the coal out of West Virginia. It was called "Rogers' Folly" because the man who built it (Henry Huttleston Rogers) tunnelled straight through mountains, went over every gorge, and never curved a bit to yield to the landscape; therefore, the railroad cost much more than it should have. But in fact, Rogers had the last laugh, because he made more money on it than any other railroad did. It served its purpose marvelously until it finally merged with other railroads.

The Virginian No. 3 wrecked at the height of popularity of train-wreck songs, and three separate songs were recorded about it. One of them is my favorite, one of them is Paul's favorite, and the third is totally unsingable. But they are interesting because they are all very different. There are people alive who remember this incident, so I was able to get lots of first-person interviews from people who had been on the train when it wrecked and people who knew the engineer and fireman. The third version of the song will tell you precisely what happened. The first version quite clearly was written by somebody who had no connection at all with the train. In fact, it's almost "cinematic" in its lush, senusal descriptions of the landscape. The wreck occurs—as in good Greek tragedy—offstage.

The first song about this wreck was written by a fellow I came to know as The Reverend John McGhee. After my book came out, I met one of his descendants in Huntington, West Virginia, who said, "Oh, for Heaven's sakes, he wasn't a reverend." I said, "But it said right here on all the sources." And he said, "Oh, I know, but he was a house painter, and he liked to sing Gospel music, and he got a bunch of his friends together and they would sing Gospel music. They got kind of popular and were invited to picnics and Sunday School affairs and civic clubs and things, and pretty soon he sort of slid into calling himself 'The Reverend John McGhee' because he liked that title."

I like that story. This is "The Wreck of the Virginian No. 3" written by The Reverend John McGhee—house painter, gospel singer, or whatever, but clearly not a railroad man.

Just after the dawn of the morning, in the beautiful month of May,
A farewell kiss had been planted on the cheeks of one who was brave.

The morning was fresh in its glory, the sunlight was piercing the leaves,
As they plunged their way through the mountains with Virginian Train Number Three.

The soft winds were laden with perfume, which swept o'er the green valley wide;
And onward they rushed toward the peril which awaits them at Ingleside.

Some time at the dead hour of midnight, some prayers may be whispered at home;
For someone far out in the darkness may be crushed and dying alone.

"Dad" Aldrich was proud of his engine, and fireman O'Neal of his run;
For little they thought of approaching their final and last setting sun.

Together they wended the mountains, together they watched for the slides;
Together they looked for obstructions, together they perished and died.

It's ever the same with the trainmen, their lives are in danger, we know;
Through rain and through sleet and through darkness, wherever they're called they must go.

Another entirely different song about this wreck was composed in 1927 by Blind Alfred Reed, who was a fiddler. He liked to write songs that showed off his virtuosity with the fiddle, but it is a hard one to accompany. Here is the first verse of one of the two songs I found that has a "come all ye" beginning:

Come all you brave, bold railroad men and listen while I tell,
The fate of E. G. Aldrich, a good man we all loved well;

This man was running on a road known as Virginian line,
He was a faithful engineer and pulled his train on time.

On June 21, 1930, the C&O "Sportsman" train wrecked in front of the station at Hawk's Nest, West Virginia, in the treacherous New River Gorge. The engineer was seventy-five-year-old Homer Haskell, who had made the run many times. He and his fireman, Henry Anderson, both were killed in the wreck. To this day nobody knows what happened. It has been suggested that Haskell had a stroke or heart attack, fell on the throttle, and the train simply went through very fast. For three days previous to this wreck there had been record high temperatures, and there happened to be a spectacular sunset on this particular night. Thus, most of the inhabitants of the small town of Hawk's Nest were out taking the air, and they all thought they would come down to the station to watch the train go through. It was not scheduled to stop there. About 8:10 P.M. it came through much faster than usual and on the curve there, just as it crosses the New River, it went off the tracks and over the fill. The wreck killed the engineer, fireman, and one other person; three other people were injured.

The incident provoked one of the prettiest of all wreck songs. The song did not come along right away, but the announcement of the wreck of the Sportsman shared headlines, in most of the newspapers where I read accounts of it, with the birth of a baby to Charles and Anne Lindburgh. This is "The Wreck of the Sportsman."

Far away on the banks of New River
While the deep shades of twilight hung low,
In the mountains of old West Virginia,
On the line of the old C&O;
Down the valley the old Forty-Seven
Was winding her way 'long the stream.
The drivers were rapidly pounding
While the engine was trembling with steam.

Haskell firmly held the throttle,
Anderson's fire glowed with red,
And they thought of no danger awaiting
Down the line on a curve just ahead.
In the dusk of a fair crimson sunset
Near the path of the old Midland Trail,
'Twas there that the fast-flying Sportsman
Was wrecked as she swung from the rail.

'Twas there in the dark shades of twilight,
While the bright crimson sky was aglow,
That Haskell and Anderson of the Sportsman
Gave their lives to the old C & O.

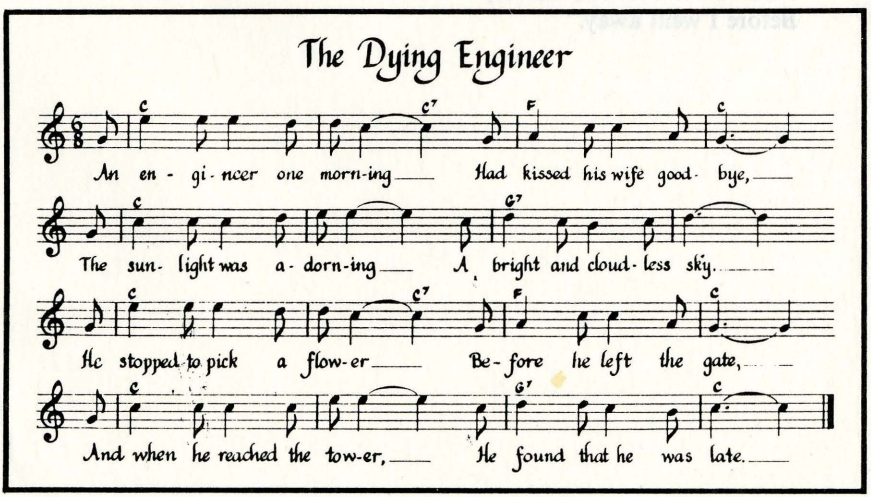
Just west of the station called Hawk's Nest
The engine turned over the fill;
The boys were found down near the river
By the engine they loved, lying still.

That night there were loved one waiting
In Huntington for those boys—in vain,
For God, the Supreme Crew Caller,
Had called them for another train.
The years full of tears may be many,
And sad broken hearts ever burn,
While they think of the "Wreck of the Sportsman,"
And the loved one who'll never return.

The last song, "The Dying Engineer," is typical of train songs in that there were many written about train wrecks that never happened. One recording of it was made, but it was never recorded and distributed commercially. It was written by "Si" Coleman, whose career was with the Virginian Railroad, where he was a telegraph operator. He tried to pass it off as a song about a real wreck, but he told me one story and he told another researcher another story. I believe that, in fact, he just wrote it because it's a pretty song.

An Engineer one morning,
Had kissed his wife good-bye,
The sunlight was adorning
A bright and cloudless sky.

(From Lyle, Scalded to Death by the Steam, *p. 171.)*



He stopped to pick a flower
Before he left the gate,
And when he reached the tower,
He found that he was late.

A gentle voice that morning,
Before he went away,
Breathed tender words of warning,
"Be careful, Jack, today!"
He climbed into his cabin,
As oft he'd done before.
A signal from the captain
Highballed old Number Four.

The steam gushed forth with power,
The wheels began to grind.
And soon the roundhouse tower,
Was left and far behind.
The train began to quiver,
The drivers left the rail;
And down beside the river
Poor Jack lay deathly pale.

And while he lay there dying,
Upon the stony clay,
He thought of one replying,
"Be careful, Jack, today!"
"Oh, tell her to remember,
When she is old and gray,
I kissed her cheek so tender,
Before I went away."

The Episcopal Church and VMI in the Early Years

George M. Brooke, Jr.

ATHER than attempt a summary of the Episcopal Church's history in Lexington, I propose to elaborate on certain aspects of its development during its first twenty years, stressing the strong ties between the church and Virginia Military Institute.

The part of Virginia lying west of the Blue Ridge was settled principally by Scotch-Irish and Germans in the eighteenth century. When the local Episcopal church was organized in 1840, the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians were the dominant element in Lexington and Rockbridge County. Cherishing the development of the intellect, they had, as early as 1749, founded Liberty Hall Academy, the forerunner of Washington and Lee University. It was a religious age and the Episcopal congregation with its Low Church profile and emphasis on the Bible and sermons was not too unlike the Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist churches that were already active in the community. The sermons were often long, dwelling on the need for repentance and the sinful nature of man. At a convention of the Diocese of Virginia a few years before the Lexington church was founded, a strong recommendation had been made against gambling, horse racing, and the

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George M. Brooke, Jr., is emeritus professor of history at the Virginia Military Institute. He was preparing to publish *General Lee's Church: The History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Lexington, Virginia, 1840–1975.* He presented his research findings to the Society at R. E. Lee Memorial Episcopal Church Parish Hall, April 23, 1984.

theater. The Reverend William Meade, who had long been active in the diocese and became bishop in 1841, wrote a tract condemning dancing.[1] The Episcopal church of that day "preferred morning prayer and the Litany as the customary service" and generally celebrated the Eucharist but once a quarter.[2]

In 1840 the few Episcopalians in Lexington and Buchanan met, according to the church minutes, for "the purpose of organizing a Parish." Called Woodville Parish, it had a vestry representing both congregations. Initially, neither congregation had a church building. The Reverend William Bryant, a graduate of Virginia Episcopal Seminary and the rector of Christ Church in Lancaster County, was chosen as rector at a salary of $650 a year. Though rector for both congregations, Bryant lived in Lexington.

The original church building which was built on the present site, then on the outskirts of town, was consecrated as Grace Church in 1844. Though there is no satisfactory picture of it, the building was said to be similar to many of the small Presbyterian churches dotting the countryside, and according to the senior warden it was "regarded by judges as the prettiest little church in the valley."[3] John D. Letcher, a son of Virginia's Civil War governor and the uncle of our own General "Buzz" Letcher, a former president of this society, recalled that the church was a brick structure, sixty feet long, forty feet wide, and thirty-five feet high with galleries on both sides and the front. "Above the pulpit," Letcher wrote, "on the end wall near the top, was the sentence in large capital letters MY HOUSE IS THE HOUSE OF PRAYER." On the wall at one side of the pulpit the Lord's Prayer and Creed were inscribed. On the opposite wall were the Ten Commandments.[4]

The census of 1850 showed the population of Rockbridge County (including Lexington) to be 14,284 people (a little less than half of the present population), consisting of 10,447 whites, 326 free blacks, and 3,510 slaves.[5]

What impresses the historian is the remarkably close connection between Grace church and the Virginia Military Institute in those early days. Colonel (later General) Francis Henney Smith, superintendent

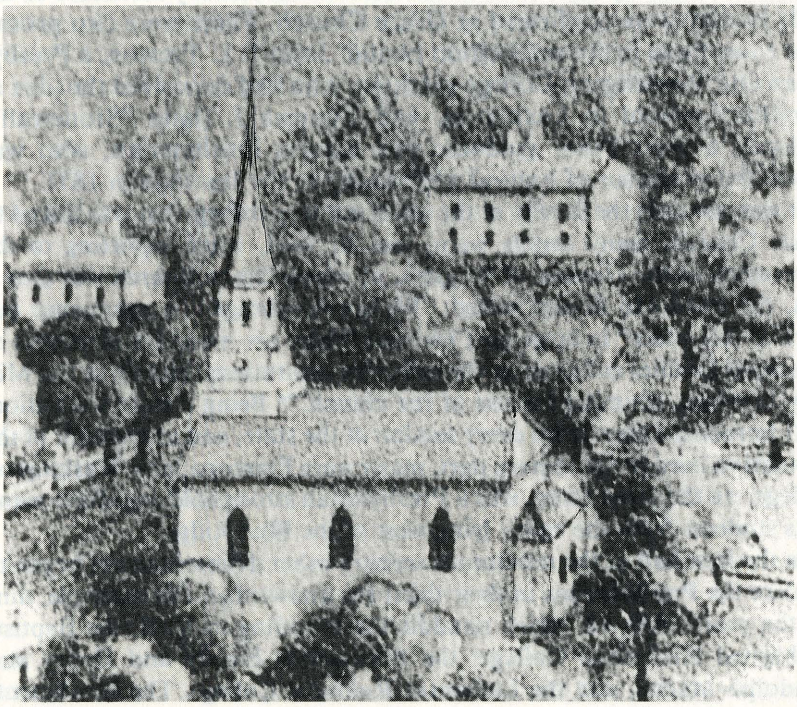
1. Katherine L. Brown, *Hills of the Lord* (Lexington, Virginia: The News-Gazette, 1979), p. 39.

2. Ibid., p. 50.

3. Smith to Meade, April 26, 1844, Letterbook, VMI Archives.

4. Judge Martin P. Burks, Dr. E. Pendleton Tompkins and Prof. John D. Letcher, *The Beginning of the Protestant Episcopal Church at Lexington, Rockbridge County, Virginia,* p. 18.

5. *Lexington Gazette,* February 6, 1851.



Grace Episcopal Church as depicted in Casimir Bohn's 1856–57 lithograph of Lexington.

and professor of mathematics at the Institute, was a devout Episcopalian. A graduate of West Point in the class of 1833 who had taught mathematics at Presbyterian Hampden-Sydney College, Smith took a leading role in organizing the Episcopal church in Lexington. Deservedly called the father of Grace church, he was quickly elected senior warden and he served almost continuously in that capacity until his death in 1890. As he was also superintendent of VMI during its first fifty years (1839–1889), there was ample opportunity to nurture a close relationship between church and school.

In 1842 Thomas Hoomes Williamson, another staunch Episcopalian, joined the VMI faculty as its third professor, and until his death in 1888 he served on the vestry, much of the time as secretary or clerk. Smith and Williamson had been roommates at West Point for four years. The trend continued and four of the six faculty members listed in the VMI Register of 1848 were Episcopalians. In going through the Parish Regis-

ter one is struck by how often in the nineteenth century members of the VMI faculty were confirmed at Grace Church. There were two prominent exceptions in the antebellum period: John T. L. Preston, a Presbyterian and Washington College graduate who had conceived the idea of a military school in Lexington, and Thomas J. (later "Stonewall") Jackson, a West Point graduate and earnest Presbyterian, who was appointed professor of natural philosophy at the Institute in 1851.

It was not only the faculty at the small military college that was linked to Grace Church; many cadets were, too. In 1842, when reporting to the convention of the Diocese of Virginia, of which Grace Church was then a part, the Reverend Bryant stated: "We are encouraged to commence our work at this place" in large part because "there are numbers of youths of Episcopal families collected at the different institutions, chiefly at the Military Institute, claiming the use of the church."[6] Being a state institution, VMI attracted cadets from every section of the state, and as the bulk of the population lived in the eastern part, many were Episcopalians. Washington College, on the other hand, was a Presbyterian stronghold and drew many of its students from the valley lying west of the Blue Ridge.

In the first half of the nineteenth century other denominations began to emulate the Presbyterians in their thirst for knowledge. For example, during the years 1830–42, which straddle the founding of VMI, the Baptists established Richmond College; the Methodists Emory and Henry and Randolph-Macon; and the Lutherans Roanoke College. The enrollments in these colleges were small, and their classical curriculum and compulsory chapel were indicative of their serious religious purpose.

Although VMI was a state school and nonsectarian, it was not immune to the religious spirit of the times. It was the custom of Colonel Smith to present a Bible to each graduating cadet. Anyone driving around the VMI parade ground can see in front of Smith Hall a statue of the first superintendent performing this act. This custom attests to the importance he attached to religion.

As a further indication of this religious spirit, one may refer to the VMI Regulations of that day. They state: "Duties appropriate for the Sabbath, including attendance upon Divine Service, which shall be imperative, shall be prescribed by the Superintendent and each cadet shall be required to conform thereto." Furthermore, "Any cadet who shall behave indecently or irreverently while attending Divine Service, or shall use any profane oath or execration, or profane the sabbath, shall be dismissed or otherwise less severely punished."[7] The superintendent ordered compulsory church

6. Burks, Tompkins, and Letcher, *The Beginning,* p. 11.
7. *VMI Regulations of 1848,* pp. 28–29.

attendance, the Regulations in 1845 specifying that "the Cadets will be marched to Church every Sunday morning (weather permitting)." The two companies rotated on separate schedules in attending Sunday morning service at the Presbyterian, Episcopal, Methodist, and Baptist churches. The Regulations warn: "As no preference is given to any religious sect or denomination in the Institute, officers commanding companies will be held accountable for their faithful compliance with the order." The regulations also stipulated that cadets who were communicants of a particular church would be permitted to attend the church of their choice.

Christianity was not a perfunctory matter with Colonel Smith. He recalled later that in the Institute's early years "a general religious interest prevailed in Virginia, and the cadets as they came in brought letters from the pastors of their respective churches, asking my special interest in their religious life." Consequently, Smith began inviting cadets to his office on Sunday afternoons for prayer meetings. Smith wrote that Mr. Bryant, the Episcopal minister, cooperated eagerly at these sessions, and eventually daily prayer meetings were held, Smith's office being used for this purpose four days a week. Finally, by 1856 the attendance was so large that the sessions were shifted to one of the classrooms. These meetings were held for many years.[8]

There can be no doubt that Francis H. Smith was conscientious in his efforts to preserve the nonsectarian character of VMI, but this did not preclude him from being exceedingly active in Episcopal matters, not only in Grace Church but on the diocesan level as well. His correspondence reveals that he exchanged letters with Bishop Meade, and some of his correspondence with Brigadier General William Harvie Richardson, adjutant general of Virginia and for thirty-five years a member of the Board of Visitors, shows their common concern for the Episcopal Church. Recall also that Smith was senior warden during these years. A few quotations from the correspondence with Bishop Meade will indicate the tone. Showing his enthusiasm for VMI, Meade wrote: "I hope your institution is flourishing. I recommend it in preference to any of our colleges, and hope I shall ever have just cause for so doing."[9] When Smith wrote Meade that the Institute was being accused of Episcopal influence, the bishop expressed surprise, noting "that the Military Institute is as carefully guarded by the state and by the Trustees against any sectarian ascendancy as the University [of Virginia]." Apparently the Bishop was charged with using his influence to favor VMI and he responded: "I have so often, both in

8. Francis H. Smith, *History of the Virginia Military Institute* (Lynchburg: J. P. Bell Company, 1912), pp. 255–57.

9. Meade to Smith, February 27, 1845, Smith Correspondence, VMI Archives.

Virginia and out of it, commended [the Institute] as most suitable to the youth of our Country, as I have done at the same time in a more qualified tone the Institution at West Point on account of the strict discipline enforced at it. I well know from my frequent visits to [VMI]" he added, "that the young men were not only allowed to select their own places of worship generally, but on certain occasions they were regularly marched to different places of worship, and from conversations with yourself know how careful you were in the conduct of your private, and on their part, volunteer meetings for religious improvement to avoid saying anything or using any books which might bias the views of those who choose to attend."[10] Their mutual concern seems to have been that the cadets did worship, rather than where they worshipped.

General Richardson was an earnest Episcopalian and in his official letters he sometimes referred to religious matters; he and Smith enjoyed meeting at the annual conventions of the diocese when possible. They saw eye to eye. Richardson commented, when Smith wrote that two cadets had been confirmed, "I hope there were more."[11] On another occasion Richardson confided: "As to my daughter I can only say that she is receiving very serious attentions from a young gentleman not a clergyman, but a member of the Episcopal Church, and that chances seem to be somewhat in his favor—time will show."[12] Smith asked Richardson to help raise money for the new church building in Lexington, and in a letter to Smith, Richardson wrote: "The subscriptions for the church are in progress of collection."[13]

Initially, the relations between VMI and Washington College were good, but when the civilian institution fell on hard times in the early forties, there was an inclination on the part of some at the college and in the town to blame VMI. It will be remembered that Washington College was predominantly Presbyterian and the faculty was composed primarily of Presbyterian ministers. In the period 1844–46 relations reached the breaking point, and among the complaints leveled by the college was that VMI, supposedly a state institution, favored the Episcopal church. Both Ollinger Crenshaw and Colonel William Couper, in their respective histories of Washington and Lee and VMI, have discussed this imbroglio in considerable detail.[14] In a letter to the editor of the *Richmond Enquirer,* "Howard,"

10. Meade to Smith, March 21, 1854, ibid.

11. Richardson to Smith, May 29, 1844, ibid.

12. Richardson to Smith, February 15, 1844, ibid.

13. Richardson to Smith, May 7, 1844, ibid.

14. Ollinger Crenshaw, *General Lee's College: The Rise and Growth of Washington and Lee University* (New York: Random House, 1969), pp. 61–65; William Couper, *One Hundred Years at V.M.I.,* 4 vols. (Richmond: Garrett and Massie, 1939), 1: 139–47.

a supporter of Washington College, wrote "that a cry may be raised against the Lexington [military] school by Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, etc. because of *Episcopal influence* there exercised." To this charge Smith replied hotly that he felt it his "duty to correct the statement of your correspondent that '*Episcopal* influences' are exercised at this institution. So far is this from being the case, the whole system of discipline and government is arranged to produce a result directly opposite to that of Sectarianism."[15] In writing to General Richardson about "Howard's" letter, Smith lamented that the charge of "Episcopal influence" has been made frequently "with the intention to injure the Institute."[16]

At the laying of the cornerstone of the new Presbyterian church in 1844, the Reverend Benjamin Mosby Smith, a trustee of Washington College, claimed that the Presbyterian church did not use state institutions to build up its membership.[17] The implication was that the Episcopal church did, and Mr. Smith later admitted that his comment was directed at VMI.

The same year Colonel Smith, in his annual report to the Board of Visitors, stated that circumstances "make it necessary that I should direct the attention of the Board to certain reports which have circulated, by which I am charged with the design and effort of giving a denominational character to the Institute. Within the past week," Smith complained, "a responsible individual has in his own name, brought this subject to the knowledge of one of the Professors." The professor, apparently, was Major Preston, a Presbyterian. Smith listed eight charges and denied all but the last one which asserted that he was "zealous member of the Episcopal Church" who exerted his influence "as a private citizen in building it up, a privilege to which it is contended I have no right."

Among the other charges Smith was accused of using his position "in securing the appointment of the sons of Episcopal parents to the exclusion of others," in affording "privileges of access to the cadets, to the Episcopal clergyman, which are denied those of other denominations," and in obtaining the appointment of faculty officers who were either Episcopalians or being neutral could be converted.[18] But when Smith requested that the Board make a thorough investigation, it declined to do so because it believed the charges to be untrue and no formal complaints had been made to it.[19]

15. Smith to *Richmond Enquirer,* February 1, 1844, Letterbook, VMI Archives.
16. Smith to Richardson, February 10, 1844, ibid.
17. Crenshaw, *General Lee's College,* p. 61.
18. Superintendent's Annual Report, July 1844, VMI Archives.
19. Board of Visitors Minutes, July 3, 1844, VMI Archives.

The matter was not yet dead. In August 1844, with rumors still flying, the superintendent asked Major Preston to give his opinion on the charges referred to above. Preston replied that he felt they were unfounded and that he had "reason to know that precisely the same opportunities of access have been given to the ministers of all denominations. "I believe, however," he wrote, "that [for] reasons for the most part personal to himself this privilege is more available to the present Episcopal Minister of Lexington than to the Ministers of any other denominations and that it has been much more used by him than by any other minister."[20]

In the winter of 1844–45 Smith learned that Washington College intended to petition the legislature with reference to the operation of VMI and that Professor George Dodd Armstrong had been selected to present a complaint in Richmond. Feeling his presence was necessary, Smith attended the hearings of the legislative committee on schools and colleges. In reporting to the Board of Visitors he stated: "Not knowing what course the examination might take, and desirous of presenting fully before the committee the defense of the Institute, a reference was made to the charge of sectarianism against the VMI and a full answer was given by Major P[reston] to the various specifications charged. This fact however was not alluded to by Professor A[rmstrong].[21] The committee voted overwhelmingly to dismiss the charges and not bring the matter before the House. Though "gratified at the report of the Committee," Smith regretted that its action prevented debate on the floor of the House because he thought "such an authoritative decision could have settled the matter forever."[22]

Professor Armstrong shared Smith's belief that the dispute between the college and the Institute was not definitely resolved, but in a long letter to the *Richmond Whig* he asserted that sectarianism was not the point at issue.[23] Smith did not reply to Armstrong, advising the Board that he believed "any further discussion unnecessary."[24] The hard-pressed superintendent did, however, find it necessary to notice an anonymous communication under the name "Alumnus" which revived the charges of sectarianism. Smith asked "Alumnus" to declare his identity so Smith could prove the complaints were unfounded, but "Alumnus," the superintendent lamented, "did not exhibit either the firmness to meet the issue or the

20. Preston to Smith, August 29, 1844 (copy), Letterbook, VMI Archives.

21. Superintendent's Annual Report, June 30, 1845, VMI Archives.

22. Smith to John R. Edmunds, Halifax, February 22, 1845, Letterbook, VMI Archives.

23. Crenshaw, *General Lee's College,* p. 62.

24. Superintendent's Annual Report, June 30, 1845, VMI Archives.

honesty to correct his error."[25] Henceforth, one might say the hatchet was buried, but until the arrival of General Lee in 1865 the ties of Grace Church were much closer to the Virginia Military Institute than to its civilian neighbor.

To this point we have emphasized the young church's intimate relationship with VMI, but, of course, there were other people in the community who were closely associated with Grace Church in its early days. Among them were the Henry Norgroves, the John Brockenbroughs, the William Stevenses, and the John Bowyers. Mr. Norgrove was a tailor who, with his wife, daughter, and two sons, had emigrated from England around 1840.[26] Judge Brockenbrough founded a private law school which became the Washington and Lee Law School of today, and Mr. Stevens was a merchant with a store at the corner of Main and Nelson Streets, who was zealous in the sale of books useful to Episcopalians.[27]

Typical of the times, the young parish, which listed ten communicants on its first roll of members, supported such evangelical activities as Domestic and Foreign Missions, the Education Society, and the Bible, Tract and Prayer Book Society.[28] In 1843 twelve people in Lexington made annual pledges ranging from $5.00 to $50.00.[29] And as early as 1844 the vestry, in a desperate search for money to pay the rector's salary, resolved that "a fixed stipend be laid on each pew which shall be paid by an individual who shall select one and reserve it for his own use."[30] Some help came from the Missionary Society which gave the church $150.00 a year.

Meanwhile, the church was growing. Bishop Meade confirmed sixteen people in 1842, including four cadets. In 1844 he confirmed a total of eight, once again including four cadets.[31] Mr. Bryant, however, wishing to give full time to serving the struggling congregation in Buchanan that was attempting to erect a church building, resigned from Grace Church on Easter Monday 1845 and soon moved to Buchanan.[32] With the ending of the joint administration of the Lexington and Buchanan churches, the former adopted the name Latimer Parish and reduced the parish's limits to Rockbridge County.

25. Ibid.
26. Burks, Tompkins, and Letcher, *The Beginning,* p. 13.
27. Ibid.
28. Vestry minutes, August 29, 1844.
29. Ibid, December 19, 1844.
30. Ibid., April 29, 1844.
31. Parish Register, Church Archives.
32. Vestry minutes, Easter Monday, 1845.

During Mr. Bryant's four-year ministry in Lexington a total of thirty-five names was added to the parish list, of whom fifteen were cadets.[33] Of course, the cadets only remained for a limited time and their number fluctuated from year to year.

An interesting point relates to the slave population. Two of those baptized in these years were identified as the children of servant women, as slaves were called. Like many Southerners of that day, Francis H. Smith believed slavery could be "sustained by the Bible," but he felt good Christians assumed an obligation to expose their slaves to Christianity. Writing to a minister in Richmond in 1845 on the subject of schools for slaves, he said: "I have for a long time felt a great interest in this class of our population and have for two years superintended the only school of its kind in this section of the state." Further, he added, "I consider it the right and duty of a vestry to appoint regular services for the blacks and also it is incumbent upon every master and mistress to require their servants to attend their services."[34] In Grace Church the gallery on the left of the pulpit was reserved for slaves.[35]

The close contact the senior warden maintained with the bishop is demonstrated by the steps he took to secure a replacement for Reverend Bryant. Even before Mr. Bryant had given formal notice, Smith wrote to Bishop Meade and the bishop replied:

> I do not see the least possibility of your getting a man of talents with a family. You must be content with a single man. There are six or eight to be ordained in July and who will be at my disposal during their deaconship, one of whom might perhaps suit you.[36]

The financial strength of the parish had, of course, been weakened by the separation from Buchanan. On the basis of the bishop's letter the vestry decided to accept a deacon and bachelor, and Smith authorized the bishop "to select a clergyman" from the Virginia Seminary. The vestry, pledging itself to pay $300.00 per annum, payable quarterly, said it would endeavor to increase the amount by application to the Missionary Society.[37]

The new seminary graduate chosen was Robert Nelson, an Englishman, and Bishop Meade informed Smith that Nelson "will be ready to come at any time after the first Monday of August that you may think best. It was not proper to think of ordaining him before the rest of the class."[38] The

33. Parish Register, Church Archives.
34. Smith to Dr. A. Empie, Richmond, June 3, 1845, Letterbook, VMI Archives.
35. Vestry minutes, April 29, 1844.
36. Meade to Smith, March 11, 1845, Smith Correspondence, VMI Archives.
37. Vestry minutes, April 22, 1845.
38. Meade to Smith, June 2, 1845, Smith Correspondence, VMI Archives.

The Rev. Robert Nelson (rector, 1845-51).

bishop also urged Smith to make every effort to raise the new rector's salary to $400.00. Upon arrival the young rector moved in with the Norgroves, who it will be recalled were English immigrants, and held his first vestry meeting in September 1845. The following spring the vestry requested Bishop Meade to ordain Nelson "for priests orders" at Grace Church in the summer.[39]

During the six years Robert Nelson was rector, nothing unusual happened. In 1847 the vestry resolved that its members attempt to raise $100.00 each "to liquidate the Church debt."[40] On Easter Monday, in line with a practice followed for many years, "the subscribers met" and elected a vestry. At that time there were eight vestrymen and usually the same men were elected year after year. The vestry did not meet very often, or, if it did, the secretary did not bother to record the minutes in the bound minute book. There was only one entry in 1848 and none in 1849. Finally, in 1851, Robert Nelson resigned to become a missionary to Shanghai, China, as he

39. Vestry minutes, May 2, 1846.
40. Ibid., February 7, 1847.

had been appointed to that post—in a China which was just beginning to open its doors as a result of the so-called Opium War—by the Foreign Committee of the Board of Missions of the Episcopal Church. In wishing him well in his new adventure, the vestry recorded "their high appreciation of his piety, wisdom and devotedness to the cause of the Redeemer."[41]

Mr. Nelson had been effective in enlarging the church membership. According to the parish register he added thirty-two communicants in six years, of whom seven were cadets. Also, two VMI faculty members were confirmed: Major William Gilham, another West Point graduate appointed to the faculty in 1846 as commandant of cadets and professor of physical sciences, and Captain Raleigh Colston, a VMI graduate, instructor in French. Both of these officers were still on the faculty when the Civil War erupted. Four of the seven faculty members listed in the 1854 Register, who remained longer than a year or two, were Episcopalians. It is interesting to note that during the Nelson ministry the acceptance of slaves into the congregation continued. The parish register shows that three children of a slave belonging to Francis H. Smith were baptized. Also, five blacks were buried by Robert Nelson. The parish register records that in April 1852 one of the communicants was a black woman. Ironically, one of Mr. Nelson's sad duties in 1846 was to bury his predecessor, Mr. Bryant, who had so recently moved to Buchanan.

The search for a new rector was prolonged and the vestry offered the position to a number of prospects before obtaining success. Meanwhile, the relationship with the dominant Presbyterian Church improved and much of the tension of the 1840s disappeared. It was an encouraging sign when the vestry offered the use of its church "to the Presbyters of the Presbyterian Church during its session in Lexington."[42] In February 1852 the Reverend L. P. Clover of Richmond explained to the vestry his views on the pastoral relationship with the parish. Favorably impressed, the vestry resolved unanimously that he be called to Latimer Parish and he accepted.[43]

We do not know much about what happened during the sixteen months Mr. Clover was rector. Although the slavery issue was becoming inflamed nationally, it appears not to have touched the little parish in the Shenandoah Valley. There is evidence that Mr. Clover established some contact with the cadets. In the summer of 1852 it was reported that he had completed "a beautiful and most appropriate painting of the *Virginia Coat of Arms*" for a cadet society. The reporter observed that "the painting clearly

41. Ibid., February 8, 1851.
42. Ibid., April [n.d.], 1851.
43. Ibid., February 9, 1852.

shows that Mr. Clover wields the pencil and the brush with a Master's hand."[44] Nor did Clover neglect his parochial duties. The sparse record shows that during an eight months' period in 1852 fifteen communicants were added to the parish rolls, including a Methodist, a Presbyterian, and a member of the Church of England.

When Mr. Clover resigned on June 13, 1853, the search for a new rector began once more. This time the search was short. A month after Mr. Clover's resignation forty-three year old William Nelson Pendleton, rector of the Episcopal Church in Frederick, Maryland, was called, and in October he and his family moved to Lexington. Thus, after perhaps the briefest search in the parish's history, began a relationship of nearly thirty years. This ministry would be the longest and perhaps the most distinguished ministry in the church's history.

Mr. Pendleton had an unusual background for a clergyman. When sixteen he had entered the United States Military Academy and following graduation, four years ahead of Francis H. Smith, he served at a number of army posts. In 1833, the year Smith and Thomas Williamson left West Point, Pendleton resigned from the army and became professor of mathematics at a small college in Pennsylvania where he remained for four years. While there he resolved to enter the Episcopal ministry and while continuing to study the physical sciences, he began to prepare himself for his new calling. In 1837 he was ordained a deacon by the bishop of Virginia and was asked to establish an Episcopal boy's school in Alexandria, Virginia. This became the Episcopal High School. Pendleton remained as headmaster for five years before resigning to enter the parish ministry. Therefore, when he accepted the call to Lexington in 1853, he had had experience as an army officer, college teacher, school administrator, and parish priest. Though he had been a priest for fifteen years, he easily established a close bond with the VMI professors who were graduates of West Point and with the VMI cadets.

Smith knew Pendleton and corresponded with him long before the rector moved to Lexington. According to one of his daughters, Pendleton was attracted to the Grace Church pulpit by "the opportunity for approaching and influencing the large number of young men in the two colleges, and the advantages for educating his only son."[45] That son, Alexander Swift Pendleton, known as "Sandy," attended Washington College, and during

44. *Lexington Gazette,* March 17, 1853.

45. Susan P. Lee, *Memoirs of William Nelson Pendleton, D.D., rector of Latimer parish, Lexington, Virginia, brigadier general, C.S.A.: Chief of artillery, Army of Northern Virginia, by his daughter Susan P. Lee* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1893), p. 104.

the Civil War he served brilliantly as adjutant general of the Second Corps in the Army of Northern Virginia under "Stonewall" Jackson and his successors, until he was killed in the Battle of Fisher's Hill in 1864.

The first eight years of the Reverend Pendleton's ministry (1853–61) would be conducted against a backdrop of growing tension over the slavery issue that culminated in the Civil War, but Grace Church was little affected. Shortly after the new parson's arrival Colonel Smith informed the vestry that he had "purchased the property belong to I. B. Dorman with the lots adjoining for $4,000" to be used for a rectory.[46] The vestry accepted the offer and agreed to repay Smith over a period of three years. At this time there were twenty-two parishoners contributing to the rector's salary with pledges from $5.00 to $110.00 a year. Although the secretary was ordered in 1856 "to purchase a suitable Record Book and to have all records re-copied,"[47] we find that no records were entered until 1858. Again, there were no minutes recorded between May 1858 and April 1859, so the historian has slim pickings.

In 1856 Pendleton was elected a clerical deputy from the Diocese of Virginia to the General Convention of the Episcopal Church that met in Philadelphia. He was the first rector of Grace Church so honored. And in recognition of his intellectual qualities Kenyon College in 1857 awarded him the Doctor of Divinity degree. Henceforth, he was often called Dr. Pendleton. He was a scholar, and during this period he published a book entitled, *A Witness for the Bible.* Subjects addressed in the study included "Science and Scripture" and "Chronology of Creation." Not only was Dr. Pendleton a theologian who kept up with "the mathematics, astronomy, chemistry, and geology, acquired in earlier years," but he studied the new scientific questions of the day "and made himself familiar with ethnology and comparative philology." He even contributed articles to *Appleton's New American Encyclopedia.*[48] Yet, despite all these distractions, the industrious rector continued mindful of the needs of his parish. Pendleton preached twice on Sunday and once in the middle of the week what his daughter Susan described as "carefully-prepared sermons." Also, he held two weekly services at VMI.[49]

When the breakup of the union seemed imminent, Pendleton examined his position. With him, like so many others, it was not a question of slavery. A thorough believer in states' rights, he was convinced that his first

46. Vestry minutes, August 22, 1853.
47. Ibid., Easter Monday, 1856.
48. Lee, *Memoirs,* p. 130.
49. Ibid.

The Rev. William N. Pendleton (rector, 1853–83).

duty was to defend Virginia, his native state. Although a man of the cloth, he felt defensive war was righteous.[50] On May 1, 1861, less than two weeks after Virginia seceded, Pendleton, a one-time army officer, was offered a captaincy and the command of the Rockbridge Artillery, a unit that would win fame as a part of the Stonewall Brigade. He accepted on a temporary basis, as there was no one else available, and requested a leave of absence from the church, which was granted.

During his eight prewar years in Lexington, Pendleton had been vigorous in promoting the church's growth. There were thirty-five communicants on the parish rolls when he arrived in 1853. By 1859 there were

50. Ibid., pp. 131–32.

sixty-six communicants, including seven Pendletons. Within six months of his arrival Pendleton had added thirteen communicants, and two years later the bishop confirmed twenty-nine people, including eighteen VMI cadets and six Washington College students. The little church was definitely on the move until progress was interrupted by the sectional conflict.

As the war dragged on it became increasingly difficult to determine when the fighting parson might return to his pulpit, so he resigned as rector of Grace church and gave everything he had to the Southern cause. Rising to the rank of brigadier general, he served faithfully as General Robert E. Lee's chief of artillery in the Army of Northern Virginia. After Appomattox the old artilleryman returned to Grace church as rector on a temporary basis. This was soon made permanent and Pendleton remained at that post until his death in 1883. Pendleton's postwar ministry, the rebuilding of the congregation, and the construction of a new church building, the one now used, are another story.

Shifting Attitudes Towards Slavery in Antebellum Rockbridge County

Fitzhugh Brundage

DURING the summer of 1983, in a paper written while a Northen Fellow at the Stonewall Jackson House, I surveyed the history of slavery in Rockbridge County. I concentrated on the questions of who owned slaves, what the slaves were used for, and what the quality of slave life was. Not surprisingly, the institution of slavery in this county shared many characteristics with slavery as it existed throughout the rest of the upper South. There were liveried house slaves, skilled slave craftsmen, and, of course, the simple field hands. The slave owners varied from very wealthy men such as the owners of Mulberry Hill, Buffalo Forge, and Fancy Hill to middling farmers such as J. H. B. Jones of Brownsburg.

Just as the size of the slave holdings varied, so did the treatment of slaves in Rockbridge County. Some slaveholders espoused and practiced sincere paternalism towards their slaves, whereas others showed little, if any, restraint in their exercise of authority over their bondsmen. And like slaves throughout the South, most slaves developed a grudging accommodation with their owners. But some bondsmen in Rockbridge County were, or so their masters claimed, "troublesome chattels." They ran away; they

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Fitzhugh Brundage had been a Mary Moody Northen Fellow at the Stonewall Jackson House during 1982–83. He was a candidate for the Ph.D. in United States history at Harvard University at the time he delivered this address in the garden of the Mulberry Hill estate (the home of Samuel McDowell Reid, 1837–71) in Lexington, July 23, 1984.

attempted to poison their masters; they burned white men's property; and they even physically attacked their masters. If there was anything surprising that came up in my research, it was the shockingly high death rate of slaves in Rockbridge County. Whether compared to Augusta County to the north or to Southampton County in the Tidewater, the death rate among slaves in this county was higher. But aside from this puzzling and as yet unexplained point, there was little in my research that was peculiar or noteworthy about slavery in Rockbridge County.

I would like to focus on the larger question of the influence of slavery on the development of the county. To answer that question I would like to concentrate on the economic explanations for the expansion of slavery in the county as well as the attitude of the white residents of the county towards slavery. I hope to demonstrate that the attitudes of many whites drifted from ambivalence towards slavery to outspoken defense of the institution.

The white residents of the Shenandoah Valley have acquired a reputation as critics of slavery.The myth of the Scotch-Irish has been no less fertile and tenacious than the legend of bucolic plantations. The Scotch-Irish of the Valley were supposedly an industrious, frugal, and democratic people embued with a Calvinist work ethic. These sturdy yeomen of legend proclaimed the spiritual equality of all men: slavery was an anathema to their traditions and their deep-seated religious convictions. Devoting themselves to their small farms, they remained untainted by privilege and pretension. Contemporary observers certainly marvelled at the industriousness of the Scotch-Irish, but otherwise their portraits diverged considerably from the Scotch-Irish of legend. Frederick Law Olmsted, one of the ablest and most inquisitive observers of the antebellum South, noted that the Scotch-Irish were "certain in a few years to acquire money enough to buy a negro, which they are said to be invariably ambitious to possess.'" Whatever doubts the Scotch-Irish entertained about the morality of slavery were dissolved by the financial and social profits promised by slaveholding. No county in the Shenandoah Valley had a higher proportion of Scotch-Irish than Rockbridge County—at least two-thirds of the white residents could claim Scotch-Irish descent—and no county possessed a more vigorous or expansive slave economy.[1]

1. For a recent portrait of Valley antislavery sentiment, see Alison Goodyear Freehling, *Drift Toward Dissolution: The Virginia Slavery Debate 1831-1832* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982), pp. 25-33; Frederick Law Olmsted, *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States* (New York: G. P. Putnam, 1856), p. 356; on the ethnicity of Valley residents see R. D. Mitchell, "The Shenandoah Frontier," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 61(September 1972): 471. Mitch-

Let me begin my discussion with the rather obvious but important point that slavery was a means of labor exploitation. If slavery were to grow in this county there had to be a congenial economic environment. In fact, whites brought slaves into the county at a surprisingly early point in the county's history. The initial impetus for the introduction of slaves can be directly traced to the Revolutionary war. With foreign sources of hemp inaccessible, the Continental army had to rely on American production. Well suited to the crop, Rockbridge County (initially part of Augusta) quickly became one of the major areas of hemp production in Virginia. The hemp boom created the first—although brief—demand in the county for slaves. With less than 3,100 white residents in 1782, Rockbridge County had a slave population of at least 600. Had the demand for hemp—a highly labor intensive crop—remained high, this county might have developed along very different lines. But with the conclusion of the war the demand for hemp diminished as international sources for the crop became accessible again; as a result the need for slaves also diminished.

In many ways the formative years for the county were from 1790 to 1830. The combination of increasing agricultural sophistication and the nascent growth of manufacturing contributed significantly to the development of a more varied and complex economy. Each federal census testified to a growing market for slaves. By 1830 nearly one out of every five residents of the county was a bondsman. The transformation of Rockbridge County during the early nineteenth century is even more graphic when compared with other counties in western Virginia. While the 120 percent increase in the county's white population was exceeded by several counties, no neighboring county came close to the nearly 500 percent increase in the number of slaves. Even the growth of the slave populations of Augusta County to the north and Bedford County to the east lagged more than 200 percent behind that of this county. The only county west of the Blue Ridge mountains (and this includes all of what is present day West Virginia) that had a slave population which grew as much as this county's was Kanawha County. While several counties bordering on Rockbridge had larger slave populations, none witnessed as dramatic nor as rapid a growth.[2]

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ell concludes that 78 percent of the residents of Rockbridge County in 1778 were Scotch-Irish. I have used a more conservative estimate of 65 percent. Regardless of the exact percentage, no county in the Valley had a higher percentage of Scotch-Irish residents. On the Scotch-Irish elsewhere in the South, see James Oakes, *The Ruling Race: A History of American Slaveholders* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982), pp. 15–16.

2. Because there was no comprehensive colonial census for Virginia, the basic sources of population data are the county tithable records, which were produced for

A partial explanation for the success of slavery in Rockbridge County was the considerable production of tobacco. By 1860 Rockbridge produced well over 400,000 pounds of tobacco a year. The largest landowners in the county, not surprisingly, were also the largest slave holders. Hobson Johns's fifty-six slaves worked his extensive tobacco fields which produced 28,000 pounds of tobacco in 1860 as well as 1,000 bushels of corn, 800 bushels of oats, 600 bushels of wheat, and 500 pounds of butter. Many of Samuel McDowell Reid's sixty-one slaves tended his tobacco fields which produced nearly 20,000 pounds of the crop. In many ways, tobacco was well-suited to the mixed economy of this county. Although it required extensive labor, tobacco still allowed the slaves enough time to devote to other major cash crops such as corn, wheat, and oats. These large landowners and slave holders did not account for the rapid growth of slavery in this county solely by themselves, but their contribution was very considerable. Over the course of three decades of aggressive acquisition, Reid, for example, had increased the number of his slaves from ten to sixty-five in 1860.[3]

The iron masters and manufacturers of the county composed another conspicuous group of slave holders. Drawn to the rich mineral resources in the Valley, iron masters figured prominently in the economic maturation and growth of the county. With each new furnace and forge they built in the county, iron masters increased the demand for slaves. The county's leading iron master, William Weaver, owned sixty-six slaves who worked both as field hands and in the furnaces. Weaver also hired large numbers of forge-hands from other slave holders in both the Valley and in eastern Virginia. His chief competitors were John Jordan and Francis T. Anderson who both operated several furnaces and were large slave owners in their own right.[4]

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tax purposes rather than as demographic inventories. Although there are considerable difficulties in converting tithables into the total number of residents, I have followed R. D. Mitchell and used a multiplier of four for white tithables. Although Mitchell suggests a multiplier of two for negro tithables, I find it difficult to believe that there were 1006 slaves in 1782 and only 682 in 1790. It is probable that most of the slaves in Rockbridge County in 1782 were tithable. See R. D. Mitchell, "The Shenandoah Valley Frontier," pp. 469–473; U. S. Census Manuscripts 1790–1830, Rockbridge County; Patricia Catherine Click, "Slavery and Society in the Shenandoah Valley 1790–1830," unpublished Master's thesis, University of Virginia, 1974, pp. 15–33.

3. U. S. Census Manuscripts, 1860, Schedule IV, Rockbridge County, Virginia.

4. The papers of the various iron masters are remarkably extensive; see especially the Beverly Family Papers, Virginia Historical Society; Anderson Family Papers, University of Virginia; W. W. David Ironworks Papers, University of Virginia;

The rest of the county's bondsmen were the property of small slave holders. Of the 560-odd slave holders in 1860, nearly half owned four or fewer slaves. Seemingly these owners had little in common with the largest masters such as Samuel McDowell Reid, but, in fact, both the small slave holders such as Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson and the planter Reid knew of the value of slaves as investments. In an age when both banks and stocks were notoriously risky, slaves were a sure investment. When a farmer or a local merchant had saved sufficient capital, often the wisest investment was a slave. Bondsmen were not only a valuable source of labor, but also were far more easily converted into cash than stocks and bonds.

Unneeded slaves could be rented out for additional income. Cornelius Baldwin, for example, proved to be a very successful investor in slaves. His part-ownership and editorial duties at the *Lexington Gazette* were hardly more profitable than his chattels. By hiring out his first slave, and then reinvesting the profits in more bondsmen, Baldwin had increased his total number of slaves to twelve by 1860. For ministers, lawyers, merchants, and farmers alike, slaves were a lucrative and secure investment. I am convinced that herein lies one of the most significant explanations for the growth of slavery in this county. Both farming and manufacturing were sufficiently lucrative that there was a market for slaves both as laborers and as investments. Thus a middle-class Lexingtonian such as Stonewall Jackson invested in a bank, a tannery, and slaves. And since the Jacksons didn't need all their slaves, they rented one to a hotel at Rockbridge Alum Springs. While the astute investor today may have a portfolio consisting of stocks, bonds, and real estate, the antebellum investor's portfolio would surely have included slaves—slaves which might produce returns equal to or greater than those on most stocks.[5]

Weaver-Brady Papers, University of Virginia. See also S. Sydney Bradford, "The Negro Ironworker in Antebellum Virginia," *Journal of Southern History* 25(May 1959): 194–206; Kathleen Bruce, *Virginia Iron Manufacture in the Slave Era* (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1968); Charles B. Dew, "David Ross and the Oxford Iron Works: A Study of Industrial Slavery in the Early Nineteenth-Century South," *William and Mary Quarterly* 31(April 1974): 189–224; Charles B. Dew, "Disciplining Slave Ironworkers in the Antebellum South: Coercion, Conciliation, and Accommodation," *American Historical Review* 79(April 1974): 393–418; Ronald L. Lewis, *Coal, Iron, and Slaves: Industrial Slavery in Maryland and Virginia 1715–1865* (Westport, Conn.): Greenwood Press, 1979); Robert Starobin, *Industrial Slavery in the Old South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970).

5. Diary of J. H. B. Jones, Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Virginia; U. S. Census Manuscripts 1820–1860, Rockbridge County; Oren F. Morton, *A History of Rockbridge County* (Staunton, Virginia: McClure Co., 1920), pp. 119, 246, 249, 271; Charles W. Turner, ed., *Captain Greenlee Davidson, C.S.A.: Diary and*

If there was significant economic incentive for the growth of slavery in Rockbridge County, there was also a gradual but noticeable acceptance and, to a limited extent, defense of the institution. Until late in the antebellum period, the attitude of the white elite was ambivalent. There were simultaneously whites who were convinced of the adverse effects of slavery and others who were equally sure of the positive virtues of the institution. Many of the economic incentives I previously mentioned contributed to the erosion of antislavery sentiments in this county, but there were also significant social and cultural incentives. And since most of these influences exerted their greatest effect on the county's elite, I devote most of my attention then to them.

The local elite was never entirely isolated from either eastern Virginia or the rest of the South, but until the beginning of the nineteenth century residents of the county had their greatest contacts in the North. Thereafter there was a demonstrable shift to increasing social and economic ties with eastern Virginia in general, and Richmond in particular. The county's elite, which included the planters, merchants, and iron masters, gained greater and greater familiarity with eastern elites. And while there remained tensions between the two groups related both to political and religious differences, the county's elite in 1830 knew eastern Virginia and eastern Virginians far better than their predecessors had. Both the Virginia Military Institute and Washington College attracted Virginians from outside the Valley, and simultaneously eastern Virginia colleges attracted some county men.

The various spas and "resorts" in the county provided another source of contact between this county and both eastern Virginia and the upper South. Each summer brought surprisingly large numbers of vacationers from throughout the Tidewater South to the springs. Marriages between county residents and eastern Virginians also served to bind the two regions. I believe that this increased contact and familiarity with eastern Virginia enabled county residents to gain personal knowledge of the much older and more ingrained eastern slavery. Some reacted with disgust towards the perceived decadence of the east, while others relished the more cosmopolitan character of eastern Virginia. For both groups slavery lay at the heart of the qualities they associated with eastern Virginia.

It is not surprising that antebellum Rockbridge residents placed so much importance on slavery. One of the most interesting aspects of this county's antebellum history is that slavery took root and grew precisely

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Letters 1857–1863 (Verona, Va.: McClure Press, 1975), pp. 1–2; U. B. Phillips, *Life and Labor in the Old South* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1963), pp. 314–315.

when the topic of slavery was commanding greater and greater national attention.

The most noteworthy expression of antislavery in Rockbridge County was the so-called Ruffner Pamphlet. Henry Ruffner, then Presbyterian minister, owner of four slaves, and president of Washington College, published the highly controversial document in 1847. While calling for the gradual abolition of slavery, he readily admitted that slavery was too firmly entrenched in eastern Virginia to be exorcised without prohibitive expense. But west of the Blue Ridge, he boldly proposed, "it may be gradually abolished without detriment to the rights or interests of slave holders." His program included the transportation of all blacks in the Valley to Liberia and a prohibition of all future importation of slaves into the Valley. Without denying his sincere opposition to the perpetuation of slavery, Ruffner expressed equal concern about the political discrimination that plagued the western portions of the state. His antislavery campaign was intimately connected with the bitter sectional hostilities which repeatedly erupted in antebellum Virginia. Outraged by the selfish policies of eastern antebellum Virginia, which he claimed retarded the development of the Valley, he castigated the very foundations of eastern Virginian slavery.[6]

Agitation for emancipation in the Valley declined noticeably after the ratification of a revised constitution in 1851, a constitution that addressed many of the complaints of western Virginia. Content with newly acquired political power, many residents of the county no longer were convinced that slavery was detrimental to the region. No better evidence of this can be given than the repudiation of the pamphlet by John Letcher and Samuel McDowell Moore, two men who had earlier endorsed it. While campaigning for the govenorship in 1859, Letcher explained that he had endorsed Ruffner's proposal "not through any abolition feeling, but to compel the eastern portion to do justice to the western portion." He admitted that he had regarded slavery as a social and political evil, but emphatically asserted that "I did not regard it then, or since, as a moral evil, for I was at that time, and have been ever since, the owner of slave property by purchase and not by inheritance." Reflection had convinced him that slavery was not a threat to western Virginia.

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6. Henry Ruffner, *Address to the People of West Virginia; Showing that Slavery is Injurious to the Public Welfare and That It May Gradually Be Abolished Without Detriment to the Rights or Interests of Slaveholders,* (Lexington, Va., 1847). For interpretations of the Ruffner pamphlet, see William G. Bean, "The Ruffner Pamphlet of 1847: An Antislavery Aspect of Virginia Sectionalism," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 61(July 1953), and Carl Degler, *The Other South: Southern Dissenters in the Nineteenth Century* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1982), pp. 54-55, 62-64, 87.

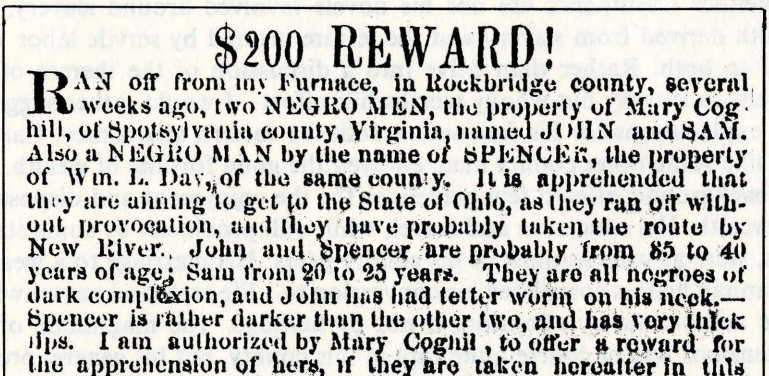
Similarly, Moore renounced his earlier antislavery sentiments. The two races could not live together on terms of equality, he explained, and thus the peculiar institution was a necessary evil. "I was in favor of getting rid of negroes in our section," he later recalled, "but I did not design to set them free, I wanted to remove them by sale." Propelled by sectionalism and negrophobia, Ruffner, Letcher, and Moore showed little concern for the slaves. The very fact that Ruffner's views encountered antipathy rather than acceptance attests to the region's growing commitment to the institution of slavery. If Ruffner's pamphlet signified anything it was the determination of western Virginians to achieve political parity with the rest of the state. Once that goal was attained, earlier proposals for the emancipation of slaves were forgotten.[7]

The failure of Dr. Ruffner's pamphlet is hardly conclusive evidence of the development of a more positive attitude towards slavery in the county. Blatantly proslavery arguments were seldom, if ever, widely accepted, but there was a perceivable shift from ambivalence to general consensus that slavery was an institution which could not be challenged or threatened in any way by the federal or the state governments. As suggested earlier, the Ruffner pamphlet by 1860 was no less scorned than Northern abolitionist tracts.

Antislavery sentiments with their antieastern bias were countered by a growing appreciation for the refined qualities of the east. Some county residents read a new genre of literature which depicted the planter aristocrat as a combination of natural aristocrat and European gentleman, nature and civilization, freedom and restraint. Those who labored to develop such literary heroes were aspiring men seeking to understand the values of the society in which they made their way. They were very rarely born members of the planter class, seldom of English ancestry, and are best described as—in historian William Taylor's phrase—new men.

Fortunately for my argument, Rockbridge County produced one of the most significant of the cavalier myth makers. William Alexander Caruthers, born in Lexington in 1802, wrote three novels which detailed the heroic adventures of the cavaliers of Virginia and the Knights of the Golden Horse. Almost nothing at first glance seemed to destine Caruthers to become, in his biographer's phrase, a chronicler of cavaliers. Reared in a merchant's family in Lexington, educated at Washington College, and trained as a physician in Philadelphia, he could scarcely have had less contact with the cultural heritage he examined in his novels. But his imagination and a hankering for a gentleman's style of life led him to adopt

7. Quoted in Bean, "The Ruffner Pamphlet of 1847," p. 272.



$200 REWARD!

RAN off from my Furnace, in Rockbridge county, several weeks ago, two NEGRO MEN, the property of Mary Coghill, of Spotsylvania county, Virginia, named JOHN and SAM. Also a NEGRO MAN by the name of SPENCER, the property of Wm. L. Day, of the same county. It is apprehended that they are aiming to get to the State of Ohio, as they ran off without provocation, and they have probably taken the route by New River. John and Spencer are probably from 35 to 40 years of age; Sam from 20 to 25 years. They are all negroes of dark complexion, and John has had tetter worm on his neck.—Spencer is rather darker than the other two, and has very thick lips. I am authorized by Mary Coghil, to offer a reward for the apprehension of hers, if they are taken hereafter in this State, and secured so that she gets them, $75 a piece; if taken in any other State, $100 a piece; and if taken in a non-slaveholding State, $200, to be delivered to her, or secured in Spotsylvania or Fredericksburg jail. Mr. Day has not authorized me to say what reward he wi l pay for the apprehenson of his man, but I doubt not he will pay a liberal reward.

FRANCIS T. ANDERSON,
Glenwood, Rockbridge Co., Va.

sep 7-coaw4w

Lynchburg Daily Virginian *advertisement, September 7, 1860.*

values far different from those of his Presbyterian ancestors. In 1823 he married the daughter of a wealthy sea-island cotton planter and added a dowry of seventy-nine slaves to his already modest fortune. He then settled down in Lexington to practice medicine, something for which he apparently had little aptitude. Not to be discouraged by his professional difficulties, he bought a house to which he added a three-story piazza with white pillars and other symbols of a Tidewater mansion, and commenced to offer entertainment on a scale unheard of in Lexington. In six years he managed to run through his entire fortune and that of his wife, as well as encumber himself with debts he was never able to pay. And all this in Lexington! Finally he took an oath of insolvency in 1829 and moved his family to New York City. After a number of years he abandoned his still-growing debts and still-floundering practice in New York and moved to Savannah. But his fortune failed to improve in that city and in 1846 he died of tuberculosis at the age of 44.[8]

8. Two excellent discussions of Caruthers can be found in Curtis Carroll Davis, *Chronicler of the Cavaliers* (Richmond: Dietz Press, 1953), and William Taylor, *Cavalier and Yankee: The Old South and American National Character* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), pp. 204–225.

Neither Caruthers's life nor his novels revolved around slavery. But wealth derived from slavery and the leisure insured by servile labor were vital to both. Rather than delve into a discussion of the themes of the novels—a lengthy but wholly worthwhile effort—I would rather suggest a few explanations for his fascination with the eastern aristocracy. Caruthers, like some other county men, enjoyed the good fortune of wealth. But his background offered few guidelines for the enjoyment and disposal of his wealth. His education and travel, while still provincial by some standards, were as wide as most of his county peers. His marriage to a wealthy Savannah heiress completed his conversion to a life-style and values which were aristocratic by adoption, if not by heritage. The magnitude of his pretensions was of course quite rare in this county, but his general predicament was not. The Rockbridge County elite, like elites everywhere, drew upon tradition and external influences to define and advertise themselves, and for Caruthers and others the Tidewater Cavalier tradition was the model. Admittedly, this is the most conjectural aspect of my argument, but I believe that additional research will demonstrate a growing admiration for the finer qualities of the Tidewater aristocracy. Caruthers, like Ruffner, knew that slavery was the bedrock of the society he admired so greatly.

A less speculative explanation for the gradual eclipse of antislavery sentiments in the Valley was the deep and virulent antipathy to Northern abolitionism. Northern abolitionism was not a seemingly abstract threat to residents of the county. In 1835 during the peak of early turmoil over abolitionism, a Northern antislavery advocate arrived in Lexington. James F. Otis of Boston arrived from White Sulphur Spring late on a Saturday evening. The following morning he left for Natural Bridge and returned later in the day. During his absence several of his conversations, which included apparently furious antislavery statements, were repeated throughout town. A mob collected in hopes of catching Otis upon his return, but local magistrates decided to protect against violence by arresting and searching the Northerner. Otis proved to be the match for both the mob and the town officials. He successfully convinced the gathered audience that he was above suspicion. Tranquility returned and Otis was able to leave town without incident. Only with the arrival of information about Otis later in the week did his duplicity become obvious. Not only was he tainted "with the infamous heresy," but was also "a captain to the banditti." The *Lexington Gazette* spelled out the general sentiments concerning the abolitionist:

> A more cowardly incendiary never travelled through our country. Otis is a small man, with a cast in one eye which gives his countenance rather a sinister expression; but his tongue is swung upon the yankee principle, namely, in the middle, and works at both ends. We suspect that he has a

> large development of Destructiveness, and no firmness or conscientiousness. We would like to have his head in our collection.[9]

Fear of abolitionism was matched by growing fear of the slaves in the county. Nothing aroused white fears as quickly as did rumors of slave insurrection. Each rumor raised the spector of another Nat Turner. Few communities in the South escaped the turmoil of rumored insurrection, and Lexington was no exception. The most dramatic insurrection scare began during the Christmas holidays in 1850. The plans for a surprise attack on the Virginia Military Institute were discovered in a letter found on a road outside Lexington. The plan called for three hundred slaves to attack the Institute and carry off as many of the arms as they could. Next, the armed bondsmen would storm Lexington, "killing all they could get hold of." While many residents thought the letter was a hoax, few whites were willing to risk being unprepared.

Cadet Giles Gunn, in a letter to his sister, explained: "You had better believe it made some stir. The militia was called out and now they parade the streets from night to morning." He also noted, "It is curious how quickly the people of this county can be roused to a state of watchfulness when their all depends on this."

Although hopeful that the letter was a hoax, the superintendent of the Institute, Colonel Francis H. Smith, prepared for any eventuality. "I do not presume to say whether or not it is a hoax," he wrote, "—it may not be—but my confidence is not excessive in the colored population here."[10]

Local authorities failed to identify any insurrectionists, but the town council took action to insure that at least one slave was removed from the county. Henry Allen, a slave belonging to Washington College, was declared dangerous to the community. In a petition addressed to the trustees of the college, the town council emphatically stated their reservations about the bondsman:

> He has been and is now exerting as we believe him eminently capable of exerting over the slaves of Lexington and its vicinity an influence highly prejudicial not to say dangerous in the extreme, and believing that his longer continuance in our midst should be productive of incalculable evil, we request you to into consideration of his immediate removal.

Confronted with such a forceful petition, the trustees quickly complied with the request and sold Allen outside of the region.[11]

9. *Lexington Gazette,* August 28, 1835.

10. Giles Gunn to Mary Gunn, January 6, 1851, William Couper Collection, Virginia Military Institute; Francis H. Smith to William Richardson, January 2, 1851, Records of the Superintendent, Virginia Military Institute Library.

11. Memorial to the Trustees of Washington College, January 6, 1851, Records of the Trustees of Washington College, Washington and Lee University Library.

So at last I have arrived at the conclusion of this rather circuitous discussion of slavery in this county. I hope that I have at least partially explained both why slavery took root in this county and why it prospered. I also hope that some of the attitudes of county residents have been clarified. I do not mean to have suggested that the county was the seedbed of proslavery ideology, but a subtle transformation had brought Rockbridge County far closer to Tidewater and Piedmont Virginia. It is hard to imagine anyone in Rockbridge County in 1810 arguing, as the *Gazette* did in 1860, that "slavery is the highest state of happiness that a negro can reach." Perhaps the simplest way to summarize the transformation is to say that the county progressed from a mildly hostile ambivalence towards slavery to a consensus that slavery was a less than positive good, but far more than a necessary evil.[12]

12. *Lexington Gazette,* September 26, 1860.

Views Of and On East Lexington

ON October 22, 1984, the Society met in the Reading Room of the George C. Marshall Library. Program Chair Winifred Hadsel introduced the panel, which brought together three Society members who have known Rockbridge County all their lives, who have had remarkable opportunities to observe the county, and who knew its people and places. In addition to being Society members, the panelists were all born in Rockbridge County and attended Washington and Lee University. The "views of" were facilitated by seventy-seven slides of East Lexington scenes which were used to prompt the panel members' recollections and memories.

The panel's chairman was D. E. Brady, a former mayor of Lexington, an engineer, and a former superintendent of buildings and grounds at W&L; his eyes were admirably trained for seeing details of bridges, mills, and other structures.

The second panel member was General John S. Letcher, late of the United States Marine Corps. General Letcher is also a lawyer; after he graduated from VMI he went to W&L, took the bar examination, and passed. He also has a rich background in local history, the outdoors, and the stock market.

The third panelist was B. P. Knight, who was trained as an electrical engineer. He had a long and successful career with the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad and was in charge of that line's division in the western part of Virginia and in West Virginia. The panelists began their comments with the Jordan's Point-Beechenbrook Chapel area on the Lexington side of the river.

Reid's Dam backed water up all the way to Moses Dam, forming a basin in which the canal boats could turn around. General Letcher noted, however, that in the pictures one sees of the canalboat era, the water was a good deal higher at Jordan's Point than he ever remembered it. Two kinds of canal boats arrived at the Jordan's Point wharfs: freight and passenger. There were more freight than passenger boats. "The passenger boats had a saloon in the middle which was not for drinking but was a sort of sitting room, and they served meals there. I believe they had a small kitchen next to it. They had bunk rooms for the ladies on board in one end of the boat, with the gentlemen in the other."

After the canal era ended, General Letcher said, several boats were simply sunk in the river above Reid's Dam. "But when the dam was broken and the water level lowered so much, they were exposed to the air and just went all to pieces. It was about 1950 when the last of them disappeared."

Mr. Knight said that it was interesting to note that with all the work that went into building the canal, it lasted only from 1850 to 1880, thirty years. Mr. Brady said that after the canal was discontinued, some of the dams were converted to produce hydroelectric power. One of these, Reid's, furnished power to Lexington. Zimmerman's, near Buena Vista, was later called Light House Dam, because it furnished power to that city. Further down the river, Goose Neck Dam was also converted for hydro power. Mr. Brady said that if one looked into the lock at Reid's Dam, there is a hole in the bottom where the waterwheel was mounted. "I can remember when Reid's supplied power to Lexington, about 1910," General Letcher commented, "and the lights frequently got very dim. I think they got another, better power source a little after that."

The panel then turned to the railroad, with General Letcher observing that "the present site of the sewage treatment plant was where circuses were often held. The train would bring the circus and stop over on the East Lexington side and come across the bridge and have the circuses there."

"The East Lexington station was just a platform," Mr. Knight noted; "there wasn't really any building. The station master's house was a small brick house. It was torn down about twenty years ago. Originally the Valley Line was to come in from the north. They would liked to have laid it across the river above the present highway bridge and hit high ground, but that would have made the bridge entirely too high over the river, and the plan was abandoned. Instead, after the railroad met the river below Clifton House at Mill Creek, they brought the line down Woods Creek."

The trestle over the river just below the dam, General Letcher recalled, "was built on a curve, which people said could not be done. I had an uncle named John Letcher, and he was an engineer and sort of a stubborn fellow. He said there was no reason you could not build a trestle on the curve, so it

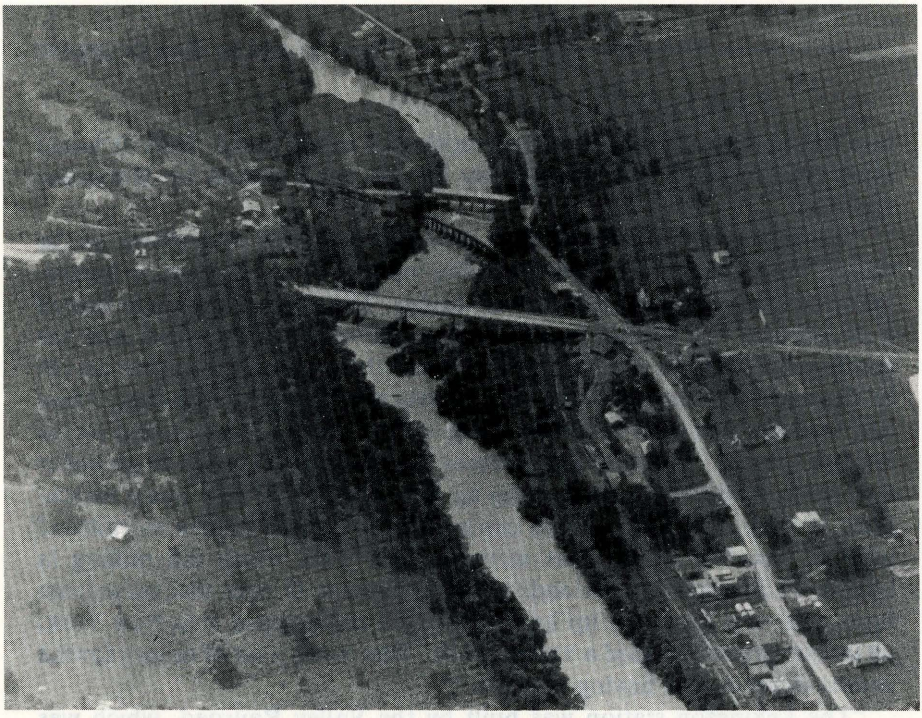
was put in there on the curve and finished, I think, about 1884. It lasted until 1969 when it was swept away by the flood caused by Hurricane Camille."

"Some people have asked why they see four rails in pictures of the trestle," Mr. Knight commented. "The inside pair are known as 'guard-rails,' and they are laid all across the bridge. That is a protection in case of a derailment; the wheels would drop in between the guardrail and the running rail and the guardrail would guide them around the curve on the bridge and keep the train from turning over and going into the river. There is a wooden guardrail on the extreme outside of the track, nailed to the head of the ties. That trestle ran across the old road that used to go under the trestle. There was a road going up Woods Creek. There was a switch-back in there, and a steep track came down to a point known by railroad men as 'Moses's Hole.' That served Moses Mill, which did milling in transit. That is, you put carloads of wheat in there, or corn that came from Iowa, and they ground it up here in Virginia and shipped it to New York, all on one gradebill called a 'through bill.' That saved a lot of money for the people shipping and buying the flour."

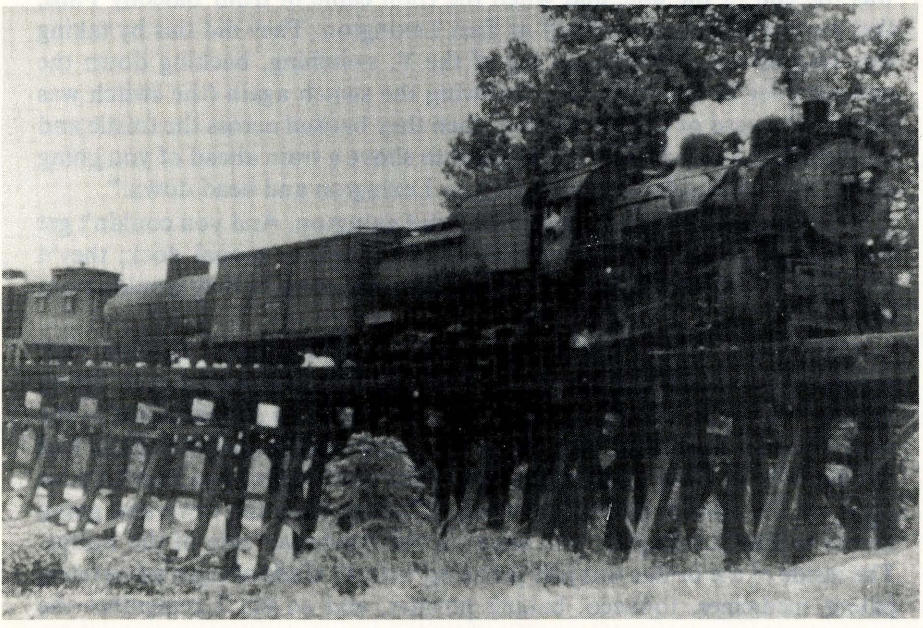
"The Lexington station was built by the Valley Railroad, which was later known as the B&O Railroad. About 1935 they pulled out and the C&O bought the station and the right of way from East Lexington into Lexington. The trains always backed into the Lexington station. Lexington was the end of the line, and when the train came in from Balcony Falls, they turned it around on the Y at East Lexington. They did this by taking the train up the downstream leg of the Y, switching, backing down the upstream leg to the main line, throwing the switch again (the switch was right in the yard of Clifton House), then they backed across the trestle and up the hill to Lexington. It is not good to shove a train ahead of you going down hill; it was safer to back uphill to Lexington and head down."

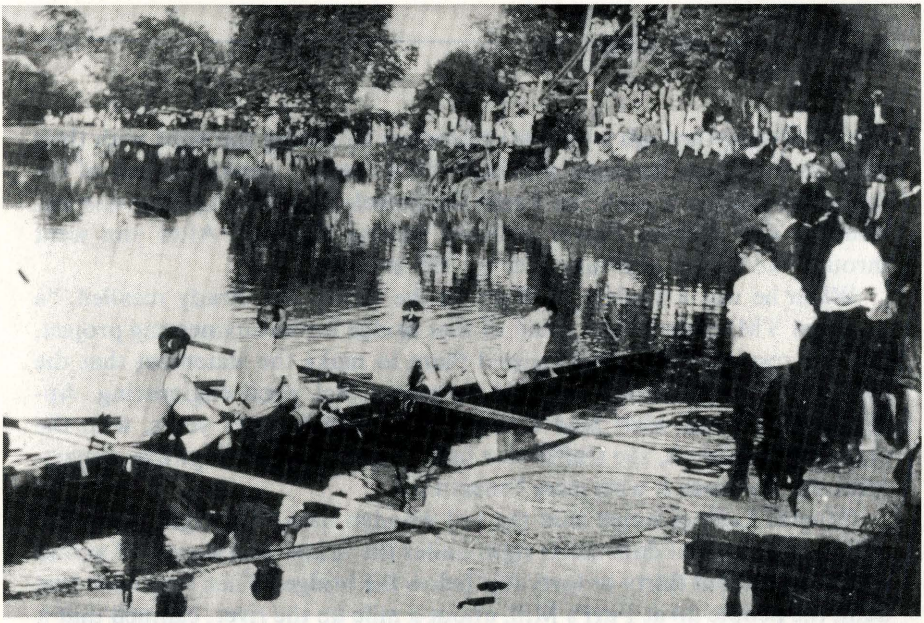
"There was a water tank down at East Lexington. And you couldn't get the engineers of a steam engine by a water tank or a coal dock; they'd always get a little bit more coal and a little more water so they wouldn't run out."

The covered bridge above the railroad trestle, General Letcher said, carried a patent medicine sign on its side: "Wacova, the perfect cure" for all things. "The span was clear across the river, with no supports out in the river or under the bridge with very long wooden spans, and the bridge had two lanes in it. Coming from the other side of the river, you kept to your right, on the upriver side of the bridge. Coming from the town and going across to East Lexington, you were on the downriver side of the bridge. The inside of the bridge was just plastered with all kinds of signs advertising patent medicines, tobacco, baking powder, and so on. I remember the

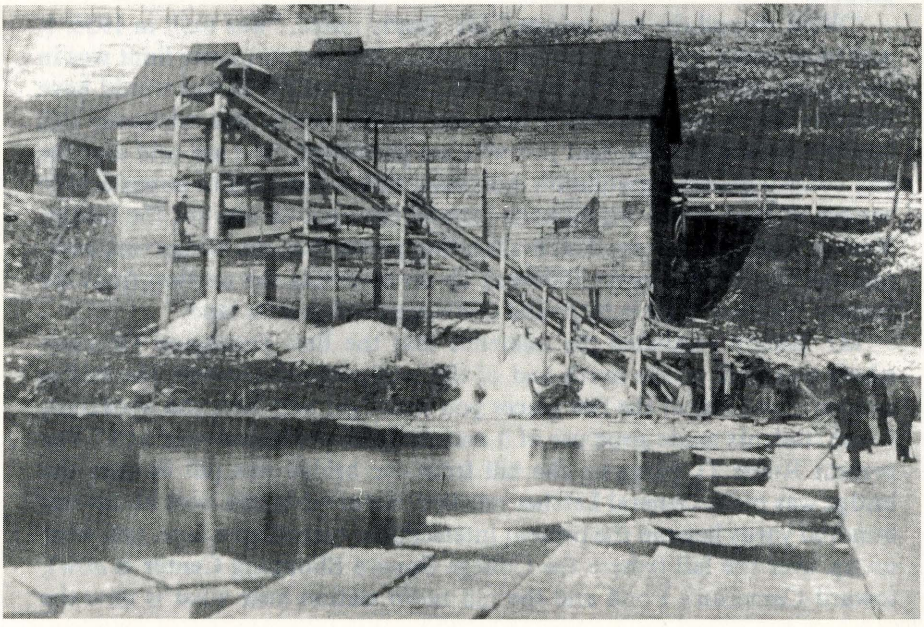


Above: *Aerial view of East Lexington, about the mid-1940s.* Below: *East Lexington trestle.*





Above: *A crew prepares for the annual Harry Lee-Albert Sydney club race.* Below: *Ice cutting and storage at East Lexington.*



people driving through would take pleasure in hitting the signs with their whip as they went through, making a loud crack. I remember one of the signs particularly: 'Lane's Tea Keeps the Bowels Regular.' Another one was 'Clabber Girl Baking Power is Good Baking Powder.' After you went through the bridge, you turned either left or right."

When he was a student at W&L in the 1930s, Mr. Brady recalled, "a group of VMI cadets did a study of that bridge for an engineering project, and the results of the study caused them to make the statement that the bridge stood up because of good carpentry, not good engineering. Apparently that was what held it together. But in its later years, with the highway crossing it, the traffic was fairly heavy, and the highway department did reinforce it with piers beneath it."

General Letcher noted that the old wooden dam "was right under the bridge. The present dam starts right under the bridge and slopes off across the river to about thirty or forty feet below the bridge. When they built that dam, the people up at Furr's Mill, about a mile up the river, claimed that it backed up water under their mill and affected their millwheel. Somebody had to get out on the new dam with a cold chisel and hammer and chip off about two or three inches on top all the way across. It made it much nicer though, because it was easier to walk out there when you were fishing. I think that would have been about 1913. I remember when they put the fish ladder in after the state passed a law requiring all dams to have fish ladders."

"What we call the new bridge," Mr. Brady noted, "was built in 1935. It was built under a federal funding program. But the corporate limit was in the middle of the river. This meant that one end of the bridge would have been in the county and the other end in the town, and whatever this funding procedure was, that just was not permitted. So I am told that the city council passed a resolution indicating that it intended to annex a little tongue of land which would have formed the right-of-way for the bridge. That was all that was needed; the funding proceeded, the bridge was built, and the city council never followed up on annexing the portion from the county. So the bridge is there and the county still has its land."

Mr. Knight reminded the audience that the East Lexington Grocery, which was built at the north end of the bridge about the time the bridge opened, "was one of the few places you could get beer over the weekends, so the students made good use of it and the store prospered very well." The present Route 11 going up the hill from the bridge was put in after the bridge was built, General Letcher recalled. Before that you went about one hundred yards beyond the present intersection, turned up a lane, and went on up over the hill (where the College Square Shopping Center is now), toward Cameron's Pond and the old radio station near what is now the

Interstate 64–Route 11 intersection. That area was "a great place for people to go hunting for rabbits."

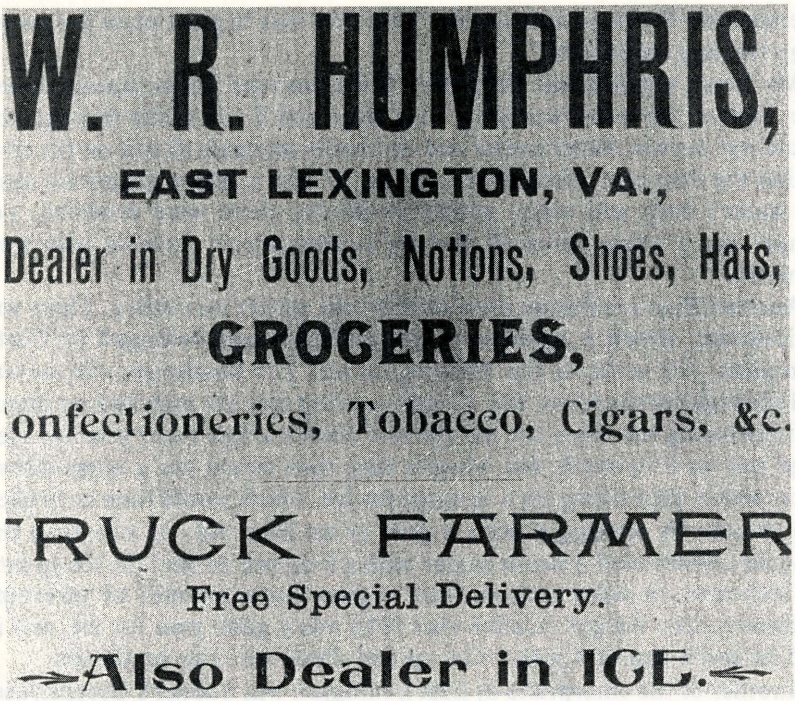
Mr. Brady recalled that Cameron's Pond was used for ice skating. It was safe, because the water was never very deep, and if you broke through you would not drown. Many cadets and university students skated on the river behind the dam near Humphreys's Store. "That's a rather dangerous area; the water's deep and many people swimming there were drowned. Lee Chapel has a whole series of plaques in memory of students who were drowned."

Another East Lexington river activity was winter ice cutting. There was an icehouse, which a member of the audience said belonged to Curtis Humphris, just south of the Washington and Lee boathouse; the ice was sold throughout the town. Mr. Knight recalled that the area had no plants manufacturing ice. Also, the ice was not thick enough every year for men to go out on it to cut it, but when it was, men would use a horse-drawn cutter with a man sitting on it to score the ice, which would then be broken into chunks by striking it with a pole or an iron rod. At one time the icehouse owners used a steam engine with a long belt to haul the ice up into the icehouse. In other seasons that engine ran a sawmill or threshing machinery. Mr. Knight recalled that 1918 was a good year for ice, and in 1925 he had a dog that pulled him up and down the river on the ice.

Another of the enterprises in East Lexington was Shaner's Greenhouse, a large operation, Mr. Brady remembered. At one time Shaner's operated a truck garden north of the greenhouses. Also, soon after he came to Washington and Lee, the watering system on the athletic fields needed parts, and he went to Shaner's, which had the same kind of equipment for irrigation, and bought some of their equipment for parts.

Particular note was made of the Tankersley store and bar, across the road from the north end of the covered bridge. It is now called Old Bridge and is owned by Col. and Mrs. Henry Bausum. General Letcher recalled that two brothers operated the store. "When Lexington went dry with local option in 1900, they put in a bar downstairs and sold liquors of different kinds. Many country stores like theirs had post offices in them, and the East Lexington post office was in Tankersley's for many years. Benton Tankersley was a Republican and his brother Frank a Democrat. So whenever the administration changed in Washington, one or the other brother got the postmaster's job. They kept it for about thirty years. In about 1930, Curtis Humphris was a strong supporter of A. Willis Robertson, so when Robertson was elected to Congress he broke the Tankersley's hold and Humphris had the post office in his store about a quarter of a mile further up the river."

Mr. Knight recalled stopping at the Humphris store occasionally to



Humphris store advertisement about 1890.

buy an Orange Crush. Right in front of the store the road divided and there was a signpost across the road with one sign pointing towards Alone and Rockbridge Baths, by way of Turkey Hill, and the other pointing towards Shaner's Greenhouse on old Route 39, towards Brownsburg and Staunton.

From some time after the Civil War until about 1940, General Letcher said, Washington and Lee University kept racing shells in a boathouse on the river. "The students had two clubs, the Albert Sydney—their color was blue—and the Harry Lee—the red club. They had their race at commencement every year. It was a great event; almost every house in Lexington had either a red or blue banner out in front. I remember I had two classmates in my grade at school: Albert Sydney Hinty and Harry Lee Hinty. Their father was chief carpenter at VMI and the boys had been born on race day. The fraternities were all lined up for one club or the other. People would line the cliffs behind VMI and look down on the race, which came down from the start about a quarter mile above Furr's Mill and

ended about a hundred yards above the dam. It was considered a mile course, but I think it was actually about seven-eighths of a mile." There were times in the nineteenth century, apparently, when the race was held below the dam on the backwater from Reid's Dam. The boats normally carried four oarsmen and a coxswain.

Mr. Brady remembered that "the races stopped during World War II. They were later revived for a short period, and the races were held on the James River at Glasgow. But it proved to be a rather expensive and not very popular sport, so the school dropped it." Mr. Knight recalled that one of the last strokes on the crew down on the James was Roger Mudd, who later became a well known television commentator.

The panel chairman ended the session by noting that the Chessie Trail, "a great asset to this community," was developed by many of the people who belonged to the Society and were present at the meeting."

The Humphris store building in 1984.

Meet Me In St. Louis: Lexingtonians Go to the Fair

Pamela H. Simpson

MANY of you are familiar with the 1890 Miley view of Main Street that was probably taken from the balcony of the Dold building on the northeast corner at Washington Street. The photo looks up Main Street past the courthouse. Next to the McCrum building is a second story sign that clearly reads "Miller's Photography Studio of Enterprise & Push." I always liked that sign. Enterprise and Push might be somewhat aggressive qualities for a photographer, but they are ideal words to summarize end-of-the-century commercial attitudes. Few words could so perfectly describe the attitudes underlying the creation and celebration of the St. Louis World's Fair in 1904.

St. Louis's Fair was not the first international exposition. In fact, it came after nearly half a century of such industrial exhibits. The first and most celebrated of the modern exhibitions took place in London in 1851. "The Great Exhibition" had been sponsored by Prince Albert as a fitting celebration of England's great strides in the Industrial Revolution. The building which housed it was called the Crystal Palace and it was designed by a man more familiar with green houses than architecture. The huge

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Pamela H. Simpson, at the time she gave her address, was president of the Society and associate dean of the college and professor of art history at Washington and Lee University. She spoke in Southern Seminary Ballroom on January 28, 1985.

PENNSYLVANIA AVE.
SOUTH CLAYTON ROAD AVE
COUNTY ENTRANCE
NURSERY
PHYSICAL CULTURE
ANTHROPOLOGY EXHIBIT
FORESTRY U.S.A.
PHILIPPINES
HORTICULTURE
AGRICULTURE
FORESTRY FISH AND GAME
INTRAMURAL
CONVENTION ENTRANCE
FORSYTH AVE
SKINKER ROAD
FRANCE
GREAT BRITAIN
RUSSIA
MOROCCO
JAPAN
BOILER & ENGINE
MACHINERY
TRANSPORTATION
ADMINISTRATION ENTRANCE
JERUSALEM
FINE ARTS
TERRACE OF STATES
VARIED INDUSTRIES
PIKE
CAIRO
ASIA
GERMANY
MINES AND METALLURGY
LIBERAL ARTS
MANUFACTURES
HOTEL (INSIDE INN)
STATE BUILDINGS
CONCOURSE DRIVE
GOVERNMENT BUILDING ENTRANCE
LINDELL BOULEVARD ENTRANCE
LINDELL BOUL.
DE GIVERVILLE AVE
PIKE ENTRANCE
FOREST PARK

The fairs were meant to celebrate industrial progress, but they also celebrated history. The Philadelphia Centennial had raised the nation's consciousness about its own past. The Chicago Fair was the four hundredth anniversary of Columbus's discovery of the New World. St. Louis, quite understandably, wanted to celebrate the centennial of the Louisiana Purchase.

The planning for the fair began in 1899. By 1900 a bill to secure federal help was introduced and passed in Congress. Five million dollars came from the city of St. Louis, matched by another five million raised by popular subscription and topped by a final five million from the federal government. The Louisiana Purchase Company was incorporated in 1901.

They chose a site on the edge of St. Louis called Forest Park. It was ideally sited at the end of five streetcar lines and was close to the railroad. It also offered 668 undeveloped acres. Surrounding tracts were leased—including the campus and buildings of Washington University—to total over 1,270 acres. As the fair's promoters proudly pointed out—this was the largest area to be covered by any exposition. In fact, the *combined* acreage of the Philadelphia Centennial, the Chicago Columbian Exposition, the Omaha Trans-Mississippi Exposition, and the Buffalo Pan American Exposition had only been forty-seven more acres. The Exposition Company promised the biggest, most extensive and most expensive fair in the world.

The great work of transforming Forest Park from its rural and bucolic nature to the urban center of the exhibition began in 1901. Forest Park wasn't called "Forest" for nothing. Acres of trees had to be cleared. Some were transplanted, but most were cut and milled for use in building the exhibit halls. Thousands of stumps had to be blown away before the graders could begin their work. The meandering River des Peres had a new channel dug for it and became part of the fair's main sewage system. The ground was soon covered with steam shovels, traveling cranes, traction engineers, teams of horses and mules, and nearly ten thousand construction workers, many of whom lived in tents on the site. The site quickly became a muddy lake in the fall of 1901 and then a frozen mud flat in the winter. But the work went on.

Time was growing short, however, if the fair was to open in 1903, and many state and foreign exhibitors—as well as the U.S. government—were behind in their plans. It eventually became clear that a delay was necessary. In June 1902, Congress approved a new opening date of May 1904. There was precedent for this delay. The Chicago Columbian Exhibition had run into the same trouble—Columbus had landed in 1492, but the four hundredth anniversary took place in 1893. Thus the 1803 Louisiana Purchase was also celebrated a year late in 1904.

structure of iron and glass was produced by the very industrial methods it was meant to celebrate.

The Great Exhibition was the first of a series of exhibitions that took place in the second half of the nineteenth century. Many were international; a few, such as our own great Centennial Exhibit in Philadelphia in 1876, were primarily national. Their purpose was to celebrate the past and the present—to brag about how far civilization had come and about what had been accomplished.

Most of the exhibits were housed in single, huge buildings like the Crystal Palace. And like the Crystal Palace, the temporary buildings were often the opportunity for audacious experimentation. the culmination of this trend took place in Paris in 1889 with the Gallery of Machines. The parabolic, triple-hinged arches of iron soared over head and the Gallery easily accommodated its one hundred thousand daily visitors. An even greater symbol of this industrial progress was the Eiffel Tower for the 1889 Exhibit. The great iron tower, constructed in only seventeen months, brought to climax and conclusion the technological celebrations of the period. The tower epitomized the new age of the machine and the triumph of science.

This tendency to use industrial materials with spectacular engineering feats as a means of creating exhibition spaces abruptly came to a halt in 1893 with the Columbian Exhibition in Chicago. Instead of a huge open metal and glass structure, the architectural planners of the Chicago Fair decided on a formal city with a series of buildings arranged in harmony. All were of uniform materials, style, and scale and were grouped around a series of canals and walkways. The White City, as it came to be called, had a powerful impact on the fairs that followed. The 1897 Nashville Fair, the 1898 Omaha Exhibit, the 1902 Buffalo Pan American Exposition, and finally, the 1904 St. Louis Louisiana Purchase Exposition—all owed their debt to the vision created at Chicago of a grand dream-city that evoked the splendors of ancient Rome.

Like the other fairs that followed Chicago up until the end of World War I, the St. Louis fair utilized planned urban spaces, all organized around waterways and all done in the "Free Renaissance style" with buildings of white staff. The fibrous plaster that was molded to form the sculpture, ornaments, and skin of the buildings was a temporary material, but it hardened to look like marble, one reason Chicago was called the White City.

Opposite Page: *The exposition grounds, from* International Exposition, St. Louis 1904, Official Catalogue of the Exhibition of the German Empire *(Berlin, 1904).*

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The work went on and most of the main buildings were done well before the deadline. The buildings were constructed of yellow pine with some iron reinforcement and were sheathed in staff. Staff, the fibrous plaster that exhibits were made of, was cast into decorative forms, hoisted into place, and nailed down. It was the material used for all of the sculpture and was surprisingly hardy. Even given St. Louis's temperature ranges, it took only two workmen to maintain and repair the plaster once the exhibit opened, and no major problems developed.

There were a few problems during construction such as a prolonged winter of exceptionally low temperatures and a "cold and backward spring." A wind storm knocked down parts of the Palace of Varied Industries during construction, and as late as April 20, 1904, there was a violent twelve-hour snowstorm. But the April 30 dedication day brought ideal spring weather with plenty of sunlight to reflect the white splendors of the fair. Some eighty-seven thousand people turned out on the first day to hear the speeches and watch the ceremonies. A chorus of five hundred sang the "Hymn of the West" written especially for the exposition.

Meanwhile, back in Lexington, local people had also been working to prepare for the fair. The *Lexington Gazette* reported on March 9, 1904, that the Virginia Commission to the St. Louis Fair had offered a prize for the best collection of corn grown in the state. The first prize was won by Rockbridge County farmer J. H. Leech who had submitted some forty varieties. His collection was to be sent to St. Louis for display in the Virginia section of the Agriculture Hall.

Anticipation of the fair's opening was reflected in other stories in the *Gazette* in March. They noted that Merriweather Lewis—of Lewis and Clark Expedition fame—was a Washington College alumnus, and pointed out proudly that this "former resident of Lexington was partly responsible for bringing about the opening of the great empire of the West" that was being celebrated in St. Louis.

Besides sending corn and claiming famous ancestors, Lexingtonians were also getting ready to *go* to the fair. In April a drawing was held at the home of Mr. and Mrs. E. L. Conner. Mrs. Conner's uncle wanted to give a free round-trip ticket and expenses to go to the fair to *one* of his nine grandnieces, so a drawing was held. Paper slips were placed in a hat and it was passed by J. J. Moore of Fancy Hill. Rachael Cummings of Marmion was the winner. Two of the unsuccessful participants in the drawing made it to St. Louis later that year.

On April 11, eleven days before the fair was to open, Lieutenant Godfrey L. Carden of the U.S. Navy delivered an illustrated lecture at Lee Chapel on the St. Louis fair. He used stereoptican views to describe the

architecture, the power plant, and the machinery and operation of the fair. The *Gazette* called the lecture fascinating and commented that a "large crowd was present."

The views Lieutenant Carden showed probably included the "Main Picture" with its huge exhibit palaces that were disposed along radiating lines from "Art Hill." The chief building was Festival Hall, whose dome rose 250 feet above the Grand Court. Flanking it, like outstretched arms, was the Terrace of States with statues of allegorical nudes symbolizing each of the states in the Louisiana Purchase. The arms were terminated by round pavilions that housed restaurants. Behind Festival Hall was the art building, the only permanent building in the main group. Today it houses the St. Louis Art Museum.

In front of Festival Hall were the Cascades rising sixty feet above the court. They were a half-mile long and ninety thousand gallons of water per minute were supplied from centrifugal pumps housed in the Palace of Machinery. The Cascades and fountains were decorated with allegorical sculpture illustrating "The Triumph of Liberty," "Justice," "Truth," and "Physical Strength." The East and West Cascades symbolized the Atlantic and Pacific oceans.

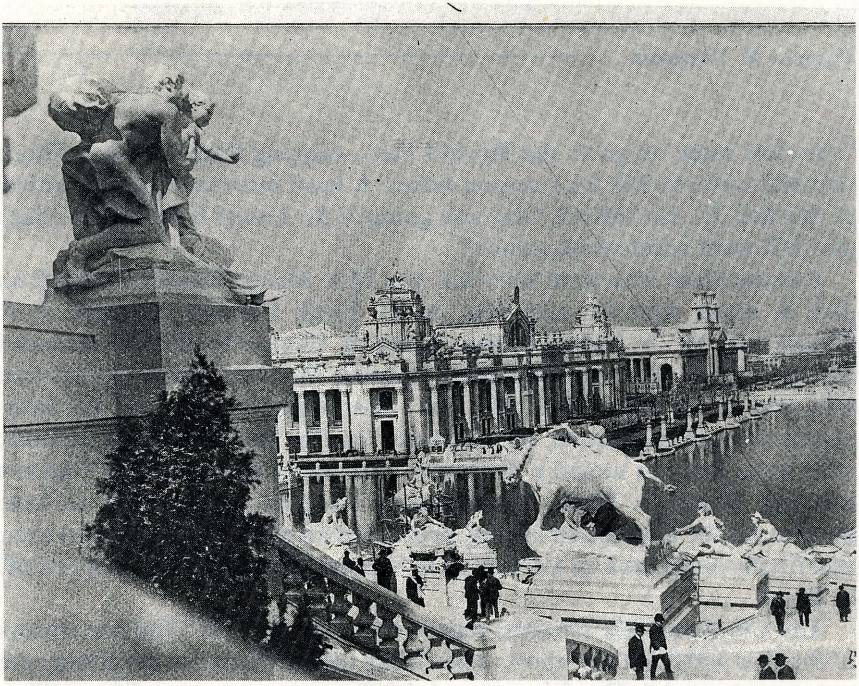
Flanking the lagoons and basin were the main exhibit buildings—Mines and Metalurgy, Liberal Arts, Education, Manufacturing, Varied Industries, Electricity, Transportation, and Machinery (where the pumps that ran the Cascades were proudly displayed).

The general style of these buildings was a free Classicism. They were all a uniform height—sixty feet to the eaves—the color was the same—white staff—and the basic vocabulary of column, arch, and dome prevailed. All were adorned by sculpture and grouped around the decorative waterways.

Chicago's Columbian Exposition had been one of the first to use electric lighting to illuminate the buildings at night. In keeping with their bigger and better attitude, St. Louis offered nearly 120,000 electric lights. Chains of incandescent lamps outlined entire buildings and fountains. The sight was breathtaking. We can only imagine how much more breathtaking they must have seemed to people who had been using electric lights for less than a decade.

On May 4 the *Lexington Gazette* reported that "President Roosevelt pressed the gold key which completed the electrical circuit and released the gigantic power of the Fair, putting in motion the forty thousand horsepower machinery and the fairy-like Cascades of the Exposition's gardens."

Lexingtonians went to see the sites first hand. Between March and November seventy-six local people were reported by the *Gazette* as having gone. That is, seventy-six got their names in the paper; it seems likely that even more actually went. The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad advertised



Looking down the Cascades.

Main entrance to the art palaces.

"very low rates" to go to the World's Fair—ranging from $28 for a fifteen day excursion to $38 for a season ticket. A local insurance agent, Samuel B. Walker, Jr., ran this ad: "Are you going to St. Louis? If so, then perhaps you will want accident insurance!"

Among those who went were Mr. and Mrs. Mason Deaver, who left on July 6, along with Dr. and Mrs. A. D. Estill, Captain and Mrs. J. P. Moore, and Mr. A. Nelson Myers. Henry St. George Tucker also attended the fair in July. He was there partly because the Democratic Convention was held at the Exposition that year. Miss Annie Markli and her sister Jennie went in September, accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. C. B. Conner, who were going to attend a National Association of Rural Mail Carriers meeting. Henry O. Dold, that inveterate traveler, was reported to have gone to see the Exposition in July, proceeded on an extended western tour, and finally came back to Lexington in September, having also stopped off in Brazil.

The *Charlottesville Progress* reported in June that the "Virginia visitors to the Fair will find that reports concerning the excellence of the display are not exaggerated." The fair covered 1,270 acres, cost over fifty million dollars, had six acres of roses and a floral clock with a hundred-foot dial, a statue of King Cotton fifty feet high, required forty thousand horsepower to run it, had thirty-seven acres of livestock, and on Watermelon Day five hundred thousand melons were served free!

The Virginia exhibits were reported by the *Gazette* to be in the "front ranks." The Virginia Building was an exact replica of Monticello, "the stately home near Charlottesville of Thomas Jefferson." The Virginia commissioners took this splendid opportunity to advertise the state's resources—especially its agriculture. The agricultural building was also one of the main buildings. It was so large that it was given its own section northwest of the Main Picture. The Palace covered twenty-two acres and was only one of a group of buildings devoted to horticulture, livestock, forestry, fish, and game, all on Agriculture Hill.

The exhibits in the main building covered all the products of the soil and the tools used to produce them. A special feature in the central bay was devoted to corn, including Mr. Leech's prize-winning display. There were other spectacular displays as well, such as the Missouri Corn Pavillion. The idea of architectural construction from agricultural products was also carried out by Indiana and Virginia. The latter featured a cornucopia of apples and Pocahontas dressed in tobacco. The Palace offered numerous examples of the wedding of art and agriculture. California offered a replica of its State House constructed of almonds, as well as a grizzly bear and an elephant made from walnuts and other nuts. This search for novel sculpture materials was also found in the dairy exhibits with its bust of President

Roosevelt in the New York display, modeled from butter; or even more spectacular, a life-size group of a Frenchman, Indian, and priest in a canoe discovering St. Anthony Falls, which was also carved from butter and came from Indiana.

The obvious reasons for these bizarre displays was to create interesting exhibits of somewhat mundane products. In doing so the anonymous sculptors were acting out in a folk-art fashion the same will to merge art and industry that people saw in the Main Picture with the cascade pumps proudly displayed in the Palace of Machinery. Commercial manufacturers followed suit in wedding art and industry and offered temples to flour, fountain pens, typewriters, and terracotta. These things—the mass production of flour, the fountain pen, and the typewriter—were all products of the industrial revolution that had transformed people's lives in the late nineteenth century. Here they were celebrated, elevated on a pedestal, and praised for their achievements.

Another important feature of the fair was the foreign exhibition. These exhibits served a great educational purpose for the fair's visitors, acquainting them with foreign cultures they knew little about. Brazil put up one of the largest displays—full of agricultural and commercial products just like those in the United States's exhibits. (That may have inspired Henry Dold to continue his journey there.) The most popular, however, were the exotic ones, especially those from the Orient and the Near East. There were also African natives and South American Indians presented as anthropological interests. (The *Gazette* carried a front page story on Pigmies, called "Midgets at the Fair.") One exhibition even recreated the Tyrolean Alps, and the biggest display was devoted to the Philippines. Fair visitors could learn first-hand about America's newest possession.

On the lighter side, there was a concessionaires' section known as the pike. Here the entertainment was less shrouded in educational purpose and more devoted to fun. Battle Abbey had displays of famous battles and regular reenactments of the Boer War. There was also a ferris-wheel left over from Chicago and moved to St. Louis; the *Gazette* carried a picture of it on the front page in August.

Every day at the fair celebrated something. Each state had its day, as did each country. Alice Roosevelt visited the fair and they dedicated a day to her. Another day went to the entire corps of West Point cadets who camped at the fair for a month and gave displays of their military training. Virginia Day was September 23. Special railroad fares were offered for that week. The governor, his staff, and the State Militia were present, as were local residents John Sheridan, Postmaster McClung Patton, and Circuit Court Clerk A. T. Shields. Colonel John D. Letcher was there not only for Virginia Day, but spent a month in St. Louis. C. K. Varner was also

there—he had won a trip selling magazine subscriptions. The last reported local people to go to the fair were the William S. Humphries family of Vesuvius. They left for St. Louis on November 23.

The fair had opened on April 30, 1904 and closed December 1, 1904. It had cost over $50 million and it had been attended by some six million people. Forty-three states, five territories, and all the territorial possessions had participated. Sixty-two foreign countries had sent exhibits and, of course, at least seventy-six Rockbridge County people had seen it.

In the words of the fair's president, "They came to marvel and they left to praise." It was a spectacular fair, and it was so successful because it captured the mood of its generation. It projected an image of American culture and civilization that Americans approved. Craftsmanship, wealth, ornamental splendor, industrial progress, scientific scrutiny—it all was there. It satisfied the Americans' intense feelings of nationalism, of new found pride in their past, and of belief in their future. It represented the elite but it gave it all freely to the masses. It represented an age of Enterprise and Push.

Who's Who in the Streets of Lexington

Winifred Hadsel

MOST of the 120 street names of Lexington, Virginia, refer to the local history of this courthouse town in the Valley of Virginia. No fewer than seventy-five of the streets are named for Lexingtonians—men and a few women who have lived in the town and played some part, great or small, in the life of the community, and most of whom are now buried in the city's Stonewall Jackson Memorial Cemetery. Another dozen street names refer to historical sites well known in Lexington, making a total of about eighty-five street names that make local historical references, thus providing the possibility of turning a walk or drive along the streets of Lexington into at least a partial review of the town's history.

Since so many of Lexington's street names refer to people rather than places, I am concerned here only with those streets that are named for people. The exhibition being opened after this meeting is also restricted to the streets named for people and displays those portraits, ranging all the way from family snapshots to oil paintings by well-known artists, that I have located in the course of my research on Lexington streets.

Winifred Hadsel worked for many years as a historical researcher. She has also held numerous posts in the Society and other local organizations with a history-preservation focus. In the spring of 1985 the Society published her book *The Streets of Lexington, Virginia: A Guide to the History and Origins of Their Names.* Her talk was presented in conjunction with the opening of an exhibit in DuPont Gallery at Washington and Lee University of pictures of persons for whom Lexington streets had been named. The meeting was held in DuPont Auditorium, April 29, 1985.

The collage of faces of persons whose portraits were on view at the "Who's Who in the Streets of Lexington" display in DuPont Hall.

The poster announcing the exhibition shows the faces of persons whose portraits are on view and makes the point that many of the town's streets are connected with identifiable personalities. Those familiar with the work of Lexington's well-known late nineteenth century photographer, Michael Miley, will recognize the poster's format as a version of the collage Miley made of his sitters' portraits and kept in his studio. As in Miley's c.1885 collage, the 1985 poster includes a few faces that are easily recognized as famous and familiar. Many of the faces, however, are unfamiliar even to those who are best informed on local history. The purpose of the exhibition, therefore, is to match up faces with streets and to make it clear just who is the Lewis of "Lewis Street," and which of the dozens of Campbells is referred to in "Campbell Lane." Viewers will also be in for some surprises. "McCormick Street," they will find, is not named for the famous inventor of the reaper, who was born a few miles from Lexington, but for a woman who was not related to him. Similarly, "Marshall Street" will be seen to refer, not to General George C. Marshall, who graduated from the Virginia Military Institute in Lexington, but for a daughter of the developer of one of the town's first subdivisions.

The exhibition, in the very nature of things, cannot make a number of general points about who's who in the streets of Lexington. The first such point that needs to be made is that chronologically there are two distinct groups of people represented in Lexington's streets. The first group is that little band of five illustrious Virginians who had streets named for them in the entirely new town of Lexington. Their names appear on the plat made by James McDowell, who was chosen as county surveyor by the first court of Rockbridge County on April 7, 1778. During the weeks following his appointment, McDowell and the justices appointed by the court studied the question of precisely where the new courthouse town should be located. During these investigations McDowell must have given thought to the question of what he should call the streets in the new town he was about to lay out. It seems clear that he took his cue from the name of "Lexington" that the state legislative body had selected for the county seat of Rockbridge County.

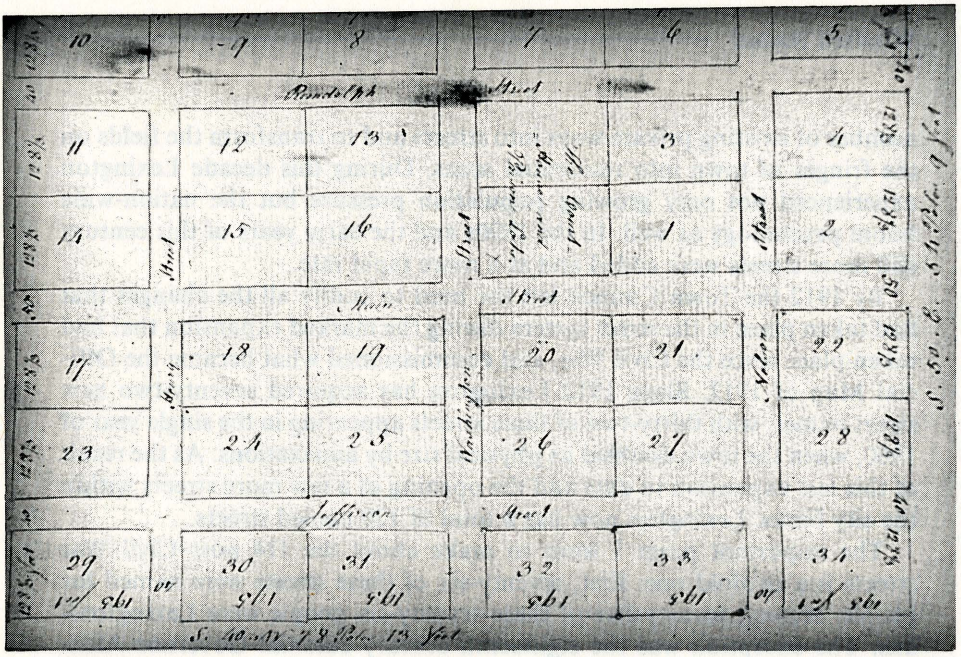
At the time there was only one Lexington in America, and the Battle of Lexington on April 19, 1775, symbolized the revolutionary cause more clearly than any other place name the Virginia legislators could have chosen. With such a town name to inspire him, McDowell decided to name his new streets for those Virginians who were outstanding figures in the Revolution: George Washington, head of the armed forces; Patrick Henry, governor of the newly created state of Virginia; Thomas Nelson, one of those who had struggled to win acceptance of the Declaration of Independence; Thomas Jefferson, principal author of that declaration; and

Peyton Randolph, who had recently died but whose presiding role in the many assemblies that had set Virginia on the revolutionary course was still fresh in McDowell's mind. To be sure, McDowell included a "Main Street" since it was the widespread practice in new Virginia towns of his period to do so. Moreover, in Lexington the new "Main Street" obscures the ancient character of the street, for it is a stretch of the Great Road which had been the thoroughfare through the Valley of Virginia since the Indians used it as a trail on their hunting expeditions. But for the rest of the streets he chose the names of outstanding Virginia patriots, with the result that Lexington began its existence as a town which had its own name coordinated with the names of its streets.

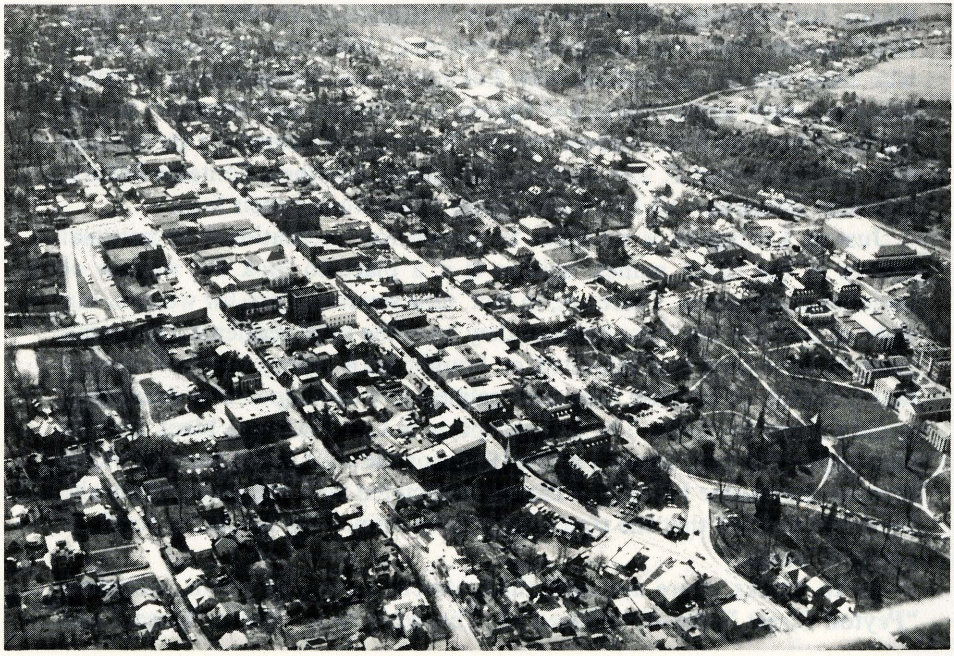
This type of coordination was not attempted in the other two Virginia courthouse towns that were laid out under the same act that provided for the creation of Rockbridge County. In Lewisburg (Greenbriar County) and Harrisonburg (Rockingham County) the surveyors named some streets for patriotic leaders and local personalities, but for the most part they adopted such miscellaneous names as "Water Street," "Market Street," and "Federal Street." It was, therefore, Lexington alone that began its existence with street names that were not only related to each other but were highly appropriate to the name of the town itself. It was only in Lexington, moreover, that *all* the streets—except for the inevitable "Main Street"—were named for people, and in retrospect it appears that McDowell's precedent undoubtedly helped encourage the tradition of naming an unusually large proportion of the town's streets for people.

Once McDowell completed his plat for Lexington by the end of 1779, the town made only one small and insignificant official change in its street plan until after the Civil War. This does not mean that the town did not expand during this eighty-year period, for by 1860 the town had a population of 1,550 white people and a sizable black population, free and slave. It means, rather, that Lexingtonians built houses and shops during this era not only on the original streets but on private alleys and on extensions of the original streets.

After the Civil War the first significant changes in Lexington's street plan were made, but even then the changes came slowly. It was in 1868 that the first new street was formally recognized and named by the town council. This was "White Street," named for William S. White, the Presbyterian minister who had lived for nearly twenty years on the private alley that was finally given street status. In 1872 the second new street was opened in honor of Stonewall Jackson but ultimately became the present-day "Lee Avenue." It was only after 1874, when the state legislature extended Lexington's corporate limits, that the town began to expand its official street plan in earnest. During the 1880s the first dramatic moves were made to turn a



Above: *Plat from Will Book 1 showing the original layout of 1778.* Below: *This late-1980s photo shows the way Lexington has grown from the original street layout. (Courtesy Michael D. Collingwood.)*



number of existing private ways into streets and to transform the fields on the fringes of town into residential areas. During this decade Lexington experienced not only growing population pressure but the nation-wide boom psychology as well. In the 1890s and the early years of this century still more streets were added and at a more rapid rate.

By 1912 the Town Council felt the need to codify all the changes that had taken place in the street system during the marked expansion that had taken place since the Civil War, and commissioned what became the Official Map of 1912. Since 1912 Lexington has acquired seventy-two new street names, with thirty-two of these streets appearing in the single year of 1960, when the town doubled its physical size by annexations. As the result of this last expansion to date and the opening of a few more streets within the city limits, Lexington now has a total of 120 named streets.

The important point I want to make about the 114 post-Civil War streets is a twofold one: first, seventy-six of these streets were named for people; second, seventy-five of these seventy-six people were Lexingtonians. The exception was the eighteenth century colonial Governor Alexander Spotswood, and he may not be an exception after all, since he was one of the first English explorers to cross the Blue Ridge and report favorably on an area that subsequently included part of Rockbridge County.

The practice of naming only Lexingtonians in streets referring to people means, for one thing, that there are no foreigners in the list of Lexington street names. Not even Lafayette is included. Moreover, national leaders who have had no connection with Lexington are conspicuously missing. Not even such noncontroversial figures as Franklin and Madison are on the list. Those national leaders who do have streets named for them—and they include Robert E. Lee, Stonewall Jackson, Matthew Fontaine Maury, and Sam Houston—all had a Lexington phase during their lives.

Just as Lexington is no place to search for international or national figures in the street names, neither is it a place to look for women of national prominence. There are, in fact, nine streets named for women, but eight of the nine are there because they were the local residents living on a piece of land they had inherited or bought with money received from a male relative, or because they were related to a developer who decided to name a street for them. The one exception is Lou Peyton, a black woman who kept a day-care nursery in the 1920s for the children of black working women. Her name became so closely associated with the place where she lived and worked that the street came to be named for her as the result of common usage.

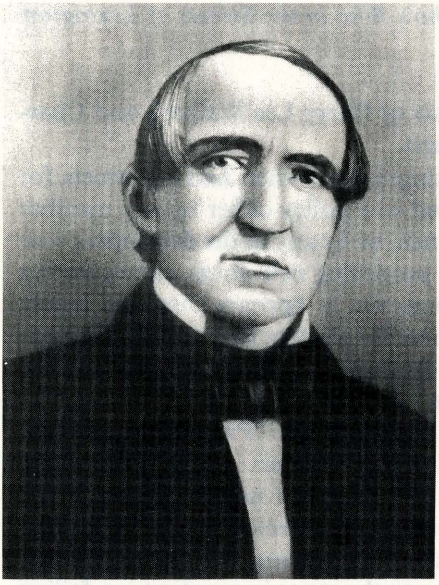
As to blacks, there are only three streets named for them, including "Peyton Street," already referred to. The other two, "Walker Street" and

"Parry Lane," were named on the basis of Harry Lee Walker's and Charlotte Parry's ownership of adjoining land.

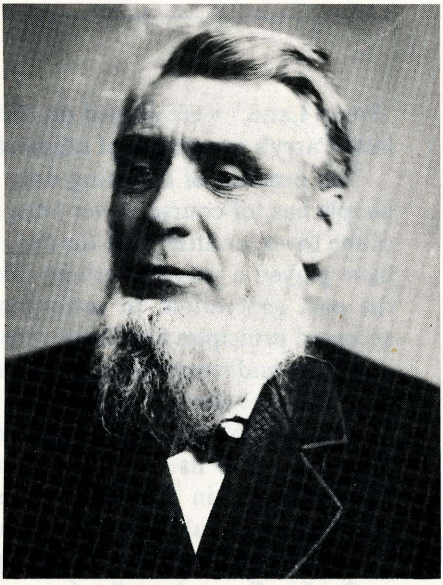
The practice of choosing only Lexingtonians when naming streets for people has, of course, never been stated as a policy either by any member of the town, or after 1966 the city, council, or by any of the developers who have played a very important role in proposing new street names during the past generation. In retrospect, however, it appears that two tacitly accepted principles have been responsible for the fact that only Lexingtonians have had streets named for them during all the street-naming that has gone on since the end of the Civil War.

The first of these principles may be called the "Prominent Resident Principle," and its application accounts for forty-six of the seventy-five Lexingtonians in the town's present list of street names. Under it the common sense rule was that a street named for a person should be located in an area connected with that person. The person designated should, preferably, live or have lived on or close to the street in question, or, failing that, should own or have owned the land the street ran through. This was an eminently sensible idea at a time when the usual way of identifying a street was by relating it to an old or eminent resident or landowner. Street markers, as an alternative means of identifying streets, began to be considered by the town council in about 1905, but it was not until the United States Post Office required street identification systems in those towns wishing to qualify for free home delivery service that Lexington took action. Home mail delivery service began in the town in 1908, and during the next several years the council completed its program of erecting "neat and distinct" street signs. Long after such a street identification system had been established, however, the strong tradition of naming streets for well-known residents or the owners of land being opened for development has persisted.

The second principle, also never formally expressed and only tacitly accepted, may be called the "Commemorative Principle," and it accounts for twenty-seven of the seventy-five Lexingtonians on the town's current list of streets named for people. According to this principle, street names are a proper way to honor Lexingtonians who have become significant historic figures or who have gained state or national recognition. The first commemorative street was named for Stonewall Jackson in 1872, and following the resolution of a number of technical difficulties, a suitable street was named for Lee in 1912. Other commemorative streets have been named for the two governors of Virginia who were Lexingtonians, James McDowell, 1843–1845, and John Letcher, 1860–1865; the five congressmen who have come from Lexington, several judges and majors, a few



William S. White
(Presbyterian clergymen)

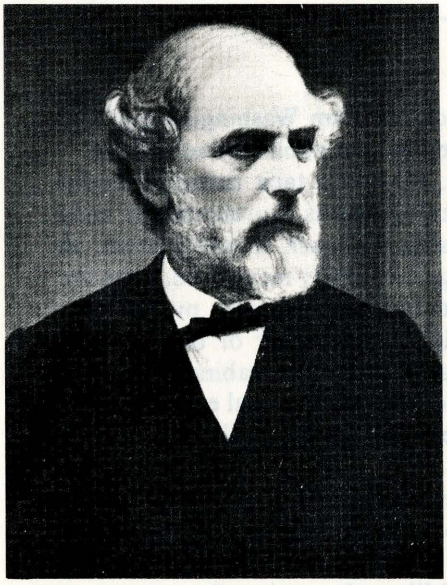


James M. Senseney
(blacksmith)

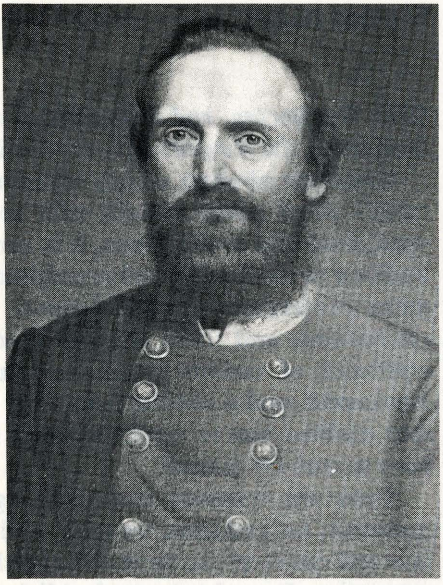
Lexington streets were named for these citizens on the "Prominent Resident Principle."

Mrs. Gladys Reynolds McCormick
(owner of land on which street laid out)

Mrs. Harriet S. Sellers
(owner of prominent house)



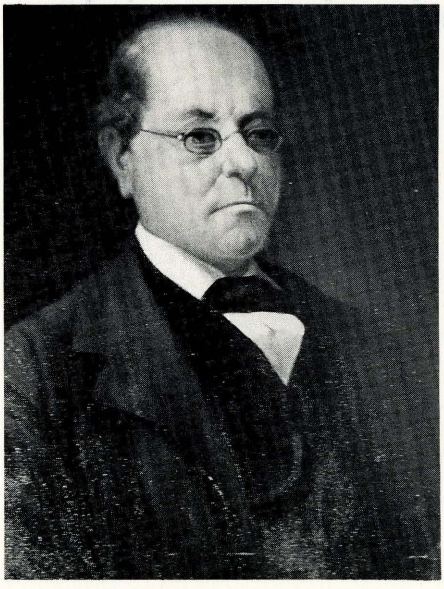
Robert E. Lee
(lived on Washington College campus)



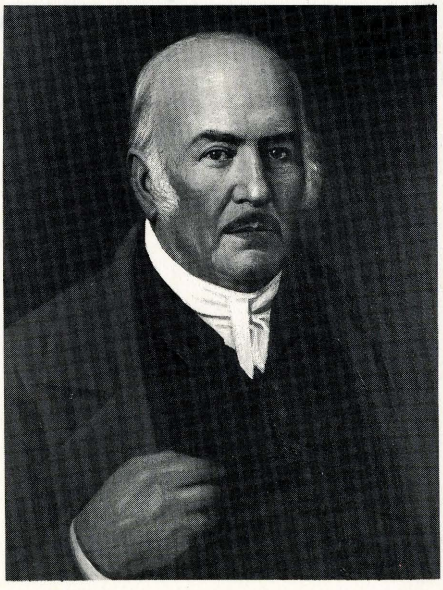
Stonewall Jackson
(lived on East Washington St.)

Streets where named for these citizens on the "Commemorative Principle."

John Letcher
(lived on North Main St.)



John Jordan
(lived at "Stono")



Civil War heroes, and a number of educators from Washington and Lee University, the Virginia Military Institute, and the public school system.

Given the absence of any agreement, even of a tacit nature, that the town's street names should refer to Lexingtonians representing a wide vocational and social range, it is surprising that such diversity exists. In addition to the famous and prestigious figures already mentioned, there are many professional people, farmers, and businessmen with purely local reputations, and there are also a considerable number of builders and craftsmen of various kinds, including a bricklayer, a cabinet maker, a blacksmith, and a cobbler from Italy who invested in a real estate venture that enabled him to open an access street that he promptly managed to have named for himself.

There are, however, some striking omissions. There is no painter, no musician, no architect, no poet, and no novelist, and yet Lexington has had and continues to have distinguished residents in each of these artistic categories. Even Lexington's Michael Miley, the nationally recognized photographer of Lee and inventor of an historically significant type of color photography, has no street named for him.

Yet in spite of omissions and some controversial choices, the informal system whereby the town has named no fewer than seventy-five streets for identifiable Lexingtonians provides the town with a source of interest in its history it would not otherwise have. That it is worth asking who's who in the streets of Lexington shows that McDowell made the right decision in 1778, when he set the precedent for naming Lexington's streets for people rather than for numbers, letters of the alphabet, trees, or a random set of subjects.

Ed write another paper on Smith — as a scholar, teach, educator ?? Called him "Schoolmaster" — Great alliterative paper — try to find

The American Thomas Arnold: Francis H. Smith of the Virginia Military Institute

Edwin L. Dooley, Jr.

FRANCIS Henney Smith was a man with a calling in life. He considered it his mission to spread scientific education and the West Point method of discipline and instruction throughout his native state of Virginia and the South. For almost exactly fifty years he pursued these goals as superintendent of the Virginia Military Institute, the school which he helped to found and on which he left a permanent imprint of his ideas and values.

His remarkable career at VMI stretched from the canal boat days of 1839 to the dawn of the modern industrial age in 1889. The record of such a long and productive life presents many portraits of the man, but none is more revealing than the picture which emerges from the historical evidence of the years immediately preceding the Civil War. During those anxious years Smith achieved many of the personal goals which he set for himself at the founding of VMI, he developed a mature philosophy of education, and

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Edwin L. Dooley, Jr., was special assistant to the superintendent of the Virginia Military Institute for policy and planning at the time he delivered this address. He had been engaged for some time in deciphering, transcribing, and indexing General Smith's outgoing correspondence. The Society heard his paper at Moody Hall, VMI, July 22, 1985.

he labored to free Virginia from Northern influences.

Smith was born on October 18, 1812, in Norfolk, Virginia, during the military disasters and naval blockade of the War of 1812. His father, an Englishman who emigrated to America in the 1770s, was a merchant in this bustling commercial town. Young Smith received his early education at home. Thereafter he chose not to join his two brothers in carrying on the family business, but accepted, instead, an appointment to the U.S. Military Academy in 1829.

West Point was then experiencing a transformation under the direction of Superintendent Sylvanus Thayer, a scientific soldier and erudite scholar. The Academy had a profound influence upon Smith, providing him with a model of a disciplined, manly, and scientific academic community which remained fresh in his memory all of his lifetime. In later life he sought to surround himself with graduates of that institution and he often referred to VMI with pride as "the West Point of the South." Reasons for this life-long devotion may be traced to a sense of excitement and purpose which he and his fellow cadets gained from the Academy's academic program of applied science, mathematics, and engineering. These highly practical courses were the hallmark of West Point in the first third of the nineteenth century, and they mirrored the fresh spirit and new economic realities of the "Age of Jackson." West Point graduates were imbued with a strong belief in progress and a sense of the special roles they would play as useful citizens in a democracy.

Smith flourished in the rigorously utilitarian environment of West Point. He graduated fifth among forty-three in the Class of 1833 and received a commission as a second lieutenant of artillery. After a year of garrison duty in the army, he gladly returned to the Academy in 1834 as an assistant professor of geography, history, and ethics. Also that year he married Sarah Henderson, daughter of the Academy's assistant surgeon, Thomas Henderson, of Dumfries, Virginia.

If Smith entered West Point with dreams of an army career in 1829, his plans had changed by 1836. A life of teaching beckoned him and he resigned his commission to follow that call. For two years he was a professor of mathematics at Hampden-Sydney College, Virginia, where he introduced the West Point course of mathematics and supplemented the college's traditional lectures in mathematics with the Academy's practice of daily recitations at the blackboard. For his work the faculty awarded him an honorary M.A. degree in 1838. One year later he was called by the Board of Visitors of the newly established Virginia Military Institute in Lexington to become principal professor and superintendent of that institution. With the exception of a European trip in the summer of 1858, service in the Civil

War, and brief excursions out of Virginia, Smith remained at VMI until his retirement in 1889 and his death in the following year.

Smith gave up a promising army career to devote himself to spreading the gospel of scientific and utilitarian education. His devotion to these concepts was so complete that even West Point came under his censure when he thought it was straying from the narrow path. In 1856, for example, he was distressed to find at West Point that the "rigid scientific system" which he had known as a cadet was being eroded by what he called "the predominating influence of the military element which the brilliant career of its graduates in the Mexican war has introduced into the academy." In an unrestrained letter dated September 8, 1857, to Professor Dennis Hart Mahan, a friend and West Point professor of civil engineering, Smith wrote, "When I was at W.P. a year ago, I had occasion to deplore the inroad which the military element was making over the scientific & gave utterance to this thought. . . . I hope none of your Academic Board sympathises in such radicalism. Better—far better—blow up the establishment and let it retain the memory of its unsullied reputation—than apply the vandal hand of such a reformation."

At VMI, where Smith exercised close control over the curriculum, military training was restricted to the annual summer encampment and daily afternoon drill. The Institute's military mission was acknowledged from the beginning in the idea that cadets should be "citizen-soldiers," and military regimentation was considered useful in providing a system of discipline and instruction; however, Smith did not consider the military aspect to be the essential feature of the Institute. Until 1860, according to him, the paramount mission of the Institute was to train young men to go to every corner of the state as teachers—principally of science and mathematics. A second mission was to prepare civil engineers to meet the growing needs of the developing South. The military mission was limited to producing graduates who could serve, in Smith's words, as "scientific military officers of all grades in the organization of the state militia."

Smith spent his life building a school and a body of alumni dedicated to public service, much as a minister might throw himself into building a church and sending out missionaries. By concentrating on producing teachers for the schools of Virginia and civil engineers for the South, he chose a highly effective strategy for spreading the influence of VMI to every corner of the state. But his aim was not simply to establish the permanency of the Institute; he had a larger plan.

He identified himself with educational reformers of his day who insisted that American institutions of higher education should be efficient and socially useful; that they should produce something more than socially

respectable citizens. These critics questioned the need for classical and metaphysical studies—"Latin, Greek, and old Roman speeches"—pointing out that such subjects were of little use to engineers, manufacturers, mechanics, and agriculturalists. In 1851 Smith, who always displayed undisguised pride in the fact that Greek was not taught at VMI, published his progressive educational views in a sixteen-page pamphlet entitled *College Reform.* "This is a practical age," he wrote. "The American people are emphatically a practical people." He asserted that "the existing systems of education are radically defective," and he argued that there was a "necessity of accommodating them to the progressive spirit of the age."

Smith also admired Thomas Jefferson's ideas on education and quoted him as saying, "The object is to bring into action that mass of talent which lies buried in poverty in every country, for want of means of development." Smith believed that VMI came as close as any school to the Jeffersonian democratic ideal, especially in its practice of strictly ignoring the inequalities of birth and family wealth, and in its State Cadet program. Under the auspices of this program, worthy young men whose families did not have the means to send them to college were provided with board, tuition, fuel, and lights, without charge, in exchange for two years of public service after graduation, usually as teachers. Smith regarded State Cadets as self-made men, those folk heroes of the mid-nineteenth century, and he took great pride in their successes throughout life.

As elemental as the West Point model was in Smith's thinking about the proper organization and purpose of higher education, it did not fill all of his needs. He believed in material progress and carried with him the touchstone of utility, but Smith was also a deeply religious man, and he blended his faith with his educational calling. In an earlier century his character surely would have led him into the church. He was never satisfied to be concerned only with the intellectual development of his "boys," the cadets of VMI, but also assumed responsibility for their moral and religious lives. On a visit to West Point in 1856 he found "the religious tone among the cadets . . . lamentably low." On the other hand, at VMI, where religious revivals were encouraged, systematic Bible instruction was required and a special room was set aside in Barracks for evening prayer meetings. Smith was pleased to report that "the word of God was known and read and studied among us" and that many cadets "had been enlightened by His Spirit and had been 'born again.'" Writing early in 1860 to a friend in England, Smith expressed thanks for the gift of a religious book and said, "I shall read it to my boys (I mean the cadets) in their prayer meeting. . . . Our meetings for prayer are still kept up, and every night we have a room full."

General Francis H. Smith about 1860.

Despite its prominent utilitarian, scientific, and brass-button military features, VMI was, in fact, a religious-oriented school under Smith. In this regard it resembled most of the colleges of the day, although Smith never allowed it to become, like them, denominational.

Smith may have followed the example of Colonel Sylvanus Thayer in designing a scientific curriculum for VMI, but he turned to that paragon of nineteenth century schoolmasters, Dr. Thomas Arnold, of Rugby School,

England, in his quest to transform boys into Christian gentlemen. It is possible that Smith even wished to be known as the American Arnold, as his writings on education suggest, although he never displayed his mentor's sentimentality and emotionalism. He often quoted the famous headmaster and he turned to him for a disciplinary system designed to inculcate orderly habits and to measure, step by step, the moral progress of cadets. Arnold's contribution to the education of boys can be summarized in the following passage: "Till a man learns that the first, second, and third duty of a schoolmaster is to get rid of unpromising subjects, a great public school will never be what it might be, and what it ought to be." Smith agreed with Arnold and placed special emphasis on these words in his own writings on education.

For Arnold and Smith, the overriding problem in the management of a school was not so much how to train the intellect as how to train Christian character and make moral behavior a habit. In their view, between the instinctive innocence of childhood and the morality of manhood lay a morally confusing wilderness known as youth. If young men had any hope of passing through this dangerous stage of life, they had to have their character formed and tested under a system of strict moral supervision. "Train up the child in the way he should go," Smith was fond of saying, "and when he is old he will not depart from it."

Idleness, self-will, pride, and falsehood were some of the pitfalls into which boys might fall, and Smith was determined to prevent such vices in his "boys" by controlling every aspect of cadet life. More than just a military environment, therefore, VMI was shaped by Smith into a community of plain living and right action. That, at least, was his goal. Indeed, at times one might almost say that under the guidance of Smith the VMI initials stood for "Virginia Moral Institute." In his words the institute "gave discipline in its truest and fullest sense—a discipline which extended to and defined every duty, and provided for every necessity—a discipline which waited not until ayouth became hopelessly vicious, but which aimed to train him in habits of order, propriety, study, decency, and morality."

Needless to say, the high goal of moral excellence was rarely achieved. Cadets found countless ways to break the regulations and disappoint Colonel Smith—"Old Spex," as they liked to call him on account of the eyeglasses he wore. At the first sign of negligence Smith called the offending cadet to his office, reminded him of his responsibilities as a cadet and a man, admonished him to think of his parents and to do better, and then wrote a warning letter to his family. A familiar practice now, it was considered quite new in the mid-nineteenth century to involve parents in the discipline of their children at college.

A warning usually was sufficient to save the cadet. In some instances, however, words had no effect. "After trying every means to save him," Smith wrote to a father, "without the slightest hope of effecting anything, and seeing that even in his studies, he was idling his time, I have considered it my duty to send him home."

Sometimes Smith despaired completely of saving a cadet and, as in the following letter, his frankness and stern sense of discipline rose to the surface: "He should be put under the closest and most absolute physical control," Smith counselled. "I would not be surprised if it be found necessary in order to restrain him in his follies that you would find it indispensable to send him under a rigid captain to sea." Understandably, Smith wearied of this responsibility, and he often made it known that "There is no part of the duty of the superintendent which weighs so heavily upon his mind and heart as that connected with the control . . . of the moral conduct of those committed to his charge."

By the late 1850s cadets who were not called to his office had few opportunities to see or speak with Colonel Smith. No longer did he have time to teach a section in mathematics, and his daily correspondence confined him to his office for long hours each weekday. In addition, he frequently travelled to Richmond to attend meetings of the Board of Visitors or the Armory Commission, to which he was appointed at the beginning of 1860.

His days normally began with morning prayers with his family and servants. This was followed, perhaps, by a brief visit to Barracks, after which he returned to his office in his house—which no longer stands at VMI—just west of the old Guard Tree. As soon as he was settled behind his long table he began interviewing cadets who had been summoned to appear before him for disciplinary or academic reasons, or, before 1859, cadets reporting for sick call. We can imagine the scene: Smith, stern-faced as usual and wearing his blue dress coat and high collar, sitting at his table; stacks of incoming and outgoing letters beside him, demerit reports before him, a box of recently arrived books on the floor, cadets lined up outside his door or crowded into the office, and in a corner his chief clerk entering figures into a ledger or preparing quarterly grade reports. It was never leisurely work; at times he even considered it "irksome." Smith tells us in one letter that he could spare, on the average, less than two minutes for each cadet who appeared before him.

Office work occupied his time until well into the afternoon, at which time he would step out to the parade ground to watch afternoon drill or an evening parade. The late stage from Staunton brought a second delivery of mail which he often read before attending evening prayers with his family

and the nightly prayer session in Barracks with cadets. "In truth," he wrote in 1859, "I have a very heavy charge upon me with the care and responsibility of 200 cadets and I do my duty as I would. I have many a weary day to wade through and I have to husband my time and correspondence as much as possible." His burdens were brought on, in part, by the success of the school; but some were self-imposed. Smith was driven by ambition for the Institute, concern for cadets, and a powerful sense of duty and self-denial. "The Institute occupies all my time," Smith wrote to his close friend Major Daniel H. Hill, superintendent of the newly established North Carolina Military Institute, "and [it] engrosses me more than is good for me. But you know my disposition and that I cannot be only half interested in what I undertake."

To shape the school which he envisioned, Smith required faculty members dedicated to his ideals and willing to share the rigors of the special VMI program. The pay was not handsome, around $1,500 a year; there were few opportunities for supplementing their salary; and faculty members were expected to supervise military drills. Nevertheless, Smith succeeded in attracting highly talented men to the Institute, most of whom were West Point graduates. They, like him, were devoted not to scholarship but to public service, and all had impressive records in this regard.

The chief exception to the West Point rule was J. T. L. Preston, an 1828 graduate of Washington College who taught Latin. But Preston had been the original advocate of VMI, and Latin—after all—was essential to the preparation of teachers. Smith confided in Preston and depended on him all of his days at VMI. When Smith was called away on public business, Preston nearly always served as acting superintendent.

Thomas Hoomes Williamson, professor of engineering, architecture, industrial drawing, and topography, was, like Smith, a native of Norfolk. He had been Smith's roommate at West Point until 1833 when he resigned to become an engineer. A practical man for a practical age, Williamson supervised the construction of part of the Richmond and Roanoke Railroad, built several bridges, and helped construct ten miles of the James River and Kanawha Canal before joining the VMI faculty in 1841.

Major Thomas Jonathan Jackson, a West Point graduate of the class of 1846 who was promoted for meritorious conduct in the Mexican War, joined the VMI faculty in 1851 as professor of natural and experimental philosophy. Except for the West Point connection and their mutual interest in science, Smith and Jackson had very little in common. Jackson was a poor teacher who lectured cadets on material which he had memorized, a method which Smith criticized in traditional college classrooms, and, according to Smith, Jackson "lacked the tact required in getting along with his classes." Jackson was eccentric in his habits, a devout Presbyterian, and

the son-in-law of the president of Presbyterian-controlled Washington College, Dr. George Junkin.

In the decade before the war Smith's relations with this neighboring denominational college were badly strained. In the first place, Smith was a staunch Episcopalian and a devoted churchman. The fact that he was instrumental in founding Grace Episcopal Church on the very edge of the Washington College campus and within the Presbyterian stronghold of Lexington did not endear him to his neighbors. Secondly, his criticism of traditional literary institutions drew complaints from the college faculty. Relations finally cooled to the point that Smith accused the college of launching a public attack on his educational ideas. When his 1856 "Address on the Progress of Education in Virginia" was ridiculed in the pages of the *Southern Literary Messenger,* a friend asked Smith to name the author of the captious article. "I do not know who wrote it," Smith responded, "although I have no doubt it proceeded from Washington College." To another friend he wrote that the author was "some Presbyterian self-conceited youngster who estimates things by the prejudiced goggles through which he himself looks."

Smith's chief lieutenant at the Institute was William Gilham, West Point Class of 1840, who came to VMI in 1846 after serving in the opening phase of the Mexican War. Gilham's name appears frequently in Smith's correspondence and it is clear that Smith greatly admired the young professor. Gilham was commandant of cadets. Gilham undertook a number of geographical surveys of western Virginia, an activity which Smith promoted from the very early days of VMI. Gilham wrote a manual on tactics which enhanced VMI's military reputation, and proposed in 1859 the creation at VMI of the first scientific agricultural school in the South, a plan which Smith made the centerpiece of his efforts to reorganize the Institute into a polytechnical school on the eve of the war. Gilham wrote in a report that VMI had "a scientific and practical character, wisely designed by the board of visitors to fit young men for the practical pursuits of life." The words easily could have been spoken by Smith himself.

Gilham and Smith agreed on another subject: slavery. Both men felt that it was an institution which history and circumstances had imposed on the South, an institution which might some day disappear, but an institution which was the very foundation of Southern culture as it then existed. They were certain that if Northern abolitionists continued their attacks on the South's "peculiar institution," as it was called, the result would be a terrible insurrection or civil war. "I am not arguing that slavery is right," Smith wrote to a friend in 1860, "but the opinions held and known to be held [in the North] are as disastrous . . . as sparks in the vicinity of [a] powder magazine."

As the issue of slavery became more acute, Smith's opposition to Northern influences on the South increased. When John Brown raided Harpers Ferry in 1859 he decided that North and South could no longer live together. He was convinced that deficiencies in Virginia's colleges were driving many talented young men of the state to seek their education in Northern colleges where, he said, a "wild spirit of fanaticism" was prevalent and where students were exposed to abolitionist ideas. He also expressed concern that so many of Virginia's school teachers had been educated in Europe or in Northern colleges. Since he believed that the University of Virginia could not fill the state's needs in this regard, he redoubled his emphasis on VMI's role in preparing teachers for Virginia. Yankee schoolmasters and Yankee textbooks, Smith suspected, carried abolitionist ideas into the South. Early in 1860 he called for "Northern books . . . [to] be driven out of the South."

John Brown's raid was a threat, a reminder of the ever-present danger of slave insurrection, and an indication, in Smith's mind, of the true intentions of Northern abolitionists. But it was also an opportunity which he seized. As soon as it was known that Brown would be hanged and that Governor Henry A. Wise was sending some state militia units to Charles Town to maintain order, Smith resolved that the Institute should be present at that important event. He communicated this idea to General William H. Richardson, adjutant general of Virginia, and asked him to speak with the governor. As a result Smith was placed in charge of the military preparations at Charles Town, and eighty cadets under the command of Major Gilham were sent there to assist in keeping order.

Two weeks after the execution Smith wrote to a friend in Norfolk: "We have much reason to be proud at the enviable reputation which the institute enjoys. Its merits had hitherto been chiefly manifested in its scientific character as an educational establishment. The state is now feeling its worth as the main pillar of its military defense."

To another friend he wrote, "This affair at Harper's Ferry is doing much to bring our graduates into notice." And to a correspondent in St. Louis he wrote, "Recent affairs at Harper's Ferry have given a prominence to us which warrants the belief that the Legislature of Va will give us a most liberal support this winter."

Smith was correct about the legislature of Virginia, but he may have experienced some difficulty from his own board. They expressed concern over the interruption of academic duties caused by the trip to Charles Town, and they issued a "salutary warning that these suspensions should never be permitted for light causes."

Near the end of his life Smith intended to write a history of VMI. He never finished the project. In 1912 notes which he had prepared were

assembled and published under the title, *The Virginia Military Institute, Its Building and Rebuilding.* The following passage was used to introduce the war period:

> And now, 1861, as its third decade opens upon it, its distinctive mission as a military school has to be entered upon, and met, in the baptism of blood which the Civil War of 1861-65 brought upon it, and for which it had been preparing under the wise policy adopted by the Board of Visitors during the whole of the second decade of its existence.

The impression given, in fact, is misleading. Smith and the Board of Visitors did not spend the 1850s preparing for civil war. He did not want the Civil War, nor did he expect it, but he did want to free Virginia and the South from Northern influences. The spectors of secession and conflict hovered in the background; however, Smith's primary concern was to train "scientific" teachers and engineers for Virginia and the South. His battles were waged against the self-indulgence of youth and traditional concepts of education which ignored the engineer, the manufacturer, and the agriculturalist. It was not until the John Brown raid that Smith saw a need to plan how VMI would meet the test of war, should it come. In July 1860 he wrote to a friend in Ohio, saying, "God grant that the evil spirit of our country may be so subdued, and eradicated, that none of this preparation shall be needed except for common defense. Unless His grace and His spirit moderate the madness of the people, brother will be arrayed against brother, a more deadly civil war will be waged than ever the records of history have traced."

The war gave meaning to VMI's military mission and it provided the Institute's history a heroic chapter which may never be equalled. At the end of the conflict Smith wrote of VMI: "Its beautiful buildings had been destroyed by fire, its library and apparatus were gone, its professors and cadets, homeless and almost heartless. . . . All was desolation here while universal gloom weighed down the public heart." To see it all destroyed after twenty-five years of effort would have defeated most men, but not Smith. With confidence in the basic mission of VMI and with powerful faith in the future, he rebuilt the Institute as he had known it before the war and set it once again on the path of moral instruction and public service.

Smith never referred to VMI as a college; he always drew a sharp distinction between the VMI system and the collegiate system. In his opinion it was not its "complete military character" which set VMI apart. The Institute was different, "peculiar," an experiment because it offered more than learning alone. Its mission was to provide sound moral education, to train men to be useful in society, and to contribute to the "progressive spirit

of the age." The story is told by the historian Frederick Rudolph of a foreign traveller who visited West Point in 1854 and, in answer to his question why the students there possessed such high morale, was told by a cadet: "We must get up early, for we have a large territory; we have to cut down forests, dig canals, and make railroads all over the country." The traveller would have found the same high morale and sense of mission at the Virginia Military Institute, thanks to Francis H. Smith. He brought such thinking to VMI, and for nearly 150 years this has been his most enduring gift to the school.

Agricultural Expositions and Fairs in Rockbridge County, 1828-1891

Charles W. Turner

ONE of the most picturesque counties in Virginia is Rockbridge, located at the end of the famous Shenandoah Valley amidst isolated mountains of the Blue Ridge chain. The land is rich and well watered, producing abundant crops of grain and grass. From the arrival of the first Scotch-Irish settlers agriculture has been the main occupation.

Along with other Virginia counties in the nineteenth century, the inhabitants participated in organizing societies for agricultural improvement, holding fairs, and helping to create a climate of agricultural reform. The societies led the way toward an agricultural renaissance as did the Franklin Society in Lexington in the intellectual realm. The latter had its debates at the Court House by candlelight on Saturday nights just as the farmers (many of them the same people) met at the same spot earlier in the day.[1]

Charles W. Turner is emeritus professor of American history at Washington and Lee University. He is the Society's librarian, archivist, and genealogist as well as a former president and *Proceedings* editor. He has published numerous monographs and edited works; this essay is based on his *Virginia's Green Revolution: Essays on the Nineteenth Century Virginia Agricultural Reform and Fairs* (1986). He spoke at the Society's October 28, 1985, meeting in the Court Room of the Rockbridge County Courthouse.

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1. Oren Morton, *A History of Rockbridge County Virginia,* pp. 2-3; Charles W. Turner, "Virginia Agricultural Reform 1815-1870," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography,* 26: 80-81.

The Franklin Society also debated topics such as the tariff, setting up an agricultural school and the like, which were certainly concerns of the farmers.[2]

The first Rockbridge Agricultural Society was organized at Fancy Hill on Saturday, August 17, 1827, with Major James W. Matthews in the chair and James McDowell, Jr., secretary. The thirteen-article constitution was presented and agreed upon. The society's objective was

> to facilitate improvements in agricultural and rural economy, by collecting and diffusing knowledge of valuable facts and experiments, by bringing to notice and use the best farming implements and machinery; by encouraging the best breeds of domestic animals, whether for labor or other uses; by inquiring into the properties of the different kinds of manures, vegetable, animal, and mineral, and the most improved modes of applying them, and generally, by making careful and diligent investigation of the many subjects with which the progress, prosperity, and operations of good husbandry and domestic manufacture are connected.

Annual dues were set at $1 and life memberships at $30. Only members could be awarded prizes at the annual meeting in Lexington on the last Saturday in November. Some forty members signed the constitution on August 18, 1827.[3]

The officers were William Taylor, president; Captain Reuben Grigsby, vice-president; James McDowell, Jr., corresponding secretary; John Ruff, recording secretary; and John Caruthers, treasurer. The directors included Dr. R. R. Barton, John Withrow, John F. Caruthers, John Donahue, Samual Walkup, Elisha Paxton, Samuel Willson, John McCorkle, and Thomas Walker. Before adjourning a committee of seven was appointed to prepare subscriptions papers to obtain more members.[4]

Though they planned to meet in November, the next gathering took place in March 1828, when some fifteen men met William Taylor's law office. John Leyburn, Reuben Grigsby, and Samual McDowell Reid were appointed to prepare a list of subjects to be awarded the prizes or premiums. This was prepared and the following list was submitted and approved at a subsequent society meeting:

best bull not less than two years old	$5
best heifer not less than two years old	$4
best milk cow not less than two years old	$5
best working oxen tested at the plough	$5

2. Charles W. Turner, "The Franklin Society, 1800–1870," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography,* 26: 432–33.

3. Minutes and Constitution of the Rockbridge Agricultural Society of 1827, in the McCormick Collection, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.

4. Ibid.

best fat ox $3
best ram not more than four years old $3
best ewe not more than four years old $2
best boar not more than four years old $4
best sow not more than four years old $3
greatest quantity of Indian corn grown on any contiguous five acres $8
best linen cloth for sheeting or shirting a yard wide $3
best table linen, one or more yards wide $4
best piece of figured table linen one yard wide $3
best piece of flannel not less than ¾ yard wide $4
best piece of cashmere or woolen jeans, 10 yards $4
best pair of blankets not less than 2 yards wide $3
best piece of carpeting 1 yard wide, 2 yards long $3
best piece of carpeting, woolen $5

"All articles are of household manufacture and must be of the family presenting them and it is understood that in case the directors feel this item is unworthy of a premium, they can reject it."

Ingenious mechanics who had improvements in ploughs, harrows, fans, straw cutters, threshing machines, and other articles that facilitate the operations of husbandry were invited to exhibit for inspection at the annual meeting of the society in order to secure orders for same.[5] The county was on the threshhold of a mechanical revolution with the invention of the Cyrus McCormick wheat reaper.

Other business of that March 1828 meeting was the passage of a resolution that a committee be selected to study the best methods to fatten hogs and present a report at the next meeting. Also, every member was urged to come to the next meeting wearing suits made in the county. Finally, the treasurer was asked to hold one-fifth of the money as a contingent fund.[6]

Some forty members, representing the first families of the county, met at the Court House on November 22. The first committees to judge the various exhibits were selected:

Ploughing: Samuel Houston, Andrew Wallace, William Paxton.
Domestic manufactures: Dr. R. R. Barton, John Leyburn, John F. Caruthers.
Animals: John D. Ewing, Addison Hyde, Zachariah McChesney.
Mechanical improvements: John Jordan, William Weaver, Alexander McCorkle.
Crops: James McDowell, Jr., John Ruff, A. T. Barclay.[7]

All this data was soon to appear in the *Lexington Intelligencer,* the local newspaper of the period.[8] When the committees had reported on domestic

5. Minutes of the Rockbridge Agricultural Society for 1828, ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. The list had many of the outstanding families of the county.
8. *Lexington Intelligencer,* November 26, 1828.

manufacture there were only two winners: Miss Emily Houston and Joseph Steele.[9] The ploughing report read:

> Two ox teams started with a left handed Cary plough, with wooden mold board which ploughed one eighth an acre in 37½ minutes about the right depth and tolerably smooth. The other had a McCormick plough with a cutter constructed by John Jordan which finished in 40 minutes was not so deep or so well done, which is attributed to an untrained team. The premium of $2.50 went to the use of the Cary plough.[10]

The stock committee refused to award any premiums, although some of the animals had good form and appearance. The crop committee reported that a pattern for a moldboard for a plough was an improvement over the McCormick type exhibited by Captain Alexander McCorkle and would get the award.[11]

Before adjourning the society requested the directors to entertain the society members at a dinner meeting where each member would wear suits of domestic manufacture and listen to reports on their different projects.[12]

These annual meetings with exhibitions continued into the 1830s. There were special meetings called for the executive committee to plan the annual sessions. One such session occurred on June 22, 1833, with Dr. R. R. Barton, president, and Charles P. Dorman, secretary. The directors John Ruff, Reuben Grigsby, Rev. John D. Ewing, John F. Caruthers, A. T. Barclay, and Alfred Leyburn completed the group. They made out a list of subjects, with premiums, and decided that the exhibition should be held out in the county to arouse more interest.[13] On the strength of that, the October meeting was held again at Fancy Hill, where addresses were given by both President Dr. Barton and Vice-president Rev. John D. Ewing on agricultural subjects. The judges then judged the exhibition. The following premiums were awarded:

TO	FOR	PREMIUM
Reuben Grigsby	Milk Cow	Yrs. sub. to *Farmer's Register*
John Wallace	Breeding Sow	Pair of Ivory Carvers
Jacob G. Thettman	Stallion (under 4 years)	Silver Cup
Rev. John D. Ewing	Stallion (under 2 years)	Yrs. sub. to *Farmer's Register*
Rev. John D. Ewing	Brood Mare	Yrs. sub. to *Farmer's Register*
Mrs. James Greenlee	Figure table cloth (linen)	Cut Glass Bowl
Miss Agnes Paxton	Piece of yarn	Pair of China Pitchers

9. Report of the Exhibition, 1828, McCormick Collection.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. Minutes of the November 1828 meeting of the Society, McCormick Collection.
13. Ibid., June 22, 1833.

Mrs. Reuben Grigsby	Piece of flannel	Sugar Tongs
Mrs. Hannah Greenlee	Pair of blankets	Britannia Coffee Pot
Mrs. John Laird	All-wool carpeting	Parlor Mirror
Mrs. John Ewing	Best cheese	Cut Glass Pitcher
Miss Frances Grigsby	Home-made soup	A Silver Thimble
Miss Frances Grigsby	12 skeins sewing silk	Silver Thimble

(Other ladies received special mention for exhibits.)[14]

At a special session of the society held on January 15, 1834, at Washington College, Dr. Joseph W. Farnum, professor of natural philsophy, lectured on science and agriculture. Following this, the administration agreed to draw up a list of subjects and premiums to be awarded at the annual meeting in the fall.[15] At a meeting in June, the society's leaders adopted a subject-premium list that was almost the same as the one of the year before, although the list additions included premiums for sheep and hogs. Some new areas of interest were:

SUBJECTS	PREMIUMS
Best contiguous 10 acres of wheat (not less than 25 bushels/acre	*London Encyclopedia of Agriculture*
Largest quantity of Indian corn grown on any five acres of bottom land (not less than 60 bushels/acre)	Set of silver-plated candle sticks
Best 6 bottles of domestic wine	Pair of cut glass decanters
Best cultivated and appropriately improved farm	$15 worth of agricultural books[16]

At a September 24, 1834, meeting the administration selected the committees and members to award the premiums.

Horned cattle: James Moore, Samuel Willson, William Moffatt, James Tate, William Ingles, Matthew White, A. T. Barclay.

Horses: John Alexander, William Patton, Andrew Wallace, Dave E. Moore, William Houston, Richard H. Burks, Samuel Patterson.

Sheep and hogs: Robert Willson, Samuel W. Lyle, William Finley, John Wallace, Robert Campbell.

Wheat and corn crops: Reuben Grigsby, John M. Shields, Alfred Leyburn, Thomas Willson, William B. Donald.

Domestic manufacture: Matthew White, H. B. Jones, J. A. Cummings, J. I. White, John F. Caruthers, James L. Finley, F. H. Barclay.

Cheese and wine: Samuel McDowell Reid, Charles P. Dorman, Rev. John Ewing, Sidney L. Baxter, William Taylor.

Farms: John Ruff, A. T. Barclay, Samuel McDowell Reid, John Laird, James McDowell, Jr., John Tate, Dr. William M. Tate.

14. Ibid., October 17, 1833.
15. Ibid., January 15, 1834.
16. The premium list was very brief.

Agricultural implements: Cyrus H. McCormick, John Jordan, James Campbell, Marble T. Cameron, Thomas Paxton.[17]

At the above meeting it was decided to patronize the *Lexington Union,* the local newspaper, and the famous farm publication *The Farmer's Register.* The exhibitions would be called fairs and would be held at a place where the products and animals could be on exhibition and also offered for sale. The fair would remain on until the subjects were all sold. The citizens of other adjoining counties might be invited to attend, and finally the next year's fair and annual meeting would be held at Samuel Willson's farm near Brownsburg.[18]

The first fair was held in Lexington's Court House Square on October 29, 1834, and after the officers for the year 1835 were elected, the premiums were awarded. The farms of A. T. Barclay, Reuben Grigsby, Dr. R. R. Barton, John Ruff, John M. Shields, Benjamin Welsh, and Dr. William M. Tate were to be in the competition as the best for a premium, it was reported. A committee made up of Samuel McDowell Reid, Charles P. Dorman, Alfred Leyburn, and Dr. R. R. Barton was to collect agricultural articles and hold correspondence with individuals and societies across the state and in foreign countries. This material was to be published in the papers of Rockbridge and Staunton to encourage experimentation in agriculture.[19]

By the fall of 1835 the membership had climbed to 118. Alfred Leyburn was president, William Houston, vice-president, Hugh Barclay, treasurer, Reuben Grigsby, corresponding secretary, and A. T. Barclay, the recording secretary. The subjects for premiums listings were very elaborate. To serve the membership better, the society decided to have three yearly meetings with fairs held in three different areas of the county—Lexington, Fancy Hill, and Brownsburg—allowing an exhibit of that particular section's products. At each fair special speakers would talk on agricultural subjects. One of the favorite speakers was Professor George D. Armstrong of the Washington College faculty. His articles also appeared in the local papers on such subjects as beekeeping, use of manures, best grades of Indian corn. Such programs continued through the remainder of the thirties and the early forties.[20]

With the 1840s the meeting and fair became an annual one again at the Court House and the directors were referred to as managers. The women

17. *Minutes* of meeting September 24, 1834, McCormick Collection.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid., 1835–39, *Lexington Gazette,* October 23, 1835, and October 5, 1838.

of Rockbridge were urged to attend the fairs to enliven the occasion by their presence. The subjects for premiums lists grew longer by the year.[21]

By the end of the decade, because of the financial conditions of the country, the Mexican War, and the death of many original members, interest in the society declined and a reorganization was necessary. A number of farmers met at the Odd Fellows' Hall in Lexington on September 22, 1850. Major J. C. Hutton was selected chairman and John M. Dunlap, secretary. The assemblage recommended creating a new Rockbridge Agricultural Society. The proposed constitution listed, in addition to president, secretary, and treasurer, seven vice-presidents, one from each of the county's magisterial districts. These vice-presidents were directed "to promote the objects of the society in every proper means, especially in their respective districts, to observe improvements made in practical agriculture and report same at each annual meeting." Society dues were still $1, but life memberships were only $10.

Officers, duties, quorums, and committees were carefully spelled out. Article 2 of the By-Laws stated that "On all questions, except expulsion, the vote shall be taken and be decided by a majority vote." Only members were permitted to exhibit subjects for premiums at the annual fair. Admission to the fair grounds was to be free for members and their families; nonmember adults paid $1 and children under twelve 50¢. Article 8 of the By-Laws stipulated that "The wives and daughters of members of the society shall be considered as honorary members and shall be entitled to all privileges of paying members."[22]

After the above was unanimously adopted the officers and executive committee was elected. Some of the members of the original society were included as well as some of the faculty of the new Virginia Military Institute. VMI's Major William Gilham became president;vice-presidents were Professor John Lyle Campbell, Lucian H. Thompson, M. X. White, Robert M. McBride, J. J. McBride, John M. Dunlap, and Major J. C. Hutton. Reverend John Miller was secretary and Jacob Fuller treasurer. The executive committee included William A. Ruff, John G. Hamilton, E. S. Tutwiler, Colonel A. W. Cameron, J. McDowell Alexander, Alexander M. Glasgow, Captain Henry B. Jones, David Brown, Dr. T. S. Moore, S. D. Gilmore, Bolivar F. Luck, Samuel Montgomery, Thomas Wilson, and Lucian Grigsby.[23] This initial meeting empowered the new executive committee to solicit subscriptions and donations with a view to

21. Ibid., September 30, 1841, October 6, 1842, and September 6, 1843.
22. Ibid., September 22, 1850.
23. Ibid.

holding the fair in November. A committee of five, including E. S. Tutwiler, W. A. Ruff, M. X. White, George W. Johnson, and James Gaul was to procure a fairgrounds and prepare it for the first fair.[24]

The newspapers urged support for the new society and its 1850 fall fair. The *Lexington Gazette* declared: "We but express the wish of our whole people when we invoke the fullest success upon the efforts of those who are moving in this matter."[25] The paper carried a column labeled "Agriculture," edited by Professor Campbell, where were found essays on the growing of turnips, the best cow feed, care of sheep, and so forth. In an editorial in 1852, the paper noted that "it's gratifying to everyone who feels an interest in the development of the industrial enterprises of the county, to witness the continued zeal of our people in behalf of our county fair. We can think of nothing which gives a greater stimulus to the energies of our people in developing the material resources of our county, than those annual exhibitions of the labor and the skill of the farmer and the mechanic."[26] The papers could be critical, too, of the exhibits, pointing out the continued need for experiment in different branches of the exhibits.

During the middle fifties the organization had some 143 members including twenty life members. Several women's names appear on the rolls now.[27]

In 1859 a further reorganization appeared necessary to create a more effective organization. A meeting on September 12 appointed a committee to recommend changes to the constitution and by-laws.

The October annual meeting spent much time debating the need for and the changes proposed. Treasurer Jacob Fuller reported a $762.25 balance in the bank to the society's credit. The changes made were, first, the name of the society would hereafter be the Rockbridge Agricultural and Mechanical Society. It would have a charter granted by the Virginia General Assembly in the 1860 session, and stock certificates would be issued to help pay for the fair. This fair would be held on grounds that the society had purchased just beyond Houston Street, which was almost ten acres in area with a fine grove in the background where buildings had been built to house exhibits. The buildings stood on an eminence overlooking the town. There were eight branches of exhibits for which premiums would be awarded: cattle, horses, sheep, swine, poultry, agricultural implements, cabinet ware, carriages, and farm products.[28]

24. Ibid.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid., May 22, 1851, and October 6, 1852.
27. Rolls for 1853–57 of the Society, McCormick Collection.
28. *Lexington Gazette,* September 15, September 22, and November 25, 1859.

When the fall fair was held, the eleventh president of the older society, Major William Gilham, professor at VMI, thanked the existing officers and welcomed the new ones of the chartered society: President, E. F. Paxton, with J. L. Campbell, M. X. White, Thomas G. Burke, James Anderson, Jr., John C. Laird, Dr. Samuel Morrison, and Colonel John Templeton to serve as vice-presidents. After Jacob Fuller was reelected treasurer and Jacob M. Ruff, secretary, the twenty-one new directors were named. The final resolution was to solicit memberships outside of the county. The *Lexington Gazette* declared the fair of 1859 a "most complete success" with five thousand county people in attendance. "Never before have we seen such a large assemblage of our people."[29]

By fair time in 1860 two more branches had been added: orchards and garden products; household and domestic manufactures. Women were allowed to be judges in the latter branch. Again the *Lexington Gazette,* in a long editorial, said of the fair that "the exhibition of last week though falling short of what was expected in some branches and exceeding the most sanguine hopes in others, taken as a whole, it was a decided success, and was an exhibition worthy of a great agricultural county like Rockbridge."[30] The paper criticized the society for allowing the president and a few interested members do all the work, while the directors seemed to take little part. Moreover, the stock branch was poor. According to the editor: "There ought to be a steady and decided improvement in this branch; there could be if our people would only put on an exhibition of just such stock as they have and some of every sort. Let every man who has a respectable looking steer, horse, cow or sheep or hog bring it forward for exhibition, and make this a leading branch of agricultural enterprise to correspond somewhat with the resources of our county as a stock growing county."[31] The *Gazette* stated that the finest exhibition was the products of orchard and garden; while the articles of domestic manufacture, needle work, and embroidery made quite a respectable display. The editorial concluded:

> Bring a specimen of everything you raise or make whether enumerated in the societies' schedule or not, and you will be astonished to the extent and the variety of resources of our county. Don't hold back in the future. Contribute your quota to the exhibition. Identify yourself with the success of the organization, and gratifying as have been the recent exhibitions, they will be as nothing compared with the fullness and variety of next year's exhibition.[32]

29. Ibid., October 11, 1859, and December 1, 1859.
30. Ibid., October 16, 1860.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid.

and

Gazette Banner.

LEXINGTON, VIRGINIA, WEDNESDAY, OCT., 10, 1866.

SCHEDULE OF PREMIUMS

TO BE AWARDED AT THE

ANNUAL FAIR

OF THE

ROCKBRIDGE AGRICULTURAL & MECHANICAL SOCIETY,

To be held in Lexington, on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, the 24th, 25th and 26th of October, 1866.

BRANCH I.
CATTLE.

Class 1st—Thoroughbreds—Durhams.

For the best Bull, 3 years old and upwards, $10 00
For the second best, 5 00
For the best Bull from 1 to 3 years old, 5 00
For the second best do. 3 00
For the best Bull calf less than one year old, 3 00
For the second best, do. 2 00
For the best Cow, 3 years old and upwards, 10 00
For the second best do 5 00
For the best Heifer from 1 to 3 years old, 5 00
For the second best do. 3 00
For the best Heifer calf less that one year old, 3 00
For the second best do. 2 00

Corresponding premiums will be awarded for the best animals (thoroughbreds) of the following breeds: Devons, Ayrshires, Here-

do best Mare Colt, less than 1 year old, 3 00
do second best do 2 00
do best pair of Horses, 5 00
do second best do 3 00
do best Gelding, 3 00
do second best do 2 00
do best team of not less than four Horses, 5 00
do second best do 3 00

Class 10th—Mules and Jacks.

For the best Jack, $5 00
do best Jennie, 5 00
do best Mule, 2 years old or under, 2 00
do best pair of Mules, 3 00
do best team of not less than 4 Mules, 5 00

BRANCH III.
SHEEP.

Class 11th—Long Wools.

For the best Buck, $3 00
do second best do 2 00
do best Ewe, 3 00
do second best do 2 00
do best pen of Ewes, not less than three, 3 00
do second best do 2 00
do best Buck Lamb, 1 00
do best Ewe Lamb, 1 00
do best pen of Lambs, not less than three, 2 00

Class 12th—Fine Wools.

Premiums the same as on Long Wools.

Class 13th—Fat Sheep, &c.

For the best pen of fat Sheep, not less than three. $2 00

do pair of Coarse Shoes, 1 00
do Side of Sole Leather, 1 00
do Side of Upper Leather, 1 00
do Side of Skirting Leather, 1 00
do Gentleman's Hat, 1 00
do Servant's Hat, 1 00

Class 24th—Miscellaneous.

For the best Refrigerator, 2 00
do Meat Safe, 2 00
do Axe of home manufacture, 1 00
do Collection of Tin Ware, 2 00
do assortment of Kitchen Utensils, 2 00

Certificate of Merit.

do Parlor Stove, " " "
do Cooking Stove, " " "

BRANCH VIII.
FARM PRODUCTS.

Class 25th—Grain, &c.

For the best specimen of White Wheat, not less than one bushel, $1 00
do specimen of Red Wheat, not less than one bushel, 1 00
do Barrel of Flour, 1 00
do specimen of Corn, not less than 1 bushel, 1 00
do specimen of Rye, not less than 1 bushel, 1 00
do specimen of Oats, not less than 1 bushel, 1 00
do specimen of Irish Potatoes, not less than 1 bushel, 1 00
do specimen of Sweet Potatoes, not less than 1 bushel, 1 00
do specimen of Manufacturing Tobacco, not less than 10 lbs 1 00
do specimen of Shipping Tobacco, not less than 10 lbs 1 00

do Counterpaine, 1 00
do Cotton Hose, 50
do Cotton Half-Hose, 50
do pair of cotton Gloves, 50
do cotton Diaper, home-made, 5 yards, 50

Class 31st—Linen Goods.

For the best Linen Diaper, 5 yds, home-made, $1 00
do Flax Linen, 5 yards home-made, 50
do Tow Linen, 5 yards home-made, 50
do Linen Sewing Thread, 1 lb. bleached, 50
do Linen Sewing Thread, 1 lb. unbleached, 50
do half dozen home-made bags, 50
do Linen Hose, 50
do Linen half-hose, 50
do Linen Gloves, 50

Class 32d—Needle Work.

For the best Silk Comfort, $1
do Worsted patch-work Quilt, 1
do Worsted Comfort, 1
do Calico patch-work Quilt, 1
do White Quilt—solid work, 1
do Calico Comfort, 1
do Knit Counterpaine, 1
do Suit of Clothes, made by a Tailor, 1
do Suit of Clothes, made by a lady, 1
do Linen Shirt—unstarched —made by a lady, 50
do Cotton Shirt—unstarched —made by a lady, 50
do Fancy Bonnet, 50

A portion of the Lexington newspaper, which gave nearly its entire front page to the prizes and judges for the October 24-26, 1866, fair.

During the War Between the States the meetings and fairs were discontinued. The buildings and grounds were rented to the Confederacy as a place to enroll troops and a hospital to take in the wounded for $300 a year, which was used to help pay off the debt of $1,070.66. One of the members, J. L. Campbell, Robinson Professor of Physical Sciences, contributed articles to the agricultural section of the *Lexington Gazette* during the entire war period. In one of his articles he said: "I regret that the troubles of our country have compelled us to give up the meetings of our society, while it was in such a flourishing condition and had given such an impulse to our farming operations. Those exhibitions were amongst the most pleasant and interesting I have ever the pleasure of attending, bringing our people together, with the best fruits of their labor, for the mutual benefit and gratification of one another."[33] He wrote a treatise on agriculture for use by his students at Washington College.

The first fair in the South after the war was the one held on the fairgrounds in Lexington, October 24-26, 1866. Exhibits in the usual ten branches were offered prizes with judges announced for each one. The officers were L. C. Davidson, president; Jacob Fuller, secretary; and Jacob Ruff, treasurer; with E. S. Tutwiler, R. C. McCluer, W. F. Poague, J. C. Hutton, W. C. Gilmore, Henry B. Jones, and John Wallace the seven vice-presidents. The fourteen-member executive committee consisted of two from each of the seven districts.[34] Great enthusiasm was shown in the resumption of the fairs. One newspaper said:

> A great exhibition of everything that the county and its neighbors in the Valley can produce, and for hearty whole souled glorious reunion of a people who prove themselves nobler in defeat than the others in success who rise superior in adversity and snap their fingers at the 'fickle jade' fortunes. The schedule of prizes to be contended for has excited great commotion. We might add all the roosters are crowing, gobblers gobbling, porkers grunting, pigs squealing, horses neighing, cattle bellowing, all the animals braying loud hurrahs as they are led into the ring for the judging.[35]

The fair of 1866 was incredible, all things taken in consideration, for the armies had drained the area of livestock and food. Actually, the horse exhibit was the best ever. The chief attraction was the trotting matches which were held daily between a gray horse and a bay mare, the former owned by Colonel O'Ferrell of Staunton, and the latter by J. H. Bowyer of Lexington. The cattle show was unimpressive and the farm and garden show was rather sparing. In this latter branch the potatoes, beets, and

33. Ibid., January 8 and March 25, 1863.
34. *Gazette and Banner,* October 10, 1866.
35. Ibid., October 24, 1866.

turnips were large and of good quality. There were magnificent eggplants and cauliflowers. The domestic industry, with its specimens of needlework and cheeses, was smaller than had been hoped. Yet, as J. L. Campbell said, the society deserved much credit for the zeal that was manifest in building anew and holding the first fair in the South after the war.[36]

The annual meetings and fairs continued during the remainder of the 1860s on the ten-acre plot above Houston Street. The branches were increased with an offering of more than $1,000 in premiums. In 1868 there was a branch entitled "Special Premiums and Challenge," which promised exhibitors in most of the branches premiums of subscriptions to agricultural journals or standard works on agriculture should the claimants so desire. In certain classes within the branches premiums could be fruit, trees, evergreens, or flower seeds. In Branch VI a magnificent diploma printed in colors might be received. All of the innovations tried to stress the need for agricultural improvement. Even outside companies as well as individuals offered premiums. For example, if twenty farmers would each exhibit one bushel of red wheat, Cardwell and Company of Richmond would offer the winner a cider mill for half price. Colonel J. M. Shield of the same city offered bound volumes of *The Farmer* for two bushels of the best yellow corn. In 1869 the Special Premiums branch included premiums for the best mineral collection (limestones, sandstones, slates, and marbles), farm account book, vineyard, best use of manures, and best tree farm management.[38]

There was some doubt at first whether there should be a fair in 1869, since there were so many shortages resulting from a drought. The president of the society, Jacob Fuller, said before the fair, "as the fair has been insisted upon, we expect all to make good their promises and help enlarge our show, the farmers to bring in their grain and their stock, the artisans show attractive specimens of their handicraft; our wives and daughters their household and dairy products."[39] Apparently this call was heeded, for the report on the fair was as good as could be expected under the circumstances.[40]

The following year the fair was held though the whole community and the South mourned the passing of President R. E. Lee at Washington College. A large announcement appeared in the local paper stating the fair

36. Ibid.
37. Ibid., November 6, 1868.
38. Ibid., October 22, 1869.
39. Ibid., September 13, 1869.
40. Ibid.

would be held October 26, 27, 28, 1870.[41] Not only were there judges announced for each of the branches but also a chief marshal—William Davidson, Jr.,—and one for each of the branches:

W. A. Ruff	Branch 1 - cattle
J. McDowell McClung	Branch 2 - horses
Bowie Tutwiler	Branch 3 - sheep
Bruce Tutwiler	Branch 4 - swine
W. W. Lewis	Branch 5 - poultry
John Sloan	Branch 6 - agricultural implements
Howard Humphries	Branch 7 - cabinet ware, carriages
Alfred Leyburn, Jr.	Branch 8 - farm products
J. W. Fuller	Branch 9 - orchard and garden products
John L. Campbell	Branch 10 - crops
C. M. Dold and Alpheus Wilson	Branch 11 - household and domestic manufacture
Colonel John Sloan	Branch 12 - sports[42]

There was to be horse racing, and the track was open ahead so that the racers might practice. On the final day the premiums would be read out before the grandstand. All the members (including the stockholders) and their families were allowed in free. Tickets for others were offered with family tickets at $2.50 and single tickets $2.00.[43] When the premiums were listed as many as fifteen were awarded in one branch. Crop branch premiums were deferred until more complete reports could be rendered. The local paper reported: "Let each remember that the main good to be derived both to himself and to his neighbors is from a detailed statement of his methods and their results. Who can estimate the benefits resulting to the agriculture in the county from a series of reports such as we hope to present to the readers of the *Lexington Gazette* information on potatoes, oats, corn, and other crops."[44]

The 1870 fair was the largest ever with more amusements attracting larger crowds. When it was over the treasurer reported $534.71 in the bank after having paid for premiums and the fairground upkeep. The funds accrued from the stockholders, annual membership dues, and the fees charged the fair visitors. These funds appeared sufficient for some years.[45]

Even though the society was doing well financially and offering more premiums and a more elaborate fair, by 1874 there were some, including the editor of the *Gazette,* who questioned whether the society officers were

41. Ibid.
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid.

not allowing interest in the society and fair to languish. Some felt the coming of the railroad would help to keep it going. Others, however, blamed president Colonel J. D. H. Ross, W. A. Ruff, and others for neglecting it. W. A. Ruff replied in a long letter in the same paper that he resented being charged with neglecting the society and the fair. He called the critic an imposter who should get out of the Lexington saloons and follow him on his farm visitations. "Now, sir, you say the society had better sell its properties to the colored for a college. Who asked you for such advice? Now, sir, while my name is Ruff this old, honored society shall not be broken up, and I hope the president and committees will sustain me in this."[46]

The society then had its critics. About this time there were some who felt the newly organized Grange should take over the society and fair. This was not to be, for as one ardent supporter concluded:

> If this fair is a failure, it will be a disgrace to this county and a stigma on her citizens. It will be the disgraceful death of one of the few enterprises inaugurated since the war, that looked like life and enterprise, and one that promised to help us keep abreast with our neighbors who have not as great an advantage as ourselves. It will be a humiliating acknowledgment to the world, that we are a failure. It will be the return of the sow to her wallow in the mire again.[47]

Actually, both the fairs of 1874 and 1875 were successful. The *Gazette* spoke of the one in 1874 in this fashion:

> The opening of the fair was begun Wednesday morning under the most favorable weather that could have been desired. Before the close of the day there was one of the finest collections of stock that had ever been brought together on our fairgrounds. The number of visitors, as is usual on the first day was not large, but compared very well with former occasions.[48]

Another writer added:

> If there is any occasion when the people of Rockbridge, big and little, old and young, male and female have the opportunity of being called together, except at their agricultural fair, we cannot call it to mind. It comes but once a year and occupies but three days of the 365. They are a poor people indeed who cannot give that much time from each recurring year to a social assemblage; to say nothing of the real practical advantages derived therefrom. Long live Rockbridge County Agricultural Society! and may its exhibitions forever flourish.[49]

This they did indeed. When the eleventh annual fair was concluded in 1875, the *Lexington Gazette and Citizen* declared in an editorial that:

46. Ibid.
47. Ibid., September 11 and 25, 1874.
48. Ibid.
49. Ibid.

> The evidence of progress and improvement, in this particular, in our old county is highly gratifying to us. The exhibition of thoroughbred cattle showed that our farmers are turning over a new leaf and leaving the beaten track of their forefathers, and that they are not afraid to invest in the best specimens of the best breeds. In addition to short horns, several splendid specimens of dairy stock were exhibited. The show of horses for useful purposes was best in the state. We had good judges of horse flesh from all parts of the state, all of whom concurred in the opinion that Rockbridge might well be proud of her show in this line. . . . The show of farm and garden products surpassed anything we had ever seen before. Though fruit was scarce, Captain Henry B. Jones and Mr. J. Dryden exhibited some splendid varieties of apples, and some five specimens of pears were shown by Jacob Fuller. In the ladies department the exhibition was far ahead of former years. Cakes, breads, hams, preserves, wines and sweet meats abounded, and in the household area, home made carpets, flannels, blankets, needlework and embroidery were there in great variety. . . . Rockbridge may well be proud of this her eleventh exhibition; we are informed by visitors from the fair of our sister county Augusta that ours far surpassed the one in Staunton. The same news was born to us from the 'Hill City' Lynchburg. Our neighbors should look to their interests or they will soon be surpassed by our little 'inland' county; though they have everything in their favor in the shape of money and railroads, the laurel wreath will be taken from them and placed on the head of old Rockbridge.[51]

The year 1876, the nation's centennial year, was not only a banner year for the United States, but also for the county of Rockbridge. At a Court House executive meeting held on February 22, the treasurer's report showed the best balance ever of $1,396.48, of which $800 had come from fair entrance fees. The expenses included amounts for the buildings and old debt of $679.42, for premiums $462.40, and for policing the exhibition $141.50. The business of the society included a resolution passed giving President W. F. Pierson $50 for managing future fairs and another to publish a booklet giving a brief history of the organization, including a schedule of premiums for the fall fair. These were to be sold to raise money in case they decided to move the fair to other grounds. In conclusion, the president offered the members a variety of tobacco seeds in case any member wished to experiment with them.[52] That fall the fair was widely publicized with huge posters distributed as well as plenty of space devoted to it in the local press.[53] The fair was a great event and a huge schedule of premiums was awarded on the final day.[54]

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50. Ibid., September 18, 1874.
51. Ibid., October 20, 1875.
52. *Lexington Gazette,* February 18 and 25, 1876.
53. Ibid., October 17, 1876.
54. Ibid.

Through the remainder of the 1870s and early 1880s the fairs continued to be successes. The membership of the society backed the two railroad lines coming to Rockbridge, and when the road movement started they backed that, too. The society appointed John Ruff and A. T. Barclay to testify before the Board of Supervisors in support of the proposed Rockbridge Road bill in December 1879.[55] The opening of the Valley Railroad to Lexington several years later helped the county break out of isolation and gave the society and fair new life. At a special meeting in March 1883, where a large number of members and stockholders appeared, the treasurer reported that there were 101 stockholders, that there was a large balance in the bank, that new buildings had been constructed on the fair grounds, and that a larger premium list would be offered for the fair of 1883.[56] A stockholder was moved to write in the *Gazette:*

> Let the stockholders take hold of this matter; think over it before the meeting and come prepared to advance something for the good of the order. Let them fix at this meeting the time for the fall fair so that the information can go to the manufacturers of machinery, implements, and to open up in due time correspondence with railroad officials to secure special rates. If our county maintained and proved, in any measure, a success when isolated and hemmed in by mountain bulwarks, certainly we should not expect it to languish now that the facilities for building it up and making it attractive are enhanced.[57]

Certainly the fair of 1884 reached a new high; but in 1885 the weather was bad the first day and the attendance was poor and it picked up but little the remaining two days. The receipts were off by two-thirds and the society piled up a large debt. However, the stock show was reported good and the farm products were fewer but those exhibited were good. The national financial situation was blamed, in part. Some felt even then it was not as bad a fair as some of the others. One person wrote: "We could not but feel proud of the exhibits, all the way from the Kebel engine that stood like a king, down to the worst delicate fabric wrought by the tiny hands of the little girls."[58]

Could part of the decline in interest be a feeling that one of the farm reform groups, such as the Alliance or the Grange, was taking over the fair concerns? Certainly farmers were joining those groups and even sending representatives to farmer's assemblies in Richmond; and, too, farmers were urging the holding of regional fairs in place of county ones.[59]

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55. ibid., December 15, 1879.
56. Ibid., March 3, 1883.
57. Ibid., February 9, 1884.
58. *Rockbridge County News,* October 16, 1885.
59. Ibid., April 24, 1885, and January 22, 1886.

Incorporated by the General Assembly of Virginia 1860

STATE OF VIRGINIA.

Re-Incorporated by the General Assembly of Virginia 1869.

ROCKBRIDGE

Agricultural and Mechanical Fair.

No. 73

This will Certify, That Edmund Pendleton

is the owner of One Share of the ROCKBRIDGE COUNTY FAIR

and is entitled to all the rights, privileges and immunities, and subject to all the restrictions of a Share according to the Charter and By-Laws of said Fair. Transferable only on the books of said Fair on the return of this Certificate, with all dues and assessments paid.

Witness the Signature of the President and Secretary thereof,

this 12th day of November 1885

L. G. Cox, President.

Secretary

Lexington Gazette pr.

A share of the fair purchased November 12, 1885, by Edmund Pendleton, a member of VMI's first graduating class who had returned to Lexington to live in 1879. (RHS Collection, W&L University Library.)

In spite of these factors the society still made great efforts to improve the fair buildings and grounds. A race track was prepared by Tate Sterrett and declared the best in the state. The *Gazette* said of him: "It takes a man like Tate to make a success of anything these days."[60] In addition to the usual premiums, other special ones included:[61]

60. Ibid., October 1, 1886.
61. Ibid., August 20, 1886.

CONTRIBUTOR	FOR	PREMIUM
O. B. Loose	Best embroidered piano cover	$5.00 in jewelry
W. C. Stuart	Best rag carpet	$2.00 in books
Sterrett and Thompson	Season imported Percheron horse for best foal	$5.00
L. G. Jahnke	Best display of German carp	Set of plated knives
The President	Best lady horseback rider, 4 or more enter	Saddle
J. P. Welsh	5 lbs. butter donated	$5.00
C. C. Burke	Best two year old steer	2 gallons of whiskey
J. G. Crist	5 lbs. of butter	$5.00
S. T. Thompson	Best gentleman rider, 5 or more enter	$10.00 gold piece

The society offered a first and second prize of a saddle and a whip for the best two knights in a tournament at 3 P.M. the last day and a silver cup for the foot-race winner. A further attraction would be the VMI Cadet Corps march on the first day, and their band would play daily. This brought improvement in fair attendance. To help pay the extra expenses the president and the newspaper urged more members to buy stock in the institution, now at $25 a share.[62]

By now a new generation of leaders was taking over the fair. The officers for 1886 included president W. B. F. Luck, vice-presidents C. W. Irvine, Reed Sterrett, S. J. Graham, S. L. Kirkpatrick, treasurer R. S. Anderson, secretary C. M. Witt, and the directors R. S. McCluer, J. A. Steele, Edgar Ruff, D. S. Eads, McCampbell Sterrett, and R. G. Campbell.[63] The fairs of the last several years had not been what the society had hoped they would be, so a special meeting was called in April 1887 with a view to reviving the fair. As one said:

> This is a county institution and could and ought to be made, by the people generally, by their active interest in it, a source, not only of profit and benefit to all, but an occasion annually of pleasant meeting and greeting. Now, let us all take hold and lend a helping hand to make the next fair a success. Let each one feel that he has a personal interest in its success and work accordingly. Talk it up, come yourself, and urge your neighbors to come. Bring what you have to show and help your friends to do the same. This done and the next fair is guaranteed and all can join in a hurrah for old Rockbridge and her fair, the best in the Valley.[64]

Thus there was lots of publicity, and attractions were added.

62. Ibid.
63. Ibid.
64. Ibid., April 29, 1887.

In 1888 a special feature was said to have attracted more than two thousand guests in one day. It was a public wedding held in front of the grandstand. The *Lexington Gazette* reported:

> The groom was a Mr. H. D. Copper (a representative yeoman) and Miss Louise Agnor (a pretty young lassie from one of the good county families). The groom was costumed in the conventional black, while the bride appeared in blue satin, hat to match, with sealskin coat. The bride and groom, in open carriage followed by the society's president, vice-president, and marshals, marched to the strains of the wedding march by the Virginia Military Institute band, drew up in front of the stand, marched in order named to the stand amidst a long line of a thousand or more curious eyes, where they were met by the Reverend R. H. Wilson, pastor of Wesley Chapel, who performed the ceremony, assisted by Reverend A. M. Cackley of Lexington. Mr. Warren G. Hamilton was best man and the officers of the fair stood as attendants.[65]

This feature was such an attraction that it was decided to hold weddings yearly in connection with the fair.

The fair of 1889 was planned to top all previous efforts. It would last four days and two weddings were scheduled. A new feature was a fox hunt with hunters and dogs invited from surrounding counties, "doing the hearts of the old hunters good to hear the cry of hundreds of hounds in chorus," as one expressed it.[66] Tickets were offered free to teachers and pupils on the final day. A gold watch was promised the most popular young lady to be voted on at ten cents a ticket. Many individuals and companies offered special premiums for the fair.[67]

CONTRIBUTOR	FOR	PREMIUM
George B. Larrick	best pole vaulter	$4.00 hat
Graham & Moore	largest pumpkin	$3.00 hat
R. T. Northern	5 lbs. of butter donated	$2.50 in gold
New York Cash Store	best collection of fancy work	oil painting, 36"x15"
John P. Welsh	fastest hound	$2.50 in gold
C. M. Karnes & Bro.	best silk embroidery	a nice chair
Miley and Beard	pen of nice hogs	$5.00
W. H. Boley & Co.	man over 60 who runs fastest around track	a pair of boots
J. McDaniel Adair	best ½bu. of apples given to his employees	$3.00 rug
Tate Sterrett	best shod horse on fair grounds	$3.00

65. *Lexington Gazette,* October 24, 1888.
66. *Rockbridge County News,* October 10, 1889.
67. Ibid.

CONTRIBUTOR	FOR	PREMIUM
Tate Sterrett	best jar of brandied peaches	$3.00
E. T. Robinson	best fruit cake	a pr. of brass candles
John Kennedy	best crochet work by a miss under 16	a decorated lamp
M. J. Weaver	ugliest man on the grounds picture supplied	a box of cigars
Zollman and Miller	ugliest married couple on grounds	$2.50
F. A. Quisenberry	for the fastest runner in reverse 100 yds.	$2.50 in gold

With all this extra effort the fair was a success, except the first day when it rained. The second day, Wednesday, the people poured into the grounds until the whole place was alive with happy people of all ages and sexes. One said of the girls:

> Without being invidious, it is always refreshing and pleasant to see the Rockbridge girls upon these occasions. Their fresh, blooming, and pretty faces, their full well rounded and symetrical forms, and their happy, frolicsome, yet modest manners are distinguishing features of county girls, which make them peers of any other county. The young ladies will excuse us, we don't intend to include them among the exhibitions but we simply introduce them as the leading ornaments of the fair.[68]

The society was criticized in 1890 for not publishing the premium subjects early enough and valuing the premiums according to the subject shown. As they said, the premium for a brood of chickens was the same as that awarded for a mare. "This was pure nonsense," said a writer, and also he stated that the county should not be without a fair and with J. P. Welsh as president, it would succeed. The society took note of these criticisms and corrected the situation by the next fair time.[69]

One of the special features of the 1890 fair was the Alliance Parade of members which formed at the "Old Blue" Hotel beside the Washington and Lee University campus and, preceded by the VMI band, marched to the fair grounds. The displays were declared excellent, even the ladies' fancy work. The drought had cut the grain and vegetable crops but the display was better than one could expect. To take up losses here the display of chickens, ducks, and geese was impressive. The cattle stalls were well filled especially with Jerseys, and W. A. Ruff had the fattest. The horse display was a grand one, especially those of Corbett and Dimsdale of Amherst. The hogs were fine, but the sheep display was poor. The special premiums

68. Ibid., October 17, 1889.
69. Ibid., April 3, 1890.

were the largest ever.[70] The contests and weddings before the reviewing stand were listed.[71]

By 1891 the financial conditions were bleak in the nation. The society had a debt and stockholders were asked to pay up, but so difficult did this become that the fair grounds had to be put up at auction in March. The committee to handle this consisted of W. F. Poague, Tate Sterrett, and W. I. Bacon. The ten and a half acres was so well located for a fine home that C. W. Irvine decided to buy it for $5,050, for that purpose. With the sale the society, which had run the fairs since 1835, was declared dissolved. The stockholders met in Secretary Dr. J. T. Wilson's office and elected officers and directors to wind up the affairs of the society. There were outstanding 107 shares of stock, par value $25. The debt of the society was $1,900 and after paying this, it was figured that each shareholder would receive $29 for each share of stock.[72] How quickly had a great institution fallen!

For the next decade and a half there were no societies or fairs, though as early as 1897 there was renewed interest in such. There was a meeting in the R. H. Owen and Company store in Lexington in October. E. M. Pendleton and J. P. Welsh (past president of the old society) made appeals to revive the society and fair. R. K. Dunlap was named chairman and M. M. Sterrett, secretary. A committee was to be appointed to sell stock for a minumum capital of $1,500, maximum of $5,000. They adjourned to meet shortly, after having called on members of the defunct society to buy stock.[73]

In the meantime, one writing in the *Gazette* suggested that the fair ought to be moved to Goshen where the organization would have more room. It would be near the C&O Railroad, adjoining counties, and the Calf Pasture River with its abundant water. Finally, he said "the site can be had and buildings built for a much lower figure than it cost to buy land and to construct the buildings in Lexington. The citizens of Goshen will take all the stock the promoters wish to dispose of. Our hotels are second to none in the south."[74] Unfortunately, this idea failed.

In November 1897, in the county clerk's office, the Rockbridge Fair Association was organized with W. B. F. Luck president, R. L. Owen, vice-president, W. L. Miller, secretary-treasurer, and W. B. Wallace, F. A.

70. Ibid., September 25, 1890.
71. Ibid.
72. Ibid., March 5, 1891.
73. Ibid., October 7, 1897.
74. Ibid., October 19, 1897.

Ott, W. E. L. Starke, W. G. Mathews, A. S. Montgomery, J. J. L. Kinnear, R. G. Mitchell, I. F. Sterrett, and C. R. Luck as directors. Stock in the association would be offered at $10 a share in January 1898, the remainder by April 1. A committee was selected to pick out a place for the fair grounds.[75] Gone was the idea of a society to meet to discuss agricultural reform, visiting model farms, publishing helpful hints for farm improvement, and so on. The fair was to be held to promote better agricultural effort and provide amusement for the farm families of the county. The new president, W. B. F. Luck, in a letter published in the *Gazette,* said: "It is the wish of the Association to sell as much stock as rapidly as possible to attract all the farmers of the area. We, therefore, invite all who value the method by which we hope to promote agriculture and the arts to take the matter under consideration and be prepared to enlist as a stockholder in the Rockbridge County Fair Association."[76]

In spite of this effort the farmers were slow to respond. There was a further meeting of the association in February 1898 at the Court House. Arrangements were made to secure suitable land for the fair grounds. They talked of calling a meeting to see if they could get more general interest, but apparently the organization died before being born. The Grange and Farmer's Alliances seemed enough to satisfy the farmers for reform. As far as holding fairs, they could attend the state fair in Richmond or a regional fair nearby. Fairs and societies for Rockbridge were out of style, yet they had been of great value over six decades.[77]

The best we seemed to be able to do was to support local church flower shows and bazaars and school fairs. In 1911 Rockbridge people had exhibits at a regional fair held at Lynchburg in October. By 1913 the local press was urging in vain a county agricultural fair. In absence of this the best the county could do, said the *Gazette,* was to back the Rockbridge County School Fair to be held in Lexington November 18–20. "Primarily, the purpose of this school fair is to encourage the work of the boy's corn and the girl's sewing clubs and other similar organizations, together with certain valuable features of school work, embracing literary excellence, athletic contests, etc. To encourage them and stimulate interest, prizes and premiums of value are offered and committees are at work to make a great success of the school fair this year."[78] The *Gazette* urged the broadening of the scope of the fair by inviting single farm exhibits. Eventually it might become once more a county fair. "Rockbridge was better prepared than

75. Ibid., November 4, 1897.
76. Ibid., November 11, 1897.
77. Ibid., February 9, 1898.
78. *Lexington Gazette,* October 8, 1913.

ever for fine exhibits in agriculture, fruit, livestock, poultry, etc. Then why not get together and make exhibits?"[79]

For several years thereafter this was acted upon. The school fair was held at the Lexington High School (old Ann Smith Academy) directly across from the new U.S. Post Office. The farm exhibits were shown in the Rockbridge Hotel. Special parades, movies, etc. were added attractions. The railroads agreed to carry families and their exhibits to and from Lexington at special rates for the three days of the fair.[80]

Only after World War I would a fair association be reestablished and a great fair be held yearly on grounds established for the purpose off of Wallace and Houston Streets. But these fairs only faintly resembled those of the nineteenth century, when Rockbridge agricultural societies and fair associations played an important role in promoting scientific agriculture and improving the cultural life of Western Virginia, and helping to bring about a Green Revolution.

79. Ibid.
80. Ibid., October 3, 1915.

PART ONE

Social Dance in Nineteenth Century Rockbridge County

James E. Morrison

AS research was begun on this project it quickly became apparent that Lexington and the surrounding area presented a much more difficult topic to the dance historian than many other Virginia communities. The austere Presbyterian traditions of this area seem to have repressed both the actual practice of dancing and the recording of what dancing took place anyway. As work continued the picture of this community became more complex and fascinating. The presence of the many spas created an atmosphere in direct contrast to the indigenous population. To some extent the institutions of higher learning created a third outlook on dancing, and these at times became the battleground on which the community as a whole attempted to come to terms with changing mores and the inevitable diversifying of viewpoint which accompanied the passage of time. It is hoped that others will be encouraged to carry the research beyond the limitations of this essay.

The Dances

Throughout this essay are references to a wide variety of dance forms. Since most of these are no longer familiar, and those that have survived are

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James E. Morrison teaches dance and is a recognized authority on the history of dancing in the Valley. He played the fiddle while four couples demonstrated the various dances he discussed. His presentation was made in the Southern Seminary Ballroom on January 27, 1986.

rarely put in their nineteenth century context, I will provide some basic information on these various dances.[1]

Jigs and reels were the common dances of the early settlers. Jigs were essentially an individual dance, although they were frequently danced simultaneously by two dancers. Their movements were not coordinated, but were occasionally competitive. Jigs were the earliest form of what is more commonly called "flatfoot dancing" in this area today. They were not described beyond vague generalities, and barring major breakthrough in time travel it seems impossible to know what the jigs of one hundred to two hundred years ago were like.

Reels, though often thought too simple, commonly known, or old-fashioned to require notation, are occasionally described in dance instruction literature of the period and can thus be reconstructed to some extent. Reels were figure dances for a small number of couples. Most common were the four-hand reel (two couples) and the six-hand reel (three couples). There was also a three-hand reel for three dancers. Reels usually alternated stationary stepping, as in a jig, with traveling, patterned figures. The four-hand reel could be started in either a straight line or a square. The straight form was often referred to as a "Scotch reel." Likewise, a six-hand reel was often called a "Virginia reel."

In the mid-nineteenth century another dance called the "Virginia reel" became popular in the nation's ballrooms. This was the antecedent of the dance known today by that name and is unrelated to the earlier six-hand reel. This new Virginia reel was an American adaptation of the English "Sir Roger de Coverley" and several Scottish, Irish, and English traditional dances, one called "Strip the Willow."

"Cotillion" is another word that offers potential confusion. The first use of the word was for an eighteenth-century French dance that became extremely popular in post-revolution America. The dance was for four couples standing in a square formation, and involved both fancy footwork and complicated figures. Much simplified and danced with a simple gliding walk step, the cotillion evolved into quadrilles in the mid-nineteenth cen-

1. The information in this section draws on hundreds of primary source materials. Some books that are especially useful in interpreting and understanding dance in nineteenth-century America are: Lucien O. Carpenter, *J. W. Pepper's Universal Dancing Master* (Philadelphia, 1889); Allen Dodworth, *Dancing, and Its Relations to Education and Social Life* (New York, 1885; many later editions); Charles Durang, *Durang's Terpsichore or Ball Room Guide* (Philadelphia, 1847); Edward Ferrero, *The Art of Dancing* (New York, 1859); Thomas Hillgrove, *A Complete and Practical Guide to the Art of Dancing* (New York, 1864); and Saltator, *Treatise on Dancing* (Boston, 1802).

tury. Their evolution has continued to the present day, although they are usually now called square dances.

"Germans" were a remarkable development of the second half of the nineteenth century. The dancers would sit in couples around the room, taking turns in performing these game dances which mostly occupied two to four couples at a time. Many germans required props such as playing cards, handkerchiefs, hats, and so on. They all provided lots of waltzing or polkaing and usually incorporated frequent changes of partners. It is this last feature that may have inspired the concern of Washington and Lee alumni in the 1880s. Confusingly, germans were sometimes called cotillions, and this is the probable use of the word in the name of the Washington and Lee "Cotillion Club."

America and Europe were swept by a craze for dancing the polka in the mid-1840s. At that time all dances that were performed by a couple engaged in what we call today ballroom dance position were considered "waltzes." This included the 2/4 time dances such as the schottische and polka and the 3/4 time dances such as the redowa and plain waltz.

From our present vantage point it is difficult to perceive how radically the waltz dances departed from tradition. Although the plain waltz had been introduced in Europe a generation before, it had never been accepted in American ballrooms. With the sudden introduction of this completely new way of relating to a partner on the dance floor, there was a great deal of adjusting on the part of preachers and worried mothers for many years to come. The controversy that periodically surfaced at VMI and Washington College in the 1840s and 1850s was part of this larger controversy.

As the century progressed a tremendous variety of dances similar to the waltz and polka were introduced. Charles A. M'Evoy offered a wide variety of these to Lexingtonians in 1850. In the 1890s ragtime music and a new style of doing couple dances heralded in a new age. This new style of dancing was epitomized by Vernon and Irene Castle at the beginning of the present century and was the basis for what we recognize today as "ballroom dancing."

Dance Instructors and Dance Education

The earliest recorded dancing masters in the vicinity of Rockbridge County were Ephraim Hubbard and James Robinson, both of whom were listed as living in Augusta County in 1763.[2] I have found no other references to either. It would be fascinating to know more of these early

2. Mary Stanard, *Colonial Virginia, Its People and Customs* (Philadelphia, 1907), p. 114.

pioneers. Another early record of dance instruction was William Hare's account list in which a Mr. Crusolles is paid for teaching dancing and the French language.[3]

The earliest dancing master to advertize his services in Lexington was a Mr. Hoffman, who in 1848 notified the citizens that he would open a school for the summer at which:

> A variety of new and fashionable Dances will be introduced and taught, consisting of Boyd's, Roberson's, and Backetts Cotillions (all full sets.) Circassian dance, Spanish dance and waltz.
>
> WALTZING—consisting of the Italian, German, and Hop Waltzes. La polka and polka quadrille.
>
> TERMS: $5.00 for a course of thirteen lessons.[4]

If this seems an ambitious agenda, it pales when compared with the proposal of Charles M'Evoy two years later.

> DANCING & WALTZING
>
> CHARLES A. M'EVOY
>
> Professor of Dancing and Callesthenics. Teacher at the Exchange Dancing Academy, Richmond, Va. Also principal teacher at Petersburg, Va., has the honor of announcing to the citizens of Lexington and vicinity, that he will give a course of lessons in this place, commencing about the 18th inst.
>
> Mr. M' teaches all the forms of the above beautiful, healthy and important branch of fashionable education. The following dances will be taught: The Waltzes Redowa, Redowa Deux temps, Polka Redowa, Mazurka, Polka Mazurka, Trois temps, Deux temps, Zingerrella, Cellarieus, Schatish Polka, Polka Gallop, Dances, Opera Polka, National Polka, Cachanca, Cracovienne, El Balero, Smolenski Pas Styrian, Mazurka Quadrilles, Highland Fling, Sailors' and Fishers' Hornpipes, Plain Cotillions and Waltzes, Circles, Spanish Dances, Reels, &c., &c.
>
> Mr. M' will furnish the highest references. Due notice of time and places of teaching will be given.[5]

These ads suggest a number of things. First, both dancing masters were in Lexington for the summer, perhaps to enjoy the more agreeable summer weather. Second, the ads come at the same time that a final ball was first allowed at VMI. Mr. Hoffman is more conservative in his approach, listing the older and more respectable dances first, and saving the polkas and waltzes for the end. M'Evoy, instead, gives a long list of the new style waltzes, polkas, and mazurkas, and concludes with a seemingly token reference to the older dance forms. It should be remembered that both

3. William Hare's account list, Reid Family Papers, box 8, folder 98, Washington and Lee University Library Special Collections.

4. *Valley Star,* April 27, May 4, 18, and 25, 1848.

5. *Lexington Gazette,* May 9, 1850.

dancing masters came to Lexington during the height of the polka craze that was taking place throughout the country and the western world.

Miss Duval taught dancing in the latter part of the 1880s. The *Rockbridge County News* incidentally reported:

> *Terpsichorean*
>
> The sacred precincts of the "news sanctum" has been invaded by the devotees of the Terpsichorean art, and several evenings in the week, the "types" are enlivened by the lively strains of music, and the rhythmic tread of many feet gliding over the polished floor of the 3rd story just above the News office.
>
> Miss Duval, who has been teaching the private classes in dancing, has found it necessary to accommodate the demand, to remove to larger rooms. She has taken the large hall in the new iron-front McCrum building over the News office.[6]

The fact that Miss Duval did not advertize in the newspaper at this time suggests that other dancing masters might have done the same. This would help to explain why so few dancing masters' ads appeared in the Lexington papers when compared to other Virginia towns and cities. Another contrast with other Virginia communities is that the local day and boarding schools did not advertise dance instruction as a part of their curriculum. Most schools elsewhere in the state offered dance instruction for an extra fee as a matter of course.

The predominant attitude on the other side of the Blue Ridge was that dance education and dancing instilled good manners, posture, and health. It was also generally judged an innocent and enjoyable form of entertainment. Religious objections to dancing did exist, but did not establish public or private policy to any great extent.[7] In Rockbridge County this balance seems to have been reversed. One result may have been that what dancing and dance instruction took place was much less likely to be reported in the papers or the letters of children, thus painting a more antidance picture for the historian than is justified.

The College and The Institute

The presence in Lexington of Washington College (later Washington and Lee University) and the Virginia Military Institute brought hundreds of young men from all over Virginia and the South to Lexington. Washington College had a local, strongly Presbyterian board of trustees and a

6. *Rockbridge County News,* April 11, 1889.

7. See James E. Morrison, "Two Centuries of Dance in Albemarle County," *Magazine of Albemarle County History,* 42 (1984): 23–39.

Presbyterian minister as president until the time of Robert E. Lee. VMI seemed to enjoy a greater degree of autonomy from the town and was non-sectarian. Students at least occasionally danced from the earliest times, but always away from campus. Letters establish that students attended frolics and gave "a great dancing party" in 1817 and 1818.[8]

VMI was the first of the institutions to allow its students to organize dances publicly. The first I have been able to discover took place at commencement in 1847.

> The Ball succeeded and there the sound of music and merriment was heard until long past the witching hour of night. A number of ladies from a distance, as well as our own fair townswomen graced the assembly, and no doubt made the hearts of our student youth flutter strangely to the sound of their tiny feet upon the floor. So ended one of our brightest and most pleasant days.[9]

Colonel Francis Smith was chastised in that same year by Dr. John Skinner because he allowed dancing among his students.[10] The cadets were not allowed to have a dance on campus to commemorate Washington's birthday in 1848, but a commencement ball was held in the mess hall of the Institute later that year and continued as a regular event for the rest of the century.[11]

Following the war, and due to some extent to Robert E. Lee's presence at Washington College, dancing became much more acceptable at both establishments. Both had social clubs that staged periodic dances. These were still off campus at Washington College, but in the Bachelor Officers' Quarters at VMI.[12]

The Final Ball was first given at Washington College in the late 1860s, but continued through the 1870s to be given off campus, often at the literary society halls. The Final Ball moved to Newcomb Hall at the University in the mid-1880s, but still with the prohibition against "German or Round dances."[13] By this time there were frequent dances in town, many student sponsored. The third floor of McCrum's hall was the most popular location.

The Final Balls at both institutions were very late-night affairs, generally lasting until dawn. They started late as well. In 1894 the VMI ball was

8. Ollinger Crenshaw, *General Lee's College* (New York, 1969), p. 102.

9. *Lexington Gazette,* July 8, 1847.

10. Crenshaw, *General Lee's College,* p. 66.

11. William Couper, *One Hundred Years at V.M.I.,* 4 vols. (Richmond, 1939), 1: 177-78.

12. Crenshaw, *General Lee's College,* p. 158; Mary P. Coulling, "The Lee Girls," *Proceedings of the Rockbridge Historical Society* 6: 81.

13. Crenshaw, *General Lee's College,* pp. 158, 209, 210.

(VMI Archives.)

scheduled to start at 10:00 p.m. and actually got under way at 11:30. The VMI Final Ball was traditionally started with the firing of a cannon and concluded at dawn with the discharge of another gun, following which the band played "Home, Sweet Home."[14] The mess hall was used almost every night during commencement week for "hops" and "Germans" in addition to the Final Ball. The *Rockbridge County News* regularly covered the balls at this time, listing each student or cadet and his date and what she wore. A long list, it must have been carefully scrutinized by many.

Community Dance Events

One of the earliest descriptions of dancing in what was then the Virginia frontier is that of Joseph Doddridge. He described a wedding party that included dancing until dawn, three-or four-handed reels, square sets, and jigs danced in a somewhat competitive way by two dancers at a time.[15]

Another pre-Revolutionary observation of dancing is that of Philip Fithian, who in February of 1776, somewhere in Augusta County, was invited to a "scotching frolic." The scotching frolic turned out to be a party for the purpose of dressing flax, followed by dancing.[16]

Frolics, for the purpose of getting neighbors together to make tedious jobs such as corn husking, barn raising, etc., more pleasant, were a common occurrence on the frontier and were invariably followed by a meal and dancing. In 1843 the *Valley Star* reported on a "kicking frolic" in one of the western counties, at which guests sat in a circle around new cloth and stamped it into proper shape. The meal was described as a "promiscuous grab" and dancing followed.[17]

The old ways seemed to hang on longest in the more remote parts of Rockbridge County. The following was reported in Denmark in 1889:

> Mr. John E. Siler and Miss Maggie Hostetter were married at the residence of Mr. Fred Hardbarger on last Tuesday morning, by Rev. D. A. Penick. The boys of Denmark and vicinity tendered him and [sic] old time serenade at night. Next day his sister, Mrs. John Armentrout gave Eddie

14. *Rockbridge County News,* June 21 and July 5, 1894; Couper, *One Hundred Years at V.M.I.,* 1: 30.

15. Joseph Doddridge, *Notes on the Settlement and Indian Wars of the Western Parts of Virginia and Pennsylvania, 1763–1783* (New York, 1876, p. 155. The full description of this event is included in Edmund P. Tompkin's *Rockbridge County, Virginia: An Informal History* (Richmond, 1952), pp. 160–64; the transcription is not completely accurate, however.

16. Philip V. Fithian, *Journal, 1775–1776* (Princeton, 1934), p. 180.

17. *Valley Star,* February 16, 1843.

Mr. Morrison (with fiddle) plays while dancers demonstrate the steps.

and his bride a reception, which was attended by a large number of his friends. During the day and at night they had music and dancing.[18]

It is not until late in the nineteenth century that dance events began to be reported frequently in the local papers. In Alone in the month of January 1889, a dance for the young people was held on a weekly basis. Dance parties in Natural Bridge are frequently reported. New Years Eve was celebrated at "Hickory Hill" with a ball in 1889. In 1894 a dance was given at "Fancy Hill" for Washington's Birthday. And Mrs. E. M. Ruff gave several dance parties at her home without the excuse of a holiday.[19] The presence of visitors was often an excuse for a dance party. "Miss Fanny Wortham who for some time has visited the Misses Tompkins, returned to

18. *Rockbridge County News,* April 4, 1889.
19. Ibid., January 4 and 25, 1889, April 12, 1894, November 29, 1894.

her home in Roanoke today. . . . Miss Wortham was given a dance by Mrs. Tompkins on the evening of February 1."[20]

Tournaments were held at Natural Bridge during the last two decades of the century and were invariably followed by a dance. It is interesting to see that while some of the tournaments occurred during the tourist season, frequently they did not.[21]

Dancing at McCrum's Hall on Main Street became so common as not to be newsworthy. Here was an event that *did* catch the editor's attention in April 1894:

> An enjoyable hop was given in McCrum's Hall Tuesday evening. The usual custom was reversed and instead of the dance being given by the young men to the young ladies, it was given by the young ladies to the young men. There were eighteen ladies present and in the throng of young men every girl was a belle.

The January 1894 *Rockbridge County News* also reported on another unusual dance event:

> A ball poudre given last night in McCrum's Hall was a social occasion of the New Year much enjoyed by lovers of the dance in Lexington. There were a number of couples on the floor, and the ladies and their escorts appeared with powdered hair and painted cheeks, after the manner of the olden time.[22]

By the close of the nineteenth century social dancing had become accepted in the county. Athletic events and dancing were the principal passions of the young people and had become far less controversial for all.

Music and Musicians

Who played for the dancing in Rockbridge County? Many of the musicians were brought to the county, and of course a band coming from a distance, then as now, was more likely to be reported. For the 1846 Christmas Eve Ball at Natural Bridge was offered "Music by Charles Johnson and Blind Bill of Lynchburg." This sounds like a very small band; indeed, one wonders what instruments and what type of music they provided. Natural Bridge brought the Naval Academy Band to play for the 1885 Fourth of July ball.[23]

In 1852 "Scott's music band" provided the music for the dancing at VMI during commencement, and in 1889 we read that "the large mess hall was

20. Ibid., February 8, 1894.
21. Ibid., June 19, 1885, November 8, 1894.
22. Ibid., April 19, 1894, January 4, 1894, p. 3.
23. *Valley Star,* December 3, 1846; *Rockbridge County News,* June 19, 1885.

elaborately decorated with bunting, and inspiring music was furnished by Volker's Band of Richmond." VMI hired the First Regiment band of Richmond for the entire week of commencement in 1894. The *Rockbridge County News* commented that their playing was "much superior to the ball music generally heard in Lexington."[24]

Indigenous music must have been used for the vast majority of dance events that took place, and further research is needed to discover who these musicians were. One of the few records of a local dance band comes in an 1894 account of a "Hop on Colliers Creek: The young folks of Collierstown gave a grand hop Friday night, Feb. 9th, in honor of visiting friends. . . . Music was furnished by the Collierstown string band, led by Professor Lucian Brown."[25]

Rockbridge Resorts

Rockbridge's many spas brought to the county a social scene quite different from the resident one. The spas of Europe and England, especially Bath, had discovered that a full dance schedule attracted patrons. By the time Virginia spas were establishing themselves a nightly dance was one of the expected entertainments. Indeed, nightly dancing must have done wonders for the health of the vacationers, whether or not the waters did them any good.

When Salt Sulphur Springs of Monroe County made major improvements in 1823, a "spacious new DINING AND BALL ROOM" was touted in their Rockbridge County advertisements. [26] As spas in Rockbridge County developed, they followed suit with their dance offerings.

The Natural Bridge had a covered, open-air "Dancing Pavilion . . . very near the Hotels [Forest Inn and Appledore], where those who take pleasure in terpsichorean amusement have the opportunity of 'tripping the light fantastic toe,' to the music of a fine orchestra provided for the purpose."[27] Natural Bridge seemed to cultivate and attract a local audience as well as outsiders who came to spend the summer for its many entertainments. Numerous events were held at Natural Bridge outside of the tourist season, such as the following 1846 Christmas Eve event:

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24. *Rockbridge County News,* June 18 and July 4, 1889, and July 5, 1894; Couper, *One Hundred Years at V.M.I.,* 1: 264.

25. *Rockbridge County News,* February 15, 1894.

26. *Rockbridge Intelligencer,* June 7 and forward, 1823; also, May 15 and forward, 1824.

27. "Natural Bridge and Its Environs," 1890 (promotional brochure), p. 10.

Ball
At the Natural Bridge

> On the 24th instant, the proprietors who have recently taken possession of the property at this place, will, by way of introduction, have a Ball—on which occasion the *Bridge and Car will be illuminated,* and the latter accompanied by music in its ascension [sic] and descension [sic].[28]

Five hundred ladies were invited to this event. In 1846 this represented a large portion of the local population.

Rockbridge Alum Springs also had a full dance schedule during its season. Typical of their promotions in the 1880s and 1890s, the owners claimed:

> The lawns will be enlivened during the day and the ball-room at night, by a superb band. . . . An excellent band is always in attendance during the entire season. Those who enjoy dancing can enjoy the delightful 'german' in the grand ballroom, so situated that the invalid's quiet is undisturbed.[29]

They also claimed that morning germans were a frequent occurrence.[30]

A mid-nineteenth-century participant recalled: "Two large balls were always considered the outstanding events of the season: the full dress ball, and the masquerade ball. For the latter the guests, with the help of their maids, were busy for some time in advance making their own costumes for the occasion. This was done in great secrecy." The ballroom was housed in a building all its own near the post office and store.[31]

While Natural Bridge and Rockbridge Alum were patronized primarily by wealthy families and individuals from the east, the county also had a rather different sort of summer resort during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Wilson Springs seemed to have an almost entirely local clientelle, many of them farm families. It had a three-week season (the end of July and beginning of August,) no promotion other than tradition and word of mouth, and no professional musicians. The physical arrangement imitated Rockbridge's prestigious resorts: cabins, built by the users, encircled a central green, in the middle of which was an outdoor dance platform. Music would have been provided by the participants.[32]

Wilson Springs may have been the only spa in Rockbridge County with indigenous music. A recent study of nineteenth-century musicians at Vir-

28. *The Valley Star,* December 3, 10, and 17, 1846.

29. *Rockbridge County News,* February 22, 1889 (headline: "Rockbridge Alum Spring").

30. *Rockbridge Alum Springs, Virginia. Announcement for 1892.* (Richmond, 1892), p. 13.

31. Tompkins, *Rockbridge County,* pp. 121–22.

32. Ibid., pp. 87–88.

ginia mountain resorts has found that most of the musicians were hired by the season from Baltimore, Washington, D.C., and Richmond. Most were musicians in theater bands the rest of the year. The five-and six-piece orchestras worked quite hard to provide the daily concerts and nightly dances that took place at the resorts.[33]

The summer retreats of Rockbridge County, to the extent that interaction between the local population and the visitors occurred, must have introduced a more cosmopolitan attitude toward dance.

33. Katherine K. Preston, "Musicians at the Mountain Resorts of Western Virginia, 1830–1900," *Sonneck Society Newsletter* 11 (Fall 1985): 72–73.

Detail of a fireback found near Brownsburg, signed Vesuvius Furnace, probably mid-nineteenth century.

Rockbridge Artists and Artisans

Barbara Crawford and Royster Lyle

ON April 28, 1986, we presented a slide program to the Society which described a county-wide survey project called "A Search for Early Rockbridge County Artisans: A New Awareness of Local Material Culture." The project was sponsored by the Virginia Foundation for the Humanities and Public Policy (VFH&PP) and Southern Seminary Junior College, and involved many members of the Society and others in the county. We spoke of the survey work that we were doing, showed slides of the artifacts we had examined, and described the methodology we were using in recording and analyzing our findings.

The purpose of the project is to bring a new awareness of the importance of locally made furniture, pottery, fabrics, and that large group of objects, artifacts and paintings generally accepted today as "folk art." The project began with a series of public meetings, followed by extensive search for artifacts to be studied and photographed. From the beginning one of the aims of the project was to produce a publication which could serve as a guide or catalogue to the information uncovered during the study period.

Rockbridge County until recently had not been thought of as a place that produced distinctive furniture and folk art. Local historians had dealt

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Barbara Crawford is a well-known artist and professor of art at Southern Seminary Junior College. *Royster Lyle* is an expert on historical preservation and local architecture. Their talk was presented in DuPont Auditorium at Washington and Lee University.

at one time or another with about every conceivable subject having to do with the county's history. But until recently folk art, furniture and such have been overlooked.

The prevailing attitude has been for some years that the Scotch-Irish settlers in our area and their descendants were not as creative or as artistic as their fellow Valley settlers—the Germans in the counties to the north. And scholars such as Dr. James G. Leyburn may not have helped matters much. For instance, Dr. Leyburn wrote in 1962 that "in the realm of aesthetics, the Scotch-Irish (meaning the early settlers of Rockbridge) were, and remained, practically deaf, dumb, and blind."

We felt that Leyburn's statement was a good starting point for a survey project and began to develop a long-range research effort. The VFH&PP was receptive to the proposal and the project began in 1984.

As the program progressed, it became evident that the study of Rockbridge County's material culture might be unique in several ways, at least in its methodology. We could not find evidence of a similar program involving intensive study in just one county in any other section of the country. Thinking that the idea might be useful to other areas, careful records were kept from the outset. All of the forms, schedules, and samples of the finding were included in the final report made to the Virginia Foundation for the Humanities and Public Policy, a copy of which has been deposited in the Society's manuscript collection at Washington and Lee.

Working with the VFH&PP and other local groups, as well as an advisory group of specialists, a program of public meetings, research, and writing was outlined. The first public program took place October 28, 1984, at the R. E. Lee Episcopal Church with approximately 120 people attending. The speakers included Laura Stearns, of the Southern Seminary faculty, who gave a description of the eighteenth-century settlement in the Rockbridge-Augusta area; Barbara Luck, curator of the Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Museum , who talked on new research on textiles in the Valley region; H. E. Comstock, Winchester writer and collector, on furniture in the Valley; and Ann McCleary, folklorist and architectural historian, on Augusta County folk painting.

Many of those attending this first panel discussion brought items that were known to have been made locally (or suspected of being made locally)—items such as quilts, chairs, pottery, and paintings. The visiting lecturers discussed the various articles informally with those attending. A card was made on each item and a snapshot taken for the record. Afterwards, the items that appeared to be of importance to the project were further examined, researched, and a photograph made.

During the second public meeting, March 2, 1985, more time was allotted for discussion. Also at this second meeting the artifacts brought by the participants were placed on the tables in front of the room so that the visiting speakers could discuss the objects during their talks. This gathering, held at Southern Seminary's Chandler Hall, was an all-day affair with both morning and afternoon sessions.

At the beginning of the day's program Barbara Crawford outlined the progress of the project to date and reported on the findings from activities since the earlier meeting. The first talk was by William G. Moore, director of the Greensboro Historical Museum, who spoke on folk art pieces in his museum's collection. He was followed by John McDaniel, professor of archeology at W&L, who spoke on artifacts (some suspected of being locally made) found in the several recent digs in the Lexington area; Linda Hyatt, a Rockbridge writer, on the works of J. J. Hileman, a local nineteenth-century marble cutter and tombstone maker; Wallace C. Gusler, curator of furniture and firearms at Colonial Williamsburg, on pre-Revolution long rifles in Augusta County (which included part of Rockbridge); Pamela H. Simpson, professor of art history at W&L, on architectural details and decoration in Rockbridge houses; and Sue H. Stephenson, Lynchburg writer, on basketry of the Appalachian mountains. The objects brought by those attending were examined by the lecturers and comments were made to the whole audience.

As a result of these meetings and the attendant publicity, we received many requests from county residents who wanted to learn more about their own furniture, paintings, and other items that might have been produced locally.

For some while before the public meetings research had begun in public records, newspapers, and elsewhere on the early craftsmen who were active in the Rockbridge area. The first sources examined were the U.S. censuses of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The early censuses listed heads of households and gave some indication of the ages of the family members and other occupants of the residence. Beginning in 1850, the censuses gave the occupation, as well as the location in the county (and sometimes the post office), together with place (state) of birth. This information has been vital in learning about local artisan activity. Key information on all craftsmen in the census (some sixty occupations from artist to wool manufacturer) was recorded and entered in a relational database program.

Discussions with the staff at the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts (MESDA) in Winston-Salem provided helpful guidance in setting up the computer program. MESDA, which had established its program in the 1970s, concentrated on artisans which had at least a chance of producing

something that might be associated with the decorative arts. They decided to omit artisans such as shoemakers, tanners, and coopers, but to include blacksmiths and carpenters. MESDA also does not include craftsmen activities after about 1820.

With the help of Larry Bland, editor of the Marshall Papers project, a database program was designed. Sixteen fields were chosen, including occupation, race, sex, place of birth, period of activity (beginning and ending dates), and location of activity in the county. Considerable space was allotted for listing sources of information.

In addition to the censuses, information on the artisan activity in the county has come from many sources: newspaper articles and advertisements, county marriage and birth records, deed books and will books, church records and tombstones.

One constant problem is the great differences in spellings in the late eighteenth century and throughout the nineteenth century. Many members of the same family spelled their names differently, as in Ayers/Ayres, Clemer/Clemmer, and Agnor/Agner. To simplify the spelling problem for the computer program, the most commonly accepted current spelling was used.

The census takers had an especially difficult time with unusual names and often resorted to phonetic spelling. For instance, a Lexington hatter and native of Pennsylvania was listed in the 1850 census as John Dubecq, in 1860 as Dewbeck, and in 1870 as Duberque. Fortunately, his tombstone in the Lexington cemetery cleared up the problem—John Dubecq.

As of mid-1989, over 1,300 Rockbridge County artisans have been identified and are now in the database. Over 350 different items have been examined and over half of those have been photographed. Crawford and Lyle credit the success of the project to the wonderful response of the interested citizens of Lexington, Buena Vista, and the county. Many people, especially members of the Rockbridge Historical Society, have invited them into their homes—their attics and cellars—and spent hours talking about the family possessions that are necessary to the survey. Eventually well over 2,000 craftsmen will be included in the study. There is the possibility that there will be a publication eventually that will make these findings available.

In the meantime, the data collected is available to the members of the Society.

The Swing Meets the Spirit: Reflections on Collegiate Athletic History

Thomas W. Davis

EXINGTON braced itself for a most unusual event. The year was 1921, the month and day October 15th. Plans had been developing for months across the Commonwealth, as legions of alumni read about chartered trains that would bring the faithful to Lexington, while others studied highway maps and prepared their cars for the sometimes adventuresome road journey. Governor Westmoreland Davis, himself a VMI graduate in the Class of 1877, was certain to attend, as was a host of other dignitaries. VMI's student newspaper called it "the biggest day of the year" and reported that it was the first day in the Institute's history when the Corps went cheerfully to reveille. As the day progressed, the trains arrived on schedule and deposited their passengers, while a myriad of honking, clanking automobiles created unprecedented congestion in the streets for pedestrians and drivers and the town's one beleaguered traffic policeman. Eventually, a crowd numbering 7,000 people gathered around an area just below the VMI Barracks and across Route 11.

Thomas W. Davis, a 1964 Virginia Military Institute graduate, has been teaching history at the Institute since 1972. His book on the history of VMI athletics, *The Corps Roots the Loudest,* was published in 1986. He spoke at the Society's meeting on the terrace of Moody Hall at VMI, July 28, 1986.

What had created such excitement and generated such a fuss? Nothing other than the dedication of VMI's Alumni Memorial Field as a playing ground for Coach Blandy Clarkson's Flying Squadron. It was a field that easily could have been informally called, borrowing a phrase from Yankee Stadium as the house that Ruth built, the house that Jimmy Leech built, since he with his illustrious teammates had led VMI to its remarkable undefeated season the previous year. VMI's opponent that day was the University of Virginia, a team making its first visit to Lexington in twenty-one years. Wahoo supporters gathered in temporary stands on the south edge of the field and spilled over on the crest of the hill above, while the Corps and alumni packed the new permanent stands on the opposite side. Virginia prevailed in the contest, 14-7, but not before fans on both sides had their turns at performing the then-popular snake dance as they wove their way around the field in high-spirited fashion. Later that evening, VMI superintendent General Edward W. Nichols hosted a gala reception and dance in the new Jackson Memorial Hall gymnasium, thereby marking an end to the day's festivities. All in all, it's little wonder that the *Rockbridge County News* labeled the event for Lexington as "an occasion incomparable with any of the kind in its previous history."

The events of October 15, 1921, provide just one example of how athletic contests at local academic institutions have affected the local community. This paper will give further examples of how people and events connected with VMI athletics had an impact, large and small, on residents of Lexington and Rockbridge County.

Area residents could observe cadets pursuing unorganized games and play from the Institute's earliest days. Swimming and fishing in the North River, hiking in the Blue Ridge Mountains, horseback riding along familiar trails, fencing indoors, and rigorous exercise out of doors were only natural considering the close connection VMI's founders saw between physical fitness and academic learning. "Physical education constitutes the beginning of cadet life," stated superintendent Francis H. Smith, who subscribed wholeheartedly to the Latin precept *mens sana in copore sano*—a healthful mind in a healthful body. Claudius Crozet's presence on the Board of Visitors no doubt emphasized this tendency, as he was a graduate of France's École Polytechnique, where physical conditioning had long received significant attention.

Unorganized games gave way to organized sports as early as 1866, when cadets were taught the fundamental rules of baseball. A team from Washington College provided the first of many matches between the two schools, but soon the keydets were traveling to Lynchburg and Charlottesville in search of additional opponents. Before the century ended, new

sports appeared, including gymnastics in 1880 and an early form of football in the same decade. Football as we know it began for VMI in 1891, with Cadet Walter H. Taylor of Norfolk providing the organizational initiative and W&L the opposition. The 1894 team, incidentally, was undefeated and untied in six games, thereby sharing a record most attribute only to the immortals of 1920.

These developments did not diminish the cadets' enthusiam for their traditional popular amusements, such as ice skating, an activity that evoked this poetic description in 1872: There was

> the adjacent North River—which wends its way within sight of the Old VMI, and like a silver thread disappears in the far distance, and rolls its sparkling waters onward to the James. Rounding a bend in the stream we are in view of the skater's rendezvous. On one side rises a precipitous cliff, which presents a solid wall of rock. A road separates its foot from the river's brink. From the opposite side stretch away fields undulating with hill and dale. The soft evening glow falls on the jagged boulders and lingers on each jutting, icy point. The sound of many voices and glad bursts of laughter disturb the silence of the spot. The ice is splendid; firm and with a glassy smoothness. In every direction rush the Knights of the Gray, circling on uncertain courses. Taking advantage of the suspension of Military and Academic duties, they have collected at this centre of attraction, at last two hundred strong. Freedom is sweet and the withes of Discipline are galling. There are also many students from our sister institution and "last but not least" are several representatives of the fair sex with their gallant escorts.—Pardon me, oh Ladies! for making lastest mention of you, but it is held a general rule to keep that which is sweetest last.

Before the pivotal year of 1920, Lexington residents could also witness organized athletic teams competing in basketball, track, and swimming. The first roundball season found cadets watching encounters in a town building usually devoted to indoor ice skating, where the sport was inaugurated on a snowy evening in January 1909. Track competition was a highlight of week-long Finals exercises, and Bert Bacharach (father of the illustrious composer of the same name) was among the best of the early swimmers. As for football, local folks pointed with pride to the 1900 team, which compiled an excellent record marred only by a scoreless tie with Virginia and a loss to Georgetown; left tackle George C. Marshall distinguished himself that year, as did team captain and quarterback Charles S. Roller, Jr., later head of Augusta Military Academy.

When this team defeated VPI in the season finale, it returned to a spirited reception by townsmen and students. "The homecoming of the team after defeating Blacksburg," stated that year's *Bomb,*

> was an event never to be forgotten. The Corps, led by the band, marched to the station to meet the victors, and were joined by a great throng of

> people along the route. The greeting as the train pulled in was one of enthusiastic welcome. The strains of the band playing "Dixie" were almost drowned in the yells of the cadets, with which were mingled the cheers of the citizens. Hundreds of skyrockets and Roman candles brightened the heavens, and torches lighted up the surroundings. A procession was formed with the band leading, followed by the members of the team in carriages and by the Corps en masse. It was indeed a triumphal march, ladies cheering along the route, and the team receiving plaudits as they passed through the crowded streets. When the Institute grounds were reached, the sharp report of a cannon sounded forth a welcome. At night the team was given a banquet at the mess hall that surpassed anything ever seen within the walls.

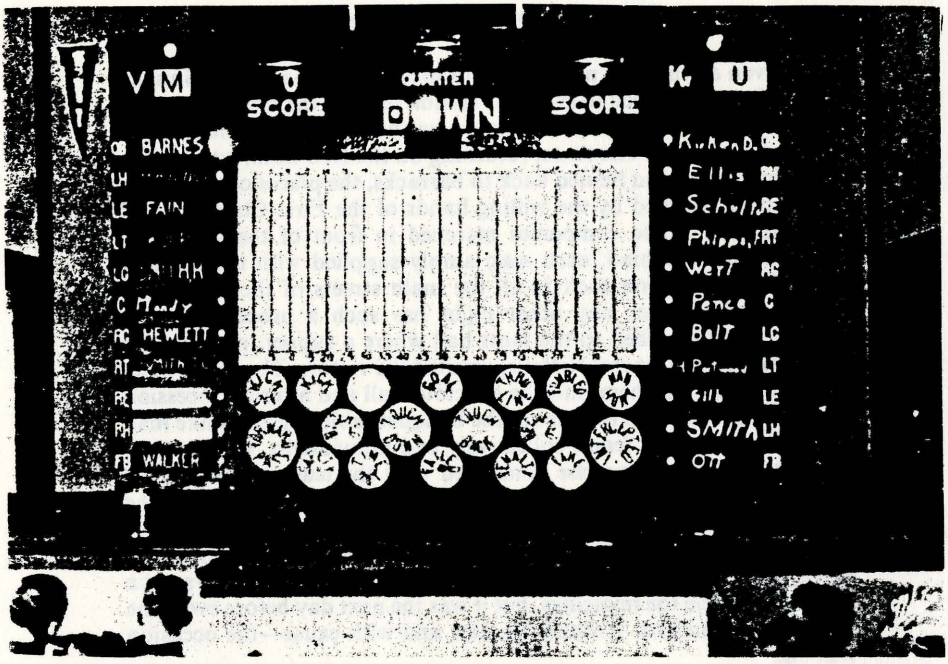
The most vivid memory came in 1912, when many local people traveled to Charlottesvile and witnessed VMI's first triumph over the Cavaliers, a contest in which a carrot-topped fullback named Charles E. "Red" Moore ran and kicked his way to fame as Wahoo fans chanted helplessly, "Kill that red devil."

The team that beat Virginia in 1912 was composed of so many VMI greats that the roster reads like a "Who's Who" of distinguished graduates. For those who want to argue in favor of athletics as a contributing factor in character building and successful careers, these players provide excellent examples. For instance, Sumpter Lowry started at left end, and Blandy Clarkson and Rice Youell at the tackle positions; together they prevented Virginia from gaining a single first down in the first half and opened large holes in the far heavier Virginia line for the runs of Lloyd Leech, Withers Burress, and quarterback Matt Kingman.

An intriguing aspect of this game is that all the players cited above served the United States as officers in World War I and saw action overseas. Youell and Moore won the Distinguished Service Cross, the nation's second highest medal for heroism in combat; Clarkson was a major who fought in the Meuse-Argonne and Saint-Mihiel campaigns; Lowry and Burress were infantry officers; Leech was in the Marines, as was Kingman, who was wounded in the fighting at Belleau Wood.

Lexington played a little-known but key role in the October 26, 1912, victory against Virginia. With their request to attend the game as a unit denied by the superintendent, cadets relied on the telegraph to keep them informed. A special line was run from the local office to the Post Exchange, where cadets "watched" the game on a large blackboard and cheered in great numbers as they followed the play-by-play messages. The developments in this scene—and its impact on Lexington, is best described by the cadet newspaper:

> When VMI scored her first touchdown the crowd [in the Post Exchange] went wild. Hats were thrown away, never to be found again, and even the most dignified members of the Corps acted like



Cadets "watching" away games: "From the noise which emanates from the Jackson Memorial Hall during one of the 'grid-graph games,' a passer-by would have good reason to believe that the game was being played on the platform instead of miles away" [1927 Bomb*].*

madmen. So much noise was made that Mr. Steele was not able to hear the telegraph instrument at first. Thereafter everyone made strenuous efforts to keep quiet, but how could one be silent when the team was winning such a glorious victory!

Inspection was postponed for half an hour to allow the final returns to come in, and when finally held, it had become so dark that it was impossible to tell whether bores were cleaned and plates shined. As soon as inspection was over pandemonium broke loose. Buckets were flung about the stoops and courtyard, the water barrels were rolled down the steps and if any outsider had entered barracks he would have sworn that he had run upon a lunatic asylum by mistake. Very little eating was done in the mess hall at supper. Everyone was yelling and talking about the game. After supper the Corps formed and marched out on the parade ground where through the kindness of General Nichols a huge bonfire had been made. The First Classmen went uptown and obtained fireworks, and the band offered their services to add to the noise making. The entire Corps formed for a snake dance

and for an hour or more the Parade Ground presented an animated picture.

But even all this was not a circumstance to what happened Sunday night. We were allowed to go to the station to meet the returning team. It's a mighty good bet that Lexington has never heard as much noise since the Civil War. The team, returning on the 6:30 train, was met by the entire Corps, and hauled back to barracks, the places of the horses having been usurped by the willing hands of the First Classmen and ex-classmates. Three companies marched in front of the victorious team and three behind, each man amply supplied with torches and noise. The procession took in all the main streets of the town, and never on election or any other night has such a procession been formed. They marched to the mess hall where a supper, provided by the generosity of General Nichols, awaited the victors. The entire body of cadets followed them into the spacious hall and after a procession around it, formed in a ring about the banquet table, cheering like mad for each man of the team, collectively and individually, the coaches, managers and everyone else connected with the team coming in for their share of the applause. Speeches were then demanded from all the coaches and alumni present.

The Corps was finally removed from the mess hall and returned to barracks, in order to continue their celebrations. Call to quarters put a slight damper on the rejoicings, but it was the next day before everyone had entirely finished. It was a big day, and with cause—the occasion was big.

Most of the sporting activities described so far took place on the Parade Ground. All home football games were played there through the 1920 season, the last games that year being victories over North Carolina State and Catholic University, the latter score being 96-0. James R. Gilliam, Jr., Class of 1910, told the tale of how local children would scamper up the hill from Route 11, unobstructed in those days with the buildings you see now, to watch the games while he, as team manager, would look the other way, pretending not to see, so they could avoid the nominal entrance fee. Temporary bleachers were erected, and cadets walked the sidelines urging on their team and giving encouragement to key players. Cadets were enjoined, as their newspaper said, "to yell and continue to yell until you have entirely lost your voice—then stop, but not before."

Baseball was played on this field too, with homeplate being in the vicinity of Lejeune Hall, and track events were held on the Parade Ground with distances marked by white chalk. Basketball and gymnastics occurred in the original Jackson Memorial Hall that was an integral part of the Old Barracks, just to the left of Jackson Arch. Players of the first sport had an interesting handicap to overcome, as heavy columns supporting the floors above stood directly on the court—talk about a home court advantage! When the current Jackson Memorial Hall opened in 1916, the new gym

had no such obstructions. It was the perfect site for the spectacular exhibition given annually at Finals, including this 1916 description:

> There is a fanfare of trumpets, the band strikes up a lively tune, and the team comes prancing in, chests expanded, muscles taut, and nerves tingling. First is the tumbling, followed by the many intrepid feats on the horizontal and parallel bars, then enormous and intricate pyramids, and finally a thrilling exhibition on the flying rings. Next in rapid but orderly succession, are boxing, wrestling, and fencing, and then, amidst thunderous applause, the team marches off the floor, each man glancing from the corner of his eye at a certain spot and wondering if his stunts have aided and strengthened his cause in Her estimation.

Much to everyone's delight, the new building also contained VMI's first indoor swimming pool, meaning, in part, that Lexington citizens perhaps could now avoid coming across cadets in the North River who were, to use the discreet words of one 1908 observer, "insufficiently clothed." Finally, our eyes turn to Mallory Hall, where four tennis courts once stood to satisfy the keen interest of cadets in that sport.

Contests between teams representing VMI and W&L were common around the turn of the century, and sizeable crowds from Lexington often turned out to support their favorites. Student pranks and shenanigans heightened the rivalry, as did the intense interest of the fans. Thus the stage was set for an incident in 1904 best described by Colonel William Couper, an eyewitness to the event, in volume 4 of his centennial history of the Institute published in 1939:

> In a baseball game played at V.M.I. April 9, 1904, a dispute arose over whether a long hit, which landed in the road in front of Colonel Mallory's quarters, was fair or foul. A professor marked what he thought was the spot and Coach Roper took exception to it; words followed; an apology was demanded and one was written and sent, but it was not humble. Later in the game there was a close decision at the plate and it might have been amicably settled had not spectators surged around the players and the umpire. A fight started and the game was delayed. This game was called at the end of the eighth inning when the score was tied, 8-8, on account of darkness. Two more games were played (April 23rd and May 14th), the first won by Washington and Lee, 8-7, and the second by V.M.I., 3-2, each victory being won on the home grounds, but relations were strained and at the end of the season they were severed and have so continued. It was learned years later that the authorities at the two institutions were looking for such an opportunity to sever athletic relations. This was told the author, who played in these games, by Colonel H. C. Ford about 1926 and it was confirmed in conversation with Dr. J. L. Howe, of Washington and Lee University, who was cognizant of the arrangement.

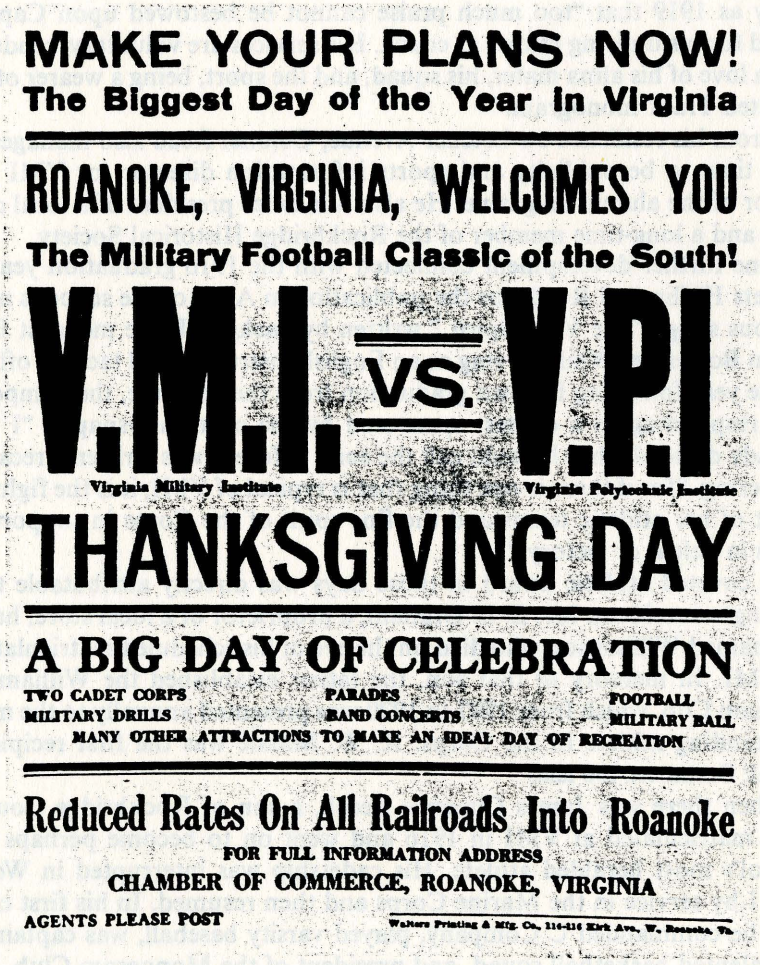
In this pre-1920 era, VMI was fortunate to have its athletic program established and managed by two Lexington residents in succession. Montgomery B. Corse, usually referred to as Captain Corse, was the first person

named graduate manager of athletics and served in that capacity from 1902 to 1910. The son of an alumnus, he graduated from VMI in 1885, then attended the University of Virginia, and returned to Lexington where he became a successful pharmacist. He taught physics, astronomy, chemistry, and tactics at VMI for three years, married the daughter of a faculty member, and served on the Board of Visitors from 1911 to 1916 and again from 1922 until his death in 1931.

Captain Corse was succeeded by Colonel Henry C. Ford, graduate manager from 1910 to 1917. Ford graduated from VMI in 1889, obtained a Ph.D. from the University of Virginia, and was a highly esteemed professor of Latin, English, and history at VMI for nearly forty years. The records of the Athletic Association reveal Colonel Ford as a tireless graduate manager who promoted athletics as a beneficial endeavor that produced discipline and character in cadets and pride among alumni for the school's accomplishments. He advocated an expansion of athletic facilities and sought the maximum degree of cadet participation. His motto: "Every man out."

A number of other area residents of that era or later made their mark on athletics. Samuel M. Millner, Jr.—"Colonel Sam"—was an accomplished gymnast and later a coach of that sport during his forty years of teaching at the Institute; at his graduation in 1911 he also received the Jackson-Hope Medal for standing first in his class academically. Kenneth S. Purdie graduated a year later after a cadetship marked with football and basketball success; later he was to teach mathematics here for four decades and to serve for many years on the Athletic Council. Lloyd Leech matriculated from Lexington with the Class of 1913 and was himself a fair athlete before being overshadowed by his younger brother Jimmy.

Two graduates of the Class of 1916 deserve special comment. They resembled each other in their long years of service to VMI and to Lexington and in the inspiration they provided to generations of cadets. Sterling Murray Heflin received the Cincinnati Medal at his graduation, an annual award by the faculty for excellence of character and efficiency of service. A renowned physics teacher, Colonel Heflin also distinguished himself in athletics by teaching the fundamentals of football and wrestling to legions of young men, one writer labeling him "the unsung hero behind much of VMI's athletic success over the years." For eight years he was faculty chairman of athletics and in the year of his retirement served as vice-president of the Southern Conference. In the community he was on the Lexington School Board for nearly twenty years and chairman for fourteen; he also, along with his good friend Professor Rupert Latture of W&L, presented in Lee Chapel what this speaker regards as one of the most memorable programs of this society.



A railroad station poster heralding "the biggest day of the year in Virginia."

His Brother Rat Hernando Money "Son" Read was an academically distinguished graduate whose athletic prowess was shown in track, particularly as a member of VMI's mile relay team that ran so well in Philadelphia at the 1916 Penn Relays. His career as a faculty member began almost immediately, with a M.A. degree from Virginia, and for four decades professed his love and respect for the English language and public speaking. As a track coach, his attributes were quickly noted by cadets, who wrote as

early as 1919 that "too much praise cannot be bestowed upon Captain Read for his untiring efforts as coach. His services are voluntary, rendered from love of his alma mater, his squad, and the sport, being a wearer of the coveted Track monogram."

From his residence on Letcher Avenue, Colonel Read also managed to find time to be publicity and sports information director for VMI and editor of the alumni magazine. He also was twice president of a local civic club and a long-time member of the Rockbridge Historical Society.

One further development connected with the 1916 graduation year of Cadets Heflin and Read was the publication in April of the school's most famous song, "The VMI Spirit," written by Jackson-Hope medalist Benjamin Bowering. While serving as an English instructor and tactical officer in the year following his own graduation from the Institute, the composer was responding to a contest sponsored by the cadet newspaper. "I had already decided what I would call the song before it was written," recalled Bowering, "for if there is one thing that is typical of VMI, it is the fighting spirit of her athletic teams and the fine spirit of the Corps in supporting them in defeat or victory."

A coveted athletic award in those days was directly attributable to a Lexington resident. Mr. E. L. Graham, a proprietor of a local store, had a son named Williamson who died on the eve of his scheduled matriculation at VMI. In memory of that son, the father established the Williamson Graham Cup, which from 1907 to 1920 was presented annually to the most outstanding athlete in the Corps. R. W. Massie was the first recipient, Frank Summers the last.

Then there was James Clarence Leech, a son of Rockbridge County who matriculated at VMI in 1916 and went on to become perhaps the school's most heralded athlete. His cadetship was interrupted in World War I by service in the Marine Corps and then resumed. In his first class year he commanded C Company, played varsity baseball, was captain of the talented basketball squad, and president of the Monogram Club. His most enduring fame, however, resulted from his play as halfback and captain of the 1920 Flying Squadron. He scored 210 points that season (still a record in major college football), and his 26 touchdowns that year stood as a college record for over twenty years. He also passed, kicked, and played defense exceptionally well. Standing five feet, eight inches tall, and weighing a mere 155 pounds, he did not run over opposing linemen and backs as much as he eluded their grasp with his remarkable speed and agility. Perhaps this comment about Leech from Colonel Heflin made to me in 1980 best captures the secret of his success: "Of all the athletes I've ever known, no one ever had a briefer interval between the mental concept of a physical action and the execution of it."

After VMI's stunning defeat of Coach Johnny Heisman's University of Pennsylvania team, Leech's name was extolled in newspapers across the country. He was included on almost every conceivable All-American team, and he followed that by being named All-South Atlantic in basketball. Later he became VMI's only representative in the National Football Foundation Hall of Fame and the first alumnus selected for the Virginia Sports Hall of Fame. As to the character of the man, his teammate Frank Summers said it best on Jimmy Leech Day at VMI on October 13, 1956: "Jimmy Leech was a leader whom everyone loved; he was respected by his teammates, and none of the honors and praises received by him ever changed Jimmy from the happy, fun-loving, carefree and modest young man that he was. . . . Jimmy certainly loved life, and, above all, he loved to play football."

Time and weather affected attention spans do not allow for more than a cursory look at VMI athletics after the watershed year of 1920. Let me, however, make a few observations on this era, beginning with horses. Many in this audience will remember the VMI Parade Ground filled with horses for garrison reviews and polo matches during the thirty-year heyday for horses, 1920 to 1950, and county residents no doubt recall the active riding and hunt clubs. Few among you might know that the official arrival of horses for ROTC units in cavalry and artillery just after World War I was marked with a problem—where would the mounts be stabled? Again, William Couper to the rescue. Why not, he suggested, ask the alumni to provide the building funds? In his cleverly conceived idea, May 1 was set aside as a date for alumni to contribute that one day's salary to this special fund. Flyers went out and the funds came in—so much, in fact, that the $10,000 goal was exceeded. In this writer's opinion, such a fund-raising technique still has potential uses.

The man most closely associated with the training of VMI horses and riders was Sgt. Edward L. Henson, a native of Rockbridge County, who was assigned to the ROTC detachment in 1920 and remained until the horses were withdrawn after World War II. Among his principal co-workers were Jimmy Cochran and "Bud" Hickman. Four famous horses are still remembered, the most notable being Jack Knife who arrived in 1929; the three others were Gyrene, Applejack, and Ranger.

Two examples of local residents who bolstered VMI athletics bracket each end of the 1920 to modern era. At the beginning, I think of John W. Zimmerman, a Lexington jeweler and optician, who coached the first wrestling teams in 1921 and 1922 and later officiated many matches; and then Coach E. S. "Tad" Humphreys, co-owner and business manager of the *News-Gazette* who lifted fencing to new levels of cadet interest and success for twelve years starting in 1972.

The subject of wrestling brings to mind the renewal of competition with W&L throughout the 1930s when both schools dominated the Southern Conference against the likes of North Carolina State, Maryland, and the University of North Carolina. Crowds were rarely more enthusiastic than when the grapplers took to the mats in dual-meet and tournament situations, and the best wrestlers in the region appeared several times for Olympic tryouts. A sign of the two schools' success came in a 1956 W&L survey that showed the Generals winning seven of the fourteen conference wrestling tournaments, the Keydets five. Furthermore, VMI had never finished lower than second in the standings, and the school's forty-two individual champions since 1930 ranked tops in the conference, compared to W&L's second place total of thirty-nine; the Tarheels of North Carolina were a distant third with thirteen champions.

Athletic competition between the two local colleges increased once the logjam was broken, belittling the myth that the two schools never meet. Today teams compete in such sports as swimming, lacrosse, fencing, rugby, wrestling, baseball, and soccer, the last being an example of community spirit as a charity game has been waged for the benefit of the local United Way, a game some soccer fans refer to as the city championship.

Memories are easily rekindled in this town. John McKenna comes to visit and we think of those glorious teams from the mid-50s to the mid-60s—above all, we think of the man's character. We read that Weenie Miller is going to Hampden-Sydney as the new athletic director, and we think of basketball excitement in the early 1960s—Stormin' Norman Halberstadt setting the scoring record in the Pit with forty-one points against Richmond and the 1964 championship team that went to the NCAA playoffs after beating Lefty Dreisell's Davidson team, only to meet Princeton and the remarkable Bill Bradley. Ron Carter returns for an old-timers game, and we try to tell newcomers what 1976–78 was really like.

Someone points out Mrs. Blandy Clarkson's house on Highland Road, and I think back to all those years when she and her husband were so intimately connected with VMI athletics. And when Thanksgiving comes around, more than one of you has recollections of holidays in Roanoke for the big game—the parades, half-time shows, post-game feasts at the Hotel Roanoke, and driving home late.

I never knew Wert Faulkner, Class of 1924, but when I drive along the road near Glasgow named in his honor, I think of his gifted athletic ability, his leadership at James Lees Carpets and in the state, and his fiery, emotion-laden speeches given at VMI pep rallies years after his own playing days were over. By all accounts, this Cincinnati Medal winner made a lasting impression. In the words of one writer, "Few people have escaped

from the Faulkner presence without feeling more cheerful, wiser, or certainly more energetic."

Over the years many residents of the area excelled in athletics. G. Effinger "Fish" Herring was one of the Institute's most versatile track stars—a conference champion in the 220 who once compiled twenty points against William and Mary in a dual meet by placing in the 100, the 220, the low hurdles, and the broad jump. Charles W. "Billy" Roberson, in the Class of 1938, was a notable pitcher averaging ten strikeouts per game, as was Percy Sensabaugh nearly thirty years later—another strikeout artist who once fanned twenty-one batters in a game against The Citadel.

I exercise an author's prerogative by mentioning my Brother Rat Bill Blair, a basketball star on Weenie Miller's 1964 squad who returned as a head coach, suffered through a season, and guided the 1976 Cinderella team to the Eastern Regional Finals against undefeated Rutgers. What a year that was—culminating with stunning victories over Tennessee and DePaul, being one of eight teams still competing for the national championship, and still playing when North Carolina and ACC champion Virginia had been eliminated. That remarkable season had begun with my favorite example of Bill's effortless humor. In the preseason press guide prepared with Mike Strickler, he described some of his players this way:

> WILL BYNUM: I used to think Bynum was underrated; but now he thinks so too. He is difficult to coach because he is smarter than I am. Nevertheless, he still can't beat me in tennis. Very, very steady and frightfully consistent. Moves well with the ball and drives like a guard. Excellent defensive player and thinks he can stop Rick Barry.
>
> DAVE MONTGOMERY: Dave worries me because he gets excited and nervous. He once fell asleep during one of my pre-game speeches! A very strong rebounder who can jump through the roof. He has one of the best outlet passes I've ever seen. Only trouble is you have to be Mike Ditka to catch it.
>
> RON CARTER: Rockin' Ron can do it all—shoot, handle it, drive, sky, rebound, run—only problem is that I don't know what to do with a player who's that good! Very seriously, he has the potential to be the best offensive player VMI has ever had. Defensively, however, he's like a traffic light stuck on green. A very exciting player who will play very much. If I don't start him, I may substitute him into the game before the opening tip.

For an encore, the 1977 Keydets had twenty-six wins and four losses, including a state record twenty-one straight victories, and by beating Duquesne in the NCAA regionals in Raleigh, travelled to College Park, Maryland, with three other colleges that had pretty fair basketball traditions—North Carolina, Kentucky, and Notre Dame—to see who would represent the East in the Final Four.

And there was Herb Patchin—the gentle giant from up north—photographer, fisherman, wit, friend of cadets, and raconteur par excellence—AND a gifted trainer who spoke of the Christians eating the lions when VMI upset a heavily-favored opponent. "Who's gonna win the big game today, Herb?" shouted a friend from across the street one Saturday morning in October. "I don't know, Harry," came the response. "That's why they'll play the game—to find out."

VMI and W&L have travelled long and honorable athletic paths, which have diverged at times and also run together. Despite their differences, both institutions subscribe to the precept found in the constitution of VMI's athletic association in 1917, which reads: "Victory is no great matter, and defeat is even less; the essential thing in sport is the manly striving to excel, and the good feeling it fosters between those who play fair and have no excuses when they lose."

For my final remark, I refer to Mrs. Blandy Clarkson who, looking back and reminiscing over sixty years, stated in a 1979 interview with Arthur Lipscomb, "There's no other school like it. All the disagreeable things blew over, and it was all lovely."

New Light at the End of Crozet's Tunnel

Robert F. Hunter

THE name Claudius Crozet is memorialized on the Virginia Military Institute mess hall, his gravestone stands in front of VMI's Preston Library, and a portrait of him hangs in the VMI Museum. His name also identifies a little town between Afton Mountain and Charlottesville, on the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad. Twelve years after Crozet's death the general manager of that railroad, Colonel William C. Wickham, named in 1876 the station around which the town grew.[1] His reason for doing so was to recognize Crozet's noteworthy engineering feat in constructing a railroad tunnel through the crest of the nearby Blue Ridge in the 1850s, for a brief time the longest one in the United States.

Crozet emigrated from his native France in 1816 and spent the next seven years at West Point teaching mathematics and engineering. The cold climate there, in terms of both the weather and his relations with the

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Robert F. Hunter is emeritus professor of history at the Virginia Military Institute. At the time of his talk he was collaborating with Edwin J. Dooley, Jr., on a new biography of Crozet to be published during the VMI sesquicentennial in 1989. He spoke to the Society in the Nichols Engineering Building auditorium at VMI on October 27, 1986.

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1. William Couper, *Claudius Crozet: Soldier-Scholar-Educator-Engineer (1789–1864)* (Charlottesville, Va., 1936), p. 152.

superintendent, led him to accept an offer from the state of Virginia to be principal engineer, a job that required him to superintend in the field the planning and construction of what were called in those days "internal improvements"—that is, turnpikes and other roads, and canals or other waterways. The railroad was as yet unknown in 1823, but its day was soon coming. Crozet was then thirty-three.[2]

Although he enjoyed teaching and writing, Crozet really loved the outdoors, and he saw more of Virginia from horseback than most modern Virginians have seen from their air-conditioned cars. His wife, Agathe, and three young children were at home in Richmond while his work took him on extensive trips. The winter months found him at home writing reports and much too often battling some respiratory ailment.

In the late 1820s Crozet was fascinated by the pioneer Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. When the Virginia legislature could be induced to show any interest in internal improvements, they were inclined more to the James River Canal than to any newfangled railroad. The planter-dominated legislature viewed internal improvements at state expense as taking their money to benefit western Virginians, and they would allow no more of it than absolutely necessary. The competition for the western trade from neighboring states, however, finally prompted them in 1831 to move forward. Crozet, who by then strongly advocated a railroad from Richmond westward instead of the canal, was forced out of his job by the canal interests who were backed by the planters. He resigned and went to Louisiana to be principal engineer of that state.

Louisiana was a disappointment. Crozet's health could not take the swampy bayous where he spent much time improving waterways, and the legislature was even slower than Virginia's in financing railroads. When Jefferson College, a few miles upstream from New Orleans, offered him the presidency, he accepted it. But when the Virginia government offered him his old job in 1837, he happily returned to the Old Dominion that he regarded as his adopted home, to remain the rest of his life.

During this period he became involved with the founding of VMI, but most of his time was taken with waterways, roads, and now railroads which were proliferating. In 1843, for reasons which remain obscure, the legislature suddenly terminated his office and Crozet was unemployed. He returned to the academic world as principal of Richmond Academy for a few years, and then came the invitation to build the Blue Ridge railroad and tunnel.

2. Crozet's career is examined in Hunter and Dooley, *Claudius Crozet: French Engineer in America, 1790–1864* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1989).

The Louisa Railroad Company started in 1836, heading westward from a junction with the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac Railroad at Taylorsville, toward Gordonsville and Charlottesville. In 1839 Crozet made a survey for extending this railroad from Charlottesville to Staunton, but the mountain was so formidable that private capital could not undertake it. In March 1849 the legislature incorporated the Blue Ridge Railroad as a state enterprise, with authority to "open a Tunnel through the Blue Ridge, and construct, on each side of the mountain, the sections of railroad necessary to reach it."[3] Crozet applied to the Board of Public Works for the job of chief engineer of the Blue Ridge Railroad and was immediately appointed on March 23, 1849.

By the second week in May Crozet had surveyed the ground for the location. The entire project included, in addition to the main tunnel of about four-fifths of a mile in length, a seventeen-mile railroad between Mechum's River on the east and Waynesboro on the west, plus three approach tunnels on the more difficult east slope of the mountain. The purpose of this paper is to examine briefly the problems faced by Crozet in the construction of the main tunnel only. Each of the other features is interesting in its own right, but space does not permit attention to them in this essay.[4]

The main tunnel was to be located 700 feet beneath the low point of Rockfish Gap, estimated at 4,261 feet in length "between the upper edges of the excavation," Crozet wrote. "I have collected 13 samples of entirely different rocks, of all degrees of hardness, which will be encountered. . . . These rocks will be harder and not liable to decomposition under the surface . . . and will probably not require arching."[5] This proved to be wishful thinking, for nearly twenty percent of the main tunnel required a brick arch to keep the roof from collapsing. The tunnel was to be constructed in a straight line sixteen feet wide, allowing three feet clearance on each side of the cars, and twenty feet high above the rails, with the western end fifty-six feet higher than the eastern end. The accumulated smoke

3. Board of Public Works Papers, Group 125 (Blue Ridge Railroad), Box 215, Virginia State Library, Richmond, Virginia.

4. At the Virginia State Library the Board of Public Works Papers, including the Blue Ridge Railroad papers, have been systematically organized and catalogued within the past decade, complete with a guidebook. Colonel William Couper did not have such facilities for research when he wrote his chapter on Crozet and the tunnel a half-century ago, and his sources were confined to the printed Annual Reports of the Board of Public Works. They contain much material, but Crozet's letters to the Board give insights into the magnitude of his job that have heretofore lain unused, much as his tunnel is still there, intact but unused.

5. Crozet to Board of Public Works, May 11, 1849, BPW Papers, Box 215.

would then naturally escape westward, and water eastward. During construction water had to be pumped out behind the western heading, and air had to be blown in to both headings to clear out the smoke from the blasting with black powder charges. (Dynamite would have helped enormously, but Alfred Nobel did not invent it until 1866.)

Crozet had to persuade the Board of Public Works not to plan a tunnel for a double track, contending that if at some future time it were desirable to have one, it would be true economy to build a second parallel tunnel, for two reasons. First, the roof of one large tunnel would be more likely to fall in, requiring heavy arching with brick. Second, a parallel tunnel could be built much more rapidly by using multiple horizontal shafts through the intervening wall of the existing tunnel, permitting excavation at many headings simultaneously.[6]

Crozet spoke favorably of the work of Mr. Larguey who, in partnership with John Kelly, directed operations at the tunnel headings. Excavation began at the west end in August 1850, and by mid-January 1851 had penetrated 178 feet, about 36 feet per month. Editors of local newspapers compared this with a tunnel on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, where a 2,100-foot tunnel had been completed in seven months at 300 feet per month. Crozet replied: "They operate by means of 3 shafts at eight different points at the same time, so that the 300 feet amount to an average of 37 1/2 feet at each point."[7]

To those who inquired about the feasibility of sinking shafts, Crozet said, "The mountain is so high and steep that the heading would reach the site of any shaft probably before the shaft itself." Two rock excavating crews were at work in each half of the tunnel, a heading crew and a flooring crew, the latter working some hundred or more feet behind the heading crew removing several feet of rock down to the base level where the track would be laid.

In February 1853, citizens of Waynesboro and Staunton, impatient with the slowness of the tunnel work, vented their frustration in a petition to the Board of Public Works, asking for an investigation of Crozet's management. "If left to the management of Col Crozet, God only knows when it will be completed," they complained. They accused him of rejecting the valuable services of a Colonel Paul Stephens, who they claimed had built a tunnel in Tennessee of 2,200 feet through solid rock in eleven months. When Crozet finally had contracted with Stephens for building a ventilating machine, Crozet then "threw every obstacle" in the way of Stephens and "abandoned the contract, in a then unfinished state." They also accused

6. Crozet Report to Board of Public Works, November 30, 1849, 10 pp., ibid.
7. Quarterly Report to Board of Public Works, January 15, 1851, ibid.

Crozet of consulting William H. Crouse, "a gentleman of known and acknowledged mechanical genius," on pumping out accumulated water, and then mistreating and ignoring Crouse. "The work is consequently left without any machinery, for either ventilating the Tunnel, or removing the water," wrote the petitioners.[8]

Crozet, in response, wrote twelve long pages to the board.[9] He regretted the necessity for taking time to refute allegations of mismanagement, but he did not hold public opinion in contempt. When taxpayers raised questions, they were entitled to an explanation, as he saw it. As for Stephens, whom Crozet did employ to build a ventilator to be run by horse or mule power: "When at last he set the apparatus in motion, it broke; finally, after patching and mending without success, he disappeared." The smoke, however, was a mere annoyance and did not delay the work, and Crozet was still working on a ventilator.

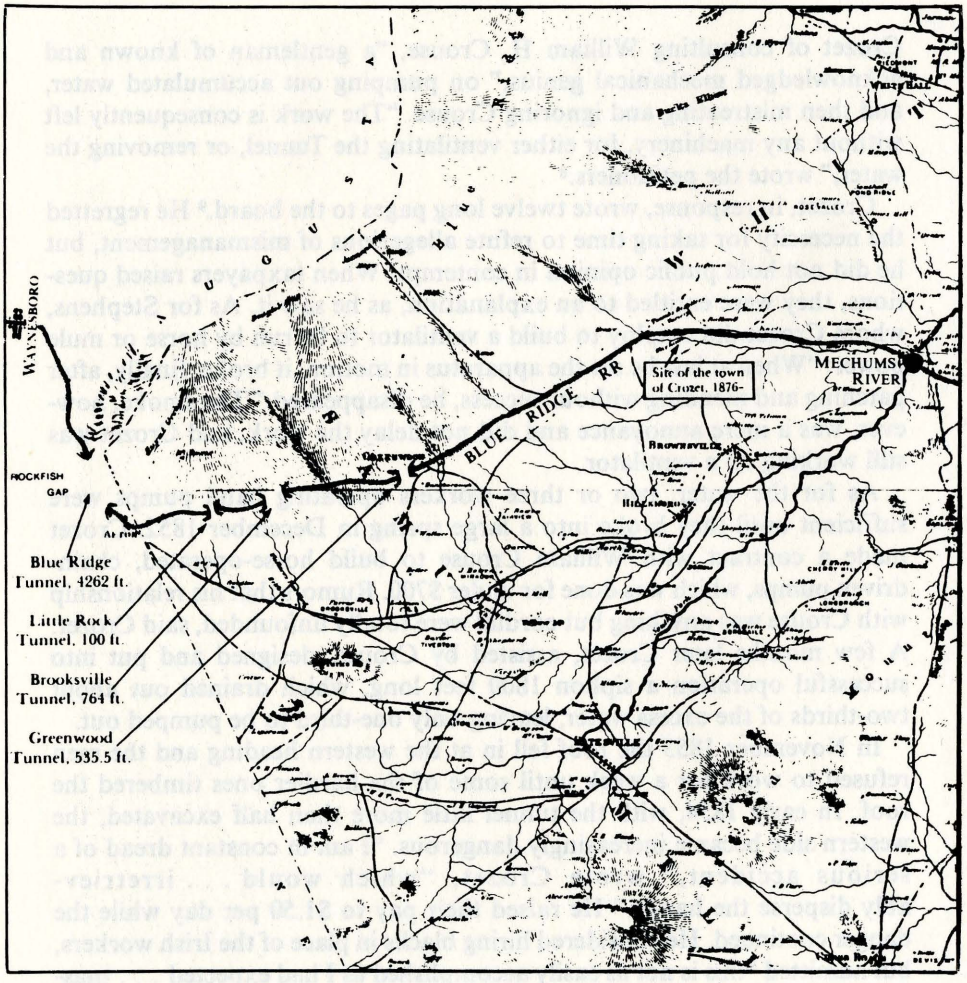
As for the water, two or three workers operating hand pumps were sufficient until they broke into a large spring in December 1852. Crozet made a contract with William Crouse to build horse-operated, chain-driven pumps, which was done for under $700. Rumors that his relationship with Crouse was anything but cordial were totally unfounded, said Crozet. A few months later Crozet, assisted by Crouse, designed and put into successful operation a siphon 1800 feet long, which drained out about two-thirds of the excess water, leaving only one-third to be pumped out.

In November 1853 the roof fell in at the western heading and the men refused to work for a week until some of the hardier ones timbered the roof. In early 1854, with the tunnel little more than half excavated, the western side became increasingly dangerous. "I am in constant dread of a serious accident," wrote Crozet, "which would . . . irretrievably disperse the hands." He raised their pay to $1.50 per day while the danger continued. He considered hiring blacks in place of the Irish workers, but admitted "this is not as easily accomplished as I had expected . . . masters, generally, object to hiring for the Tunnel."[10] At the heading, "water mixed with red clay indicates fissures rising to the very top of the mountain; the rock presents itself as an inverted wedge, far more dangerous and difficult to manage than crumbling materials; for so long as you perforate through the base of the wedge, it remains supported, but is apt to come down at once, when the perforation is entirely through it." When a subcontractor brought thirty-three blacks to the tunnel, ten of them ran away

8. Petition to President and Members of the Board of Public Works, February 18, 1853, signed by John Bell and eight other citizens of Staunton, BPW Papers, Box 216.

9. Crozet to Board of Public Works, March 11, 1853, ibid.

10. Crozet to Board of Public Works, January 4, 1854, ibid.

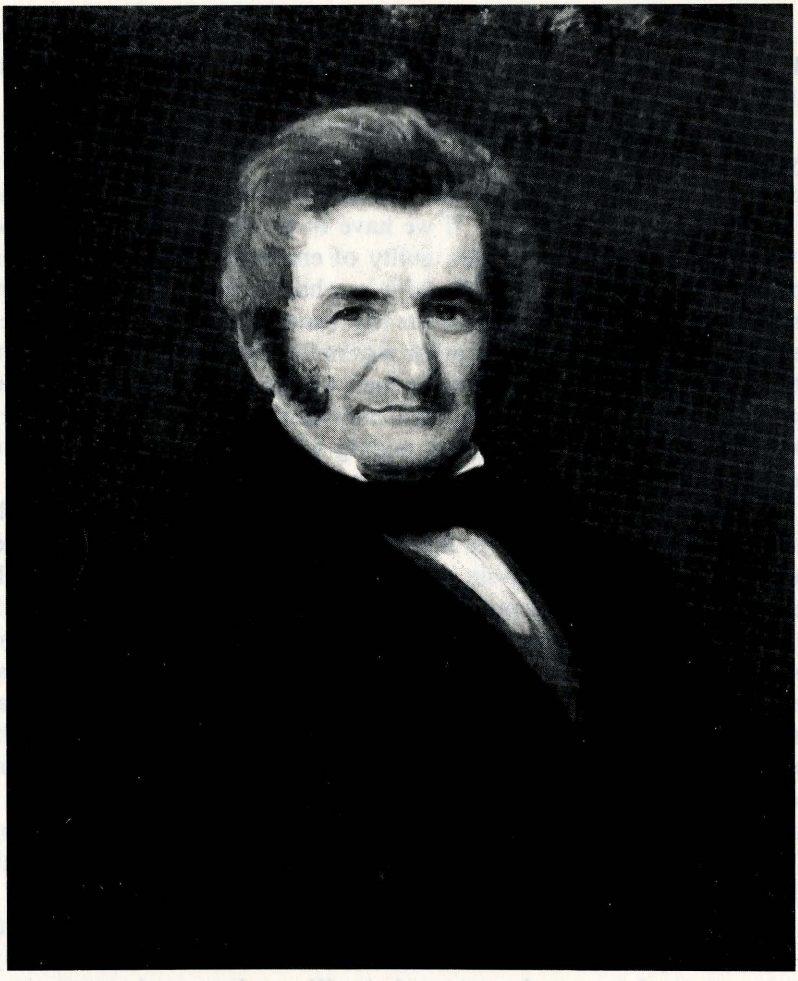


Route of the Blue Ridge Railroad from Mechums River to Waynesboro.

and were taken home by their masters. "It appears," Crozet remarked, "that negroes have become masters of their masters."[11]

Labor was a problem in the main tunnel from the beginning to the end, a matter of no surprise since this was a labor-intensive enterprise. Crozet did not like the Irish railroad workers brought down from the north, especially

11. Crozet to Board of Public Works, February 8, 1854, ibid.



Claudius Crozet (VMI Archives.)

whenever they marched off the job to a man and struck for higher wages. Paul Stephens, mentioned earlier as disappearing after having failed to build a good ventilating machine, surfaced shortly afterward in Cincinnati in April 1853. Stephens wrote to the leaders of the Irish tunnel workers, urging them to come to Cincinnati where they could get the same kind of work at $1.50 per day. The men demanded $1.50 as their due in the heading, and struck immediately. Crozet wrote, "Mr. Kelly offered them

$1.25 in the heading and $1.12½ in the bottom; which none, so far, would take, and a whole gang left yesterday for Cincinnati, where probably they will be disappointed."

Crozet was disappointed that Larguey supported the increase to $1.50, saying that "such a price was given elsewhere, that the Tunnel is long, smoky and wet, that he did wish to stop, etc." He concluded, "We must advertise for recruits, and . . . if we have to go up so high, let it be with newcomers, who have not been guilty of embarrassing us and stopping work without warning. . . . We hold in our hands, as it were, the fate of the system of improvements; were it for the Tunnel alone, I would incline to yield, but the consequences to other works frighten me."[12] Crozet had the satisfaction of hearing later that the men whom Stephens had lured away with the promise of $1.50 a day at Cincinnati had been misled, and had staged a three weeks strike there, ending with their getting $1.25 in the tunnel heading, "just what they might have had here."

The strike was broken before the end of April 1853, but even so, labor problems did not disappear. In August 1853 there were 185 hands at work on the main tunnel, eighty-six on the east, ninety-nine on the west. The west side needed more for pumping water. "Every day some of the men fail to go to work," said Crozet, "an evil without a remedy that I could suggest; and, which is likely to increase, with the improvident, as wages rise." Before 1853, he noted, there were numerous applications for work and discipline could be enforced. "But now, those men must be taken on their own terms, or else they will leave without ceremony." In early 1851 Crozet used only two shifts; later, for the purpose of accelerating the work, he resorted to three shifts. This required an increase in labor cost, "the hours of labor being as important to the men as its price."[13] This is a remarkably early instance of the eight-hour day.

A major policy decision of the Virginia Central Railroad added materially to the labor problem in the main tunnel in 1853—the decision to lay a temporary track across the mountain to Waynesboro and operate trains before the main tunnel or the approach tunnels had been completed. Crozet later reviewed the situation as follows: "In 1852, the Virginia Central railroad reached Mechum's river, and operations were progressing westward of Waynesboro [to Staunton]: then, the question was considered, how the intervening distance over the mountain should be worked; and the decision was, that stages should be placed on the road, from Greenwood Depot to Waynesboro; the company, indeed, going to some expense to

12. Crozet to William Drinkard, Secretary to Board of Public Works, April 22, 1853, ibid.

13. Crozet to Board of Public Works, August 2, September 5, 1853, ibid.

open a suitable road, for its stages, between said depot and Brooksville. At that time, there was not the remotest idea of a working track over the mountain; though Mr. Latrobe's example, on the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, might have suggested it. . . . Suddenly, however, in 1853, the policy of the company was changed; a working railroad track, over the mountain, was determined on and pushed with . . . anxiety and energy."[14]

Crozet had just contracted with Robert P. Smith in August 1853 to get a gang of "50 to 60 negroes to work at the Tunnel if I will allow for them Irish wages . . . which I have promised. . . . But so soon as the contractors appeared on the temporary track, the report was spread that $1.25 per day was the price allowed for negroes." Crozet would not agree to such an "exorbitant exaction," and failed to get the promised gang. Moreover, the tunnel crews began to be dissatisfied and fifteen left the tunnel in one day. "I found myself under the imperious necessity of raising the price all round 12½ cents per day; that is $1.25 in the bottom and $1.37½ in the heading, which has retained the force, but not increased it, as yet."[15]

By August 1854 the west heading of the main tunnel had passed through the dangerous area, but new troubles lay immediately ahead. Crozet reported to the Board of Public Works the "painful intelligence that the cholera broke out during the month, among the shanties on the east side of the mountain, with awful fatality. Seventeen died in one week and the others scattered."[16] Then the disease migrated over to the west side, and workers dispersed when eight died. It was hit and run. In a few days the infestation had moved on westward and the work resumed. "It seems to have marked the Irish especially for its prey," Crozet observed.[17]

By December 1854 the labor situation was easing. "Things are now very different from what they have been for two years past," wrote Crozet, "and we can get hands very readily." Kelly and Larguey still urged the hiring of blacks for the tunnel, "because the numerous holydays of the Irish and their practice to stop work when any one, even a mere child, dies, cause a considerable loss of time." Crozet thought this practicable, because although it was "difficult last year to hire negroes for the Tunnel . . . now the nature of the work is better understood and I think we can obtain a greater number."[18]

At long last, on Christmas Day 1856, the crews at the east and west headings met each other and the tunnel was holed through. There remained

14. Crozet to Board of Public Works, January 10, 1847, BPW Papers, Box 217.
15. Crozet to Board of Public Works, September 5, 1853, Box 216.
16. Crozet to Board of Public Works, August 5, 1854, ibid.
17. Crozet to Board of Public Works, September 1, 1854, ibid.
18. Crozet to Board of Public Works, December 1, 1854, ibid.

much work to be done before trains could use it, which required all of 1857. The flooring had to be excavated and finished, the sides trimmed, and most important, arching the dangerous portions of the roof with brick two feet thick. Late in 1857 Crozet left the Blue Ridge Railroad and tunnel as a job completed, so far as he was concerned.

In January 1858 Crozet wrote his friend Thomas H. DeWitt, member of the Board of Public Works in Richmond, from Georgetown, where he was to be employed on the Washington aqueduct.[19] Crozet declined to accept the Board's invitation to accompany the Virginia Central's inspecting engineers, which he took to be "a mere act of courtesy." He added, "I continued to visit the work and give directions . . . so long as I thought my attention to it necessary, and I ceased as soon as I found that what remained to be done was too simple to need any further instructions on my part." Charles B. Fisk, the chief inspector chosen by the railroad, Crozet regarded as "in every way qualified."[20]

Fisk submitted his report to the Board of Public Works in February 1858. "The tunnel, where arched, has a width as great, if not somewhat greater, than the average of single track tunnels upon passenger roads in the United States, and the width of the tunnel, where not arched, at the levels of 4 feet and 7 feet above the rails is as great as that of several such tunnels in this country," he reported. "If the track is always properly adjusted there need be no difficulty in running trains safely through the tunnel with its present width."[21]

The job was done, and Crozet, at sixty-eight years of age, might have felt even greater satisfaction had he known it would be used for nearly eighty years before being abandoned. Later generations, looking back, have felt a higher appreciation of his devoted and capable work than did his contemporaries.

19. Crozet to Thomas H. DeWitt, January 11, 1858, Box 217.
20. Crozet to DeWitt, February 8, 1858, ibid.
21. Fisk Report to Board of Public Works, February 20, 1858, ibid.

The Traditional Pottery Manufacturing Industry In Virginia: Examples from Botetourt and Rockbridge Counties

Kurt C. Russ

IN 1984 Washington and Lee University's Laboratory of Anthropology initiated an investigation of the traditional pottery manufacturing industry in Virginia. I formulated a research design which outlined the need, justification, and methodology for a statewide survey of this early industry. Combining both documentary and archaeological field research, the design focused on the identification of historic pottery manufacturing sites, the individual potters associated with these sites, and the types and varieties of wares produced.

The statewide survey, together with detailed investigations of particular potteries, is intended to reveal information regarding the technological history of the pottery manufacturing industry in Virginia, (Russ and McDaniel 1986a). The data generated from this work will also explore the economics involved in the production, manufacturing, and distribution of historic pottery.

In order to address these and other questions about the traditional pottery manufacturing industry, several hypotheses were articulated at the beginning of the project, which have served to guide the research.

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1. Site selection for the establishment of a pottery depended upon a variety of factors, the most important being a suitable source of clay.
2. The dominant economic theme from the seventeenth until the mid-nineteenth century is one in which regional "family operated" potteries provided utilitarian wares for localized markets.
3. The evolution of the early earthenware pottery manufacturing tradition in the east into a more homogeneous stoneware tradition to the west of the Blue Ridge is seen as a result of: a) an increased availability of good stoneware clays in the west; b) a shift in the technology of this early industry; and c) an increased popularity of stoneware in the South.
4. There is an increase in the number of potteries established during the period from 1860 to 1865. Being coincident with the Civil War, this increase is viewed as a response to the restricted supply of European export wares and an increased demand for common handmade wares.
5. By 1880 there should be evidence of a shift in the location of potteries towards major urban centers as a result of changing demographic patterns.
6. By the turn of the century the vast majority of the small "family operated" potteries were no longer in existence, the demand for stoneware dropped, and the continuation of the traditional pottery manufacturing industry was no longer economically feasible. (Russ 1984).

Since the inception of the statewide survey, the Washington and Lee Laboratory of Anthropology has concentrated its research efforts on two western counties within the ridge and valley region of the state: Botetourt and Rockbridge (Russ 1986; Russ and McDaniel 1985, 1986a, 1986b). These counties were selected for several reasons. First, the historic pottery manufacturing industry was generally undocumented for these areas of Virginia. Secondly, pottery kiln sites were known to exist archaeologically, as were extant locally made earthenwares and stonewares. And finally, the proximity of these counties to the laboratory provided relatively easy access to the sites and relevant historical documents.

The purpose of this paper is to provide a preliminary overview of the traditional pottery manufacturing industry in Virginia with detailed documentation of the industry in Botetourt and Rockbridge counties.

The Statewide Survey: Preliminary Findings

Two hundred and fifty-five potters, pottery making sites, or pottery marks have been identified. This information has been compiled into a checklist of Virginia potters and potteries printed at the end of this essay. The checklist is organized according to: 1) the county in which the potter worked or the pottery existed, including the specific location within the county; 2) the name of the pottery, the associated potters, the pottery owner(s), or the maker's mark(s) used; 3) the dates of operation; and 4) the appropriate reference(s).

The archaeological expectation was that the distribution of pottery making sites would be fairly even geographically, reflecting the universal need and demand for the utilitarian wares produced by local potters. Assuming that the distribution of potters, potteries, and pottery marks quantified here reflects the actual distribution of pottery sites (this will be confirmed when the specific location of each pottery is documented), preliminary observation indicates that the geographical distribution is not even—as the vast majority of potteries, 202, or 79.2 percent, are linearly distributed within the ridge and valley physiographic province, with thirty-one, or 12.2 percent, located in the piedmont; twenty-one or 8.2 percent in the tidewater; and one or 0.4 percent in the Appalachian plateau regions (Figures 1 and 2). The concentration of potteries within the ridge and valley province is explained by the presence of a major clay belt within this region. Another concentration of potteries is noted in the vicinity of Henrico, Chesterfield, Dinwiddie, and Prince George counties, being situated at the juncture of the piedmont and tidewater physiographic regions. In this area major stream drainage, associated with the James River, has resulted in the exposure of underlying residual clay beds.

Of the total number of potters identified, ten are associated with seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century pottery production (primarily earthenware) occurring exclusively in the eastern tidewater (Isle of Wight, York, Gloucester, James City, and Westmoreland counties). Seventeen individuals working in seven counties (Henrico, Fairfax, Franklin, Frederick, Rockbridge, Rockingham, and Wythe) are associated with earthenware manufacturing during the late eighteenth century. The other 228 are associated with the nineteenth-century earthenware and stoneware manufacturing industry, although a few continue to work into the first quarter of the twentieth century.

An obvious pattern has emerged in which pottery manufacturing sites are located near available clay sources. It is suggested that the selection of a suitable site for the establishment of a pottery was determined by a number of factors, including:

1. the availability of a suitable clay deposit
2. an adequate source of fuel (wood)
3. access to a water source
4. the presence of a local population of sufficient size to support the potter through the purchase and use of the wares he produced
5. close proximity to either an urban center or a major roadway, river port, or railway which would provide a ready means for shipping wares and receiving supplies (Russ 1984).

The relative degree of importance of these factors has yet to be determined. However, during the seventeenth century, when the earliest potteries were being established in Virginia, access both to local resources and a local "support" population, factors one through four, were undoubtedly of utmost importance. These factors probably continued to be of major importance, especially to the small "folk" or "family operated" potteries which characterized the Virginia pottery industry until the end of the nineteenth century (Russ 1984).

By the turn of the nineteenth century major routes of transportation were fairly well established and there was access to new markets and a variety of goods. As a result, the strong dependence earlier potters had on both local sources of clay (factor 1) and local markets (factor 4) began to diminish. Towards the end of the nineteenth century many of these family operations were abandoned and what have been termed "industrial potteries" began to predominate, typically being located near major urban centers (see Smith and Rogers 1979). It is clear that during this period access to both local resource and local markets, (factors 1 through 4) was of little significance, whereas the importance of the potter's reliance on the exportation of his wares and the receipt of shipments of supplies via the expanded transportation systems (factor 5) predominated (Russ 1984).

Having established a general background for the historical pottery manufacturing industry in Virginia, we can now examine findings from intensive documentary and archaeological research at the county level.

The Industry in Botetourt and Rockbridge Counties

The initial county level research is nearly complete for Botetourt and Rockbridge counties. Four nineteenth-century pottery kiln sites and nineteen potters, two affiliated with the late eighteenth century and twenty-two with the nineteenth century, have been identified from these areas.

Botetourt County

Recent documentary and archaeological research has resulted in the identification of eleven potters who worked in the Botetourt County area

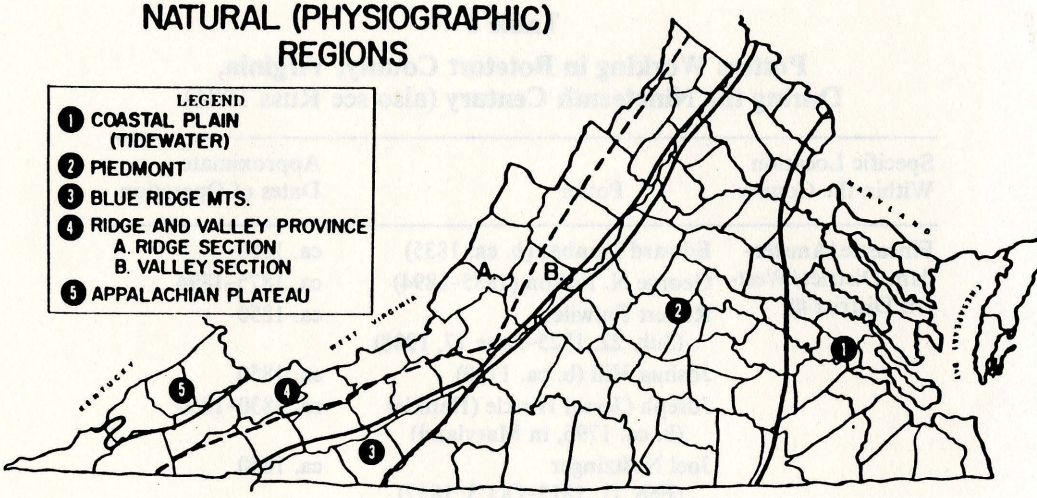


Figure 1. *The physiographic regions of Virginia. (From Arthur 1983.)*

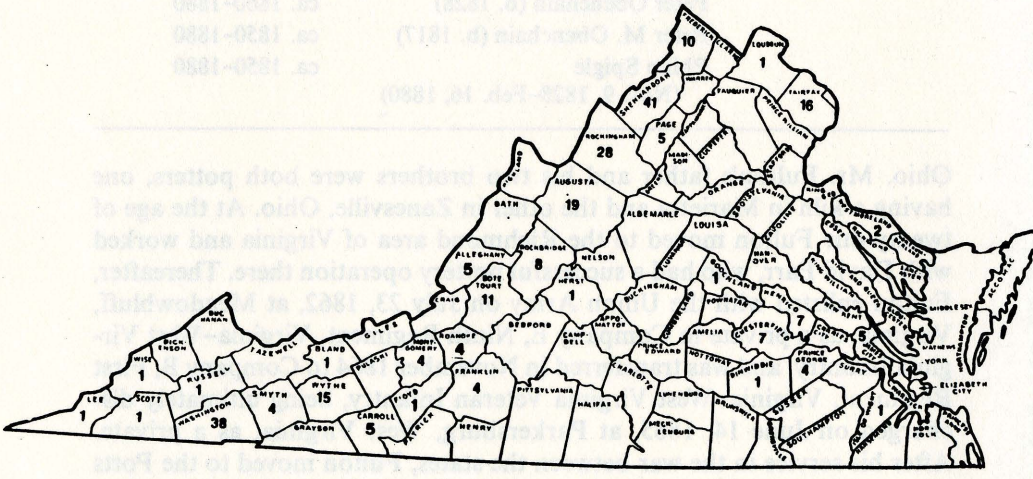


Figure 2. *Map numbers indicate the number of potters and/or potteries in the county.*

of Virginia during the nineteenth century (Table 1) (Russ 1986).

Perhaps the best known of these nineteenth-century potters is George N. Fulton, who produced in prodigious quantities a distinctive stoneware decorated with both manganese and cobalt oxides (Figure 3). Fulton descended from a family who was deeply immersed in the pottery business in

Table 1

Potters Working in Botetort County, Virginia, During the Nineteenth Century (also see Russ 1986)

Specific Location Within the County	Potter	Approximate Dates of Operation
Fincastle/Amsterdam District/Western District #8	Edward Dunbar (b. ca. 1835)	ca. 1850
	George N. Fulton (1835–1894)	ca. 1875–1894
	Robert Fulwiler (July 22, 1825–June 17, 1908)	ca. 1850
	Joshua Hill (b. ca. 1790)	ca. 1850
	Joseph (Jesse) Hinkle (Henkle) (b. ca. 1796, in Maryland)	ca. 1830–1850
	Joel Noftzinger (Feb. 11, 1812–Oct 3, 1857)	ca. 1850
	Mathias Noftzinger	ca. 1850
	William Obenchain (Obenshane) (b. 1804)	ca. 1860–1880
	Peter Obenchain (b. 1828)	ca. 1860–1880
	Peter M. Obenchain (b. 1817)	ca. 1850–1880
	Philip Spigle (Nov. 9, 1828–Feb. 16, 1880)	ca. 1850–1880

Ohio. Mr. Fulton's father and his two brothers were both potters, one having a kiln in Marietta and the other in Zanesville, Ohio. At the age of twenty-one Fulton moved to the Richmond area of Virginia and worked with David Parr, who had a successful pottery operation there. Thereafter, Fulton enlisted with the Union Army on July 23, 1862, at Meadowbluff, Virginia, as a private in Company E, Ninth Regiment, Virginia–West Virginia Infantry, and was transferred in November 1864 to Company B, First Regiment, Virginia–West Virginia Veteran Infantry, being ultimately discharged on June 14, 1865, at Parkersburg, West Virginia, as a private. After his service in the war between the states, Fulton moved to the Potts Creek area of Alleghany County where he established a pottery and had a thriving business from circa 1867 until, according to oral and family history, 1875, but according to census records he was still an active potter in Alleghany County in 1880. Subsequently, Fulton moved to the Botetourt County area of Virginia where he was also said to have engaged in the manufacture of pottery until his death in 1894 (Arritt 1982; Russ 1986).

Early this century Marion Rawson (1938) conducted oral history research which documented traditional Appalachian lifeways. In her book entitled

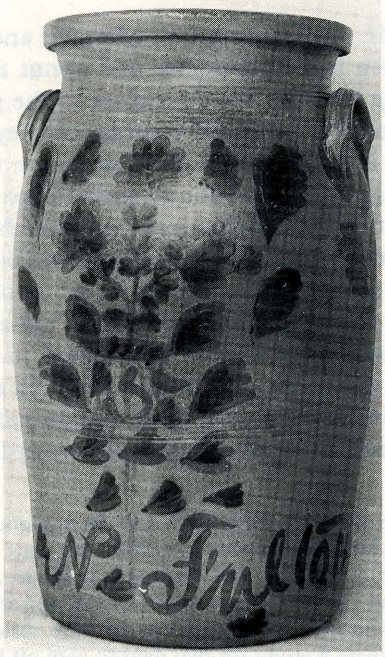


Figure 3. *Five-gallon saltglazed stoneware churn with brushed manganese and cobalt oxide floral decoration signed G. N. Fulton. (Private Collection.)*

Candleday Art, she interviews a Mr. Daniel Arritt, who as a young man worked in Fulton's pottery shop. This information gleaned from Ms. Rawson's interview with Mr. Arritt reveals insight into the processes involved in manufacturing pottery during the nineteenth century.

> You see yonder out that door where the grass looks brown just over the knoll? That's where I dug the mud and carted it a mile and a half down to Fulton's shop. He had what you call a mill standing up two feet or so from the ground and about as big as a hogshead, that was worked by an old horse at the end of a sweep; I'd throw the mud or clay in there and the knives revolving would cut it up. When it was cut up enough we took it out in blocks about a foot square—it would be about as stiff as wheat dough—and carried it to the lathe, and old man Fulton would work it round and round so, running the treadle with his foot to make the platform revolve. He'd draw it up so and so and make it like the shape he wanted it to be, sometimes using a little piece of wood to fix it right, and when it suited him he'd take a wire and cut under it to loosen it so he could pick it up and carry it into the dry room. It took five days to dry and when it was dry enough he'd take his bresh and paint his name in blue across it, the full name on the crocks, and then put some of them fancy patterns out of his head on it. He got the blue indigo at the store in a chunk and softened it up with a little turpentine—yes marm. When he had enough ware—a thousand gallons—we'd set it up in the kiln (Rawson 1938: 104-5).

At this point Mr. Arritt stopped his narrative and explained that the kiln was about eighteen feet in diameter and about the same height. It was shaped like an egg with the fire door close to the ground on one side and the only other opening being the central chimney where the smoke and flame escaped. It is inferred from his description that the kiln was of the circular updraft variety, a common nineteenth-century stoneware kiln. He also indicated that there were four iron bars stretching cross the kiln above the flues upon which rested stones placed about eight inches apart and so arranged that the crocks and pots could be set up on them and stacked one on another, being separated by little crockery plates or kiln furniture. This arrangement allowed the vessels to be exposed to equal heat on all sides. The kiln held one thousand gallons of ware, with the pot quantities being computed by adding together half pints, quarts, gallons, and so forth, with the gallon as the common denominator (Rawson 1938: 105–6). Mr. Arritt continued:

> We burnt the ware for three days and three nights and I've set up and watched many a batch and tended fire. When the ware was burnt just enough I'd go up on top of the kiln, and looking in it would seem just like a raging iron furnace, and I'd take a right smart of salt and throw it down over the ware and you could see it melting all over the ware, inside and out. You had to leave the ware where it stood for two days to cool off before you could draw it. Then it was my job to load it onto a wagon—350 gallons would make a good two-horse load—all sizes, and it brought fifty cents for a gallon and seventy-five for the bigger ones, wine crocks and water coolers.
>
> You know, marm, this was good stoneware, not that no 'count red earthen ware. You could bile in our stoneware. I've driv the wagon many a time to Blacksburg, and there old Waddel that sold the redware would see me coming and shout, "What you bringing tht no 'count stuff to this town for?" And I'd shout back, "yours is the no 'count stuff, ain't burnt to a body. Mine's burnt to a stone body. Give me a piece of your old no 'count ware, I want to pitch it and one of mine down the road a little piece." So I pitched one of my crocks down the road twenty feet and it never broke none. His'n? He daren't give me any. He went out of business afore long. Fulton's ware was good stone body (Rawson 1938: 106).

Although Fulton was an active potter in Botetourt County from his purported arrival in 1875 until his death in 1894, he is not listed in the 1880 Botetourt County census nor does his name appear in any deed or will books for the county. He is buried in the old Noftzinger cemetery which is located south of Fincastle along U.S. Route 220 (Russ 1986).

In addition to manufacturing crocks, jugs, jars, and other utilitarian storage vessels, Fulton also made tombstones (Figures 4 and 5), a few of which still survive today.

Some other blue cobalt decorated stoneware has been identified with a Botetourt County provenance (Figure 6). Although the vessel forms, dec-

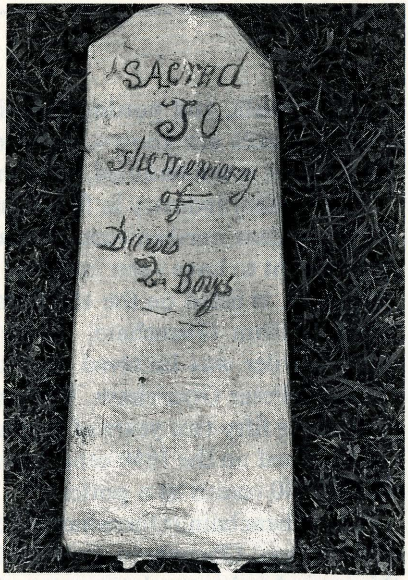


Figure 4. *Handmade stoneware tombstone with tree-of-life motif in relief attributed to Fulton Pottery, Alleghany County, Va. (Private Collection.)*
Figure 5. *Reverse of tombstone in Figure 4 showing incised inscription: "Sacred to the Memory of Davis 2 Boys."*

Figure 6. *Two three-gallon ovoid saltglazed stoneware storage jars with brushed blue cobalt floral decoration found in Botetourt County, Va. (Russ Collection.)*

orative motifs, and potting techniques are quite distinctive, no signed or marked pieces are known. As a result, the potter responsible for making these pieces is unidentified, as is the pottery site where he worked.

The pottery industry in Botetourt is usually characterized by the distinctive lead-glaze earthenwares produced there. Robert Fulwiler, an individual thought to have been involved with the manufacture of earthenware in Botetourt, is listed on the 1850 census as a potter. His landlord is listed as being William Obenchain, whose occupation was farmer. This suggests that Fulwiler was involved with the Obenchain pottery operation which included Peter Obenchain, William's son, who is listed in the 1880 census as a potter fifty-two years of age, and Peter M. (Potter Pete) Obenchain, a cousin listed on the 1850 census as a potter thirty-three years of age, as well as the 1880 census as a potter.

The Obenchain (Obenshane) pottery was probably started by Peter M. (Potter Pete) Obenchain circa 1850 and employed Robert Fulwiler during this period (who was later engaged in the pottery manufacturing in Rockbridge County, 1860 through 1880). Potter Pete's cousins, William and Peter, undoubtedly became involved in the business at a later date, probably circa 1860.

Oral history information had suggested that Obenchain's pottery kiln was located along Mill Creek in Botetourt County until it was destroyed by a flood in 1877. Recent archaeological and documentary research resulted in locating the Obenchain pottery kiln. According to the current land owner, the kiln remains were excavated and hauled away. Only two brick fragments and one lead-glazed earthenware pottery shard were recovered. Plans are to conduct a systematic shovel testing effort across the area to see if any features of the pottery remain archaeologically.

Two signed pieces of Obenshane pottery have been identified. Both are tall, semi-ovoid, lead-glazed storage jars with distinctive applied handles and a flat, broad, extruding rim (Figure 7). Incised on the bottom of one jar is "Matthew Obenshane 1868" (Figure 8). Several other pieces have been found locally and attributed to the Obenshane pottery based on either provenance or identification of distinctive vessel attributes such as glaze (an often heavy reddish-brown metallic glaze), form (semi-ovoid and well potted), rim treatment and handle style. Other forms identified include bowls and cups (see Figure 7).

Working in the county as early as 1830 was a potter named Jesse Hinkle. He was born in Maryland in 1796 and probably learned the pottery trade there by apprenticing to an established potter. Having acquired the requisite skills, Hinkle moved to Botetourt County, Virginia, during the early nineteenth century and established his own pottery business. Philip Spigle, who worked with Hinkle, is listed on the 1850 county census. Spigle was "a

Figure 7. *Obenshane pottery: left, three-gallon leadglazed earthenware storage jar signed Obenshane (see Figure 8); center, leadglazed earthenware cup or mug with handle (attributed); right, leadglazed earthenware bowl found in Buchanan, Virginia, and attributed to Obenshane. (Russ Collection.)*

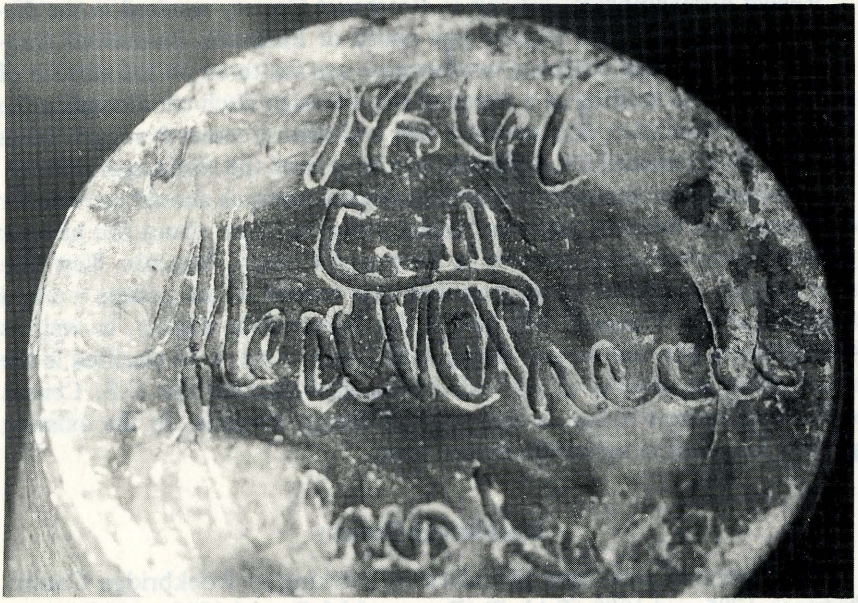


Figure 8. *Bottom of storage jar pictured in Figure 7 with incising: "1868 Matthew Obenshane."*

potter of considerable talent and had a pottery shop at Amsterdam" (Austin 1977: 166) which is located to the south of Fincastle along U.S. Route 220. No evidence of the actual Hinkle/Spigle pottery shop remains today. It is thought that construction associated with Route 220 destroyed the remains of the pottery.

Hinkle and Spigle produced lead-glazed earthenwares utilizing both combing and free-hand incising as decorative treatments. One extant semi-ovoid, lead-glazed storage vessel with lid is signed Jesse Hinkle Botetourt Co, Virginia, and dated 1839. This presentation piece exhibits a variety of incised decoration and was made by Hinkle for Mrs. Spigle. The vessel was acquired from Philip Spigle's granddaughter, Ms. Meta Bertha Coffman Cronise and her daughters who still reside in Botetourt County.

Although this is the only signed Hinkle piece known, several pieces with similar form, glaze, and decoration survive in local collections (Figure 9). At least one piece with the typical lead-glaze and incised decoration on both the body of the vessel and matching lid has been identified with an S stamped in the bottom, undoubtedly indicating Spigle was the maker. A lead-glazed earthenware pitcher with an incised floral motif was handed down in the Spigle family, and according to tradition was made by Philip Spigle (Figure 10).

Recent archaeological surveys in Botetourt County resulted in the discovery of a pottery site located just south of Fincastle. Numerous fragments of glazed and unglazed earthenware are scattered on the surface of the site which is eroding as a result of the drainage ditch cut alongside the roadway. Preliminary documentary and oral history research suggests that this site, the Fincastle kiln, 44B0304, may have been the Noftzinger pottery.

Continued documentary and archaeological research should provide for clarifying and refining the information presented here about the historic pottery manufacturing industry in Botetourt County, Virginia. New kiln sites may be identified or we may find that several of the potters worked together at the Fincastle kiln site in the Amsterdam district, as well as Obenshane's kiln site located along Mill Creek. Also to be clarified is the relationship of several of the individuals identified on the U.S. Census records as potters living in Botetourt, County, Virginia, to the existing pottery kiln sites in operation at that time.

Rockbridge County

Eight potters have been identified as working in Rockbridge County between 1785 and 1880 (Table 2) (Russ and McDaniel 1986a, 1986b).

As a part of the statewide survey of the historic pottery manufacturing industry in Virginia, the Rockbridge Pottery site, 44RB84, was identified

Figure 9. *Three leadglazed earthenware storage jars with combed incised decoration attributed to Hinkle/Spigle Pottery, Botetourt County, Va. (Private Collection.)*

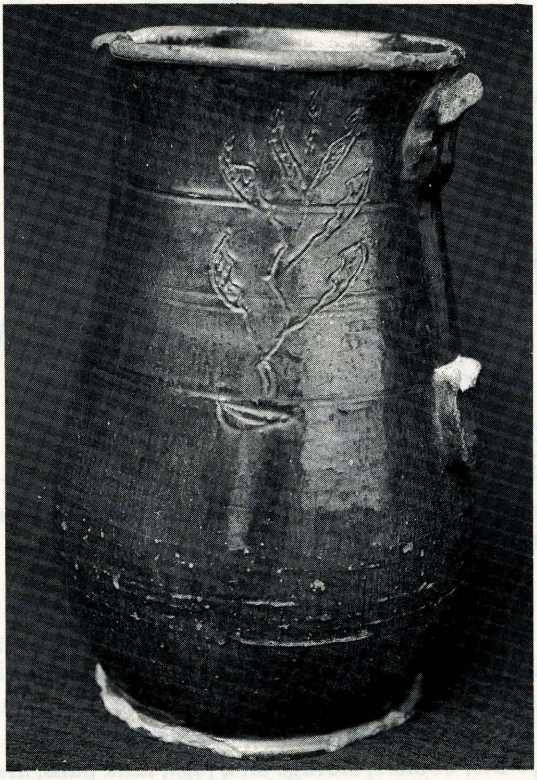


Figure 10. *Leadglazed earthenware pitcher with incised tree decoration which descended in Spigle family (attributred to Philip Spigle). (Private Collection.)*

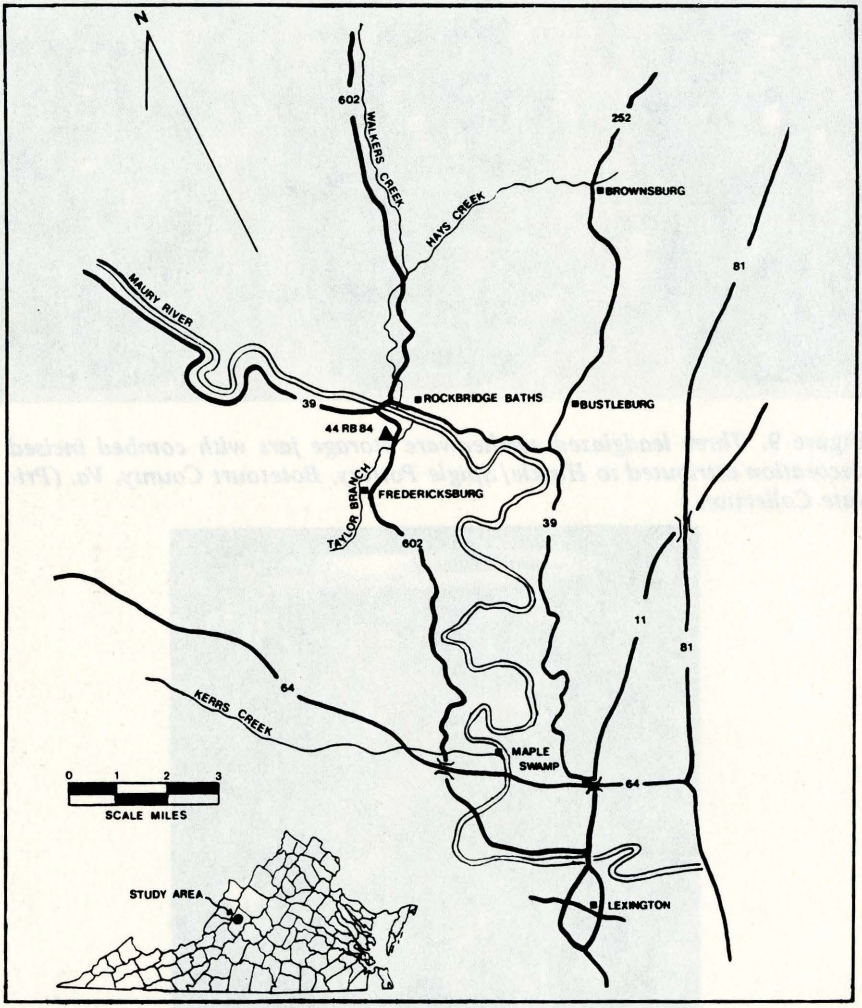


Figure 11. *Map showing the location of the Rockbridge Pottery (44RB84), Bustleburg, Maple Swamp, and Lexington.*

and intensively investigated (McDaniel and Russ 1985; Russ and McDaniel 1985, 1986a, 1986b) (Figure 11). The pottery, which was operated from circa 1830 until circa 1882, consisted of a circular updraft kiln, a potter's shed and a clay processing/storage area (Figure 12). Both salt-glazed stoneware and lead-glazed earthenware were being produced. Vessel forms include churns, water coolers, storage jars, jugs, milk pans, and bowls, with vessel shape typically being ovoid (Figures 13 and 14). Decorative treatments include incised and brushed and slipped blue cobalt floral, geomet-

ric, and animal motifs. Anthropomorphic reed-stem pipes were also made at the pottery (Figure 15).

At least two of the potters identified as having worked in Rockbridge County were associated with this particular pottery. Oral history information indicated that this was Isaac Lam's pottery. Additional research, including findings from the excavations, served to corroborate Lam's association with the pottery and further showed that John Campbell, an individual initially thought to have been working in a different district within the county, was also associated with the Rockbridge Pottery as early as 1830. Because of the association of John Campbell with the pottery, it is also likely that his sons, James H. and Charles, listed on the 1850 and 1860 census records as potters, worked with him.

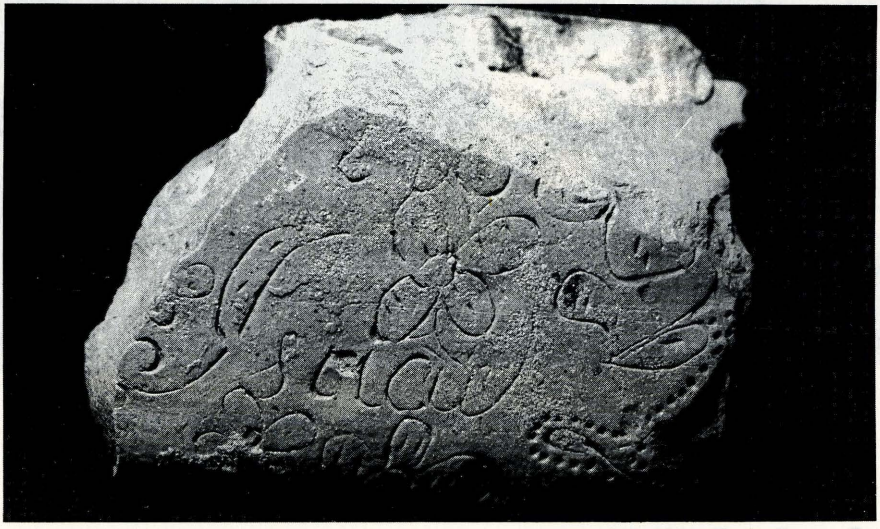
Figure 12. *The circular updraft Rockbridge Pottern kiln, 44RB84, after excavation. Note foundations of potter's shed to the south of kiln.*

13↑

14→

15→

16↓



John S. Morgan, who appears on the 1850 census as a potter eighty-two years of age, born in New York, was living in John Firebaugh's household near Bustleburg, and was probably involved with the Rockbridge Pottery. It is likely that Morgan was involved with the manufacture of stoneware pottery in the North, moved to Rockbridge County early in the nineteenth century, and participated in the establishment of the pottery at Rockbridge Baths. The evidence for Morgan's association with the Rockbridge Pottery is: 1) he is listed as a potter on the census and his residence was not far from the pottery; and 2) his family was involved in the pottery business and the wares they produced are very similar in form and decoration to those produced in Rockbridge. We have always referred to the Rockbridge wares as being atypical of those produced in the valley, resembling wares produced in the North. Morgan's presence in Rockbridge provides a probable explanation for the uniqueness of the wares made at the Rockbridge Pottery.

Although little is known historically about the Campbells, a substantial amount of documentary evidence regarding Isaac Lam and his family is available. Isaac D. Lam, the son of William and Elizabeth (Crawford) Lam, was born in Rockingham County, Virginia, on January 14, 1832 (Brock 1884: 418). The 1850 and 1860 Rockingham County census lists Lam's occupation as a potter. It is likely that he was serving as an apprentice to an established Rockingham County potter, probably William Coffman (see the potter's checklist). Having learned the trade, sometime prior to February 1864, he moved to Rockbridge County and began working at the Rockbridge Pottery (44RB84) with Morgan and Campbell (Figure 16). He is listed as a potter working in the Kerrs Creek District of the county on the 1870 Rockbridge census. On October 11, 1865, he married Mary L. Selby, and continued to live and work in the county until his death on July 22, 1882. All evidence indicates that at this time the Rockbridge Pottery ceased operation.

Figure 13. *Extant saltglazed stoneware vessels manufactured in Rockbridge County, Va. (Russ Collection.)*

Figure 14. *Saltglazed stoneware water cooler with prominent vertical bilateral loop handles and cobalt blue incised floral decoration attributed to the Rockbridge Pottery. (Rockbridge Historical Society Collection.)*

Figure 15. *Anthropomorphic saltglazed stoneware reed-stem pipe from the Rockbridge Pottery, 44RB84.*

Figure 16. *Probable saltglazed stoneware doorstop fragment with incised floral decoration and the name "Isaac" from the Rockbridge Pottery.*

Another Rockbridge potter, Robert T. Fulwiler, is listed on the 1860 county census. His landlord is listed as John Firebaugh. Little is known about Fulwiler other than that he appears on the 1850 Botetourt County census as a potter. It is suspected that he was involved with the Obenchain pottery operation in Botetourt County before moving to Rockbridge (Russ 1986). Fulwiler's residence at the Firebaugh estate located near Bustleburg suggests that Firebaugh may have been involved with the pottery business. This suggestion is supported by several other lines of documentary evidence. In 1848 John Firebaugh (d. July 24, 1867) granted a tract of land to David Firebaugh (February 22, 1819–February 9, 1907) with the exception of "the clay bank called Maple Swamp which said John Firebaugh reserves for his own use and purpose and a right of road to and from the same during his said John Firebaugh's natural life" (Rockbridge County Deed Book 22, p. 135). The "Maple Swamp tract" is described in the deed which originally transferred ownership to John Firebaugh as being located "at the confluence and between North [Maury] River and Kerr's Creek" (Rockbridge County Deed book 2, p. 135) (see Figure 11).

The second piece of evidence associating John Firebaugh with pottery making is his will. Specifically the bill of sale of personal property, dated September 11, 1867, which lists "a set of potter's tools, sold to R. D. Firebaugh (May 13, 1842–March 16, 1913) for $.50, worth $3.00." Also listed are "2 pitcher molds sold to William K. Clemmor for $.70, worth $.25." The final reference to John Firebaugh is provided by the 1850 county census records which lists John S. Morgan under John Firebaugh's household (Table 2).

Archaeological survey of the Firebaugh estate, located near Bustleburg along Back Creek in the Walker's Creek District of the county, resulted in the discovery of pottery shards in a concentration along the south side of the creek and approximately 180 yards northwest of the Firebaugh home which was built in 1770 (see Figure 11). Limited subsurface testing yielded additional pottery shards, kiln furniture, bricks, and other evidence suggesting the presence of a pottery kiln. Additional testing of the area, to be undertaken in the spring of 1989, will provide for determining the exact location of the pottery. It is interesting to note the similarity of the shards recovered here with those from the Rockbridge Pottery. The shards recovered are salt-glazed stoneware, with both brushed cobalt and incised decorative treatments. The "Rockbridge" maker's mark is also observed. The Firebaugh property is located approximately four miles east of the Rockbridge Pottery.

The earliest potter documented to have worked in Rockbridge County was Benjamin Darst, Sr. Darst was born in the Mt. Jackson area of Shenandoah County, Virginia, where he learned the pottery trade. About

Table 2

Potters Working in Rockbridge County, Virginia, During the Nineteenth Century
(see Russ 1984; Russ and McDaniel 1986a, 1986b)

Specific Location Within the County	Potter	Approximate Dates of Operation
Kerrs Creek/ Rockbridge Baths	Isaac D. Lam (Jan. 14, 1832–July 22, 1882) Rockbridge (mark)	ca. 1864–1880
	John D. Campbell (b. 1802)	ca. 1850–1860
Lexington	Benjamin Darst, Sr. (1760–1835)	ca. 1785–1791
	Apprentice to Darst (Francis Garner)	ca. 1785–1791
	James H. and Charles Campbell (b. 1834) (b. 1832)	ca. 1850–1860
Walkers Creek	Robert Fullweider (Fulwiler) (July 22, 1825–June 17, 1908)	ca. 1860–1880
	John S. Mogan (b. 1768)	ca. 1850

1780 Darst moved to Goochland County and established a pottery there. In 1781 he married Lucy Woodward and purchased land near Manakin Town where he was engaged in the manufacture of pottery until 1784 (Darst 1972: 19). (Benjamin's brother, Samuel, also left Shenandoah County in 1780 and moved to Franklin County, Virginia, where he engaged in the pottery business [Long and Webb 1982: 7].) In addition to owning land, Darst also owned three slaves—Will, Moll, and Jeff—and evidently utilized them as laborers in his pottery business. In the spring of 1785 Darst returned to the Valley and purchased a tract of land adjoining the town of Lexington. It was here that he established a pottery—apparently the first to establish the industry in Rockbridge County (Darst 1972; Russ and McDaniel 1986b).

On June 18, 1788, John Grigsby and David Cloyd, overseers of the poor for Rockbridge County, bound out an apprentice to Darst to learn the pottery "Art or Trade" (Rockbridge County Will Book 1, p. 319; Darst 1972: 398, footnote 31). The apprentice's name was Francis Garner. This rather remarkable document (Figure 17) further indicates that Darst used a "Turning Lathe" to produce pottery, as he was required to give a "Turning Lathe" to his apprentices upon completion of the apprenticeship.

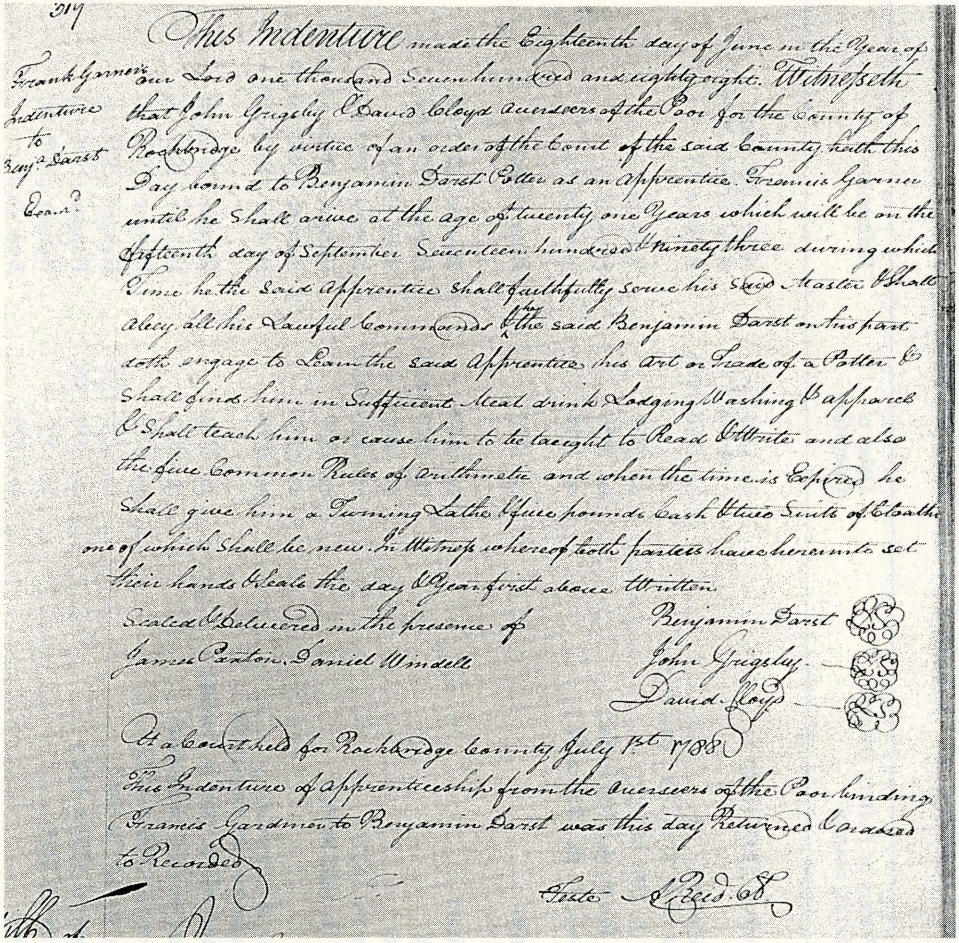
Preliminary documentary research, although not pinpointing the exact location of Darst's land, indicates that it was located to the south of Main Street within the city of Lexington in the general vicinity of the Rockbridge Regional Library. If this location is accurate, it is probable that the site has been destroyed by urban development.

Summary

The history of the pottery manufacturing industry in Botetourt and Rockbridge counties begins with the establishment of the Darst pottery in 1785. This earthenware pottery continued to operate in Rockbridge until 1791. From this time until the 1830s there is no historical or archaeological evidence for the pottery industry in either county. Despite the lack of evidence, it is likely that others were engaged in the manufacture of pottery in small shops or perhaps on a part-time basis. By the 1830s the Morgan-Campbell pottery was producing both earthenware and stoneware in Rockbridge County, and the Hinkle pottery was producing earthenware in Botetourt County. While the Rockbridge Baths area of Rockbridge County became a center for pottery manufacture, with a number of potters living and working in the area, for most of the nineteenth century the Fincastle/Amsterdam District became a focal point for the industry in Botetourt County. By the 1880s the manufacture of traditional domestic ceramic wares was no longer economically feasible, and with the closing of the Rockbridge Pottery (44RB84) in 1882 and the Fulton pottery in 1894, the traditional pottery manufacturing industry ceased to exist in the Rockbridge and Botetourt county areas of Virginia.

Acknowledgements

Appreciation is extended to Washington and Lee University for supporting an ongoing archaeological research program and to the many undergraduate students who contributed to this pottery research. Local land owners, including Mr. Bob Burner, Mrs. Margaret Wade, and Mr. John Dillon, graciously permitted excavation of pottery sites located on their property. Descendants of several of the historic potters discussed provided valuable historical and genealogical information. They are: Ray Bowers, Anna Gray Cronise, and Patsy Cronise. Additional help including but not limited to historical site location information, pottery reconstruction work, continued encouragement and advice was received from Bob Beard, David Brough, David Coffey, Barbara Crawford, Martha Daura, Royster Lyle, and Joey Moldenhauer.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Frank Garner's Indenture to Benj.a Darst Ecor.d

This Indenture made the Eighteenth day of June in the Year of our Lord one thousand Seven hundred and eighty eight. Witnesseth that John Grigsby & David Lloyd Overseers of the Poor for the County of Rockbridge by virtue of an order of the Court of the said County hath this Day bound to Benjamin Darst Potter as an Apprentice Francis Garner until he shall arrive at the age of twenty one Years which will be on the Eighteenth day of September Seventeen hundred & Ninety three during which Time he the said Apprentice shall faithfully serve his said Master & shall obey all his lawful Commands & the said Benjamin Darst on his part doth engage to Learn the said Apprentice the Art or Trade of a Potter & shall find him in Sufficient Meat drink Lodging Washing & Apparrel & Shall teach him or cause him to be taught to Read & Write and also the five Common Rules of Arithmetic and when the time is Expired he shall give him a Turning Lathe & five pounds Cash & two Suits of Cloaths one of which shall be new. In Witness whereof both parties have hereunto set their hands & Seale the day & Year first above Written.

Sealed & Delivered in the presence of
James Paxton. Daniel Windell

Benjamin Darst
John Grigsby
David Lloyd

At a Court held for Rockbridge County July 1st 1788

This Indenture of Apprenticeship from the Overseers of the Poor binding Francis Gardiner to Benjamin Darst was this day returned Executed & Recorded

Teste Jno. Rees. CR

Figure 17. *Francis Garner's indenture of apprenticeship to Benjamin Darst, dated 1788, Rockbridge County, Va. (Rockbridge County Will Book 1, p. 319.)*

A Checklist of Virginia Potters and Potteries

Pottery Location	Associated Potters or Pottery Owners or Pottery Marks/Stamps	Dates of Operation	References
Alleghany County			
First District/ Boiling Springs Dist.	George N. Fulton (1835–1894)	ca. 1865(?)–ca. 1875	Aritt (1982:68) Russ (1984, 1986)
	Thomas R. Waddell (b. 1810 or 12 or 13 in N.Y., Pa., or Va.)	ca. 1850–1870	Russ (n.d.)
	John Brown (b. 1801 in Md.)	ca. 1850	Russ (n.d.)
	Gustavus A. Brown (b. 1834 in Va.)	ca. 1850	Russ (n.d.)
	John W. Brown, Jr. (b. 1854 in Va.)	ca. 1850	Russ (n.d.)
Amherst County			
Lynchburg	William Kinnier	ca. 1880	Russ (1984)
Augusta County			
Riverheads District	Christian Grimm	ca. 1840	Hanger (1973:13)
	Jacob Grimm	ca. 1840–1850	Hanger (1973:13)
First District	Phillip Grimm	ca. 1860	Russ (1984)
	David Grimm (b. 1812)	ca. 1850–1860	Hanger (1973:14)
Specific Location Unknown	Samuel Lutz (b. 1822 in Pa.)	ca. 1850	Hanger (1983: 14–15)
	Bayler Lutz	ca. 1850	Hanger (1983:14–15)
North Subdivision	Wm. Shumate & Company (2 anonymous potters employed)	ca. 1870	Hanger (1973: 15)
	Charles W. Bunsfelt (b. 1830 in Prussia)	ca. 1870	Hanger (1973:15)
Dooms	Edward Walter (b. 1823 in Prussia)	ca. 1870	Hanger (1973:15)
Burkes Mill/ North Subdivision	Conrad Wilson (b. 1800 in Md.)	ca. 1850	Hanger (1973:14)
	J. W. Watson (b. 1825 in Md.)	ca. 1850–1860	Hanger (1973:14)
	Samuel Watson (b. 1827 in Md.)	ca. 1850–1860	Hanger (1973:14)
	Lindsay Morris (b. 1821)	ca. 1860	Hanger (1973:15)
Crimora Area	Walter's Pottery	ca. 1870	Russ (n.d.)

Mt. Solon	D. Coffman		Smith (1972:27, 31)
New Hope	?		Smith (1972:28)
Staunton	I. H. Plecker	ca. 1880	Russ (1984)
	Michael Puffenberger (Puffenbarger)	ca. 1880	Waddell (1902:418)
	Buck (husband of Catherine Buck)		Smith (1972:31)
Bland County			
Rocky Gap District	Hosen Campbell	ca. 1880	Moore (1983:536)
Botetourt County			
Fincastle/Amsterdam District/Western District #8	Edward Dunbar (b. ca. 1853)	ca. 1880	Russ (1986)
	George N. Fulton (1835–1894)	ca. 1875	Rauschenberg (1938) Arritt (1982) Russ (1984, 1986)
	Robert Fulwiler (July 22, 1825–June 17, 1908)	ca. 1850	Russ (1986); Russ and McDaniel (1986a, 1986b)
	Joshua Hill (b. ca. 1790)	ca. 1850	Russ (1986)
	Joseph (Jesse) Hinkle (Henkle) (b. ca. 1796 in Md.)	ca. 1830–1850	Arthur (1983:21) Russ (1984, 1986)
	Joel Noftzinger (Feb. 11, 1812–Oct. 3, 1857)	ca. 1850	Russ (1986)
	Mathias Noftzinger	ca. 1850	Russ (1986)
	William Obenchain (Obenshane) (b. 1804)	ca. 1880	Russ (1984, 1986)
	Peter Obenchain (b. 1828)	ca. 1850	Russ (1986)
	Peter M. Obenchain (b. 1817)	ca. 1850–1880	Russ (1984, 1986)
	Phillip Spigle (Nov. 9, 1828–Feb. 16, 1880)	ca. 1850–1880	Russ 1986)
Carrol County			
Piper Gap District	Adolphus Carpenter (b. 1845 in N.C.)	ca. 1870–1880	Russ (n.d.)
	George Bedsaul (b. 1857 in Va.)	ca. 1880	Russ (n.d.)
	Wiley Cole (b. 1857 in Va.)	ca. 1880	Russ (n.d.)
	Michael Carpenter (b. 1850 in N.C.)	ca. 1880	Russ (n.d.)
	John Carpenter (b. 1848 in N.C.)	ca. 1880	Russ (n.d.)

Pottery Location	Associated Potters or Pottery Owners or Pottery Marks/Stamps	Dates of Operation	References
Chesterfield County			
Richmond	B. DuVal	ca. 1811–1817	Rauschenberg (1978:26)
	James DuVal	ca. 1817–?	Rauschenberg (1978:33–34)
	David Parr and Sons	ca. 1866–1870	Ketchum (1971:191)
	G. N. Fulton (worked with Parr)	ca. 1856–1865?	Russ (1984, 1986)
	E. B. Taylor (mark)	ca. 1880	Russ (1986)
Dinwiddie County			
Wilson's Landing	Moro Phillips	ca. 1850–1858	Ramsay (1939:243) Ketchum (1971:191)
Fairfax County			
Alexandria	Henry Piercy	ca. 1792–1809	Magid (per. com. 1985)
	John Piercy (nephew of Henry)	ca. 1797	Magid (per. com. 1985)
	Thomas Fisher	ca. 1795	Magid (per. com. 1985)
	Lewis Plum (also worked with H. Piercy ca. 1797)	ca. 1813–1821	Magid (per. com. 1985)
	James Miller (worked with Piercy ca. 1797 and Fisher ca. 1797)	ca. 1797–1800?	Magid (per. com. 1985)
	Thomas Hughes (worked with Fisher ca. 1797)	ca. 1797–1799?	Magid (per. com. 1985)
	Joseph Hibbard	ca. 1801	Magid (per. com. 1985)
	William Reynolds	1807–1809	Magid (per. com. 1985)
	John Swann	ca. 1811–1841	Ketchum (1971:190) Pogue (1980:149–50)
	Hugh Smith	1825–1841	Pogue (1980:149–50)
	B. C. Milburn	1841–1867	Ketchum (1971:190) Smith (1980:150); Pogue (1980:150)
	J. A. and J. C. Milburn (sons of Milburn)	ca. 1867–1877	Pogue (1980:150)
	Tildon Easton	ca. 1841–?	Magid (per. com. 1985)
	E. J. Miller (mark)	ca. 1856–1867	Pogue (1980:149–50)
	B. J. Miller and Co.?	ca. 1880	Smith (1972:17)

Floyd County			
Locust Grove	Johnathan Argabright (b. 1821 in Va.)	ca. 1850–1870	Russ (n.d.)
Franklin County			
Storey Creek	Samuel Darst (Derst, Durst) (1757–1791)	ca. 1780–?	Long & Webb (1982:7) Russ & McDaniel (1986)
	Christian Rhodes (Roades)	ca. 1778	Long & Webb (1982:7)
	Lewis Thomson (Rhodes's apprentice)	ca. 1778–1782	Long & Webb (1982:7)
Specific Location Unknown	John Miller ? (d. 1851)	ca. 1792–1802	Long & Webb (1982:7)
Frederick County			
Winchester	Philip Woolwine	ca. 1777	Rauschenberg (1983:8)
	Thomas Heist (1776–1865)	ca. 1812	Russell (1953:158, 179)
	Peter Bell	ca. 1824–1845	Rice & Stoudt (1929:27–28) Ramsay (1939:86, 242) Ketchem (1971:28, 191)
	John Bell	ca. 1824–1827	Rauschenberg (1983:8) Rice & Stoudt (1929:31) Ketchum (1971:191)
	Samuel and Solomon Bell	ca. 1830	Rice & Stoudt (1929:55) Smith (1972:19)
	? Winchester, VA (mark)	?	Russ (1984)
	? Winchester Potteries (Apple Stamp)	ca. 1900–?	Russ (1984); Smith (1982:25)
	Fleet	ca. 1920–?	Comstock (per. comm. 1983)
	Anthony Baecher	ca. 1868	Rice & Stoudt (1929:87–88, 90, 93, 105); Ramsay (1939:243); Ketchum (1971:191); Smith (1972:25); Comstock (1975:12)
	Adam Kern (worked with Baecher)		Comstock (per. comm. 1983)
Gloucester County			
Specific Location Unknown	?	ca. 1680–1750	Bogley (1984:5)

Pottery Location	Associated Potters or Pottery Owners or Pottery Marks/Stamps	Dates of Operation	References
Goochland County			
Manakin Town	Benjamin Darst, Sr. (Jan. 19, 1760–Oct. 6, 1835)	ca. 1781–1784	Darst (1972) Russ & McDaniel (1986b)
Henrico County			
Darby Town	Clumdee Geidt	ca. 1844–1859	Browning (per comm. 1985)
Varina Area	Norwich and Sweeney	ca. 1800–1815 ca. 1815–1850	Mouer (per comm. 1986)
Specific Location Unknown	G. Lord and J. Park	ca. 1782	Rauschenberg (1978:27)
	Richard Randolph	ca. 1813	Rauschenberg (1978:31)
	John P. Schermerhorn	ca. 1814–1820–?	Rauschenberg (1978:31)
Isle of Wight County			
Specific Location Unknown	?	ca. 1700	Bogley (1984:4–5)
James City County			
Jamestown	?	ca. 1610	Ramsay (1939:238)
	?	ca. 1625–ca. 1650	Cotter (1958); Noel Hume (1963); Hudson (1975:41–43); Bogley (1984)
Jamestown Area	Challis Site	ca. 1690–ca. 1730?	Hudson (1975:48–50 Noel Hume (1963:550–52)
Green Spring Plantation	?	ca. 1665–1680	Caywood (1955, 1957) Hudson (1975:43–46)
	?	ca. 1650	Smith (1984); Bogley (1984)
Martin's Hundred (Carter's Grove)	?	ca. 1619–1635	Bogley (1984) Noel Hume (1982)
Lee County			
Jonesville	E. K. W. Sims	ca. 1870	Moore (1983:536)
Loudoun County			
Leesburg	Friederick W. Shafer	ca. 1852–1870	Whitmore (per comm. 1985)

Montgomery County			
Blacksburg	David N. Bodell (b. 1812 in Va.)	ca. 1859–1880	Arthur (1983:21); Russ (n.d.)
	George W. Bodell (b. 1849 in Va.)	ca. 1870–1920	Arthur (1983:21); Russ (n.d.)
	William E. Bodell (b. 1858 in Va.)	ca. 1880–1920	Russ (n.d.); Smith (1972:30)
	William Jones (b. 1835 in Va.)	ca. 1870	Russ (n.d.)
Page County			
Stonyman	Charles Phillips	ca. 1860	Strickler (1952:327) Smith (1972:29)
	D. H. Henkel		Strickler (1952:327)
	Henkel and Grim		Strickler (1952:327)
	James F. Lucas		Strickler (1952:327)
Newport	Charles Phillips (potter for Mr. Foltz)		Strickler (1952:327)
Prince George County			
Hopewell	?	ca. 1880–1900	Ramsay (1939:238)
Petersburg	John Ducey	ca. 1866–1869	Ketchum (1971:191
	Henri Lowndes	ca. 1840	Russ (n.d.)
	C. G. Taylor	ca. 1880	Russ (n.d.)
Roanoke County			
Salem Township	David Coffman (b. 1835 in Va.)	ca. 1870–1880	Russ (n.d.)
	John Coffman (b. 1858 in Va.)	ca. 1870–1880	Russ (n.d.)
	John W. Butt (potter's apprentice)	ca. 1870	Russ (n.d.)
	George W. Beamer (b. 1856 in Va.)	ca. 1870–1880	Russ (n.d.)
Rockbridge County			
Kerrs Creek/ Rockbridge Baths	Isaac D. Lam (Jan. 14, 1832–July 22, 1882) ROCKBRIDGE (mark)	ca. 1864–1880	Russ (1983, 1984); Russ & McDaniel (1986a, 1986b)
	John Campbell (b. 1802)	ca. 1830–1860	Russ (1984); Russ & McDaniel (1986a, 1986b)
	James H. (b. 1834) and Charles (b. 1832) Campbell	ca. 1850–1880	Russ (1984); Russ & McDaniel (1986a, 1986b)

Pottery Location	Associated Potters or Pottery Owners or Pottery Marks/Stamps	Dates of Operation	References
Lexington	Benjamin Darst, Sr. (Jan. 19, 1760–Oct. 6, 1835)	ca. 1785–1791	Darst (1972:15, 25–27); Russ & McDaniel (1986a, 1986b)
	Apprentice to Darst (Francis Garner)	ca. 1785–1791?	Darst (1972:398); Russ & McDaniel (1986a, 1986b)
Walkers Creek	Robert T. Fullweider (Fulwiler) (July 22, 1825–June 17, 1908)	ca. 1860–1880	Russ (1984, 1986); Russ & McDaniel (1986a, 1986b)
	John S. Morgan (b. 1768 in N.Y.)	ca. 1850	Russ & McDaniel (1986a, 1986b)
Rockingham County			
Specific Location Unknown	Isaac D. Lam	ca. 1850–1860	Russ & McDaniel (1986a, 1986b)
	Fisher	ca. 1794	MESDA
Mt. Herman (Willow Springs)	Andrew Coffman (1796–1853)	ca. 1820?	Smith (1972:27) Kaufman (1978:6)
	John, William, Robert, and Edward Coffman	ca. 1840?	Arthur (1983:20)
Dry River	Andrew E. Heatwole	ca. 1880	Kaufman (1978:7)
	John D. Heatwole	ca. 1850–1880	Smith (1972:24) Kaufman (1978:5–7)
	Heatwole and Silber	ca. 1866	Kaufman (1978:7)
	Joseph Silber (d. 1890)	ca. 1866–ca. 1880	Russ (1984); Smith (1972:25); Kaufman (1978:6)
	Woods	?	Kaufman (per. comm. 1983)
Dry River (West)	Lindsay Morris	ca. 1870–1880	Kaufman (1978:6)
	Erasmus S. Morris	ca. 1870–1880	Kaufman (1978:6)
	Reuben S. Coffman	ca. 1870	
Elk Run	William C. Coffman (b. 1825)	ca. 1870	Russ (n.d.)
	William Coffman (b. 1846)	ca. 1870	Russ (n.d.)

Harrisonburg/ Central Township	Emanuel Suter	ca. 1851–1864?	Smith (1972:5)
		ca. 1865–1891?	Kaufman (1978:5, 7, 9–12)
		ca. 1891–1897	
	Isaac Good	ca. 1870–1891	Rice & Stoudt (1929:30) Kaufman (1978:30)
	Jacob Rimel	ca. 1870	Russ (n.d.)
	G. Kline	ca. 1880?	Smith (1972:31)
	Nevel Logan	ca. 1870	Russ (n.d.)
Elkton	J. H. Kite	ca. 1880?	Smith (1972:31)
Mt. Crawford/ Franklin Township	Mathius Ireland, George Duey, and James Shinnick MT. CRAWFORD, VA (mark)	ca. 1860–1870	Russ (1984) Smith (1972:28)
	Ireland and Son	ca. 1870–1880?	Kaufman (per. comm. 1983)
Timberville	John Zigler	ca. 1830	Smith (1972:31)
	Branson O'Roark	ca. 1870	Russ & McDaniel (n.d.)
Russell County			
Specific Location Unknown	Ezekiel Dougherty	ca. 1850	Moore (1983:536)
Scott County			
Specific Location Unknown	William Russell	ca. 1850	Moore (1983:536)
Shenandoah County			
Edinburg	Carver and Wightman		Comstock (per. comm. 1983)
	John G. Schweinfurt		Comstock (per. comm. 1983)
New Market	J. Coffman	ca. 1850	Smith (1972:26, 31) Kaufman (1978:6)
	David H. Henkel	ca. 1850?	Russ (1984); Smith (1972:31)
	John G. Schweinfurt (1826–1907)	ca. 1850	Smith (1972:29) Comstock (1975:13)
	Charles Phillips	ca. 1850	Arthur (1983:20)
Stephens City	John Pitman	ca. 1800	Russell (1953:158, 1979)

Pottery Location	Associated Potters or Pottery Owners or Pottery Marks/Stamps	Dates of Operation	References
Strasburg	Beyers	ca. 1820	Comstock (1975:11)
	Samuel Bell	ca. 1833–1853	Rice & Stoudt (1929:41) Ramsay (1939:86, 241) Ketchum (1971:27, 191) Smith (1972:19) Comstock (1975:11)
	Samuel Bell and Sons (Richard F. [Polk] and Charles F. Bell)	ca. 1882–1908	Rice & Stoudt (1929:49–50) Ramsay (1939:241) Ketchum (1971:27, 191)
	Edward F. Bell	ca. 1882–1908?	Arthur (1983:19)
	Turner Ashby Bell	ca. 1882–1908?	Rice & Stoudt (1929:55, 60)
	Abe Spencer	ca. 1882–1908?	Rice & Stoudt (1929:62–65)
	Adam Keister, Sr.	?	Rice & Stoudt (1929:83)
	Adam, Jr., and Henry Keister	?	Rice & Stoudt (1929: 83–85)
	Amos Keister	ca. 1850–1870	Rice & Stoudt (1929:67, 85, 107) Ketchum (1971:28, 191) Smith (1972:22)
	Keister and Sonner	ca. 1870	Rice & Stoudt (1929:85, 219) Smith (1972:23)
	J. M. Hickerson	ca. 1884–1898	Rice & Stoudt (1929:77, 107) Ketchum (1971:28, 191)
	Jeremiah Keister	ca. 1880	Rice & Stoudt (1929:85, 105)
	W. H. Christman	ca. 1890	Rice & Stoudt (1929:107) Ramsay (1939:242) Smith (1972:23)
	George Davidson	ca. 1870?	Rice & Stoudt (1929:79) Smith (1972:23)
	Jacob J. Eberly (and brother) (Star pottery)	1880–1900	Rice & Stoudt (1929:67, 75, 105) Ramsay (1939:242) Ketchum (1971:28, 191)

	George W. Miller	ca. 1896–1900	Rice & Stoudt (1929:77, 81, 107) Ketchum (1971:191)
	Theodore Fleet	ca. 1880–1900	Rice & Stoudt (1929:67) Smith (1972:23)
	Theophilus Grim	ca. 1880–1900	Rice & Stoudt (1929:67, 80)
	Levi Begerly	ca. 1880–1900	Rice & Stoudt (1929:67)
	John Eaton	ca. 1880–1900	Rice & Stoudt (1929:67)
	Letcher Eberly	ca. 1880–1900	Rice & Stoudt (1929:67)
	W. B. Kenner	ca. 1890	Rice & Stoudt (1929:107) Ramsay (1939:242)
	Kenner, Davidson and Miller	ca. 1890	Smith (1972:23)
	W. H. Lehew	ca. 1885–1900	Rice & Stoudt (1929:77, 107) Ramsay (1939:242)
	Miller and Fleet	ca. 1896–1900	Rice & Stoudt (1929:81)
	Miller and Woodward	ca. 1896–1900	Rice & Stoudt (1929:229)
	Shinnick	ca. 1860?	Rice & Stoudt (1929:79) Smith (1972:24)
	Samuel H. Sonner	ca. 1853–1883	Rice & Stoudt (1929:47, 78–79, 105); Ramsay (1939:242) Ketchum (1971:28, 191) Smith (1972:23)
	John H. Sonner	ca. 1883–1892	Rice & Stoudt (1929:79, 105) Smith (1972:23)
	G. R. Sonner and T. Grim	ca. 1880	Rice & Stoudt (1929:80–81
	G. R. Sonner and A. D. Fleet	ca. 1880–1890	Rice & Stoudt (1929:80–81
	L. D. Funkhouser	ca. 1889–1905	Rice & Stoudt (1929:67, 82, 107) Ramsay (1939:242) Ketchum (1971:191)
Smyth County			
Specific Location Unknown	Thomas Myers	ca. 1850–1870	Moore (1983:536)

Pottery Location	Associated Potters or Pottery Owners or Pottery Marks/Stamps	Dates of Operation	References
Rich Valley Township	William Campbell	ca. 1880	Moore (1983:536)
	John Hicks	ca. 1870	Moore (1983:536)
	John Hicks, Jr.	ca. 1870	Moore (1983:536)
Washington County			
Abingdon District	J. M. Barlow (b. 1856) (Also worked in Alum Wells and Ocola, Va.)	ca. 1880	Moore (1983:536)
	James H. Davis (b. 1844) (worked at Decker Pottery?)	ca. 1870	Moore (1983:536)
	Charles F. Decker (b. 1832)	ca. 1870	Moore (1983:536)
	Charles F. Decker, Jr. (b. 1856)	ca. 1870	Moore (1983:536)
	Mallicole (worked at Decker Pottery)	ca. 1870	Moore (1983:536–37)
	John B. McGee (MaGee) (b. 1813)	ca. 1880	Moore (1983:537) Russ (1984)
	Fred McGee (b. 1866)	ca. 1880	Moore (1983:537)
	G. W. Stockton	ca. 1880	Moore (1983:537)
	Hamilton	ca. 1870	Moore (1983:536–37)
	Stuart (worked with Hamilton)	ca. 1870	Moore (1983:536–37)
Craigs Mill	J. W. Gardner	ca. 1870	Moore (1983:536) Napps (1972:12–13)
Glade Springs	Robert ("Squire") Keys	ca. 1860–1888	Moore (1983:536) Napps (1972:12–13)
	Jacob Miller (b. 1803)	ca. 1860	Moore (1983:537)
	James, Robert, and William Miller	ca. 1880	Napps (1972:14–15)
Zenobia	John Wooten (b. 1803)	ca. 1850–1860	Moore (1983:537)
	James L. Wooten (b. 1828)	ca. 1850	Moore (1983:537)
	John T. Wooten (b. 1840)	ca. 1860–1880	Moore (1983:537)
	James Alexander Wooten (b. 1850)	ca. 1870–1880	Moore (1983:537) Napps (1972:8)

	William T. Wooten (b. 1866)	ca. 1880–1918	Moore (1983:537) Napps (1972:9)
	Thomas C. Wooten (b. 1870)	ca. 1880	Moore (1983:537)
	Joephus J. Wooten (b. 1874)	ca. 1890–1918	Moore (1983:537) Napps (1972:9)
	Alexander M. Harris (b. 1825) (worked in Wooten Pottery?)	ca. 1870–1880	Moore (1983:536)
	Samuel Harris (b. 1861) (worked in Wooten Pottery)	ca. 1880	Moore (1983:536)
	Edward William Mort (b. 1853) (worked in Wooten Pottery and later in Alum Wells, Va.)	ca. 1870–1893	Moore (1983:537) Napps (1972:11–12)
	Thomas Northcut (b. 1864) (worked in Wooten Pottery)	ca. 1880	Moore (1983:537)
	Grandison Roberts (b. 1825) (worked in Wooten Pottery)	ca. 1860	Moore (1983:537)
	Peter Ruhl (b. 1821)	ca. 1880	Moore (1983:537)
	L. S. Sherman (b. 1843)	ca. 1870	Moore (1983:537)
Zion	Jessee Vestal (b. 1829)	ca. 1854	Moore (1983:537) Napps (1972:14–15)
	Simon Vestal (b. 1831)	ca. 1853	Moore (1983:537)
	Thomas Vestal (b. 1831)	ca. 1850	Moore (1983:537)
	James F. Vestal (b. 1856)	ca. 1889	Moore (1983:537)
Specific Location Unknown	James Glenn (d. 1793)	?	Moore (1983:536)
	Nathan Lewis	ca. 1815	Moore (1983:537)
	Saul Samuel (b. 1825)	ca. 1860	Moore (1983:537)
	Peter Wolfe (d. 1846)	ca. 1836–1846	Moore (1983:537)
Westmoreland County			
Glebe Harbor	Morgan Jones and Dennis White	ca. 1669–1681	Ramsay (1939:243) Kelso & Chappell (1974:53) Hudson (1975:46–48)

Pottery Location	Associated Potters or Pottery Owners or Pottery Marks/Stamps	Dates of Operation	References
Wise County			
Big Spring [Stone] Gap	William; Wolfe	ca. 1875–1881	Ramsay (1939:236) Ketchum (1971:191)
Wythe County			
Rural Retreat	John Christian Buck (b. 1767)	ca. 1815	Moore (1983:537)
	Abraham Buck (b. 1798)	ca. 1864	Moore (1983:537)
	John C. Buck (b. 1802)	ca. 1860	Moore (1983:537)
	Peter Buck (b. 1811)	ca. 1860	Moore (1983:537)
	Felix Buck (b. 1828)	ca. 1850–1860	Moore (1983:537)
	Ephram Buck (b. 1833)	ca. 1860	Moore (1983:537)
	Eli Cain (b. 1815)	ca. 1837–1850	Moore (1983:537)
	Frederick Moore (b. 1752)	ca. 1779–1800	Moore (1983:537)
	Andrew F. Speagle (b. 1858)	ca. 1880	Moore (1983:537)
Specific Location Unknown	Peter W. Moyers (Moter)	ca. 1812	Moore (1983:537)
	Richard Moyers (b. 1822)	ca. 1860	Moore (1983:537)
	John Moyers (b. 1844)	ca. 1860	Moore (1983:537)
	Jacob Wampler ? (1779–1840)	ca. 1810–1830	Moore (1983:537)
	Isaac Wampler (b. 1800)	ca. 1880	Moore (1983:537)
	Isaac A. T. Wampler (b. 1819)	ca. 1860	Moore (1983:537)
York County			
Yorktown	"poor potter" (worked for William Rogers)	ca. 1720–1745	Watkins & Noel Hume (1967: 83, 110); Barka (1972:291–93)

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PART ONE

The Constitution and the Rockbridge Delegation

Laurence K. Ryan

IN Lexington in the late Spring of 1788, the people of Rockbridge county held a meeting that could have changed the fate of the federal Constitution. At that meeting the participants voted to instruct the delegates they had selected to the state convention of 1788 to oppose the ratification of the Constitution. The delegates to the convention who represented Rockbridge County, Andrew Moore and William McKee, disobeyed the instructions and voted to ratify the Constitution, acting directly against the mandate sent to them. Why did these two men act as they did? Were they violating the republican principles that formed the basis of American politics? Why did the delegates support the Constitution against the advice of their constituents? An examination of the economic and political situation in the Valley during this period is essential if we are to find answers to these questions.[1]

In the 1780s the Shenandoah Valley was still in the early stages of development. The average value of personal property was less than half

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Laurence K. Ryan was a senior U.S. history major at Washington and Lee University at the time he delivered his paper. He spoke in the main courtroom of the Rockbridge County Courthouse on April 27, 1987.

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1. Hugh Blair Grigsby, "The Founders of Washington College: An Address Delivered June 22, 1870," *Washington and Lee University Historical Papers* 2 (1890): 89.

that of the Piedmont, as was the valuation of land. Of the families in the Valley, 24 percent owned slaves, compared to 72 percent in the Piedmont, and only twenty-three people in the Valley owned twenty or more slaves. The Valley had half as many land holdings of more than five hundred acres as the Piedmont.[2]

In 1784 the French Marquis de Chastellux traveled through much of the Valley, entering from the east, crossing Rockfish Gap near Waynesboro, traveling to Staunton, then down to Natural Bridge and back to Eastern Virginia. He was disappointed with the people he found there, whom he pronounced "common," and the houses in which they lived, which he pronounced "very crude." He also commented on the poor accommodations for travelers, and the "crude trails" that passed for roads. Only Natural Bridge was worthy of admiration. Even in the 1790s, according to Rochefoucault-Liancourt, the French philanthropist and social reformer who visited the area, there were no substantial houses or stables. Will books from 1785 to 1788 support the Frenchmen's opinion. Only 44 percent of the homes contained books, only 4 percent silver plate, and only 34 percent unusual or luxurious furniture. One sign of luxury was the two-wheeled carriage. The Valley had less than twenty. Clearly, economic development in the Valley had not proceeded very far, especially in comparison to the older and more developed Piedmont.[3]

Industrial life in the Valley centered in its small farms. The plantation system had not developed extensively there and slave labor remained impractical and relatively rare. The area was more self-supporting than the Piedmont or Tidewater, and farmers devoted less time and effort to the production of staples.[4]

Many farmers raised livestock on meadows well furnished with timothy and clover, and herds of cattle roamed untended through the woods. In the early 1780s substantial farmers bred imported English bulls with local cows and produced an improved breed. The tax rolls for the Valley in 1787 show a considerable increase in farm livestock, with the largest increase in cattle.

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2. Freeman H. Hart, *The Valley of Virginia in the American Revolution, 1763–1789* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1942), pp. 161–162, 167; Norman K. Risjord, "Virginia Federalists," *Journal of Southern History* 33 (November 1967): 498.

3. Marquis de Chastellux, *Travels in North America in the Years 1780, 1781, and 1782,* trans. Howard C. Rice, Jr. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1963), pp. 400–404; Hart, *Valley of Virginia,* p. 166; George M. Smith, "The Trade and Mysterie of Farming," *Historic Preservation* 20 (July-December 1968): 43, 48.

4. Floyd Sale Kay, "Opposition in Virginia to the Federal Constitution, 1787–1788" (M.A. Thesis. University of Virginia, 1939), pp. 13, 27.

The raising of sheep was also common. Wool production supported the manufacture of hats in Richmond and the North.[5]

Interspersed with the meadows used for pasture were fields of wheat and corn. The limestone soil was ideal for such crops, as well as for the hemp and flax that were widely cultivated. Orchards with apple trees could already be found. Farming methods were crude, although some farmers were beginning to manure their wheat fields. Plowing was done by oxen in most cases, although some farmers relied on horses.[6]

The production of commercial crops increased in the Valley during the 1780s. The state provided bounties to encourage the production of hemp in the early 1780s and established Richmond as a market for exports from the Valley at the expense of Fredericksburg and Falmouth. Wheat was both a subsistence and a commercial crop. Commercial wheat production was characteristic of the lower valley. The price of wheat and flour rose sharply after 1783 and held steady through the period. The state began to inspect wheat in the late 1780s after Alexandria merchants petitioned for greater centralization of inspection functions as a result of the volume of flour coming from western counties.[7]

Tobacco was a viable commercial crop in the Valley in the period after the Revolutionary War, and the state allowed farmers to pay their debts in tobacco as well as in hemp and flour. Tobacco remained an accepted form of legal tender through 1794. Although the price of wheat was rising, tobacco prices were falling, increasing the incentive for farmers to grow wheat. Economically the Valley was developing rapidly, as was its political identity.[8]

The people of the Valley were not as parochial as most Virginians. Many had recently emigrated from Pennsylvania or Europe, and the bonds that held eastern Virginians to the Commonwealth were not as strong in the Valley. Residents had strong commercial ties with Pennsylvania, along the

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5. Robert D. Mitchell, "Agricultural Change and the American Revolution: A Virginia Case Study," *Agricultural History* 47 (April 1973): 124; Smith, "Trade and Mysterie of Farming," p. 43.

6. George Clendinen to Zachariah Johnston, Richmond, April 20, 1786, Zachariah Johnston Papers, Virginia State Library Archives, Richmond, Va.; Norman K. Risjord, *Chesapeake Politics, 1781–1800* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), p. 45.

7. Mitchell, "Agricultural Change," pp. 128, 130.

8. Augustus Law, "Virginia in the Critical Period, 1783–1789" (Ph.D. dissertation. University of Iowa, 1941), pp. 7, 84; Mitchell, "Agricultural Change," p. 130; Margaret Phenlan Scott, "Virginia's Reaction to the Federal Question, c. 1780–1788, with Special Reference to the Growth of Antifederalism" (Ph.D. dissertation. University of Virginia, 1940), p. 414.

Great Wagon Road, and they also looked to Philadelphia for religious leadership. While some Virginians did not support the Continental Congress because of their strong attachment to their state, the people of the Valley did support the Continental Congress. They had no problem in abandoning local autonomy or delegating powers to the federal government, in part because they were not equally represented in the Virginia legislature.[9]

The Valley favored the creation of a strong federal government even before the close of the Revolutionary War. Soon after the treaty of peace was published in 1783, the movement to reorganize the central government established by the Articles of Confederation gained strength in the Valley. Demands for reform became increasingly insistent before the Philadelphia convention. With the administration of public affairs under the Confederation deteriorating, the need for change became increasingly obvious. The Congress lacked the power to regulate trade, and tariffs leveled by one state against another provoked open hostilities. Older men recalled that wars had been fought over trade disputes and decided that something had to be done.[10]

For almost thirty years the people of the Valley had lived in the midst of war or the threat of war, and most men had participated in some form of military service. Between 1776 and 1781 more than five hundred men from the Valley had served as commissioned officers and thousands more as private soldiers. They recognized the dangers of a weak government that could not defend itself from its enemies, and their experiences during the Revolution had given them stronger ties to their government than men who had stayed at home. The problems posed by the proliferation of paper money also contributed to the drive for a stronger government, although by the late 1780s paper money was no longer as serious a problem as it had been during the 1770s. The burden of private debt was heavy, but the people of the Valley opposed the remedy most often proposed by the state legislature: an increase in the volume of paper money in circulation which would benefit debtors at the expense of creditors. The permanent prohibi-

9. Orin Grant Libby, *The Geographical Distribution of the Vote of the Thirteen States on the Federal Constitution, 1787–1788* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1894), p. 47; Forrest McDonald, *We the People: the Economic Origins of the Constitution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), p. 264; Risjord, "Virginia Federalists," p. 498.

10. Robert E. Thomas, "The Virginia Convention of 1788: A Criticism of Beard's *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution.*" *The Journal of Southern History* 19 (February 1953): 66, 70; Hart, *Valley of Virginia,* pp. 170, 171.

tion of state issues of paper money included in the Constitution was a great victory.[11]

Another of the problems that concerned the Valley was the peace treaty with Britain. The inhabitants wanted the Confederation to uphold its agreements in the treaty so that Great Britain would comply with them. The treaty required the British to evacuate the forts in the northwest, and the people of the Valley saw in this evacuation an end to the Indian problems that plagued the western frontier, the opening of the frontier to settlement, and an increase in the value of the land that many held in Kentucky. The Constitution also offered hope that in the future the people of the valley would be represented equally and their interests protected more effectively.[12]

The people of the Valley first tried to voice their concerns in the House of Delegates. The session of 1786 began with the introduction of a petition from Augusta County calling for both sides to carry out their obligations under the treaty. The next day a petition from Botetourt County asked that the treaty of peace be fulfilled. The issue, the petitioners insisted, was one of upholding private integrity and national honor. They wanted the legislature to remove legal impediments to the treaty, and they argued that a strong federal government would carry out the treaty more effectively. The Constitution held that treaties were part of the supreme law of the land. Ratification would uphold the Valley's insistence that Americans must pay the debts to English merchants they had accumulated before the war.[13]

Religious liberty was also an issue which greatly concerned the Valley. When opponents objected that the omission of a guarantee of religious liberty from the Constitution was dangerous to dissenters, the Valley lead-

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11. William Couper, *History of the Shenandoah Valley,* 3 vols. (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1952), pp. 658, 674; McDonald, *We the People,* p. 268; Jackson Turner Main, *The Antifederalists: Critics of the Constitution, 1781–1788* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961), p. 229.

12. Hart, *Valley of Virginia,* p. 170; McDonald, *We the People,* pp. 263, 264; Jackson Turner Main, *Political Parties before the Constitution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1973), pp. 256, 263; Risjord, *Chesapeake Politics,* p. 295; Resolution of the Virginia House of Delegates, June 8, 1784, Stuart Family Papers, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Va.; James B. Schick, "The Antifederalist Ideology in Virginia, 1787–1788" (Ph.D. dissertation. Indiana University, 1971), p. 313.

13. Caleb Wallace to Colonel William Fleming, Locust Grove, August 13, 1788, William Fleming Papers, Washington and Lee University Library, Lexington, Va.; *Journal of House,* 1787, fall session, pp. 6, 66, 79, 101, 105, 135; Hart, *Valley of Virginia,* p. 184; McDonald, *We the People,* pp. 263, 264; Risjord, *Chesapeake Politics,* pp. 277, 301; Gordon S. Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776–1787* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969), p. 156, 262.

ers joined James Madison in arguing that religion was clearly outside the power of the Congress.[14]

Trade was another major concern in the Valley. In 1786 economic activity replaced postwar stagnation and new markets for Valley products emerged in the North. Farmers shipped their agricultural surpluses down the Potomac to Alexandria or overland to Baltimore. They realized that improved trade rested in part on improved transportation, and they looked to a stronger central government to provide more efficient roads between the Valley and its markets in the Middle Atlantic states and in eastern Virginia. They also expected the central government to support the effort to improve transportation on the James River.[15]

The trade between the Valley and the mid-Atlantic states also created a need to put an end to the states levying duties on insterstate commerce. The Valley supported granting the Continental Congress power over commerce. The navigation of the Potomac River involved interstate rights of way, interstate duties, the development of a port on the Atlantic coast, and the appropriation of funds during a period of economic depression. In October of 1783 the Virginia House of Delegates appointed trustees and provided for the extension of the navigation of the James from the mouth of the Cow Pasture River through private subscriptions. This new route would allow farmers in Botetourt and Rockbridge counties to ship their products to market faster and more inexpensively than ever before. Zachariah Johnston, William McKee, Andrew Moore, and Archibald Stuart were among the eleven trustees appointed to raise funds to finance the project. The inhabitants of the Valley also realized that a stronger federal government would be more likely to provide funds for improving the river and for building port facilities, and more likely to obtain favorable commercial treaties from foreign governments.[16]

The resolutions passed in 1787 by the freeholders of Frederick County, located at the northern end of the Valley, sum up well the reasons the area supported the Constitution. They cited the collapse of the Confederacy and

14. Thomas E. Buckley, *Church and State in Revolutionary Virginia, 1776–1787* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1977), pp. 199, 200; Hart, *Valley of Virginia,* p. 184; Charles F. James, *Documentary History of the Struggle for Religious Liberty in Virginia,* Da Capo Press Reprint Series *Civil Liberties in American History* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1971), pp. 151–152, 157, 158; Forrest McDonald, *Novus Ordo Seclorum: The Intellectual Origins of the Constitution* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1985), pp. 44, 45.

15. Hart, *Valley of Virginia,* pp. 149, 154.

16. Hart, *Valley of Virginia,* pp. 155, 158; Main, *Antifederalists,* p. 230; Scott, "Virginia's Reaction to the Federal Question," p. 414; Thomas, "Virginia Convention of 1788," pp. 66, 70.

the refusal of the states to carry out the recommendations made by the Congress. The states had failed to comply with the "solemn compacts" they had made and had committed a "breach of faith both with respect to foreign nations and our own citizens." If the Constitution were not ratified, a period of anarchy and confusion would ensue. The reform was a noble effort and an excellent plan.[17]

In spite of the advantages promised by a stronger central government, support for the new constitution in the southern part of the Valley was not unanimous. The first rector of Liberty Hall Academy and one of the most influential citizens of Rockbridge County, William Graham, opposed the Constitution. Since 1775 Graham had served as the minister of Hall's Meeting House, later Monmouth Presbyterian Church. In the 1780s he preached to many Lexingtonians. Graham had aligned himself with Patrick Henry and was attempting to rally the antifederalists in the Valley.

The story of the ratification of the Constitution begins with the unanimous vote in the House of Delegates to call a convention in October of 1787. Zachariah Johnston summed the situation up well to his wife: "Our New Confederated Constitution I find has its friends and its enemies." It was seven months until the convention met, a period filled with heated debate over the question of ratification. With the printed word reaching only a minority of the people, the debate was carried out primarily through mass meetings and speeches.[19]

Many prominent Virginians opposed the Constitution, among them a number of powerful political leaders. Patrick Henry led the opposition to ratification. He feared that the reduction of the rights of the states would result in the grant of "extensive and ambiguous powers to Congress." Richard Henry Lee also opposed the Constitution. He too feared that the power granted to the central government was too great. And George Mason feared that the North would be able to exploit the South through the powers of the new government to regulate trade. James Monroe entertained the same fears, especially after John Jay's negotiations with Spain threatened to give up the right of Americans to navigate the Mississippi

17. Couper, *History of the Shenandoah Valley,* p. 659; Hart, *Valley of Virginia,* p. 172.

18. Henry Boley, *Lexington in Old Virginia* (Richmond: Garrett and Massie, 1936), p. 20; Grigsby, "Founders," pp. 17, 27, 29; Hart, *Valley of Virginia,* p. 174.

19. "In the House of Delegates, Thursday, the 25th of October, 1787," Virginia General Assembly, 1787 Broadside in Clifford K. Shipton, ed., *Early American Imprint Series 1639–1800* (Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society, 1969); Zachariah Johnston to Mrs. Ann Johnston, Richmond, October 26, 1787, Zachariah Johnston Papers, Washington and Lee University Library, Lexington, Va.; McDonald, *We the People,* pp. 256, 257.

River. The Antifederalists exploited the issue in their attempts to persuade the western counties to oppose ratification. Critics of the Constitution also feared that the federal courts would permit British merchants to recover prewar debts owed them by the Americans. This threat was particularly effective in the Tidewater region.[20]

The Federalist position lost popularity as the time for the convention drew nearer. The General Assembly first appeared to favor the Constitution, but as the convention approached the picture became less clear.[21] The representatives to the convention from Rockbridge County were Andrew Moore and William McKee. Both had led active political careers and served as delegates to the Virginia General Assembly. Moore had served in the Assembly since 1780 and McKee since 1786.[22]

Andrew Moore, a native Virginian, was born in 1752 at "Cannicello," twenty miles south of Staunton in what is now Rockbridge County. His father was a farmer. He attended Augusta Academy and taught school in Augusta County and later in North Carolina. In 1772 he attended the College of William and Mary where he studied law under George Wythe, who had also taught Thomas Jefferson. He was admitted to the Bar on November 15, 1774, and went to Lexington to set up a law office, but the outbreak of the American Revolution prevented him from practicing his new profession. He was commissioned as a lieutenant in a company commanded by Captain John Hays which served under General George Washington throughout the war. It defended New York City against British Major General Sir William Howe and participated in the battles of Trenton, Princeton, and Saratoga, where it was a part of Colonel Daniel Morgan's rifle corps.[23]

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20. Robert Alonzo Brock, *Virginia and Virginians* (Richmond: H. H. Hardestry, 1888; reprint ed., Spartanburg: The Reprint Company, 1973), 1:5, 73; W. Joseph Heffernan, "Antifederalist Political Thought in Virginia as reflected in the Virginia Federal Convention of 1788;; (M.A. Thesis, Duke University, 1954), pp. 22, 37, 54, 81; Law, "Virginia in the Critical Period," pp. 105, 106, 141; Schick, "Antifederalist Ideology in Virginia," pp. 6, 7–9, 305; Scott, "Virginia's Reaction to the Federal Question," pp. 134, 226; McDonald, *Novus Ordo,* pp. 151, 152, 289.

21. Law, "Virginia in the Critical Period," p. 162; Archibald Stuart to James Madison, Richmond, November 2, 1787, in Charles F. Hobson and Robert A. Rutland, eds., *Papers of James Madison* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1962–), 10: 234.

22. Cynthia Miller Leonard, ed., *The General Assembly of Virginia, July 30, 1619–January 11, 1987: A Bicentennial Register of Members* (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1978), pp. 111, 112.

23. Sigurd Edward Lee, "Andrew Moore" (M.A. Thesis. Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 1974), pp. 7, 10, 11; Grigsby, *Virginia Convention,* pp. 32, 33; F. B. Kegley, *Kegley's Virginia Frontier* (Roanoke, Va.: Southwest Historical

Moore returned to Lexington to practice law in 1779 at the age of twenty-eight. In that year he purchased 514 acres of land on the north side of the North Branch of the James River, now the Maury River, from William Nichols of Mecklenberg County, North Carolina. Later in 1779, after strong encouragement from his friends, he offered himself as a candidate for a seat in the Virginia House of Delegates representing Rockbridge County. He was elected and in late April of 1780 traveled with fellow delegate Samuel McDowell to Richmond.[24]

The session began on May 10, 1780. Moore was appointed a member of the Committee on Religion and the Committee on Propositions and Grievances. Most of the business of the latter committee involved providing aid to the war effort south of Virginia. The Continental Congress sent many requests for money and credit to strengthen the Confederation and the Assembly faithfully honored them.[25]

The fall session of the legislature ended before the British attack on Richmond, and the spring session began after the Americans had recaptured the city. The Assembly had to move to Charlottesville and then to Staunton to avoid capture by British cavalry under the command of Colonel Banastre Tarleton.[26]

In 1781 Samuel McDowell retired and Moore became the senior delegate from Rockbridge County. He was appointed to a committee to force counties to fill their quotas of troops to the Continental Army, and the Executive Council of State appointed him to serve on a special court to try persons from Augusta and Rockingham counties accused of treason during the British invasion in 1781.[27]

Society, 1938), p. 661; J. T. McAllister, *Virginia Militia in the Revolutionary War* (Hot Springs, Va.: McAllister Publishing Company, 1913), pp. 43, 183, 228; Oren F. Morton, *A History of Rockbridge County, Virginia* (reprint ed.; Baltimore: Regional Publishing Company, 1980), pp. 59, 82, 267; Charles W. Turner, "Andrew Moore—First U.S. Senator from West of the Blue Ridge Mountains," *The Filson Club History Quarterly* 28 (1954): 354; Joseph A. Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County, Virginia, from 1726 to 1871* (Staunton, Va.: C. Russell Caldwell, 1902), p. 232.

24. William Nichols to Andrew Moore, Oct. 5, 1779, Rockbridge County Records, Deed Book, A:216; Kegley, *Kegley's Virginia Frontier,* pp. 417, 199; H. R. McIlwaine, ed., *Journal of the House of Delegates of the Commonwealth of Virginia for the Sessions of 1781* (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1928), 2: 356; George Wilson McKee, *The McKees of Virginia and Kentucky* (Pittsburgh: J. B. Richards Press, 1891), p. 65.

25. *Journal of House,* 1780, spring session, p. 59; Leonard, *General Assembly of Virginia,* p. 112, 160.

26. McIlwaine, *Journal of House of Delegates,* pp. 10, 12.

27. H. R. McIlwaine, ed., *Journals of the Council of the State of Virginia* (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1931), 2: 340–352; McIlwaine, *Journal of House of*

Moore continued to serve as a delegate from Rockbridge County in the 1782 sessions of the legislature. In the fall session he presented a petition asking for the incorporation of Liberty Hall Academy. He served on the committee which reviewed the bill and reported it favorably. A small group of delegates objected to the provision in the charter that exempted masters, tutors, and students from militia service, but the legislature enacted the bill into law as it stood.[28]

During the 1783 session Moore was assigned to the Committee on Courts of Justice. In the fall of 1783 his father became seriously ill and he was forced to leave the Assembly. He returned to Richmond on December 15, 1783, soon after his father's death. He was named to a committee to consider a bill for the improvement of the navigation of the James River from the Piedmont into the Valley, and helped to secure the passage of the bill.[29]

In 1784 Moore had to settle his father's estate, his law practice needed his attention, and he declined reelection to the legislature. But he returned to the Assembly in 1785 after he had placed his affairs in order, and he quickly became involved in the debate over a proposed tax to support the Christian religion. Moore supported James Madison, who opposed the tax, and the bill died in committee. In January of 1786 Moore, again a member of the Committee on Religion, helped to obtain passage of Jefferson's famous bill that guaranteed religious freedom to the people of the state. During the session he became impressed with Madison and he looked to Madison for advice and leadership for the rest of his political career.[30]

In the fall of 1786 Moore became chairman of a committee to study the extension of the existing wagon road from the Valley to the mouth of the Little Kanawha River. He believed that internal improvements were needed to increase the prosperity of the state and that they were constitutional. After the session ended Moore returned to Rockbridge County to seek election as a delegate to the Constitutional Convention of 1788. He ran

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Delegates, pp. 30, 64; Risjord, *Chesapeake Politics,* pp. 101, 102; W.H.J. Squires, *Through Centuries Three: A Short History of the People of Virginia* (Portsmouth, Va.: Printcraft Press, 1929), p. 327; Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County,* pp. 182, 295.

28. Gordon DenBoer and Norman K. Risjord, "The Evolution of Political Parties in Virginia, 1782–1800," *Journal of American History* 60 (March 1974): 963, 964; *Journal of House,* 1782, fall session, pp. 5, 45, 64; Risjord, *Chesapeake Politics,* p. 182.

29. *Journal of House,* spring session, pp. 21, 46.

30. Grigsby, "Founders," pp. 56, 58; Lee, "Andrew Moore," pp. 22, 25.

with William McKee as a friend of the Constitution against William Graham and Major John Hayes who were opposed to ratification.[31]

Moore's colleague from Rockbridge to the Convention was William McKee. McKee was born to Robert and Agnes McKee in County Doun, Ireland, in 1732. His family migrated to America and settled in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, when he was six. McKee was active in the military throughout his life. He fought in the battle of Point Pleasant in Lord Dunmore's War and in Braddock's defeat at Fort Duquesne. He reached the rank of captain during the French and Indian War in 1781. Governor Thomas Nelson appointed him lieutenant colonel of the Rockbridge County militia, and in 1785 Governor Patrick Henry made him colonel. He held the commission until 1796.[32]

McKee was a strict disciplinarian and a devout Presbyterian who refused to entertain guests on Sundays. If someone arrived on a Sunday he would give them something to read and he himself would read the Bible. He was a combative, hot-tempered man but generous and genial. In 1766 he married Miriam McKee, his first cousin, the daughter of John McKee, Sr. They settled first in Botetourt County and then in Rockbridge County a few miles west of Lexington.[33]

In 1771 McKee was appointed sheriff of Botetourt County. He was one of the first justices of the county and one of the recipients of Israel Christian's grant to establish the town of Fincastle. He became one of the first trustees of Augusta Academy in 1776.[34]

In the spring of 1779 McKee purchased four hundred acres in Rockbridge County from his father-in-law, John McKee. In 1781 he qualified as sheriff in Rockbridge County and posted a bond. In this office he was responsible for the collection of all county taxes. He received a portion of the proceeds, but he was also personally accountable for defaults. In 1786 he was elected to the House of Delegates to represent Rockbridge County and served there through 1788.[35]

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31. Grigsby, *Convention,* pp. 34, 35; Morton, *History of Rockbridge County,* p. 267; Turner, "Andrew Moore," p. 355.

32. Kegley, *Kegley's Virginia Frontier,* pp. 294, 624, 658; McAllister, *Virginia Militia,* p. 42; McKee, *McKees of Virginia and Kentucky,* pp. 60, 64; David L. Pulliam, *The Constitutional Conventions of Virginia from the Foundation of the Commonwealth to the Present Time* (Richmond: John T. West, 1901), p. 54; Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County,* p. 210.

33. McKee, *McKees of Virginia and Kentucky,* pp. 64, 68, 69.

34. William McKee to Sam Lyle, April 12, and June 5, 1777, Washington and Lee Papers, Washington and Lee Library, Lexington, Va.: Kegley, *Kegley's Virginia Frontier,* pp. 385, 401; McKee, *McKees of Virginia and Kentucky,* p. 65.

35. John and Esther McKee to William McKee, April 5, 1779, Rockbridge County

Moore and McKee served in the House of Delegates together in 1786 through 1788. It was here that they worked with Archibald Stuart and Zachariah Johnston, delegates from neighboring Augusta County. Both of these men had served in the House since the early 1780s. Johnston, a native of Augusta County, had been chairman of the committee on religion during the time the famous Freedom of Religion Act passed. He settled in Lexington in the 1790s where he built the stone house that stands today.[36]

Archibald Stuart, also a native of Augusta County, was a successful attorney in the Valley. His father, Alexander Stuart, was a prominent Lexingtonian. In 1783 he represented Botetourt County in the House of Delegates after losing the election in Rockbridge County. He worked closely with James Madison and under his hand came to be a strong Federalist. He was one of the youngest members of the House and served on many committees. Both Johnston and Stuart were candidates in Augusta County for the ratifying convention.[37]

The elections for delegates to the state ratifying convention were held in March, 1788. Approximately twenty thousand people voted throughout the Commonwealth. Although the number of voters was small, it was apparently larger than the usual turnout for ordinary elections. The number of voters rarely exceeded twenty-five percent of the free adult males who were eligible to vote. At the start of the campaign the voters were relatively uninformed about the issues. The candidates were identified more often by their wealth and prestige than by their political beliefs. But both factions staged vigorous campaigns, so that by the time of the elections most voters should have been well aware of what was at stake. Most candidates announced their positions on ratification, and all of the delegates elected to the convention from the Valley had committed themselves on the issue. Only Louisa, Warwick, Accomac, New Kent, and Chesterfield counties sent uncommitted delegates to the convention. Even so, in at least four counties the delegates went against the wishes of their constituents.[38]

Records, Deed Book, A:110; McIlwaine, *Journal of Council,* 4:205, 206; Morton, *History of Rockbridge County,* pp. 59, 84.

36. Leonard, *General Assembly of Virginia,* p. 112; Matthew W. Paxton, "Zachariah Johnston and Augusta County and Rockbridge County and His Time," Zachariah Johsnton Papers, Manuscript Department, Duke University Library, Durham, N.C.

37. *Journal of House,* 1785, fall session, pp. 46, 66, 91, 110; Main, *Antifederalists,* p. 230; Risjord, *Chesapeake Politics,* pp. 149, 151; Jack N. Rakove, *The Beginnings of National Politics: An Interpretive History of the Continental Congress* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), p. 369.

38. Richard R. Beeman, *The Old Dominion and the New Nation, 1788–1801* (Lexington, Ky.: University Press of Kentucky, 1972), pp. 3, 4; Law, "Virginia in the Critical Period," p. 18.

Moore and McKee ran as Federalists against William Graham and Major John Hayes. Graham had solicited help from Zachariah Johnston to oppose the Constitution, but Johnston was a committed Federalist.[39]

Archibald Stuart also played an active role in the elections. He helped Gabriel Jones win election from Rockingham County as a friend of the Constitution. Thomas Lewis, the other delegate from the county, was also a Federalist. The day before the elections in Botetourt County, Stuart learned that his former constituents were not going to require their candidates to commit themselves. Stuart rode all day and night and arrived in Fincastle after the polls had opened. After convincing the registrars to suspend the poll he spoke on the steps of the courthouse, encouraging the people to force their candidates to commit themselves to vote for ratification. He was successful; the people did force the candidates to pledge to support the Constitution, and William Fleming and Martin McFerran were elected as Federalists.[40]

Each county sent two representatives to the convention and each incorporated city sent one. The convention was composed mainly of members of the General Assembly. Fully two-thirds of the delegates had served in the Assembly. Most of the delegates were men of wealth and public influence in state and local politics. Many had been justices, sheriffs, and vestrymen. The presidents of William and Mary and Hampden-Sydney attended, as did nine members of the Phi Beta Kappa society. Many of the delegates had served in the militia. Men who had achieved high military rank tended to be Federalists. Military experience, especially in the continental line, instilled a breadth of view and a concern for national problems and politices lacking in men whose careers were limited to service in the state. With this service came a desire for a strong and orderly political system. Most Federalists had contacts, interests, or allegiances outside of Virginia. The delegates who eventually supported the Constitution were largely young men in their twenties and thirties, while the Antifederalists were mainly between the ages of forty-five and seventy. The younger men had come of age when unity in America was critical to its survival, while the older men had experienced the abuse of power under the British empire, and were more concerned about rights than union.[41]

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39. William Graham to Zachariah Johnston, Rockbridge, November 3, 1787, Zachariah Johnston Papers, Washington and Lee University Library; James Madison to Thomas Jefferson, New York, December 9, 1787, in Julian P. Boyd, ed., *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950–), 12: 409.

40. James Madison to Thomas Jefferson, April 22, 1788, *Jefferson Papers,* 13: 98, 99; Hart, *Valley of Virginia,* p. 177; Grigsby, "Founders," p. 75.

41. Hart, *Valley of Virginia,* p. 178: Law, "Virginia in the Critical Period," p. 163; McDonald, *We the People,* p. 260, 263; Risjord, *Chesapeake Politics,* p. 302, 305;

The categories of Federalist and Antifederalist do not describe the members of the convention with much precision. In fact, the delegates were divided into three groups: those who supported the Constitution as it stood, those who supported the Constitution with amendments, and those who opposed the Constitution. In addition, some of the delegates who wanted to amend the document argued that the changes could safely follow ratification, but others insisted that amendments had to come first.[42]

The convention met on June 2, 1788, in the Statehouse in Richmond. The 170 delegates selected Edmund Pendleton as president of the convention, the Reverend Abner Waugh, chaplain, and John Beckley, secretary. On the second day the convention moved to the New Academy, a theater on Schockoe Hill. The convention attracted mobs of spectators and the delegates moved to a larger building so that as many as possible could attend the sessions.[43]

Although the delegates from Rockbridge County were elected because of their support for ratification, their constituents apparently experienced a major change of heart after their election. Transportation and communication were rudimentary in the eighteenth century. The area did not receive mail regularly, and no newspaper was published in the county. The time between the publication of speeches and other political materials and their receipt by the people was often long. Perhaps the voters of the area heard new arguments after they had elected delegates who favored the Constitution. Or perhaps they paid closer heed to old arguments. Perhaps it was the orations of William Graham. Most likely it was the result of the arguments raised by Patrick Henry, who was strongly opposed to the Constitution. His arguments circulated widely and may have prompted the change of opinion. Perhaps the people learned of the speeches Henry made against ratification and concluded that he was correct.[44]

Early in the summer of 1788, after their delegates had left to attend the convention, the citizens of the county held a public meeting at the Court House in Lexington and adopted a resolution instructing Moore and McKee to vote against ratification. It is not clear who attended the meeting. It may have included people who had not voted in the election or who

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Norman K. Risjord, "Virginians and the Constitution: A Multivariant Analysis," *William and Mary Quarterly* 31 (October 1974): 622, 625, 627.

42. Risjord, *Chesapeake Politics,* p. 305.

43. *Journal of the Convention of Virginia to Ratify the Constitution* (Richmond: Thomas W. White, 1827): 5, 6; Josiah Staunton Moore, "The Virginia Convention of 1788," *Southern Historical Society Papers* 36 (January-December 1908): 29; Pulliam, *Constitutional Conventions of Virginia,* p. 39; Virginia State Convention of 1788 Attendance Book, Virginia State Library.

44. McKee, *McKees of Virginia and Kentucky,* pp. 66, 67.

were not freeholders.[45] Moore and McKee refused to obey these new instructions on the ground that they had been elected as supporters of the Constitution, and the two remained firm in their support. Moore continued to view it as the only sensible method of solving the problems of defense, commerce, debt, and foreign affairs.

Of the delegates from the Valley who attended the convention, only Zachariah Johnston spoke. The debate was dominated by Patrick Henry, who led the attack on the Constitution, and James Madison, who had done more than any other American to bring it into existence. Johnston spoke near the close of the convention:

> Having now come to the ultimate stage of the investigation, I think it my duty to declare my sentiments on the subject. When I view the necessity of government among mankind, and its happy operation when judiciously constructed; and when I view the principles of this Constitution, and the satisfactory and liberal manner in which they have been developed by the gentleman in the chair, and several other gentlemen; and when I view, on the other hand, the strained construction which has been put, by the gentlemen on the other side, on every word and syllable, in endeavoring to prove oppressions which can never possibly happen, my judgment is convinced of the safety and propriety of this system. This conviction has not arisen from a blind acquiescence or dependence on the assertions and opinions of others, but from a full persuasion of its rectitude, after an attentive and mature consideration of the subject; the arguments of other gentlemen having only confirmed the opinion which I had previously formed, and which I was determined to abandon, should I find it to be ill founded. . . . Under these impressions, and for these reasons, I am for adopting the Constitution without previous amendments.[47]

The vote on the Constitution came soon after Johnston's speech on that twenty-fifth of June. The first vote on the Constitution included the proposed amendments; this failed by a vote of eighty to eighty-eight. The second vote on the Constitution without amendments passed by a vote of eighty-nine to seventy-nine. The delegates from the Valley voted against the amendments in the first vote, and then for the Constitution in the second

45. Grigsby, *Convention,* p. 31, 32; Grigsby, "Founders," p. 59.

46. Edmund P. Goodwin, *Colonel William Fleming of Botetourt, 1728-1795* (Roanoke, Va.: Progress Press, 1976), p. 62; Morton, *History of Rockbridge County,* p. 267.

47. Jonathan Elliot, *The Debates in the Several State Conventions, on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution, as Recommended by the General Convention at Philadelphia in 1787* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott and Co., 1863), pp. 644-649; David Robertson, ed., *Debates and Other Proceedings of the Convention of Virginia* (Richmond: Ritchie and Worsley and Augustine Davis, 1805), pp. 460-463.

vote. A vote two days later on whether to send the amendments to Congress passed by a voice vote.[48]

Johnston's colleagues were so impressed by his remarks in the convention that they later elected him to the Executive Council of the State. Moore was reelected to serve the House of Delegates in 1788. Presumably his reelection is proof that his constituents had forgiven him for refusing to vote against the Constitution earlier in the year, inspite of their belated instructions.[49]

In 1796 McKee resigned his commission as colonel of Rockbridge County and moved to Kentucky. He died there on October 11, 1816. Moore remained in Rockbridge County to the end of his life. He served as a member of the United States House of Representatives during Washington's administration, and in the United States Senate during Jefferson's. He died on April 14, 1821.[50]

While the delegates from the Valley did not take active roles at the convention, the friends and foes of the Constitution were very evenly matched, and their votes in favor of the Constitution made ratification possible. With the decision of the Virginia convention to ratify the Constitution the future of the new nation was assured.

48. *Journal of the Convention,* pp. 20, 21, 37; Pulliam, *Constitutional Conventions of Virginia,* p. 40.

49. Albert J. Beveridge, *Life of John Marshall,* 2 vols. (New York: Houghton and Mifflin Co., 1916) 1: 474; Grigsby, *Convention,* p. 36; Morton, *History of Rockbridge County,* p. 268; Paxton, "Zachariah Johnston," p. 188.

50. Andrew Moore and S. S. Campbell to George Washington, Lexington, November 14, 1798, Washington Papers, Washington and Lee University Library; "Address to Washington College," c. 1812, by Andrew Moore, Reid Family Papers, Washington and Lee University Library; Grigsby, *Convention,* pp. 34, 35.

George C. Marshall: The Lexington Connection

Larry I. Bland

An unusually large number of famous people have maintained a connection with Rockbridge County despite its relative isolation and small size. George C. Marshall—a 1901 Virginia Military Institute graduate who became army chief of staff (1939–45), secretary of state (1947–49), secretary of defense (1950–51), and Nobel Peace Prize winner (1953)—began his lengthy association with Lexington as a child in the 1890s. It ended with his death in 1959. But through the George C. Marshall Foundation and its museum and library, the association continues.

The first document that we know of by George C. Marshall, written perhaps in September 1890, mentions Lexington. His father, a middle-class coke manufacturer in the Uniontown, Pennsylvania, area—which is scarcely more than a dozen miles above the Mason-Dixon Line due north of Lexington—had just returned from entering George's older brother, Stuart, in the Virginia Military Institute, and George wrote the news to his Great Aunt Eliza in Pittsburgh.

George was four months shy of his tenth birthday, and he had never been to Lexington. Little did he realize the role the Virginia town was to play in his life. What is also interesting is the accidental congruence of certain events in his life and in Lexington's, particularly in the 1890s.

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At the time young Marshall labored over his aunt's letter, his family was at the peak of its prosperity and social status. His father—also named George C. Marshall and a distant relative of Chief Justice John Marshall—had just sold most of his property in Pennsylvania to the expanding empire of Henry Clay Frick for over $100,000—equal to at least ten times that amount in today's money. Against his wife's advice, the elder Marshall invested it all in the Shenandoah Valley land boom. He bought into the company that controlled Luray. He moved the family to Luray during the summer and fall of 1890 and, as befitted his new Virginia landed-gentry status, bought a Kentucky thoroughbred to ride.

Lexingtonians at this time—many of them at least—had decided that perhaps the folks in Buena Vista and Big Lick and other parvenu towns really *had* discovered something. The western Virginia land boom, fueled by New South industrial optimism and railroad construction, had only been going on for about ten years, but it seemed never-ending. So in 1890 the Lexington Development Company created pie-in-the-sky plans for the erection of a great railroad center here and began selling stock in the future. It seemed that Lexington leaders and the Uniontown Marshalls were all headed for a luxury cruise.

Consider the man who by hard work and luck had the good fortune and funds to have purchased the last remaining second-class ticket on the *Titanic*. By the beginning of 1891 the unsinkable ship had gone down for Lexington and for the Marshalls. The never-ending land boom had ceased. VMI Superintendent Scott Shipp had the unhappy task of notifying cadet Stuart Marshall's father that his check for the second semester's tuition had bounced. The family had already moved back to Uniontown, ending George Marshall's first flirtation with becoming a Virginian by adoption.

Lexington never again dreamed of becoming an industrial center. One result of the family's financial reverses was that George would not get to Lexington while his brother was a cadet (1890–94); it was too expensive to bring him along. Moreover, George's own future was clouded. The family had enough set aside for Stuart to complete his college training, but what about George, the youngest child and one of no demonstrated academic aptitude? It seemed unlikely that he would follow Stuart to Lexington.

There is yet another (admittedly somewhat forced) parallel between the Marshalls and Lexington. The bust did not finish Lexington. The middle class continued to build the nice late-Victorian homes of which we are so proud today, and in 1896 the county finally built a new courthouse in the middle of town. Similarly, the Marshall family was in strained circumstances but hardly poor.

Just when George decided to come to Lexington for school is unknown. There was family precedent and certain Uniontown citizens looked favora-

bly on VMI. His mind was made up when he overheard Stuart, an 1894 graduate in chemistry, tell their mother that he was opposed to sending George to the Institute, as he was unprepared and would disgrace the family's good name there. George was determined to show Stuart. His mother sold some property in Pittsburgh and the family managed to send their youngest to VMI. And this was at a time when less than 4 percent of all college-age youth were enrolled in higher education.

Young Marshall left Uniontown early on Saturday morning, September 11, 1897, taking the B&O line down the Valley. He carried with him a letter of introduction from his father, a tuition check, and a few personal items. He was not yet seventeen, he was alone, and he was late for school. He was not just eleven days late for the fall semester which began September 1; he had also missed summer camp in July and August—that fun place where the new boys learn that they are Rats and begin their machinations for subverting the VMI system. Marshall was still recovering from a lengthy bout with typhoid fever.

Marshall had doubtless carefully studied his brother's old VMI yearbooks and the school's catalog, but none of this told him much about Lexington, beyond a few cryptic references and some rather commonplace advertisements. He probably thought it somewhat odd that when the train reached the river it turned east, away from Lexington, but then it stopped and slowly began *backing* toward town. From this train he had his first view of the Institute, a medieval fortress-monastery on the bluff guarding the river ford. Because of the bluff, he could see very little of town until he was nearly in the station on the west side.

He arrived in the late afternoon. Probably he walked through the small business section downtown on his way to the post. The town looked prosperous. There were a number of large new homes in evidence and an obviously new courthouse on Main Street. It was a typical town of about 3200, somewhat smaller than Uniontown. The streets were also the typical blend of gravel, clay (or mud), and horse dung. But Lexington was progressive. A new ordnance passed a few weeks after Marshall arrived made it unlawful for unchaperoned cows to roam the streets. The *Rockbridge County News* told its readers: "All persons are hereby warned to govern themselves and their cows accordingly."

He quick-marched up Lee Avenue (now called Letcher), presumably impressed by the W&L colonnade and by Lee Chapel, but with no time to dawdle as it was getting late. Passing the impressive homes, he arrived at the Limit Gates which were in approximately the same position they are now, although the parade ground was much smaller with a decided slope towards town. Once inside the gates he could see the Barracks and a considerable bustle of activity among the two hundred or so cadets. He

recalled six decades later: "I will never forget walking down the long approach avenue to the barracks and hearing the bugle sound the assembly for dress parade and seeing the adjutant and the sergeant major strut out to form the line on which the battalion would form. I thought they were very wonderful looking figures." Presenting himself and his letter and check to the very martial-looking General Scott Shipp, with the stroke of a pen he converted himself from free man to Rat.

He did not know it, but circumstances would conspire to make Lexington as much of a hometown as he would have for the next thirty years. He never really returned to Uniontown. There were brief visits during furloughs, but in the summer the family generally stayed in the mountains, not in town. Leaving VMI, he joined the relatively rootless in the army. His brother and sister moved away. In 1909 his father died and his mother moved away also. Moreover, Uniontown was rapidly changing and growing. He returned in 1939, shortly after becoming army chief of staff, but he scarcely recognized the place. It had grown six or seven times in size and his childhood home had been torn down and a gas station sat on the site. The yard that was the locus of his childhood adventures was buried under twenty feet of fill. Uniontown's essence had changed. Asked sixty years after he first saw Lexington and the Institute if *they* had essentially changed, he thought they had not, although there had been growth.

One of the first things Marshall discovered upon arrival was that both at the Institute and in the town he was a Yankee in a place still saturated by the aura of the Civil War. The Institute's primary traditions were Confederate, and it was still paying off the indebtedness from the reconstruction following General David Hunter's 1864 raid. Marshall was always much impressed by the number of VMI students and graduates who had been killed in the Civil War. He was also highly impressed by the Institute's May 15 New Market Day ceremony. Mrs. Stonewall Jackson was present during the occasion in his Rat year. This commemoration was much more of a Lexington civic event then than it is now.

The Civil War was not the brooding presence in Uniontown that it was in Lexington. There were Decoration Day parades and speeches, but nothing equivalent to Lexington's celebrations of Lee's birthday, the Confederate Memorial Day, and similar events. Cadet trips to the city cemetery were common, and Marshall was impressed by Jackson's statue and by the story about Jubal Early's troops marching by the grave on their thrust toward Washington. Marshall recalled "hearing Early make a speech [in Lexington] that was almost treason in its enthusiasm for the Confederacy and its condemnation of the North. The whole thing was very intense there. . . . It wasn't very tactful of you to have much to say about the fighting in the 'War Between the States,' as they very carefully termed it."

Marshall had the accent common to Pittsburgh and southwestern Pennsylvania. "I was 'hazed' on my accent up to the day of my graduation," he recalled. Several Yankees had entered with the Class of 1901, but he was the only one who graduated. In 1951, at his fiftieth reunion, and on the occasion of the dedication of Marshall Arch in the Barracks, he smilingly reminded his Brother Rats of their transgressions and of his apparent success within the Institute family despite accent and hazing. Marriage to two ardent Virginians and long residence in the South doubtless smoothed and rounded his tongue.

Marshall told his official biographer, Forrest Pogue, that he had been greatly influenced by the traditions concerning Generals Lee and Jackson. He especially remembered his frequent attendance at church services in Lee Chapel, where the recumbent statue is the focus of attention. The memory of Lee and his character was still powerful in the South, especially in Lexington, and young Marshall reflected upon it and consciously sought to emulate it, to use it as a benchmark for his own behavior. It is not surprising then that later commentators, seeking analogies for Marshall's own character, would frequently refer to Lee's.

Then as now, VMI cadets had less interaction with the town than did W&L men. Cadets then could go to town only on Saturday afternoon and to church on Sunday morning, although special permits were granted to individuals if they could dream up a good enough special occasion. One of the best excuses to get off post was an invitation to visit with Miss Maggie Freeland, who was already a legend among cadets by the time Marshall arrived. Her house at 321 Letcher, now behind the physics building and downhill from the Pendleton-Coles House, was called "Liberty Hall for cadets."

But Marshall was not much of a socializer during his first two years. He had little money—$5 per month until he became a First Classman, then it escalated to $7. He knew how to dance but went to none. He liked sports, but because of a damaged right elbow, he promised his mother not to play during his first two years. He did not particularly like any of his classes or many of his teachers. Consequently he concentrated on the military aspects of the Institute, holding the highest available cadet position in each class, and he read a great deal, especially history.

Saturday afternoons he and his friends would go downtown and window shop. There were no movie theaters, of course, and the building that housed W&L's Troubadour Theatre was then a hardware store. But he always remembered ending up at H. O. Dold's store, now Bierer's Pharmacy, on the northeast corner of Washington and Main. Dold "was quite a character and made a great point of favoring the cadets," Marshall recalled. His shop was headquarters for peanuts, hot dogs, and other nineteenth

century equivalents of junk food, as well as the cigarettes, cards, firecrackers, and other means of expressing cadet frustrations or irritating Institute and town rulers.

Cadets have been known to wax poetic about life in Lexington. In the 1901 yearbook, a member of Marshall's class contributed an ode entitled "The Deserted Village Up to Date," which doubtless reflected the opinion of many cadets. It also reflects the fact that on May 1, 1900, Lexington went dry.

> Sweet Lexington! slowest village in the State,
> Where bedtime comes at half-past eight;
> Where dryness reigns—no more the note
> As sparkling booze goes down the throat.
> How often have we walked thy streets,
> In some sleepy church to take our seats,
> And tried with heroic powers
> To keep awake a pair of hours!
> Old Town! there's one thing you must know,
> You are too confounded slow.
> The days of '61 are past, to come no more—
> Stage coaches are things of yore.
> But it's our age of sport and rush:
> So wake up, old fossil, and get in the push!
> Put up a place where one can go,
> Once in a while, to see a show;
> Give us once more the joint so dear,
> Where we can buy a mug of beer;
> Provide some excitement, for we can't begin
> To live on what our folks have been.
> Let us no more at thy slowness blush:
> So wake up, old fossil, and get in the push!

Sunday afternoons cadets could wander the countryside but could not go downtown. They had to be back for the daily evening parade, so they could not go far. But one time Marshall convinced some friends to climb the 3600-foot House Mountain, even getting them to agree to follow him out there and up at a marching pace. They made it, but their feet were a long time recovering. On another occasion Marshall and his cohorts were foraging the countryside for things to eat—an old cadet tradition—when they snared a duck. But before they had time to dismantle and prepare the quacker, the farmer caught them and dispossessed them of all their meager funds. The duck, meanwhile, had prudently departed during the confusion.

In Marshall's junior year things began to get exciting. The previous year VMI had decided to go for football in a big way by establishing training tables, assigning practice time, and hiring two professional coaches. In the fall of 1899, his two-year delay promise to his mother having expired, Marshall went out for and made the team. Unfortunately, the cadets had time only for their annual thrashing of W & L before an epidemic of typhoid and a cadet's death caused post physician Reid White to have the school closed for six weeks. This was the first such epidemic in Institute history, but not the last. Others occurred in 1903 and 1910-11. A 1911 investigation laid the blame on Lexington's water system. To save water the system was turned off during the middle of the day. The water then leaked out of the pipes and, at low points in the system, raw sewage leaked in. When the water pressure returned the bacteria were distributed to the city's customers.

The next football season the water was just as bad, but both the team and Marshall did better, tying Virginia and beating Virginia Tech. In both games Marshall's play at left tackle was mentioned in the newspapers. After the Tech game, a huge crowd met the team at the Lexington station. The *Rockbridge County News* described the reception: "Hundreds of sky rockets and roman candles brightened the heavens and torches of white flares lighted up the surroundings. A procession was formed with the band in a drag leading, followed by members of the team in carriages and the Cadets behind. It was a triumphal march from the station to the Institute. Even ladies cheered and waved along the route."

Exciting no doubt, but for Marshall probably the most exciting Lexington event occurred *after* the season: he met and fell in love with one of the town's leading belles, Elizabeth Carter Coles. She was about twenty-six and descended from a pedigreed Virginia line. Her grandfather, Colonel Edmund Pendleton, was a member of the first graduating class at VMI. Not only was she a good pianist, which was what first attracted Marshall's attention, but she was popular, good looking, and *had wheels:* a Stanhope trap and a fine horse. They became "steadies" almost at once, although her mother suspected that anyplace called Uniontown was common.

Her mother's house was immediately beside the Limit Gates, and during his senior year, Marshall took to going off post ("running the block") without permission to see her. As First Captain of the corps, he risked loss of rank or even expulsion, but his roommates covered for him. His only excuse: "I was very much in love and I was willing to take the chance."

He had decided to seek a military career—an uncommon choice for VMI graduates in those days and hard to achieve. By law he could not marry until he was commissioned, and he could not be commissioned until he was twenty-one on December 31, 1901. Lily and George were finally

On February 11, 1902, George C. Marshall, Jr., married Elizabeth Carter ("Lily") Coles in her mother's house, now called the Pendleton-Coles House, beside the Limit Gates at VMI. Left to right are Marie (George's sister), Lily, George, Stuart (George's brother), Mr. and Mrs. George C. Marshall, Sr., and Mrs. Walter Coles.

General John J. Pershing and his aide, Colonel Marshall, stand beside the grave of Stonewall Jackson in the Lexington Cemetery during their visit on June 18, 1920.

On June 12, 1940, Army Chief of Staff Marshall came to Lexington to speak at VMI's graduation. That afternoon he attended the parade at which Colonel Hunter Pendleton, VMI chemistry teacher from 1890 to 1935, received an honorary degree from Washington and Lee University. Left to right are Pendleton, Marshall, VMI Commandant Withers A. Burress, and Superintendent Charles E. Kilbourne. (Marshall Archives.)

Marshall returned to Lexington for the fiftieth reunion of his Class of 1901 and the dedication of Marshall Arch in the VMI Barracks. Marshall, then secretary of defense, is shown here on May 15, 1951, addressing the approximately eight thousand persons present, responding to remarks by the event's principal speaker, Bernard M. Baruch (at the left wearing a hat). (Marshall Archives.)

married on February 11, 1902, at her mother's house. The Reverend R. J. McBryde of Grace Episcopal Church performed the ceremony. After a brief honeymoon in Washington, Marshall departed for the Philippines for two years and Lily returned to Lexington. Lily was in and out of Lexington for the next seventeen years as her husband shifted stations and duties or went to France for the War to End All Wars. Lexington was Marshall's home port during his early career.

Marshall's comings and goings around Lexington attracted little attention in the first two decades of the century. He once applied for the post of commandant at VMI, but Scott Shipp turned him down because he was too young and inexperienced. A few years later Superintendent Edward West Nichols, one of the few faculty members that Marshall remembered fondly from his cadet days, attempted on several occasions—unsuccessfully—to bring Marshall back as commandant or professor of military science and tactics.

In 1915 Marshall wrote Nichols that, as he seemed to be getting nowhere in the army, he was contemplating giving up his commission and going into the business world before he got too old. Nichols strongly opposed this, and fortunately Marshall stayed in. In France during World War I Marshall met a number of VMI graduates and an occasional Lexingtonian such as Albert S. J. Tucker, whom he met at the battle of Cantigny in May 1918.

Marshall returned from Europe in September 1919 on the last troop ship as aide to General John J. Pershing, and Lily was finally able to move to Washington to be with her husband. Marshall had become Pershing's most trusted confident and his office manager. In April 1920 the Institute was gearing up for its first great alumni giving campaign under the direction of William Couper. Couper requested—and Marshall probably wrote—a letter signed by Pershing praising the Institute. The letter was a wonderful fund-raising tool and dozens of other institutions wanted similar treatment. Marshall was doubtless assigned the task of fielding these requests, as Pershing was not inclined to fulfill their wishes.

In June 1920 Pershing, a Military Academy graduate, went to West Point for their graduation ceremonies. Marshall immediately prevailed upon him to grant VMI the same treatment. Pershing's visit of June 17 and 18, 1920, was the grandest public occasion in Lexington since the dedication of the Stonewall Jackson statue in 1891. Pershing reviewed the corps, presented the diplomas, and gave brief speeches (probably based upon suggestions by Marshall) at Lee Chapel and Jackson's grave. A huge parade was organized. Lieutenants Charles S. Glasgow and Alfred Hutton and others led cavalry units. Captain Greenlee D. Letcher acted as the

town's official host, and Major A. Willis Robertson led a company of Rockbridge infantry veterans.

Marshall, who stayed on in Lexington with Lily after Pershing left, wrote to his chief a few weeks later: "I find Lexington still excited over your brief visit. You made a tremendous impression on all these people, which means much as they still live somewhat in the Civil War and are painfully conservative. You charmed them all, old and young."

There was an interesting, unintended consequence that evolved from Pershing's visit, and it was probably Marshall-inspired. The cadets went to school from about September 1 through June each year with only about four holidays off. Marshall had never liked this—nor probably had any other cadet: "I think we got so stale that we would have done very much better if we had had a breather here and there."

The cadets had Christmas Day off, and their traditional use for it was to congregate at Dold's store and to buy firecrackers and use them to help terrorize the town's black population. But for white Lexington, the Christmas season was the high point of the social year. As the cadets and many W&L men stayed in town, their parents, friends, and lovers came here, as did many other visitors, and there was a continuous round of celebrations.

For years there had been considerable debate about the efficacy of keeping the corps penned-up so long. Superintendent Nichols asked Pershing's advice on the matter during the latter's 1920 visit. Pershing, who had been briefed at great length by Marshall (who had definite ideas on this subject) recommended a Christmas furlough. The next Christmas all cadets in reasonably good standing (meaning about two-thirds of the corps) were permitted to go home for several days, and beginning in 1925 everyone was furloughed. Lexington's Christmas social season was never the same, thanks, perhaps, to George Marshall.

Even before he had become associated with Pershing, Marshall had been marked in the army as a certain candidate for high office. He had the gift and it showed. In 1929 and again in 1937 there were efforts to get him to return to VMI as superintendent, but Marshall declined, citing financial and career reasons. In 1939 he became the Institute's most militarily successful alumnus when he was promoted to chief of staff of the army. His visibility at VMI and among its graduates shot up immensely. That year he spoke over national radio as part of the celebration of VMI's centennial, and he wrote the forward to Colonel Couper's four-volume history of the Institute.

Despite the increasingly heavy burdens placed on him by the U.S. mobilization effort, he traveled to Lexington on June 12, 1940, to deliver the graduation address. An interesting sidelight of that trip is that within

minutes of completing his speech the president directed him to return immediately to Washington for a secret meeting concerning the collapsing French resistance. Colonel B. McCluer Gilliam recalls that his grandmother lent Marshall her chauffeured 1928 Packard limousine for the quick trip. France fell anyway.

Marshall delivered his first and last public addresses in Lexington. He probably spoke more often in this town than in any other single place, except for Washington, D.C. It is somewhat ironic that most people today know of Marshall only because of his Marshall Plan speech of 1947 (made only a week before he came to Lexington for the summer VMI Board of Visitors meeting). He was never a polished orator, but most people were impressed when they heard him speak—impressed by his sincerity and integrity. Marshall vividly remembered his first, frightening speaking experience, which was at VMI when, as First Captain, he had to present at a mass meeting the Corps' viewpoint in a conflict with the administration and Board of Trustees.

Marshall's most famous visit to Lexington, from the standpoint of national publicity, was while he was secretary of defense during the Korean War. It was on May 14 and 15, 1951, the latter being the day of dedication of the Marshall Arch and the presentation to him of the Virginia Distinguished Service Medal.

The largest memorial to Marshall was one he never saw and perhaps would not even have wanted: the Marshall Library. It grew from a seed that was planted in 1945 when VMI Librarian Margaret Jones began encouraging Marshall to send to Preston Library some of his memorabilia and documents. She hoped to make that library the source for information regarding him and his career. Marshall reluctantly cooperated, but he continually expressed the fear that his shipments were a possible embarrassment to the Institute. VMI alumni and other friends and admirers of Marshall, including President Truman, formulated plans to establish a formal research foundation to collect, preserve, and encourage the study of research materials about him and his times.

After Marshall's death on October 16, 1959, plans were made to build a permanent center for this activity in Lexington. The designer of the Truman Presidential Library prepared sketches, and work began in late 1962. In May 1964 the Marshall Library building was dedicated. We on the staff like to think that what we do is in keeping with the values and ideals George C. Marshall held.

The Mystery of James Gibbs

Paul C. Wilson

want to begin with a word about my title, "The Mystery of James Gibbs." You can buy books at the drugstore with similar titles that contain lurid tales of sex and violence, and rather than disappoint you later, I want to say at the outset that my story has neither. James Gibbs lived a conventional and (to all appearances) blameless life. Like anyone else he grew up, learned a trade, got married, and pursued a career. Except for the creative genius that led him to invent a sewing machine, there would be nothing remarkable in the story of his life.

The true mystery of James Gibbs is something more profound and more fascinating than the trivial intrigues of popular fiction. Actually, there are several mysteries. One is the eternal mystery of creativity: what force is it in certain people that leads them to invent a new device, to discover a new scientific principle, or to reveal a new way of looking at the world through a poem or a painting? Another mystery is Gibbs's personality, considered aside from his creative genius. What kind of man was he? How did his mind work, and what were his motives? A third mystery of James Gibbs concerns plot more than character, though the two are interrelated. Why, in particular, did Gibbs invent a sewing machine? We know some of the reasons, but not all.

The circumstances of Gibbs's early life gave him the impetus to become an inventor or a prig, or perhaps both. His father was a transplanted

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Paul C. Wilson is a former professor of English, a writer, and a computer science instructor with an interest in the history of technology. His paper was presented in DuPont Auditorium at Washington and Lee University on October 26, 1987.

Connecticut Yankee of the type Mark Twain was to satirize; an entrepreneur who ran a carding mill and made ingenious contrivances to save labor. Rather than cutting logs for his fireplace, for example, he made a hole in its side so that the whole tree could be fed in, bit by bit. As young Jim was growing up he was also inspired by his neighbors and close friends the McCormicks, who were then perfecting their reaper. By the time Gibbs was a teenager, Cyrus McCormick was building a fortune in Chicago, and his example would have suggested to Gibbs that with some effort and luck, he could have similar success.

Gibbs's parents were "after the straitest sect" Presbyterians, and it is reported that he was brought up with "the strictest moral training." This rigid and humorless home atmosphere rubbed off on James, who is described in the family history as a "sober and correct child." Its tone is reflected in a letter that Gibbs's mother sent to him when he was in his early twenties. She mildly berates her "Dear Son" for not writing sooner, then reports the death of two neighbors, one of whom "died sitting on her chair." "We have frequent warnings," she continued grimly, "to be ready for we know not the hour the son of man cometh." She urged him to join a church as soon as possible, and to emphasize the urgency of this step reported on the back of the letter the death of yet another neighbor.

A diary kept by Gibbs after leaving home reflects some of his parents' strictness. "I found [an acquaintance's] grist mill runing as if it was not Sunday," he once noted censoriously, but the diary also has a refreshing exuberance. One passage overflows with feeling for "the trees . . . just buding forth the lofty mountain bounding the vision on either side the beautiful river meandering close by the roads side [and] the merry notes of birds at the return of spring." He wrote poetry in this diary, and his notes reveal a vigorous mind and a passion for knowledge of all kinds. He learned all trades, from milling to carpentry to clockmaking to surveying. He went to lectures on magnetism and phrenology; he attended various debates, including one on capital punishment; he visited the woolen factory, the Deaf and Dumb and Blind institution and the Lunatic Asylum. Evening events followed a hard day's work, and he often had to walk several miles to attend them.

The diary also reveals a sociable side and a sense of humor not conspicuous in his family. One of his poems offers a humorous and accurate self-portrait:

> I'm neither jealous, crass, nor old,
> I'm homely, but I never scold;
> Do not despise me nor my pelf
> Lest I should shoot or drown myself.

Like the speaker in the poem, Gibbs was certainly homely, with a skinny, awkward, six-foot frame and an enormous nose, but these defects did not trouble Catherine Given, one of his employers' daughters, whom he got to know while building Given's mill in the early months of 1852. He married her the following August, making the following laconic notation in his journal:

> July 3 went to Mr. Givens again
> Aug 26th was married to Catherine Given
> 31 started to Pocahontas to get a horse and buggy . . .

Gibbs first had the idea of inventing a sewing machine in 1855, when he was working as a contractor in what is now West Virginia. It was a peculiar idea to have at that time. A working sewing machine had been built twenty years earlier by Walter Hunt in New York, and Elias Howe had patented the most basic features of a usable machine in 1846. Since that time others had developed the invention to the point where it was convenient and practical to use, and factories were being built to produce them by the thousands. An additional problem was that Gibbs wished to invent a machine that used a chain-stitch made with a single thread. He was unaware that earlier chain-stitch machines had been rejected as impractical.

Gibbs knew that the sewing machine was already invented; what, then, did he think he was doing by inventing it over again? One answer is that he was simply curious. After seeing a newspaper ad for a sewing machine, he began to wonder how the mechanism worked. The working parts under the table were not shown in the illustration he saw, so he worked out in his head the design of a revolving looper that would do the necessary function. "Having no further interest in view than to satisfy my curiosity," he later explained, "and caring little whether I had the correct idea or not, I gave the matter no further attention or thought, just as a man who solves a puzzle in a newspaper thinks no more of it."

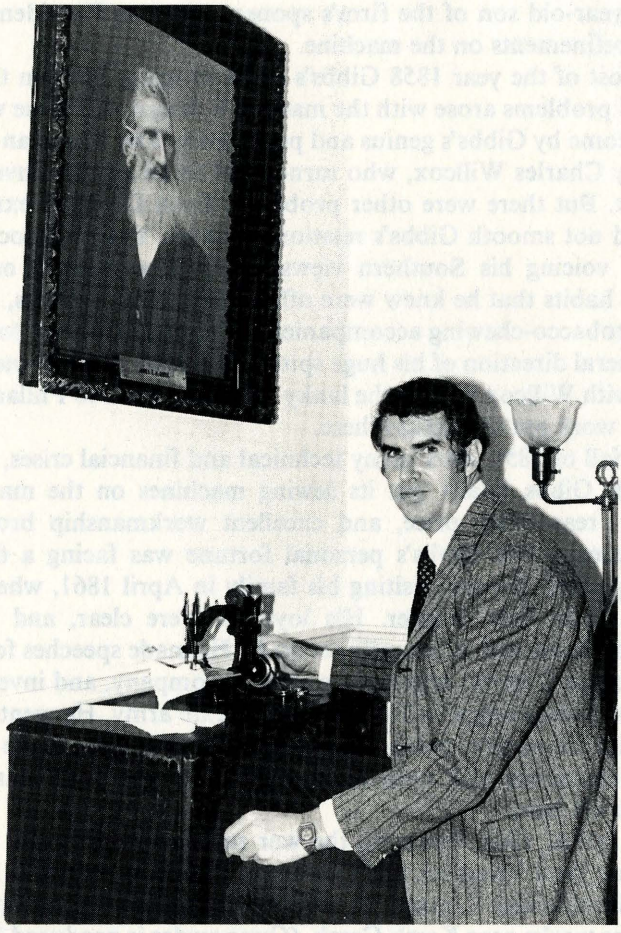
When Gibbs finally had a chance to examine a sewing machine, he discovered that it was rather different than his. It was more complicated, for one thing, and simply by being different it suggested that he might be able to manufacture his own design without infringing or paying expensive royalties on other patents. The great liability of earlier chain-stitch machines—the tendency for seams to unravel—was minimized on Gibbs's machine because the loops forming the chain were given a twist that held them together more tightly. This accidental result of Gibbs's basic design was a big reason why his chain-stitch machine succeeded while so many others failed.

Aside from the general intention to make money, Gibbs's motives and logic in his first major effort with the sewing machine remain a mystery to

this day. Abandoning his original and ultimately successful looper design, he built and patented a more conventional machine that was inferior to others already on the market. He had the good luck to sell this invention to Emery, Houghton, & Co., a manufacturer from Boston, and for a few happy months it seemed as if the fortune he dreamed of was almost in his grasp. But then hidden difficulties came to the surface and the inventor's ill-judgment and inflexibility proceeded to wreck any remaining chance this enterprise had.

One problem was not entirely his fault. As with any invention his machine needed further refinement to be fully saisfactory, and working out the details took more time than he or anyone else expected. But a second problem was caused by his extraordinary misjudgment of people. The main difficulty was in Gibbs's choice of a business partner. John Ruckman had been his employer when Gibbs first became interested in sewing machines, and he offered to pay the expenses for taking out patents in return for a share in the inventions. A fine plan in theory; but Ruckman was much freer with promises than with cash. In fact, he rarely paid for anything, and even at the time of his first agreement with Gibbs, he owed the latter many months of back wages. When Gibbs went to Washington for the patent, Ruckman sent excuses and promises, but not cash. In response to Gibbs's complaints Ruckman said he would pay if Gibbs gave him a larger share. By early 1847 the inventor had traded away nearly his whole interest for Ruckman's empty promises. When Emery & Houghton announced a plan to produce 10,000 of Gibbs's machines, Ruckman rushed to Boston and insisted that the company buy him out in cash. When they refused, he persuaded Gibbs to stop work until they agreed. With no revenue, huge debts, and a large inventory of half-finished and unsaleable sewing machines, the company promptly went bankrupt.

What made Gibbs so blind to Ruckman's true character? Could a man so brilliant in most other ways be so ignorant of human nature? It seems hard to avoid this conclusion. To be sure, not many Pocahontas County residents would have backed a sewing machine invention under any circumstances. Not many would have had the money to invest. But Gibbs's obvious intelligence and competence were reassuring and he was acquainted with other men besides Ruckman who had the necessary means. Why did he pick Ruckman? The reason why Gibbs sided with Ruckman against Houghton is easier to understand. Whatever his defects—and after seveal years' acquaintance Gibbs knew them well—Ruckman was still a Southerner. The Bostonians were another breed entirely. Regional feelings were running high in 1857, and Gibbs, a strong Southerner, instinctively distrusted all Northerners.



Paul Wilson at the Society's Willcox & Gibbs sewing machine below the inventor's portrait in the Campbell House. (Photo courtesy Claudia Schwab.)

Gibbs was rescued from the wreckage of this early venture by James Willcox, who met Gibbs in the summer of 1857. Willcox wanted to invest in a sewing machine company and was impressed by Gibbs's ability and by the promise of his original chain-stitch invention. He set Gibbs up with a shop and tools in Philadelphia and paid his expenses to develop the invention. When it became clear that the new machine could be made to work, Willcox contracted with Brown & Sharpe, a machine-tool manufacturer in Providence, Rhode Island, to produce it. Gibbs and Charles Willcox, the

eighteen-year-old son of the firm's sponsor, went to Providence to make the final refinements on the machine.

For most of the year 1858 Gibbs's fortunes again hung in the balance. Technical problems arose with the machine's design, but these were gradually overcome by Gibbs's genius and persistence. The Virginian was helped greatly by Charles Willcox, who turned out to be a gifted inventor in his own right. But there were other problems. Even Charles's extraordinary tact could not smooth Gibbs's relations with his Yankee associates. Dogmatically voicing his Southern views, Gibbs also insisted on retaining Southern habits that he knew were offensive to his associates, notably his constant tobacco-chewing accompanied by regular squirts of tobacco juice in the general direction of his huge spittoon. Lucian Sharpe unsuccessfully pleaded with Willcox to take the lanky Virginian back to Philadelphia and have him work out the design there.

In the fall of 1858, after many technical and financial crises, the firm of Willcox & Gibbs finally put its sewing machines on the market. Their simplicity, reasonable price, and excellent workmanship brought them instant success. But Gibbs's personal fortune was facing a threat from another quarter. He was visiting his family in April 1861, when he heard the news from Fort Sumter. His loyalties were clear, and the sewing machine business was reluctantly set aside. He made speeches for secession in Pocahontas County, organized a cavalry company, and invented a new form of breechloading rifle for the Confederate army. He went into active service with the cavalry company, but immediately came down with a bad case of pneumonia and went home again. For the next year he stayed quietly on his farm.

In the fall of 1862, however, the war reached Pocahontas County (in present-day West Virginia), and Gibbs was forced to retreat to his family's home in Rockbridge County. To avoid conscription he bought and operated a niter works near Kerr's Creek. (Gunpowder is produced from niter.) This niter works was established by the ubiquitous Ruckman at the beginning of the war, when it looked like a profitable business, but by the time Gibbs took over, inflation had pushed the cost of production far above the fixed price the government would pay. The business, Gibbs later wrote, "was worthless, except as a bombproof to keep out of the army." Keeping it operating for the rest of the war cost Gibbs the remainder of his fortune, and even as a "bombproof" it was not infallible. Lieutenant Gibbs and his men from the works were pressed briefly into action when the Shenandoah Valley was invaded in the early summer of 1864, but Gibbs escaped injury in the ensuing engagement with Union troops.

As soon as the war was over, Gibbs traveled to New York to see if the Willcox & Gibbs company was still in business. It was, and had flourished.

The Gibbs home in Raphine, 1987. (Photo courtesy Winifred Hadsel.)

He was welcomed by James and Charles Willcox, who had preserved, honorably but illegally, all of Gibbs's interest in the firm. His royalties amounted to $10,000 at a time when most of his Virginia neighbors were destitute, and he was suddenly a very wealthy man. At this time he built the elegant brick house that you see on your left as you drive towards Raphine from the interstate. He studied Greek, invested in local businesses, and gave the name Raphine, from the Greek word "to sew," to the station on his property when the new railroad was built through it.

Intelligent, opinionated, ambitious, persistent, irascible, methodical, and ingenious, James Gibbs was a complex and fascinating man. Following some mysterious rationale that informed and sensible persons at the time would have disapproved, he invented a sewing machine long after others had already done so; he used a chain stitch which had been previously tried and rejected; he took into partnership an unprincipled mountebank; and he created dissension in every organization he worked with. But he succeeded nonetheless, and succeeded brilliantly.

PART ONE

Traditional Music in Rockbridge

Mike Seeger

Any written attempt to recapture the modulation, spontaneity, and immediacy of a live performance is, of course, futile, but we present the following transcript of Mr. Seeger's concert in the expectation that it will evoke memories from those fortunate enough to have been there and will give a semblance of the flavor of that evening to our readers.—Ed.

THE kind of music I am going to play was at home not long ago in cabins and modest houses throughout this area, and the tradition goes back many years from there. Some of the music that I play was from mostly white traditions, some was from black traditions, since both Anglo-American and Afro-Americans have been in this area for at least 150 or more years. It's the music of working-class people—farmers, laborers—and until recently that has not been written about very much. So we don't really know what the history of the music was before 75 or 100 years ago. The reason we know even that far back is because recently we have started asking questions.

I was doing a children's program over in Norfolk about two years ago and a black woman came up to me and said: "My folks used to play that

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Mike Seeger is generally considered America's foremost traditional country-style singer and musician. A member of the musical Seeger family, he began collecting and studying traditional songs in the 1950s, recording the first of his over fifty albums at age twenty-three. In 1958 he was a founding member of the vanguard old-time string band the New Lost City Ramblers. He now resides near Lexington. His musical presentation was made on February 1, 1988, in the Southern Seminary Ballroom.

same kind of music in Lexington." I asked Berkeley Hamilton, who lives over on Brushy Hill, what kind of music was up there. I talked to Bruce Clark, a banjo and fiddle player from the Clark family of this area, and I asked him what music was like around here. I asked Harry Mason about his recollections of what his grandparents said. In this way I could figure out what music has been here. I looked in my copy of Cecil Sharp's book; he was an Englishman who came to this country and in 1916 and 1917 or thereabouts. He collected old English folk songs right here in Buena Vista and the area around here.[1] So we know roughly what was being played and sung here then, and I thought I would take you on a little trip through some of those kinds of songs and music.

I will start off with something that I don't know whether it was here or not: a holler. A holler is something that you sometimes use to communicate, because before there were CB radios and tape recordings you communicated by voice. Sometimes as you're walking along a country road you want to make some sounds. I've heard people all over the eastern part of the United States say, "Oh, I've heard that." But most of what I have heard is from eastern North Carolina, and I learned this holler from a man over there, Leonard Emanuel.

> Oooohaa! Wooohaa! Wooohaa! Woooaoaoaoaohaohaohaohao!
> [repeated many times; ending with a slightly drawn-out aaoooo!]

That's just a little bit of a holler. Sometimes as I'm driving to one of my concerts I'll make up another holler. (I play music for a living. You're not supposed to do this for a living—I almost do.) You can make up these hollers. I have no doubt but that some kind of hollers were here in Rockbridge County a hundred to two hundred years ago, perhaps as little as fifty years ago, and they may still be around.

The jews harp—or the jaw harp, as we're trying to call it now—used to be our country's most popular instrument, largely because of it's low cost—around fifteen or twenty cents, or a good blacksmith could make one. They don't make the usual kind of music. They have a very loud drone and then you can more-or-less hear a melody note. I want to play one of the most popular tunes of last century here in America—"Oh! Susanna." That's another thing about a jaw harp, you have to *tell* people what you're playing

1. The Virginia Military Institute Library contains a number of the editions of the songs Sharp collected; one is Maud Karpeles, ed., *English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians Collected by Cecil J. Sharp; Comprising Two Hundred and Seventy-three Songs and Ballads With Nine Hundred and Sixty-eight Tunes, Including Thirty-nine Tunes Contributed by Olive Dame Campbell,* 2 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1932).

Figure 1. *A jaw harp in operation.*

on it. It's partly an instrument of illusion, and I want you to be able to have the same illusion as I do. To get your ears used to it, I'll play a scale, more or less as you would have if you started out on a C on the piano. [Plays a scale on the jaw harp and then Oh! Susanna.]

> Oh, it rained all night the day I left.
> The weather it was fine.
> The sun so hot I froze to death.
> Susanna don't you cry.

Oh Susanna, oh don't you cry for me,
For I come from Alabama with my banjo on my knee.
[Several more verses; audience joins on choruses]

When Cecil Sharp came to this country, back in the 1910s, he was searching for English folksongs that survived in this country. Since they had no recording machines then, he wrote down the words and music he heard. Of course, he collected a lot of American songs; he just didn't happen to know it at the time. The songs then were all sung unaccompanied, that is, hardly any guitars or banjos. Their use with this type of music had not really started even by that time. People sang while they worked, for example, or in the evening before they were going to bed, or just about any old time, because you didn't have to have a banjo or fiddle.

The next song was probably written around the turn of the century—maybe just a little bit before—over in West Virginia, so it's not strictly from here. It's probably seventy-five or a hundred miles from here, as the crow flies (about two hundred if you drive it).

Now, the poor Indian sits his canoe,
As he paddles along o'er the water so blue.
He thinks of the time when this land was their own,
Before those palefaced ones among them were known,
Among them were known,
Among them were known,
Before those palefaced ones among them were known.

When those white men first came to this soil,
They lived at their ease, from sorrow and toil.
They hunted the panther, the deer they did slay.
Now the red deer they've driven away from our plain,
Away from our plain,
Away from our plain,
Now the red deer they've driven away from our plain.

They built their fine cities all over this land,
And on those rich meadows their farmhouses stand.
They took all the country from Texas to Maine,
Poor Indian now roams for his wigwam in vain,
For his wigwam in vain,
For his wigwam in vain,
Poor Indian now roams for his wigwam in vain.

Now the graves of our forefathers,
Where are they now?
They turned them all under, they're given the plow.
They've turned them all under from Texas to Maine.
Poor Indian now roams for his wigwam in vain.

The early settlers from the British Isles (or unsettlers, depending on how you look at it in light of that last song) brought fiddle music with them. Other kinds of music too, we think, but we don't know. That which has survived has been the fiddle music. From around the turn of the nineteenth century—not much before, given the name of the tune—we have this tune, "Bonaparte's Retreat." The fiddle is tuned in a cross tuning, which is one of the important things of older fiddle music; this one happens to have three D's in it so that you get the sound and feeling of Scottish bagpipes.

[bagpipe-like sounds from the fiddle, then the tune "Bonaparte's Retreat".]

Traditionally it is supposed to get faster towards the end; I don't know whether Bonaparte's retreat did or not, but the tune is supposed to.

Another well-known fiddle tune is "Ida Red." Actually it's as much a banjo tune as it is a fiddle tune. The banjo owns this tune almost more than the fiddle, but I like to do it with the fiddle. I think this tune has been around a while. We had a ninety-six-year-old fiddle player over at the Rockbridge Mountain Music Convention two years ago and he played this tune; in fact I learned one of these verses from him. And I suspect he didn't make the tune up, so it's been around a while. "Ida Red" is very different from many of the other songs I will do; it is a humorous song.

[fiddle playing]
Ida Red, she come to town,
Riding a billy goat and beating a hound.
[fiddle]
Ida Red, she ain't no fool,
She can jump astraddle on a humpback mule.
[fiddle]
Ida Red, Ida Red, I'm just crazy 'bout Ida Red.
[fiddle]
I'll be dogged if I can see,
How my money got away from me.
[fiddle]
Down the river and 'cross the creek,
See old Santa Claus washin' his feet.
[fiddle]

Ida Red, Ida Green,
Prettiest thing I ever seen.
[fiddle]

I was over at the Stonewall Jackson House a couple of years ago, and noticed in one of the displays that they had banjo strings for sale. [Seeger plucks and strums the banjo during this description.] They had an advertisement of banjo strings for sale back in 1855 or so, and this would be the kind of banjo that they would put the strings on (see Figure 2). This one is not that old; a friend of mine made it from a painting that was made about 1850 of a banjo. That kind of a banjo would have had gut strings. The head is made out of some animal skin, not plastic, as it is now. My strings are plastic, mainly because gut strings are very short-lived and very hard to tune, but the banjo is mostly wood. This is only one banjo design, and in tone perhaps it would be the closest thing to the original African banjo, that's where the banjo came to this country from, from Africa with the slaves in the 1600s, 1700s, and early 1800s. What we now call the old-timey way of playing it is basically, we believe, an African style. As I said before, there were no histories written back then, but we do believe that this is the basic African style of playing where you knock down on the strings, you don't pick it.

This is an English song that became Americanized by the African banjo about a hundred yeas ago. It's called "Coocoobird."

[banjo]
Going to build me a log cabin,
On the mountain so high,
So I can see Willie
As she goes riding by.
[banjo]
Oh the coocoo, she's a fine bird,
She warbles as she flies.
She never hollers coo coo,
'Til the 4th of July.
[banjo]
Oh often, I wonder why women love men.
But then, I wonder why men love them.
[banjo]
Jack of Diamonds, Jack of Diamonds,
Lord I know you of old.
You robbed my poor pocket
Of silver and of gold.
[banjo]

I'm going to the coal fields,
I'm gonna dig coal.
I'll bring back more money
Than your lil' apron can hold.
[banjo playing then humming]

I learned that last verse from a recording of a black man who lived down in Hollins, Virginia—Josh Thomas. He died in 1970, and he was probably about eighty years old, so this music was from well back into the 1800s.

Figure 2. *Seeger singing "Coocoobird."*

This next song was composed about 1870, as far as we know. It's about a black man who was a famous steel driver. When the railroad was being built through West Virginia, they had a lot of tunnels to build through those mountains. The way they did it back then was to drive a spike into the rock, put some dynamite in the hole it made,, and blow the hole open; they continued doing that until they got through the mountain. Some smart-aleck invented a machine to do that, so they had a race between John Henry and the steam drill. Well, from there on, the story takes up. But the tradition continues into the days of computers.

In this particular version of "John Henry," you will notice that the tune changes from verse to verse. There are so many different tunes that I couldn't really get settled on one of them, so I sing a different tune each time. It makes life a little bit more interesting. The banjo I am going to use is more like the modern ones—a lot of metal on it, although I haven't bowed to a plastic head yet, because I don't like that sound. It does have steel strings and it has frets, which is the main difference between the last banjo I played and this one, so I have to conform to the piano scale, on this one.

[banjo]
When John Henry was a little bitty boy,
No bigger than the palm of your hand,
He picked up a hammer and a little piece of steel,
Gonna be a steel driving man, Oh Lord,
Gonna be a steel driving man.
[banjo]
Oh the captain said to John Henry,
Gonna bring that steam drill around,
Gonna put that steam drill out on the job,
Whop that steel on down,
Drive that steel on down.
[banjo]
Oh John Henry said to the captain,
Lord, a man ain't nothin' but a man,
And before that steam drill beats me down,
Die with the hammer in my hand,
I'll die with the hammer in my hand.
[banjo]
Oh John Henry went to the mountain,
And his hammer was strikin' fire,
Oh the mountain was so tall and John Henry was so small,
He laid down his hammer and he cried,
Laid down his hammer and he died.

[banjo]
Oh, the man that invented the steam drill,
Lord, he thought he was mighty fine,
But John Henry he made his fifteen feet,
And the steam drill only made nine,
The steam drill only made nine.
[banjo]
Oh they took John Henry to the graveyard,
And they laid him in the sand.
And every locomotive comes rollin' by
There lies a steel driving man,
There lies a steel driving man.
[banjo]

Definitely European in origin is the dulcimer, as it is known all around here. But that is not strictly its proper name, if there is a proper name for any of this. This instrument was made by Howie Mitchell from Lexington for me back in 1959, when we were both living in Washington, D.C. "Ol' Groundhog" is an old American song, I believe, but it probably has forbearers (or forehogs, as it were). It is a hunting ballad, so I hope not too many of you are vegetarians. As to the way this song is done, until the banjo became popular, there used to be a great division between people who sang and people who played; in fact there still is some places. Sometimes that's true even of dulcimer players; they play a verse and then sing a verse. I will do that for you, just to show you how some folks used to deal with the separation of the two types of music making.

[dulcimer]
He grabbed up his ax and he whistled for his dog,
Grabbed up his ax and he whistled for his dog,
Went to the backwoods to hunt a groundhog,
Yinkatoome, yankatoome, yeah.
[dulcimer]
There's one in the bush and one in the log,
One in the bush and one in the log,
One for me and one for my dog,
Yinkatoome, yankatoome, yeah.
[dulcimer]
Now run here Sam with a ten-foot pole,
Run here Sam with a ten-foot pole,
Twist that whistle-pig out of his hole,
Yinkatoome, yankatoome, —Join in with me—
[audience joins on chorus henceforth]
Yinkatoome, yankatoome, yeah.

[dulcimer]
Oh, stand back boys, let's be wise,
Stand back boys, let's be wise,
I think I see his beady eyes.
Yinkatoome, yankatoome, yeah.
[dulcimer]
We dug, we dug, at last we got him out,
We dug, we dug, at last we got him out,
Took him by the tail and carried him to the house,
Yinkatoome, yankatoome, yeah.
[dulcimer]
Oh, skinned him out and put him on to boil,
Skinned him out and put him on to boil,
Bet you forty dollars you can smell him fifty miles.
Yinkatoome, yankatoome, yeah.
[dulcimer]
The youngen's all laughed, they squealed and they cried,
The youngen's all laughed, they squealed and they cried,
They like groundhog stew or fried.
Yinkatoome, yankatoome, yeah.
[dulcimer]
Old Aunt Jennie was the cause of it all,
Old Aunt Jennie was the cause of it all,
She fed 'em on groundhog before they could crawl,
Yinkatoome, yankatoome, yeah.
[dulcimer]
Oh, yonder comes Sal with a snicker and a grin,
Yonder comes Sal with a snicker and a grin,
Got groundhog gravey all over her chin,
Yinkatoome, yankatoome, yeah.
[dulcimer]
Yonder comes Grandpap popping his cane,
Yonder comes Grandpap apopping his cane,
Swearing he'll eat them groundhog brains,
Yinkatoome, yankatoome, yeah.
[dulcimer]
Oh, catch him boys, he's about to fall,
Catch him boys, he's about to fall,
He's eat 'til his britches won't button at all.
Yinkatoome, yankatoome, yeah.
[dulcimer]

Oh, eat the meat and save the hide,
Eat the meat and save the hide,
Make the best shoestrings ever was tied,
Yinkatoome, yankatoome, yeah.
[dulcimer]
There's little piece of cornbread laying on the shelf,
Little piece of cornbread a laying on the shelf,
If you want any more you can sing it yourself,
Yinkatoome, yankatoome, yeah.
[dulcimer]

Now people generally think of the guitar as being a folk instrument. The instruments I've played for you (and a few others I haven't) were the folk instruments that would have been found in this area, maybe a hundred years ago. The guitar was not much of a folk instrument at that time. It was played in parlors, and they played parlor-type music on it, not backwoods-type music. They didn't accompany folk songs with it much then, so the next two songs that I'd like to do for you are ones that I'm going to take you a little bit beyond and demonstrate some of the music that was to develop very soon. I learned this song from a brown-skinned woman from Chapel Hill, North Carolina. She was born about 1895 and she learned most of her traditional tunes—and she wrote a few—very early on in the twentieth century. This is one that has very much an Afro-American feel to it and would then perhaps develop more into blues and eventually into rhythm and blues and rock and roll. It's a very quiet song. She played it left-handed. The guitar is tuned an open chord. She called it Vastopol, which is basically a nickname for the guitar tuning. I thought I would bring this guitar along, because I believe it's about a hundred years old. It wasn't made for steel strings; it was made for gut.

[guitar music—full song]

The autoharp was invented barely a hundred years ago; 1882, I think, is the generally accepted patent date. The one I have here is handmade and looks real fancy and all that, but I like it because it has a pretty tone. But it has good showmanship as well. The style of playing it that I am going to do was one that I learned a lot from a fellow from southern Virginia, named Kirby Snow. He was the one who devised the style of playing pretty much that I base mine on. Also, a little bit from Ernest Stoneman, who was also from the Galax area. It took about twenty years before the instrument really took hold in the South. People in the South began playing melody on what was basically a chord instrument. It was designed to be an extremely easy instrument to learn to play simply; it became a very difficult

Figure 3. *Seeger with his autoharp.*

instrument to learn to play complicatedly, and it is even more difficult to tune.

I'd like to do a song that's one of the very oldest songs known—hundreds and hundreds of years old. It is known throughout the United States and has been collected all over Europe as well. It's called "The Dreadful Wind and Rain." Do sing along with me on the chorus. It's a ballad, a story song, a narrative. Some people aren't used to this way of telling stories, that is, stories with melodies. Think of it as a story with a melody. It used to be sung without any accompaniment, as I said earlier.

'Twas early one morning in the month of May.
Oh the wind and rain.
Two sisters went a fishing on a hot summer's day.
Oh the dreadful wind and rain.
Johnny gave the youngest one a gold ring.
Oh the wind and rain.
But he didn't give the other one anything.
Oh the dreadful wind and rain.
[autoharp]

These two sisters came a walking down the stream.
Oh the wind and rain.
One came behind, pushed the other one in.
Oh the dreadful wind and rain.
Pushed her in the river to drown.
Oh the wind and rain.
And watched her as she floated down.
Oh the dreadful wind and rain.
[autoharp]

She drifted on down to the miller's pond.
Oh the wind and rain.
Crying "Father, father, there swims a swan."
Oh the dreadful wind and rain.
The miller fished her out with his drifting hook
Oh the wind and rain.
And brought this maiden from the brook.
Oh the dreadful wind and rain.
[autoharp]

Laid her on the bank to dry.
Oh the wind and rain.
A fiddler he came passing by.
Oh the dreadful wind and rain.
The fiddler spyed this maiden fair.
Oh the wind and rain.
He took thirty strands of her long yellow hair.
Oh the dreadful wind and rain.
[autoharp]

He made a fiddle bow of her long yellow hair.
Oh the wind and rain.
He made fiddle pegs of her little finger bones.
Oh the dreadful wind and rain.

He made a fiddle of her little breast bone.
Oh the wind and rain.
With a sound that would melt a heart of stone.
Oh the dreadful wind and rain.
And the only tune that fiddle would play was
Oh the wind and rain.
The only tune that fiddle would play was
Oh the dreadful wind and rain.
[autoharp]

I have tried to give you just a hint of some of the sounds that could have been here and some that definitely were not here one hundred years ago. There is an extraordinary variety of expression within this tradition. To a certain extent this still remains, despite the inroads of the mass media trying to level everything out. Many of us find it still valuable to keep this kind of music with us, because it's accessible on a day-to-day basis, for one thing. You can just take a fiddle down off the wall and play it. While I wait for my oat bran to boil or whatever, I just do that when I'm in my kitchen. Also it has dance music in it; it has great literature; it has also some very light stuff, like "Ida Red." It has all those kinds of emotions, and that's why I really like it. I suspect that that is why it's lasted so long and why a lot of it is going to last a lot, lot longer.

From Springfield to Zack: Communities of Rockbridge County

D. E. Brady, Jr.

NOT long ago, an expert in place names surmised that Rockbridge County contained nearly fifteen-hundred features with distinctive names, only about four hundred of which were designated on current maps.[1] Most of these features are portions of the natural landscape which were named by early explorers or settlers. Others were human settlements of greater or lesser permanence, size, and importance in local history. I would like to discuss some of the county's smaller communities. Not surprisingly, given the peripatetic nature of American society, many of these communities grew up where they did because they were on some trade route like the Valley Road.

In their rapid expansion in western Virginia in the latter half of the nineteenth century, the railroads not only connected existing cities but reshaped towns or caused new ones to appear. The railroads adopted existing names or invented new ones for places along their lines. On the

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1. Douglas W. Tanner, "Virginia's Place Names: The Rockbridge File," *Proceedings* 9 (1975–79): 175.

Baltimore and Ohio's line north of Lexington to the Augusta County line are East Lexington, Timber Ridge Station, Decatur, Fairfield Station, Mountain View, Davis, and Raphine. (The name Mountain View appears a number of times: as a place on the railroad; as the site of a school on the road between U.S. 11 and South River; and as the area at the present Mountain View School north of Buena Vista.) On the Norfolk and Western are (south to north) Natural Bridge Station, Grave Siding, Glasgow, Lone Jack, Buffalo Forge, Loch Laird, Buena Vista, Old Buena Vista, Riverside, Blacksburg, Cornwall, Midvale, Marlbrook, and Vesuvius. Along the Chesapeake and Ohio's line beside the James River are Balcony Falls, Greenlee, Natural Bridge Station (with elevator), and Gilmore Mills (at one time the C&O's Natural Bridge station).

Some communities were never intended to be permanent; during the first quarter of this century, two of these were lumber camps of the South River Lumber Company. Novel Flats was located high in the Blue Ridge on the headwaters of Irish Creek. Its name came from that of a black man who had once lived in a cabin on the site. Because of his strange manner of living, he was regarded with something akin to superstitious awe by the mountain people. Duck Pond was lower on Irish Creek, and today little remains to identify either site. There is a Duck Pond Mountain from which the camp must have taken its name, but I do not know the source of the mountain's name.

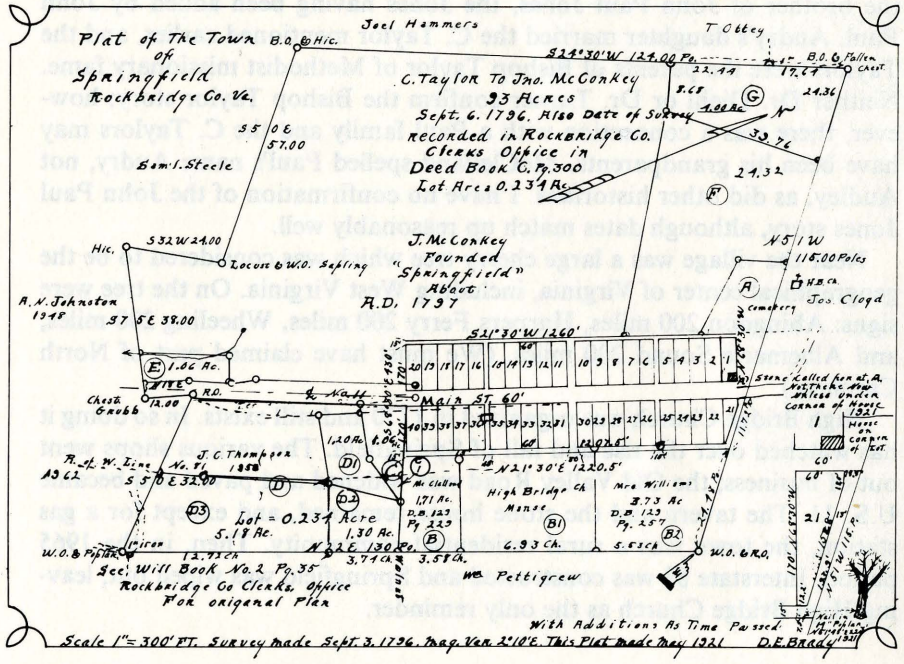
I would like to describe some of the other communities in the county beginning in the south and working north.

Springfield

Springfield was located just south of High Bridge Church and about two miles from the Botetourt County line. It was along the old Valley Road used by settlers moving to the west. The town was founded about 1797 by John McConkey who had been a captain in the Continental Army. The village was an active place in its earlier days.

On lot No. 1, H. L. Northern ran a tailor shop; on No. 11 Joseph Baker had a hatter's shop. There was a tavern on lots 16 and 17 and George Hill had a blacksmith shop on No. 13. He also made charcoal and had a coal yard. No. 38 had a boat factory, No. 39 a wagon and rope shop, and on lots 21 and 22 lived C. Taylor.

According to John McClelland, a raconteur of note, there are some stories attached to the above facts. Mr. McClelland and his family were the last to occupy the tavern. He tells that Andrew Jackson, James K. Polk, and Martin Van Buren used to stop there on their travels.



Plat of the town of Springfield (1921).

The wagon and rope shop was operated from 1812 to 1862 by one Daniel Hech who was the father of the first Ford dealer in Lexington. Credence is added to this story when one learns that Mr. McClelland's middle name was Hech. The shop made wagons that rolled to all parts of the West, eventually reaching California. Of special interest is the trip of one wagon which was used by David Hech, Harvey Self, and Jonathan Icenhouser. These men migrated to Ohio and there founded Springfield, named for their hometown in Virginia.

The boat shop made batteaux which were hauled to Pattonsburg (which is the part of Buchanan on the north side of the river) where they were launched and used in the river trade. One wonders why they would have been constructed so far from the river.

The gun shop was run by a German named Jacob Siler. He is supposed to have made a gun for Daniel Boone. When Boone's cabin was burned by the Indians, the gunstock was ruined. Boone returned the gun to Siler for repair.

A stone house stood at the south end of town. It was built by Audry Paul who operated a store across the road from his house. Audry Paul was

the brother of John Paul Jones, the Jones having been added by John Paul. Audry's daughter married the C. Taylor mentioned earlier, and the Taylors were the parents of Bishop Taylor of Methodist missionary fame. Neither Dr. Diehl or Dr. Turner confirm the Bishop Taylor story; however, there was a connection with a Paul family and the C. Taylors may have been his grandparents. McClelland spelled Paul's name Audry, not Audley, as did other historians. I have no confirmation of the John Paul Jones story, although dates match up reasonably well.

Near the village was a large cherry tree which was considered to be the geographical center of Virginia, including West Virginia. On the tree were signs: Abingdon 200 miles, Harpers Ferry 200 miles, Wheeling 200 miles, and Albemarle Sound 200 miles. (We must have claimed part of North Carolina.)

High Bridge Church was organized in 1770 and still exists. In so doing it has watched over the rise and fall of Springfield. The various shops went out of business; the Old Valley Road was widened and paved and became U.S. 11. The tavern and the stone house remained, and except for a gas station, the town was a rural residential community. Then, in the 1965 period, Interstate 81 was constructed and Springfield was wiped out, leaving High Bridge Church as the only reminder.

Rapp's Mill

West of Short Hill and on the headwaters of South Buffalo Creek is Rapp's Mill. In this almost mountain community are several homes and the old general store building. James Parsons lives in and is restoring the home of his ancestor, Mathias Rapp, who was the patriarch of the village. He ran the mill, gave the land for the chapel, was an inventor, and, of course, supplied the village name.

The Rapp home has an unusual construction feature. Several walls are made of stacked wood 2 x 4s, providing a solid wood wall four inches thick. The mill race ended near the front of the house. From there the water was carried to the mill by an overhead trunk. The race was of the "Down-by-the-Old-Mill-Stream" type. On it was a rowboat, and at least one young man had his marriage proposal accepted on the mill race.

Besides the grist mill, there was a shingle mill, and in 1903 a marble plant. The marble plant was an unusual industry for Rockbridge. Stalactites and stalagmites were mined from a nearby cave and brought to the mill where they were sawn into slabs. From these were made various decorative and/or useful items. Some of these slabs found their usefulness as holddown lids for crocks in local spring houses and some may still be found in the area. The material was not actually marble, but was probably

a form of calcite. The venture was not a financial success and did not continue very long.

In the first quarter of this century the store was operated by a native son, Newman Ackerly. He moved away and was probably the last person to run the store. In 1870 Mathias Rapp obtained a patent on a turbine-like water wheel. It apparently operated successfully, for he used it in his own mill and contracted to install it in others. His mill burned and today the site is not easy to identify. The village in 1987 is a residential community for farmers and loggers and does have an identifying road sign.

Summers

Located on the "Plank Road" about two miles from the Buffalo Creek bridge, Summers had a mill, store, post office (called Summers), plus the added distinction of a school house. Early maps show Lavelle's Mill, but in this century it was known as Ackerly's Mill. All of these structures are gone now, one by fire, one by flood, and the rest by decay. Lucy Ackerly, a long-time teacher of Lexington children, was born at Summers.

Murat

Where Short Hill ends at Buffalo Creek lies the little village of Murat. There was once a mill there known as "Bolivar Mills" and a few houses then and a few now. The tiny post office, now gone, gave the place its name. Two legends exist for the source of the name—one that it was named for one of Napoleon's officers who sought asylum in this country; the other that it was named by the first postmaster. He said that the post office would be named for the next thing that came through the door. That thing was a cat named Murat.

Oak Bank and Fancy Hill

These communities have intertwining histories. Oak Bank is located on U.S. 11 at interchange 50 on I-81, and Fancy Hill is about two miles to the north. In 1836 Fancy Hill had a post office and for a period had a school. This school moved to Oak Bank and took its name with it. Oak Bank became Fancy Hill and for many years was so called. In recent years the Fancy Hill road sign was installed in the proper place, although there is only the fine old tavern left which is now the home of the Vaughns.

Oak Bank had several homes, a store, and a post office. Of course, for a time it had the school from Fancy Hill. At Oak Bank stands a large house with tall porch columns. It was owned by a Mr. Paxton and was once rented by Dr. and Mrs. Pendleton Tompkins. I believe the house was called "Secusaval." Although I-81 and a fire took out several buildings, Oak Bank is still a village.

Tinkersville

Tinkersville is about a mile east of Oak Bank on the road to Glasgow. Old property descriptions refer to a school, lime kiln, and quarry. One entry to Tinkersville is the "Dry Well Hollow" road. Today it is a thriving residential area in a small open valley.

Old Balcony Falls

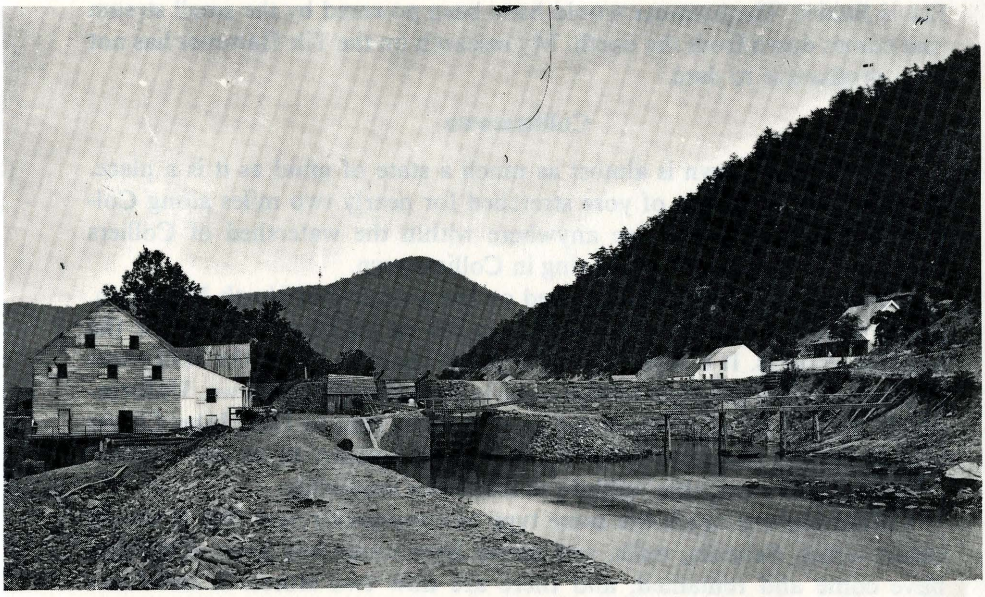
Old Balcony Falls probably just grew. Its lots and lanes have stone walls as their principal boundaries, and there is a history of contention over property lines. The village was located on the mountainside between U.S. 501 and the James River, just as the river begins its passage through the Blue Ridge range. A series of rapids at this point in the river gave the village its name. When the C&O railroad located a station about a mile upstream and called it Balcony Falls Station, the area around it became known as Balcony Falls and "Old" was added to the original village name.

Let us assume a man, Simon Shuffleberger, being a person of foresight and enterprise, opened a tavern in this area in about 1800. Here batteaux-men could get a bit of rest and recreation before starting the dangerous trip down the James. The fainthearted could get liquid refreshment to lift the sagging courage and the more seasoned boatman could find food and rest. Simon's foresight was good, for in the 1820s the Blue Ridge canal was built with a dam right at his front door. A cement plant came into being and workers built houses.

In the 1840s the James River and Kanawha Company improved the Blue Ridge Canal to handle larger boats. That canal was extended up the James River and the one to Lexington was built. Now Balcony Falls was a terminal. The Civil War and floods came. The cement plant suffered damage and ceased operation. The community hung on during reconstruction times and received a boost when the railroad built tracks replacing the canal, and the Virginia Public Service Company installed a hydroelectric plant.

Truthfully, I have no record of Simon Shuffleberger and his tavern, but they should have existed.

In 1827 Claudius Crozet made a survey from Lynchburg to Lexington with the idea of building a road. This road would have gone near the village—actually, the so-called "Lynchburg Road" went through it. Today the site is an interesting place to browse. Only two houses are left and they do not appear to date very far back; but along the river are remains of canal locks and ditches. Some of these works certainly date back to the Blue Ridge Canal. The stones in the structures almost all have identifying stone cutters' marks and are of sandstone. The stones further up the James



Glass-plate photo (c. 1877) by Michael Miley of the North River Navigation lock and dam near Old Balcony Falls. The mule stable is on the left; Sallings Mountain is the peak in the center.

and Maury Rivers are usually limestone and do not have the marks. The dam was removed to reduce the danger of flooding at Glasgow. Now about the only activity of the site is the track maintenance by the railroad.

Buffalo Bend

Buffalo Bend today is a village of eight houses on U.S. 11 just north of where it crosses Buffalo Creek. Here the creek makes a tight U-shaped turn, giving rise to the name. This was not always so; a grant to John McClure dated 1756 refers to Whiskey Hill opposite the Long *Bent.* This name appears to apply to the same characteristic that we now call Buffalo Bend.

There is also a 1849 deed for a piece of land stating that the land had for a long time been known as the "Tavern" lot. In those days the Valley Road passed through the village. Nearby was a mill, the usual store, and a school. These are all gone, leaving almost no trace—the old Valley Road site being the easiest to find. This "Tavern" lot was later part of a parcel of land known as the Tilt Hammer tract. The Tilt Hammer iron-working facility appears to have been on the site of the present U.S. 11 near the residence of

Davis Snider. The hammer would have been powered by the small stream that comes down from the north. My research on the Tilt Hammer has not been productive to date.

Collierstown

Today Collierstown is almost as much a state of mind as it is a place. While the Collierstown of yore stretched for nearly two miles along Colliers Creek, now if you live anywhere within the watershed of Colliers Creek, you are considered as living in Collierstown.

Iron was once mined and smelted on the west side of North Mountain. Many people, called colliers, were engaged in making charcoal for the smelting process. It is said that these people chose to live in the valley east of the mountain and their village came to be called Collierstown. Unfortunately for this bit of folklore, the records show that in 1746 John Colyer sold forty-four acres on Colyer's Creek. This appears to be the Collierstown area and causes the folklore to lose some credibility.

Collierstown is much the same type of community now that it was in earlier times. Schools, mills, and stores have come and gone. Churches have come and remained, and there are now two stores. It has Lake Robertson and is a land of good farmers, but many of the residents commute to jobs away from the community.

Alphin

Alphin is located on the headwaters of Colliers Creek, somewhat north of Collierstown. It once had a school, probably a post office, and a distillery, which must have been a large operation because there was also a barrel factory. Family members are disappointed because the road sign spells the name *Alpin*; however, this spelling is used on a 1919 road map.

California or Pettytown

This village is on the west side of North Mountain at the intersection of the Brattons Run and the Alum Springs roads. It owes its existence to iron. Three furances have operated in the area: Jordan's, Mt. Hope, and California. In the Victoria Furnace days (early 1900s) there was considerable mining nearby. Today it is a farming community. Its names derived from the California Furnace and the Petty families who lived there.

Denmark

At some time in my early youth I was happy to have bragging rights to a bit of trivia. I had been to California and Denmark on the same day. Denmark is at the foot of the east side of North Mountain. Traveling

along old U.S. 60, one can easily miss it; but if you take the Lake Robertson road, you will see a neat residential and farming community. It has two churches and once had a school. The village has had severe flood damage but repairs have well covered the evidence.

Decatur

Decatur was the name for a station and the village around it on the B&O railroad north of Lexington. It now has a road sign with two names, Decatur and Aqua. When the decision was made to establish a post office there, it was given the name Aqua. This name was chosen because the Post Office Department felt that it already had enough "Decaturs" and the existence of a water supply and a tank for filling locomotives suggested "Aqua." There was a store, a school, and a chapel of Timber Ridge Church in the community. These have all been discontinued, even though more people live there now than when the railroad was operating.

Buena Vista (Old)

The community that we now call Mountain View was once Buena Vista, named for the Jordan furnace of that name and around which a village grew. In the period from the establishment of the city of Buena Vista until the moving of Mountain View School, the community was known as "Old Buena Vista." The name appears to have derived from the battle of Buena Vista (1846). The tradition that the furnace made cannon balls for the Mexican War is not well founded, since the furnace was not built until after the war.

The iron works consisted of a furnace and a forge, both of which were powered by a long millrace from South River. There was also a flour mill, now the residence of Colonel Morrison. A tramway was used to haul the iron to North River (now the Maury) where it was shipped down river by batteaux and canal boats. General Hunter's forces destroyed the iron works, and it was not put back into operation. The Jordans continued to mine ore and ship it down river to another furnace. In the area is an extensive marl deposit. The Jordans used it in the furnace as flux, and in this century the family of E. O. Huffman mined, bagged, and sold it for fertilizer. The railroad built a spur to the mine. It crossed South River near Colonel Morrison's "Old Mill." Chemical fertilizers put the operation out of business, since the marl is a rather low grade material for that use.

Part of the furnace stack still stands, the mill is a residence, a one-story building nearby is said to have been used as a dormitory for prisoners who worked on construction of the North River Canal, and the mansion house stands on the hill overlooking the valley. Today Old Buena Vista is an

active community with several other residences, a store, the school, and a distribution facility for food products.

Zack

In the northern part of Rockbridge, in the upper reaches of Walkers Creek, is Zack. It is located in moderately good, although hilly, farm country and appears to have started from Kennedy's Mill which operated from 1808 until 1940. The community is probably as prosperous now as it ever was. The down side is that the mill is in ruins, the little store and service station operation is closed, and the two-room school is now a residence. The up side is that there is a firehouse with an active department which serves as a community focus. There are two churches. Immanuel Church (Presbyterian) was founded in 1879 and still functions. The other, now Methodist, is a freshly painted weatherboarded chapel. The fresh exterior hides a much older log structure which has sheltered a school and the congregations of several other denominations.

The small store building replaced a larger one over which was an Independent Order of Odd Fellows Lodge Hall. That building probably housed the post office which gave the place its name. The post office was established when "Old Zack" Taylor was president—hence "Zack." While not the liveliest place in town, the Immanuel cemetery is interesting to walk through. The oldest gravestone is dated 1898.

Old Times at Rockbridge Baths

Introduction by B. McCluer Gilliam

I HAVE the honor and pleasure of serving on this panel with two distinguished gentlemen with local connections. Louis Blair is a descendant of Mr. Blair who created most of the early Presbyterian churches—the ones that antedate Bethesda's 1821; he is also the grandson of the Mrs. Blair, who, after the destruction of the Rockbridge Baths Hotel by fire in 1926, purchased the property and kept this part of the world a going concern. Louis Blair is distinguished in his own right: past mayor of Falls Church, Virginia; secretary of the staff of the science adviser to the president of the United States for a time; and a distinguished engineer and scientist.

The second member of the panel is somewhat senior to Mr. Blair. He is Reverend William McElwee Miller, and if the name is familiar, just look at the stained glass window of this church for the name of his father and grandfather. Reverend Miller was raised in the old manse right across the drive from this church, went to Washington and Lee University, and became a minister and a missionary who spent many years in Persia.

Elise Sproul's father

The Rockbridge Baths Hotel

Louis Blair

There are many people who know a lot more than I do about this community, and several have helped me in preparing this: Clyde Tolley and

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The Society's 1988 summer picnic was held on July 25 at the home of B. McCluer and Mary Stuart Gilliam in Rockbridge Baths. (See the photo on p. 71.) The addresses were given in nearby Bethesda Presbyterian Church.

Frank Anderson, for instance. I am a bit chagrined to realize that I am now so old that it is considered appropriate that I talk about *old days* in Rockbridge Baths.

I will discuss primarily the hotel, because that was what gave the community its name. But Rockbridge Baths is much more than a hotel or an ex-hotel. Nearly everyone here is familiar with Hays Creek and Walkers Creek; these are some prominent landmarks in this area. The first white settler in this area in the 1730s was a Mr. Hays from the eastern part of Virginia. He came, settled, and gave the name to Hays Creek. He was joined in 1735 by the second prominent white settler, John Walker of Scotland. John Walker, of course, gave his name to Walkers Creek. (He was the great-grandfather of Mary Moore, whom I think many of you know as one of the survivors of the Abb's Valley Indian raid of 1786.)

Before the arrival of these first two white settlers, this area had been more or less the hunting grounds of the Shawnee Indians. Occasionally, one can still find some arrowheads. The Shawnees' great competitors were the Cherokees, who used to hunt in the Calf Pasture valley on the other side of Jump and Snow mountains.

During the late 1700s the area was becoming developed. In 1789 John Letcher, Sr., purchased this area and named it Letcher's Spring. The Indians had known of the beneficial values of the springs here, and they passed this on to the settlers. White people would come, drink the waters, or take the baths (which meant sitting in the waters) and often apply the moss to whatever skin ailments they had. The first story that has been documented and thought to be reliable about the therapeutic effects of the waters came some time in the late 1700s from the wife of Reverend Sam Brown, who was the second minister of New Providence Presbyterian Church. She was, in fact, the Mary Moore of Abb's Valley. She had tuberculosis, so she came over here and drank the waters and bathed in them and reported that she was cured.

In the 1800s this area was really developing as a community. Those of you who are familiar with the area know of Wilson's Springs, and certainly Alex Wilson is one of the people of this area. In the early 1800s Rick Wilson had a store and a boatyard. Frank Anderson has told me that he remembers stories of people floating rafts down Walkers Creek, Hays Creek, and the Maury River. These would carry iron and whiskey and local produce down the river. Later on in the century these rafts met up with bigger barges down around Buena Vista and Balcony Falls, and their products were taken to Richmond.

The community also produced pottery. I recommend that you go to Washington and Lee University and view their fascinating display of some

of the pottery fragments that came from just on the other side of the river from this church, where there was a kiln that produced a lot of pottery in the 1800s.

In about the 1830s Lucinda Smith, from Lexington, opened the first hotel here, right across from the springs that you now know as Rockbridge Baths. She enlarged the baths and enclosed them with planks. Before there had just been some bushes for privacy. Many of us remember the plank siding for the pool.

In the 1840s William Jordan—a descendant of John Jordan of Lexington, who developed much of this area—bought and developed the springs and ran the post office. This area was then known as Jordan's Spring.

About 1857 Mr. Jordan and some others raised some money and formed the Rockbridge Baths Company, which was chartered and established to build a hotel and to develop the springs. The Rockbridge Baths Company changed the name from Jordan's Spring to Rockbridge Baths and started the Rockbridge Baths post office and hotel. But the late 1850s was not a good time to get into the tourist trade. In 1861, with the war approaching, the white people of this area assembled and agreed to a document which was binding: "If ye know of any white man or men conversing with Negroes in a suspicious manner and from any good authority it shall be your duty to arrest the same and bring him before some justice of the peace." There was a lot of concern about the attitude of the local black population, and the group was established to protect the white community here.

When the war ended, records suggest that the hotel survived intact. Certainly the first fame of the hotel was established when, in September 1865, General Lee and his wife came here to take the baths. She was suffering from rheumatism and it was thought to be good for her. This was the time that General Lee accepted the presidency of Washington College. Mrs. Lee stayed here, and I remember hearing stories passed down to me that when General Lee would come out on his horse, Traveller, and as they got to the Hays Creek ford, he would sing in a very loud voice: "Oh, Miss Lucy, Oh, Miss Lucy Long, Get along Miss Lucy and boil the coffee strong." This was the chant that the cooks at the hotel were to hear and put on the coffee pot and start General Lee's meals or start to greet him.

The late 1860s were good times for the hotel. There was a women's spa—a women's bathhouse (which is the one, I believe, that is immediately beside the highway) and there was a men's spa. The latter was the one later taken over and is now the spring that Colonel Gilliam and some of the residents of Rockbridge Baths share. Unfortunately, the Virginia Department of Highways, which has never been known as a great conservator of

The church sanctuary and speakers. Left to right: Louis Blair, B. McCluer Gilliam, William McElwee Miller.

landmarks, ripped down the springhouse and put the road and bridge over it. The railroad came to Goshen, and people from all over took the stage-coach to the hotel to spend time there.

A book published in 1868 entitled *Rockbridge Baths—A Day at the Baths,* asserts that this would be a typical morning:

> The bath, a fine appetizer, is followed by a hearty breakfast. The pleasant walks on the lawns, so inviting to exercise, are soon engaged for promenade. Longer strolls are taken down the shaded riversides. An occasional laugh at the summer house announces a pleasant party. The frequent clash of billiards indicates its votaries there. The joyous chat and merry noise with the sound of the balls tell of the ten-pin alley in motion. The reading room is filled. Music, song, and conversation report this parlor engaged. The rising of boat oars

> calls attention to a sailing craft. The horses at the large front circular stile bespeak a ride to the top of the Jump, while the more adventurous with a pack of fox hounds publish a most animating chase. All are reassembled at 12:00. Again the baths are thronged, the frequent plunges and merry noise warranting the delight and exhilarating effects of the bright pools. To the sound of the rich tone and well-trained music the company assembled to take of the most important meal of the day.

Don't you wish that Claude Monet could have come and painted one of his grand impressionist scenes here? It must have been a tremendous scene.

In 1874 a wonderful person named Samuel Brown Morrison of New Monmouth—obviously named for the second minister of New Monmouth Presbyterian Church—a former Confederate doctor and an attending physician at the death of Stonewall Jackson, came here, rented the hotel, and ran it as a spa. He prescribed treatment for people—the waters—and he was also a wonderful social director. People apparently just loved the place. The hotel prospered in a grand way and the town prospered. A few years earlier, William Anderson bought the store and established the name of Anderson's Store, which ran for many a year.

It seems that Dr. Morrison's family loved to come to the spa. They would fill the hotel and would not pay their bills. He built a big house for himself beside the hotel, and Colonel Gilliam tells me that Dr. Morrison announced that his family was welcome to stay with him, but if they stayed in the hotel, they were expected to pay. Dr. Morrison ran the spa for twenty years; then around 1900 his health was declining and he sold the hotel to a Mr. Carter. We don't know much about Mr. Carter, but the hotel started declining.

In 1906 the hotel was sold to Tom Anderson, the proprietor of Anderson's Store. He was one of the grand characters of this area; he died, I guess, in the late 1950s. He ran the hotel from 1906 to 1914, and then sold it to William Hutcherson. He was from Lexington, and I believe he was actually one of the descendants or one of the family of Dr. Morrison. In 1921 he rented the hotel to VMI with an option to purchase, which they did in 1922. VMI used the hotel for the summer school.

This was the time that my family came here from Richmond. My grandmother was a widow and the family was reasonably prosperous, and some of the middle upper class would come to spas like this to spend the summer. My grandmother had three daughters, and with the cadets' summer school here it was a lot of fun. I remember my grandmother and my aunts talking about the wonderful summers that were spent exploring—and there were the cadets; I suppose they were well chaperoned. Families would come and there would be whist games and card games and just sitting on the porch, fanning and telling stories, and getting to know the

area and the people. This was really the life and heart and soul of the spa. I think people bathed some, but they probably didn't take it quite as seriously as previously.

Unfortunately, in May of 1926, the hotel caught fire. The south wing and the main part of the hotel burned to the ground, and the hotel was not reopened. My grandmother bought the hotel and the springs with it. Part of the land—hundreds of acres—was bought by a man named Stuart Katin, as I understand it. The one remaining wing of the hotel was then bought by an uncle and aunt, Pattie Teaford Field and her husband, Sam Field. He was the postmaster in the 1930s and '40s.

This was the time that I came long. I remember the '40s in Rockbridge Baths and of sitting and hearing the stories. There were many places that you could go to hear stories and each place had its own little clientele and its own batch of wonderful story tellers. If you went to the post office, my uncle would chew tobacco and sit and tell stories of the days when he worked on the railroads out west, and Aunt Fannie Teaford would tell of the days of growing up in Rockbridge County.

Then you could go up the road a few hundred yards to Anderson's Store and sit on the marvelous wooden benches outside and hear Matthew Henderson, an old black man who would sit there and give you his interpretation of the Bible; let me tell you, Jesse Jackson is dull compared to Matthew Henderson. Another black man, Mack Hire, would occasionally come along and tell stories of having worked on the paddle wheelers on the Mississippi.

Then one could go a few hundred yards further up the road and there was Page Shoulder. Page, I think, probably had more of the Methodist crowd, more of the Walkers Creek crowd. There were other characters to meet, but the best one was Page. Usually in the evenings some of the McNeals and others would come down and you could hear authentic country music.

Up the road a little further was the Mast Mill, another center of activity. Often you could get some chickens there and learn a bit about the milling and the old days. Then, if one wanted to go further up the road, there was the old Riverside School, which at one time, Frank Anderson tells me, had not only seven grades of elementary school, but three grades of high school. So we had a whole school right here in Rockbridge Baths. Howard Lucas had a store there and there used to be the Ruritan Club meeting in the old Nutrition Camp, which I believe was built during the Civilian Conservation Corps days.

So there was a thriving life in this community. But as I look back on it—and especially now as I have come to spend so many summers here—I am grateful that Rockbridge Baths has maintained its sense of community.

Sure, maybe most of the stores are gone, but the love and warmth of it are still here. The old days of Rockbridge Baths are still with us.

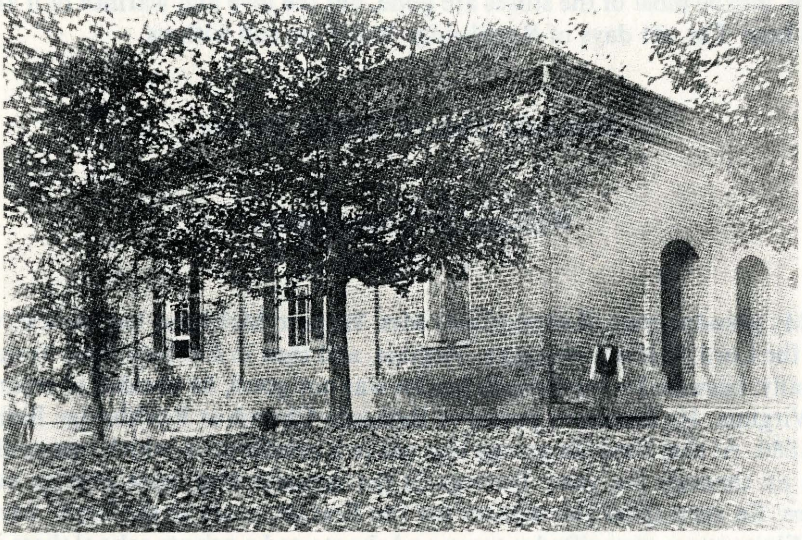
Bethesda Church and its People

William McElwee Miller

My grandparents, Reverend and Mrs. William McElwee, had been serving the Lord, first in Lexington, Virginia, and then in Kentucky and Texas. Finally, because Dr. McElwee's health was not good, he decided to return to Virginia. He became a pastor of Bethesda Church at Rockbridge Baths in 1880. At that time the manse was not in a condition in which one could live all through the year. Perhaps in the summer they were able to live there. So they spent the winters for the first six years at the hotel. Mrs. McElwee was a very gifted woman and she started a private school there in the hotel. Later, for several winters they stayed with the Gibsons in another part of the community. But finally the manse across the street and a short distance from the church, was put in repair and they lived there. The McElwees were here from 1880 to 1901 when both of them died within a month of one another.

We have just heard about Dr. Morrison. He had a daughter, Mrs. Betts, whom some of you perhaps remember. As a child she was a student of my grandmother's and she used to say that Mrs. McElwee was the best teacher she had ever seen because she showed the students pictures of masterpieces in Europe. She taught them something about art, and showed them some pieces of beautiful pottery that she had; beautiful plates and things from Europe. She had charts of the heavens and showed the students the constellations and taught them things that normally young people would not learn in school. Several members of the Morrison family were her students, and some of them became eminent teachers, doctors, and authors. They exercised a tremendous influence in this community, and people greatly loved them for their devotion to the people and their devotion to Jesus Christ.

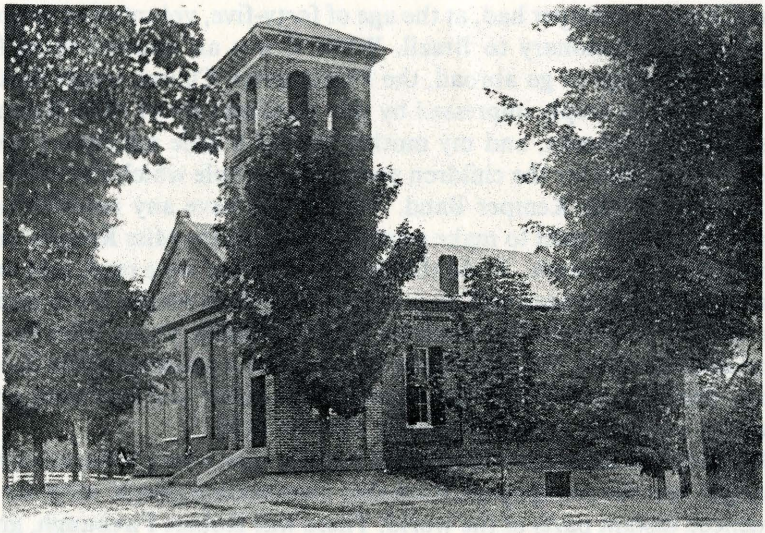
When my grandfather and grandmother were both quite feeble, the church realized that Dr. McElwee was no longer able to carry on the work of the church. His daughter Flora's husband, Henry Miller, was a pastor in Kentucky. The church invited Rev. Miller, my father, to come and take the place of Dr. McElwee and his wife. So in the beginning of 1901, when I was about nine years of age and my brother, Francis, was two years younger, we traveled from Kentucky and came to Goshen. I remember driving



Bethesda Presbyterian Church prior to the 1909 improvements.

through a snowstorm from Goshen over here, but we finally arrived and my father and mother took up the work in the church. They loved the people. My mother had known many of the people because she had visited her parents here. They felt very much at home, and after the death of the McElwees, the Millers occupied the manse, carried on the work of the church, and served as they were able in the community.

At that time the Bethesda Church building was an unattractive barn-shaped structure that had been erected many years before. My mother, Flora McElwee Miller, loved beautiful things, and she thought it would be wonderful to improve the looks of this building where God is worshipped. She began to study architectural plans. The building was too small and needed to be enlarged. There was a gallery in the back, and it seemed that it might be possible to remove this gallery and extend the entrance from the two doors there (which are now windows) into the church, making that a part of the sanctuary to increase its size. Somehow the vision came to her of doing this by erecting a tower through which the people could enter the church, changing the two doors of entrance into windows, and enlarging the back part of the room. My mother dreamed this dream and she prayed and she worked and she got people to work with her. She got architects to give their suggestions about what it should look like, and finally the tower was erected. With this addition to the size of the building a great deal of improvement was necessary inside. The walls needed to be properly painted.



Bethesda Presbyterian Church after the 1909 improvements.

When I was a boy, my mother and father and others of us worked to make this a worthy place of worship.

Then it was thought that the sanctuary could be enlarged by adding a choir loft in the back where there was a straight blank wall in bad condition and in need of strengthening. The Methodist church, an old building on the other side of the river just back of Tom Anderson's store, was being torn down and the bricks were for sale. Those old bricks had a lot of plaster on them and they needed to be cleaned, so Bethesda Church bought the Methodist bricks and brought them over. My brother and I and others spent many hours cleaning those bricks, and they were built into that back wall. In the middle of the wall a beautiful stained glass window, made by Tiffany, was erected by members of the McElwee family in memory of Dr. and Mrs. William McElwee and their service to this community. It is a beautiful representation of the truth and love of Jesus Christ which the McElwees embodied in their lives. At the other end of the sanctuary the names of the ministers were put in one window and the names of elders in the other. Then all sorts of new things were done to make the place truly beautiful.

But I must not talk only about buildings; I want to talk about people. One of the things that my dear mother did here was to start a young people's missionary society. She had studied in Augusta Female Seminary in Staunton, Virginia, and graduated in 1880. A teacher of hers named

Miss Charlotte Kemper had, at the age of forty-five, volunteered to go as a Presbyterian missionary to Brazil. While it was an unusual thing for a person of that age to go abroad, the Presbyterian Church wisely sent her. My mother was deeply impressed by this sacrificial act of Miss Kemper, a most amazing woman, and my mother started a little missionary society here in the church for the children and young people which she named for Miss Kemper—the Kemper Band. We did not have any musical instruments. We did not meet to make music but to pray for Miss Kemper and to support her in her work. To do that letters from her were read, and once a month we met and were told to prepare missionary stories from readings that we did on missionary work in other countries. Once Miss Kemper came and visited us. We had to pay money to be a member of the Kemper Band—the huge sum of two cents a week, one dollar and four cents a year. That was a big sum for some of us in 1908 or 1910.

The Kemper Band flourished, and while it was a very little society and never got into the newspapers, from that membership people went out who influenced distant parts of the world. There was Robert Firebaugh, graduate of Washington and Lee theological seminary and Henrietta Mohler, a graduate of Augusta Female Seminary (Mary Baldwin College). They were married and went out to the Indian Territory—as it was called before it became Oklahoma—where they spent all their lives working with the Indians. I was in Oklahoma a few years ago and people, though they had not at that time known them personally, since they had died, said that they had done outstanding missionary work.

Also there was a very fine young man named Freeman Hart who went to Washington and Lee, became a minister, then became a professor in Hampden-Sydney and later in Florida. He served Christ because of the influence he had received here and through the Kemper Band.

Then there were two other men in the Kemper Band. One was named Francis Miller. He went to Washington and Lee and later became head of the World Student Christian Federation, traveled around the world, and influenced thousands of students in different parts of the world—China, Japan, Africa—to follow Jesus Christ and to serve Jesus Christ together. Some of you may have heard the name of Francis Miller, who later was in political work in Virginia. He was my younger brother. Then I, for my part, heard the call of God to go as a missionary to serve on the other side of the world in Persia, the country we call Iran today. I had the privilege of serving Christ there.

There were others in the Kemper Band who went out to serve Christ faithfully, some of them abroad and some them right here in this community. The work that was started nearly a hundred years ago is still carried on.

The Joys and Rewards of Local History

David G. Vaisey

THE title of this talk is almost, it seems to me, superfluous. I am sure no members of this society, in this state, need to be convinced about the joys or the rewards of local history. Indeed, most of my talk will be taken up with the particular joys and rewards I have had from working on the life of Mr. Thomas Turner, to whom I shall return later. He was a shopkeeper, so most of my talk will be concerned with the local history of shopkeeping.

Local history, in general, I think, has pretty well universally thrown off its old image of antiquarianism, of people who were long on enthusiasm but short on knowledge and discipline, poking about in the archives of their parishes in order to discover facts and incidents of precious little interest or significance to anyone other than themselves. That sort of local history is more or less dead now. It may survive to a certain extent in the far reaches of genealogy and family history which, in England anyway, is said to be the fastest growing leisure activity. There may be more people engaged in family history, for instance, than watch soccer on Saturday afternoons. Now genealogy can be a very rewarding pastime, but in some respects there is no denying that it provides a refuge for the undisciplined enthusiast in the way local history once did.

David G. Vaisey is the head of Oxford University's Bodleian Library. He has an abiding interest in local history dating from his first job in the County Records Office in Staffordshire. In 1985 the Oxford University Press published his *The Diary of Thomas Turner, 1754–1765.* He spoke to the Society in the Rotunda of Gaines Hall at Washington and Lee University on October 31, 1988.

I have become involved in local history because it is the only way that I can discover what I want to find out about the past. I am principally a historian. In the days before I became a library director and when I had time to be a historian, I was interested in the history of retailing—the history of shopkeeping. I was interested in studying it in places outside the great urban areas of England—places like Lexington. If Lexington were transferred to England, this is the sort of place that I would be interested in.

I was anxious to discover, for the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, what shops were in a given place, who ran those shops, what was in those shops, who bought the things that were in those shops, and *how* the things which were for sale in those stores got there. Let us take, for instance, edged tools, like scythes. I knew in what part of England they were made, and I also knew that they were being sold in completely different parts of England. If I could find out how they got from where they were made to the place where they were sold, could I then use that information to find out how other, less tangible things travelled around—things like news, or taste, or fashion, or popular song? Could I transfer the knowledge from trade into some other areas? That was my principal interest.

It is impossible to produce answers to those questions unless you undertake the study at a very local level. Previously the great writers on the history of trade and the history of shopkeeping in Great Britain have made statements such as: in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it is impossible for us to make any generalization because there is no evidence. It's not true. There is a vast mass of evidence, but it all exists at a very local level. Of course, the great global historians, who are not used to crawling along the frontiers of knowledge with a hand-lens in the way I used to do, never got to the evidence which I knew existed in vast quantities. So I became more and more involved in looking at history at a very local level to see if I could build up the picture to a general level.

I want to talk about one example of this kind of work: it concerns one man, Thomas Turner, who owned a shop in one village in one part of England. He lived not in Oxfordshire or in any part of England in which I have ever lived, but in the southeastern part of England, Sussex, in a little village called East Hoathly. The village is still there and so is Thomas Turner's house. I want to see if I can give you some insight into a more general picture from just this one man. I hope that from this you will get an idea of what I consider to be the joys and rewards of local history.

Thomas Turner was born in 1729 in Kent, and he died in East Hoathly in Sussex, not far away from where he was born. He died in 1793 in his sixty-fourth year. At his death the local newspaper, the *Sussex Weekly Advertiser,* noted simply: "Last Thursday died, at East Hoathly, Mr. Tho-

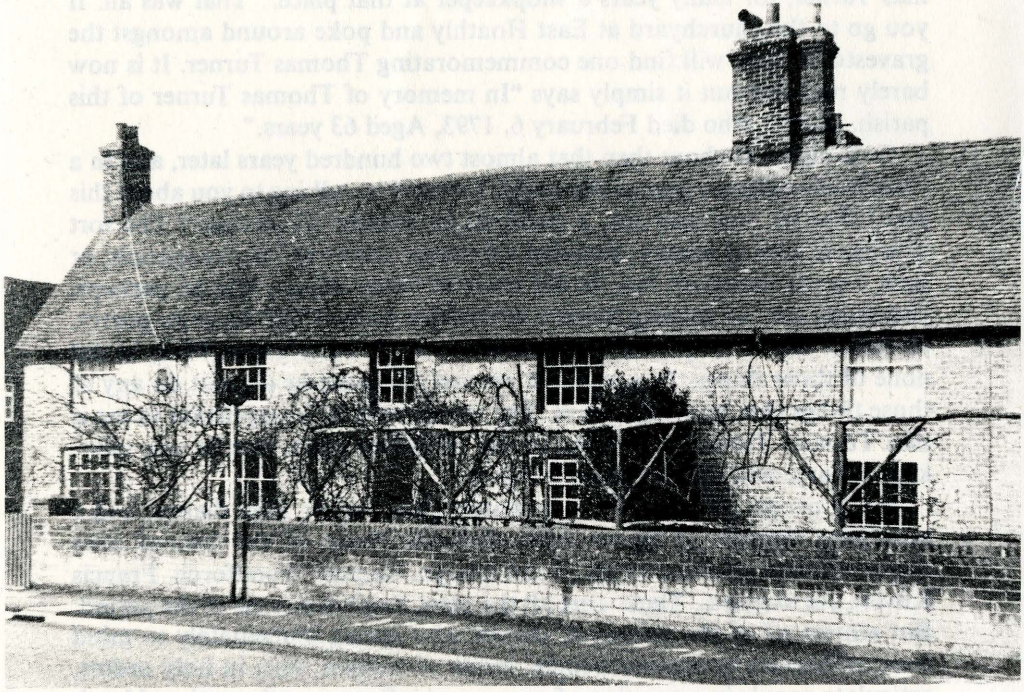
mas Turner, for many years a shopkeeper at that place." That was all. If you go to the churchyard at East Hoathly and poke around amongst the gravestones, you will find one commemorating Thomas Turner. It is now barely readable but it simply says "In memory of Thomas Turner of this parish, draper, who died February 6, 1793, Aged 63 years."

How comes it about then that almost two hundred years later, and in a completely different part of the world, I should be talking to you about this man? Was he, you may ask, a particularly wealthy shopkeeper? The sort who made a lot of money, founded a dynasty, endowed charity schools, or built a great mansion? No, he did none of those things. Was he perhaps, you might ask, an unsung literary or creative genius? Did he write poetry, or collect books, or produce paintings, or did he collect them? No, he did none of those things. In a way it is precisely because he did not do any of those things that he is important. The reason why he is important to me is that Thomas Turner, for eleven of the sixty-four years that he was alive, kept a diary, and that diary has survived.

Many people in the eighteenth century, and earlier, kept diaries, and a surprising number of diaries have survived. Some of the famous ones spring to mind: Samuel Pepys, John Evelyn, Samuel Woodforde, Francis Kilvert, for example. These were all the great English diarists of the period. But almost all of the writers of diaries who spring immediately to mind were artisocrats or literary people, ladies of fashion, men in holy orders, articulate people in a position of power and influence at the national level. All their diaries are of a type: they are very interesting; they are full of comments on society at high levels; they were written and contrived very much with the reader in mind.

Thomas Turner was not like them. He lived in a small village from which he rarely strayed far. He read a great deal, it is true, and he had a fair knowledge in general of what was going on in the world beyond his parish boundary. But most of his life was spent working and making a local society work. Because of people like him, the local society—about which all the others were writing—was able to function. It could not have functioned at all without him; it might have functioned perfectly well without Samuel Pepys, John Evelyn, Samuel Woodforde, or Francis Kilvert.

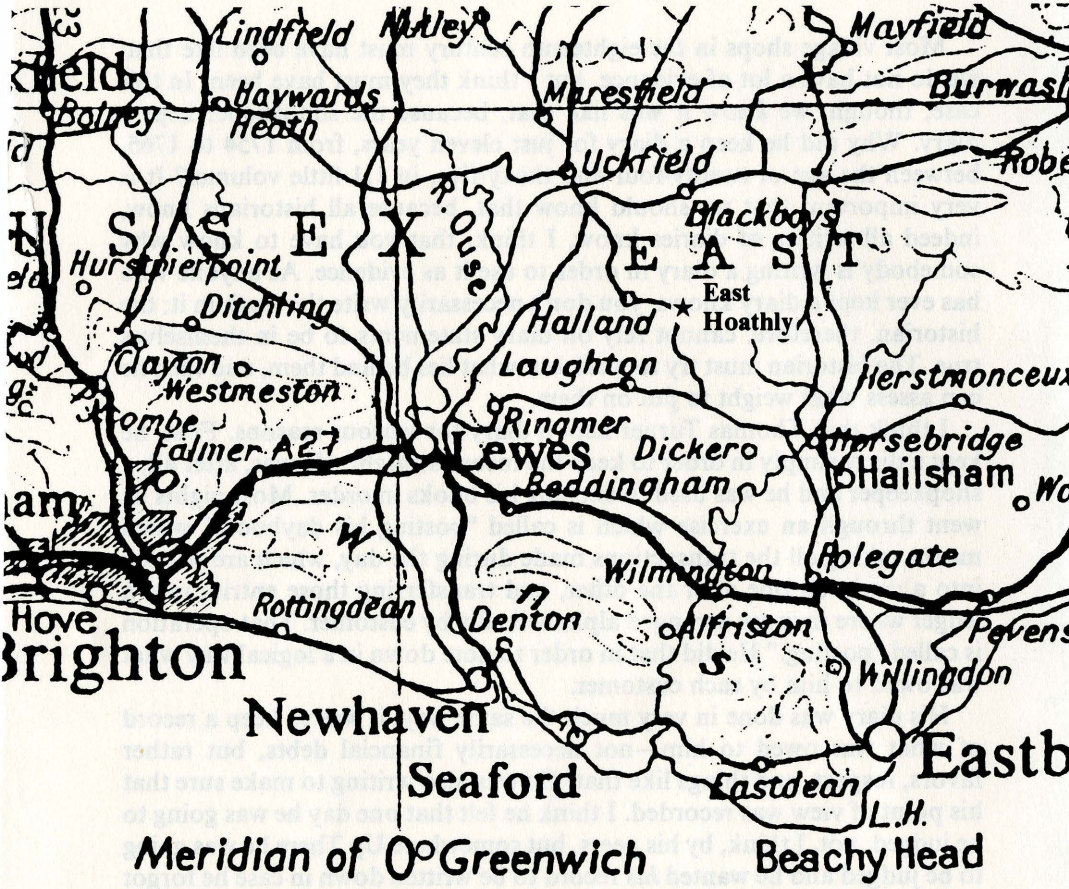
Turner was not a squire, not a country gentleman, not a clergyman. He was a hardworking village shopkeeper, constantly struggling to make ends meet. He was called a draper, but to keep a shop in mid-eighteenth-century provincial England was, in fact, to be a jack-of-all-trades. He was a grocer, a draper, a haberdasher, a hatter, a clothier, a druggist, an ironmonger, and a stationer; he directed funerals and he was an undertaker. He was the local man who knew how to write wills and to take inventories. He could draw up a petition and he could draft a lease. He could conduct an auction and



A 1984 photo of Thomas Turner's house in East Hoathly. (Source: The Diary of Thomas Turner, 1754–1765 *[Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985], following p. 176.)*

he could survey a field. To earn a few more shillings at various times during his life, he took over the local school and became a schoolmaster. And in almost every year he served as one or other of the elected parish officials. He was either church warden, overseer of the poor, or surveyor of the highway, and sometimes all three at once. He collected the local taxes and when he was not collecting them, he was prevailed upon to write up the accounts for those people who were collecting them.

In his shop you could get anything, for most things that were to be had were to be found there at one time or another. "Every kind of foodstuff and every useful commodity he tried to keep in stock. He received flour from the millers and cloth from the weavers, nails from the blacksmith, and salt from the fishermen. Some of the goods he had were brought to him, some



A modern map of Thomas Turner's neighborhood in East Sussex.

he had to go and fetch, some he bought in lots and then processed himself. He was, furthermore, a purchasing agent for the community and spent much time attending to errands for his customers. He occasionally turned a penny at barbering. He manufactured and distributed favors for funerals. He weighed, packed, and arranged for the transportation of market produce: wheat, potatoes, cabbages, and all kinds of risk items like wool and hops, and his shop was constantly full of odds and ends of merchandise which were awaiting a suitable price or the convenience of a low-priced carter to take them off. Anything anyone lacked, he could find somewhere." So wrote Dean K. Worcester, Jr., in his monograph on Turner, published by Yale University Press under the title of *The Life and Times of Thomas Turner of East Hoathly* in 1948.

Most village shops in the eighteenth century must have been like that; we do not have a lot of evidence, but I think they must have been. In this case, though, we *know* it was like that, because the shopkeeper kept a diary. Why did he keep a diary for just eleven years, from 1754 to 1765, between the age of twenty-four and thirty-five, in 111 little volumes? It is very important that we should know that, because all historians know, indeed all writers of diaries know, I think, that you have to know why somebody is writing a diary in order to use it as evidence. As anyone who has ever kept a diary knows, you don't necessarily write the truth in it; the historian, therefore, cannot rely on diary statements to be in themselves true. The historian must try to work out what lies behind them, and then he can assess what weight to put on them.

I think that Thomas Turner kept a diary for various reasons. First, he kept a diary simply in order to keep the record straight. He was, after all, a shopkeeper and he was used to keeping his books in order. Most nights he went through an exercise which is called "posting his daybook," which means taking all the transactions made during the day, which are written into a daybook one after the other, and transferring those entries into a ledger where they are arranged alphabetically by customer. That operation is called "posting." He did that in order to note down in a logical way what was owed to him by each customer.

His diary was done in very much the same way; it was to keep a record of what was owed to him—not necessarily financial debts, but rather favors, respect, and things like that. He was also writing to make sure that his point of view was recorded. I think he felt that one day he was going to be judged, not, I think, by his peers, but somewhere Up There he was going to be judged and he wanted *his* record to be written down in case he forgot anything when the time came. He was not therefore using his diary to record the great events of the day. This motivation for keeping a diary (to make sure that his actions were, in a sense, rightfully remembered) may betray some sense of insecurity. In many ways he was a rather insecure person; at least he was when he started keeping his diary.

Secondly, I think he kept it because he was an unhappy man. People always write more when they are unhappy, particularly in diaries. When the diary begins he was four months married to a twenty-one-year-old woman, Peggy. He had only been a shopkeeper for two or three years before this, so that his trade was not yet firmly established. His bride was the daughter of another shopkeeper, and it was clear that what he wanted from this marriage was somebody who was going to help him in the shop, so that they could both go forward together in the trade. But it is clear from the diary that his partner was in fact both sickly and capricious. When the diary opens she was pregnant, and the baby, a boy, lived only for

five months. The illness that she suffered from—it is not clear what this illness was—got steadily worse and her temper got steadily worse as well.

Now we must always remember that we only have his side of the story; I think *he* could be a very difficult man when he wanted to be. But reading between the lines in his diary, his wife's health was getting steadily worse all the time, and in the diary Thomas Turner bemoaned his fate and the ill-fortune that he was not married to a strong helpmate in his business. Eventually, on June 23, 1761, Peggy Turner died.

From that moment onward Thomas Turner became a very lonely man. He had used a lot of ink in his diary complaining about his wife, bemoaning his fate in not having a strong wife. But once his wife had gone, he was a lonely man. He looked back with nostalgia and a certain amount of forgetfulness, and for the next three and a half years the diary is full of "Oh, wasn't life marvelous in Peggy's time, and isn't it miserable now." His tune changed completely. But he became a much more hardworking, and, it has to be said, hard-drinking, shopkeeper.

He remained a widower for three and a half years, and then he met another girl, a servant to the local justice of the peace, and on July 31, 1765, they got married. And the diary stops just as suddenly as it began. There is no more diary after that, nor is there any evidence that there ever was any more diary.

My interpretation is on 31 July 1765, he found happiness. We know from other sources that he prospered. He and his new wife, who was called Molly, had seven children, five of whom survived infancy. He bought property, and he achieved a modest status, and he lived on for almost thirty years after ceasing to write the diary. In a nutshell, then, that was the man and that was his life during the eleven years during which he kept the diary.

But the diary really is not important because it gives us a picture of Thomas Turner. It is interesting that we can work out who Thomas Turner was and exactly how he fitted in to the local society. But the diary is not important because of the picture which it gives us of him; it is important because it is the only source we possess, so far as I know, which gives us a portrait of village life seen from Thomas Turner's level in mid-eighteenth-century England. It is not a portrait of the man, it is a portrait of the society in which that man lived. It gives us the rhythm of a small society of some 350 people in those eleven years in the middle of the eighteenth century, and it shows us how it worked.

The village of East Hoathly was not a particularly important place. It was much like any other village in the Sussex weald: rural, agricultural, a land of sheep, of grain, of hops, of gardens, of orchards, and of woodland. It is close to the south coast, which meant that smuggling was often big business, and Thomas Turner had the great good fortune to live next door

to the excise man. Every time a quantity of brandy was seized, there was an excuse for a party. The excise man cracked open the barrel and they all got drunk.

Further, while Thomas Turner was writing his diary, that part of south-east England felt very vulnerable; this was the period of the Seven Years War, when England was at war on the continent of Europe, on the North American continent, in India, and in the West Indies. If an invasion had come from across the Channel, East Hoathly would have been pretty soon in the firing line. Everyone felt as if they were living on a knife-edge for a large part of the time when the diary was being written.

Other than this, the little village only had one distinguishing characteristic, and that was that just inside the parish boundary there stood a very large house indeed, called Halland House. There's no sign of it now, but then it was the country home of the first Duke of Newcastle, who for almost eight years of the diary was what we would now call Prime Minister—that is, the First Lord of the Treasury. The presence of the Prime Minister's country home meant that at least once a year, normally to coincide with the local race meeting, the great and the good came to the parish of East Hoathly. Thomas Turner's interest in these people when they all came was not solely because they were important people, but also because they had money to spend and he kept the shop; he looked on them as good customers. Nevertheless, those who controlled the nation's destiny passed before his eyes in his own village. The diary, however, is not about their lives. It is about people whose livings were much more hard to win. It chronicles the everyday business of surviving, of getting and spending, of eating and drinking, working, playing, and all the business of life and death amongst the ordinary people of mid-eighteenth-century England.

The diary was written by a man who was certainly no fool. Thomas Turner's experience was limited and his preoccupations were very parochial, but he possessed both the ability and the wit to provide one of the very few intimate glimpses we have of life at parish level in the eighteenth century; and this is the level at which most people lived their lives. Most people still live their lives at the parish level, even though travel has become much easier.

What then is it that we can learn from this diary? Obviously, we can learn a great deal about shopkeeping. It is, after all, the diary of a shopkeeper, and that is why I first became interested in it. We can learn a lot about supplying and being supplied, of how to get and how to give credit, and of how these things were done in an age before there were any banks, at least any banks with a nationwide spread, and when coin was very scarce.

We can also learn a great deal about how trade was done by barter and how local it was. Thomas Turner, in all those eleven years, only went to London once for one five-day trip, even though, by our standards, he lived no great distance from there. But people came to *him* from a long way off. Travelers came to him from as far away as Manchester in the north of England, and Edinburgh in Scotland, traveling with packhorses, bringing things to sell. That sort of thing very much interests me, and in editing the diary I added an appendix about all the financial background of Turner's trade.

It had really not come home to me before just how complicated it was simply to pass money around in the eighteenth century. We are used to our coinage now, but it took you, here, a long time before you decided to settle for the dollar as the unit of common currency. It was the same in Great Britain. As you will all recall, pounds, shillings, and pence were complicated enough; but in Turner's time there were all sorts of other denominations as well circulating in and out of people's pockets and in and out of shopkeepers tills. Much of it was based on Spanish denominations. There were, apart from all the coins from guineas down to quarters of a penny, coins called doubloons (or double pistoles) which were equal to thirty-six shillings, and half-doubloons which were equal to eighteen shillings, and quarterdoubloons, also known as half-pistoles, which were equal to nine shillings. There were moidores, which were worth twenty-seven shillings. There were pieces of eight, which were worth four shillings and six pence. All these coins could be clipped, so that if you were given a piece of eight with the edges clipped off, it was worth less. Most coins, therefore, had to be weighed. It was an immensely complicated business, paying for things in coin. The diary tells a great deal about this.

It tells us about other ways by which people bought and sold goods. There was the straightforward way of bartering, and Thomas Turner quite often went in for barter, sometimes using it to his advantage. A simple case of bartering, for instance, was when he went around the parish gathering up rags. These he would trade to a papermill (paper was made from rags then), and he would take his payment in paper with a cash adjustment. As church warden it was Turner's responsibility to pay for having the church clock wound. He would not pay the winder in cash, however; he would pay him with a hat from his shop, which was worth seven and six pence. Turner would then claim the seven and six pence from the parish rate, thus easing his cash flow. Presumably, if he could pass off a hat worth five shillings and get seven shillings six pence back from the parish, he could make a profit on the deal. He was not above using the system for his gain.

Because there were no local banks, a system of dealing in bills of

exchange—a sort of paper money—grew up. It was a bit like the use of script, but not quite. If, for instance, Thomas Turner bought goods from someone else, he would pay them, not with money, but with a bill drawn on a London merchant who respected Thomas Turner's credit. The receiver would then go to the merchant in London and be given cash for that bill. Or he would use that bill to pay a third party for goods, leaving it to the third party to get it redeemed in London. Or the receiver could sell the bill for cash, though this would entail giving a discount. There was thus this other form of currency going around as well. It was a complicated business, dealing in bills of exchange, which was all ultimately based on trust. If somebody welshed anywhere down that line, the whole system could quite easily collapse, leaving someone holding some worthless scraps of paper. There are instances in the diary of that, too.

The diary also tells us about the leisure activities of rural society at that time. It is particularly informative about books. Thomas Turner was a great reader. He read the newspapers, the weeklies, sermons, and those mid-eighteenth-century works then much in vogue which were read for improvement and in contemplation of death. He also read novels and plays, though always for didactic reasons, never for pure pleasure one suspects; nevertheless he was a very well-read individual for a local shopkeeper in rural England. He also read aloud to others. When visitors came in the evening they might sit with him making up packets of pins or packaging up gunpowder, and while they did it he would read to them. It was an improving time they had together.

We also learn about about village entertainments and the sort of people who came through the village with curiosities for the locals to see. Turner would go a long way to see a turtle. Twice in eleven years turtles were brought into the parish, and everybody turned out to see them. There is a long passage in the diary, giving the precise measurements of a huge hog which was being taken around. On another occasion somebody brought to the local pub something he called an "electrical machine." Now I do not know what this was, but it was something of great interest, and it was worthwhile getting all the village into the local pub to see. At another time a "microcosm" was brought—a mechanical means of showing how the solar system worked. This was a pretty involved piece of scientific equipment to bring to a village pub in mid-eighteenth-century England.

Turner paid a penny at a fair at Uckfield to see "a man perform several curious performances on the slack wire, and which I think actually were very curious." There were mountebanks who travelled around the country: people who entertained the local public and sold them quack medicines. Thomas Turner would normally go to see them, though it was always his wife who fell for their sales talk. During his time as a schoolmaster he

entertained his scholars by hiring a fire-eater to perform for them in the schoolroom.

Sussex is the home of cricket, and Turner played the game and watched it often. Nowadays those of us who play cricket or watch it are used to a cricket team consisting of eleven people. A cricket team then consisted of how many people you wanted. They played twenty a side, thirty a side, one a side even—depending on how many people they had. The matches were great social occasions. Meetings of the vestry were sometimes held at the cricket match, because that was where you could get a quorum together.

The matches were also great betting occasions. They were always betting; people would always seize any kind of chance they could to bet on something, and not only on cricket or horse races or cock fights or who could run the fastest. If Turner was walking with some friends and an argument developed about how long the path was, they would bet on it. He could survey, so he would then measure it and see who had won. They bet, for instance, on the likelihood of one of their friends getting married before the next Christmas. They would bet sometimes going to church. They would bet on whether one of them could listen to the whole sermon and then come out of church and repeat the text the preacher took together with chapter and verse. Even religious occasions were thus an excuse to bet.

They played all kinds of games of cards, some of which we would recognize, like whist, cribbage, and brag. But there were also other card games, now no longer played: one called "laugh-and-lay-down" and another called "look-about-you." And they always played for money.

The diary also points up the general rhythm of life, the things that happened at a set time every year and dictated where people were in relation to the seasons. The times at which charity was given out; the times at which one invited people in for parties. Interestingly, Christmas does not play an important part in the diary. On Christmas Day they went to church, but it was not a day for sitting down to a big meal. It was not an occasion; they did not seem to have Christmas parties.

But there was a group of families in East Hoathly who, after Christmas, or at least after New Year, had a kind of routine of parties every year. They would each give a party in turn. It tended to start after lunch and go on way into the night. These parties continued in a series from New Year's Day until the end of February and often into March, and the partygoers used to get drunk a great deal. Thomas Turner was very censorious; he was much accustomed to getting drunk and then feeling guilty about it. He documented these parties, and I will quote you the details of one of them. This was a party which began on Wednesday, 22 February 1758—well into the second month of the year. It was given by one of the people he disliked

most in the village, Mr. French, who was the principal landowner and a sort of ogre, a gin-swiller, and a powerful, loudmouthed individual.

> About 1:10 Mr. French sent his servant with a horse for my wife, who accordingly went with him and dined at Mr. French's. Myself and family at home dined on the remains of Wednesday's supper and a dish of cheese soup. Thomas Davy dined with us in order to taste our soup. About 6:40 I walked down to Whyly [Mr. French's house] where we played at brag the first part of the even; Myself and wife won 1s. 2d. About 10:20 we went to supper on 4 boiled chickens, 4 boiled ducks, some minced veal, sausages, cold roast goose, cold chicken pasty, cold ham, damson and gooseberry tarts, marmalade, and raspberry puffs. Our company was Mr. and Mrs. Porter [the vicar and his wife] Mr. and Mrs. Coates, Mrs. Atkins, Mrs. Hicks, Mr. Piper and his wife, Joseph Fuller and his wife, Thomas Fuller and his wife, Dame Durrant, myself and wife, and Mr. French's family. After supper our behaviour was far from that of serious, harmless mirth for it was downright obstreperous mirth, mixed with a great deal of folly and stupidity. Our diversion was dancing (or jumping about) without the violin or any music, singing of foolish and bawdy healths, and more such like stupidity, and drinking all the time, as fast as could be well poured down; and the parson of the parish was one amongst the mixed multitude all the time, so doubtless in point of sound divinity it was all perfectly harmless. But if conscience dictates right from wrong, as doubtless it sometimes does, mine is one that we may say is soon offended. For I must say I am always very uneasy in such behaviour, thinking it not like the behaviour of the primitive Christians, which I imagine was most in conformity to our Saviour's gospel. Nor would I, on the other hand, be thought to be either a cynic or a stoic, and let social improving discourse pass around the company. But, however, about 3:30, finding myself to have as much liquour as would do me good, I slipped away unobserved, leaving my wife to make my excuse; for sure it was rude, but still ill manners are preferable to drunkenness, though I was far from being sober. However, I came home, thank God, very safe and well, without ever tumbling or any other misfortune and Mr. French's servant walked my wife home about 5:10 [ten past five in the morning, having started at ten past one the previous day].
>
> This morning [Thursday 23 February] at about 6:00, just as my wife had gladly got to bed and had laid herself down to rest, we was awakened by Mrs. Porter [the vicar's wife] who pretended she wanted some cream of tartar. But as soon as my wife got out of bed, she vowed she should come down, which she complied with and found she, Mr. Porter [the vicar] Mr. Fuller and his wife with a lighted candle, part of a bottle of wine and a glass. Then the next thing of course must be to have me downstairs, which I being apprised of, fastened my door. But, however, upstairs they came and threatened, and also attempted, to break open my door, which I found they would do, so I therefore ordered the boys to open it. [That is quite interesting, because he did not have any family, so the boys must have been the apprentices who were living and apparently

> sleeping in the same room as Thomas Turner and his wife.] But as soon as ever it was open, they poured into my room and as modesty forbid me to get out of my bed in the presence of women, so I refrained. But their immodesty permitted them to draw me out of bed, (as the common phrase is) tipsy-turvy. But, however, at the intercession of Mr. Porter, they permitted me to put on my breeches (though it was no more than to cast a veil over what undoubtedly they had, before that time, discovered); as also instead of my clothes they gave me time to put on my wife's petticoat. In this manner they made me dance with them without any shoes or stockings, until they had emptied their bottle of wine and also a bottle of my beer. They then contented themselves with sitting down for breakfast on a dish of coffee, etc. They then obliged my wife to accompany them to Joseph Durrant's, where they again breakfasted on tea, etc. They then all adjourned to Mr. Fuller's where they again breakfasted on tea, and there they also stayed and dined; and about 3:30 they all found their ways to their respective homes, beginning by that time to be a little serious, and in my opinion, ashamed of their stupid enterprise or drunken perambulation.

So at 3:30 the next afternoon they all got home. What a party! Here we have perfectly good, sober-sided individuals, including the parson of the parish and the church warden attending this wild party from 1:10 on one day until 3:30 on the next day. On Friday 24 February, the diary just has two words—"Sadly indisposed."

The diary tells us, too, about characters. It is very difficult at anything but the highest level in society to invest people with characters. One can know their names, when they died, what their trade was, and so on. But to find out what they were actually like we need to be able to see them through someone else's eyes. Whether we can then depend on the view provided is for us to judge, but this diary does tell us about village characters. Most characters are in much sharper relief when Thomas Turner either despised them or was frightened of them. His friends he does not bother to tell us about: and we would not expect him to; he took them for granted. But the people of whom he was wary certainly stand out in sharp relief.

Mr. Jeremiah French, for instance, is portrayed as a real ogre. He was swaggering, grasping, quarrelsome, and loud-mouthed, often, in Turner's words, "quite stupid through drinking." He "would willingly never be without a dram of gin in his hand," even at a funeral. At one point in 1763, Turner noted that "if it was possible to make any estimate of the quantity Mr. French drank for several years past, I should think he could not drink less on a moderate computation than 20 gallons a year." And that was gin. His manners were pretty bad too. He was a swearer of mighty oaths, particularly when he was roused, and the only way Turner could quieten

him down was to give him some more gin. His personality dominates the diary, largely, I think, because Turner was frightened of him.

There was one other inhabitant of the village who stands out in sharp relief, because Turner disliked his meanness. His name was William Piper. He was a not very well-off farmer in the village. Turner was the funeral director who buried Mr. Piper's wife in March 1755. Within the year he had married again; he married his servant. When Piper himself died, in 1761, the diary becomes a sort of poorer document, since his death deprived Thomas Turner of a kind of permanent target to mock. His niggardliness "deserves very justly to be ridiculed," according to Turner. His parties were informed by "a mean and stingy spirit." At one of them "there was not any liquor, I suppose, worth drinking, though I tasted only some small beer and that came like drops of blood." He was "a wretch who sets his whole delight in nothing but money and knows not the real use of it farther than it is conducive to the adding of store to store."

When at the tithe feast on 5 November 1756 the news was brought to Mr. Piper that his new wife was safely delivered of a daughter, he simply stayed on at the feast so as not to forego the rector's hospitality, saying "he should get home soon enough to kiss the old woman for they were no starters." And at the christening party for the second child of his marriage all Piper could do, according to Turner, was to complain about the amount of his drink which had been consumed by the women who sat with his wife while the baby was being born. Turner took a particular delight when another of the neighbors told Piper just how mean other people considered him to be, whereupon Mr. Piper got "so angry that he cried and bellowed about like a great calf."

The delight of the diary lies in the fact that these are not fictional characters: these are real people, indulging in real life, and life was eventful. There were disputes; there were fights; there was one murder and there was more than one suicide; there were weddings, traffic accidents, and much horseplay; there were concerts, outings, births, marriages, and deaths—all recorded for one small geographical area during an eleven-year span.

The treatment of the poor (an ever-present problem in eighteenth-century England) looms large in the diary, since Turner so often served as the parish overseer—the official who had to do with the problem of the poor, and who was faced with the problem of how to deal with those who could not or would not look after themselves. The diary is very interesting about this. Turner was a softhearted man. He wanted to help more people than he was able to in the parish, and he spent an enormous amount of time trying to get things right, both from their point of view and the parish's point of view.

Turner had to administer a set of laws built on the theory that everyone belonged to one place, that everyone was settled in a particular parish, and that the parish was responsible for them. There were various ways in which one could transfer one's settlement from one parish to another: by serving apprenticeship in another parish or renting land of a certain value in another parish, for example. But if you did not do that, when you slipped into poverty and became a charge on the parish in which you happened to be, that parish could ship you back to the place in which you were legally settled, because you were that parish's responsibility. That is the theory of it, and it meant an enormous amount of work for those people who were trying to keep the parish administration going. Thomas Turner would spend many days at this, even though he was a busy man with a business to run.

As Turner records his activities in this role, it is made clear to us what an enormous amount of time was spent by people, not so much doing things, as trying to get things done. There was no means of knowing, for instance, as you set out to travel several miles to see someone, whether they were likely to be at home when you got there. Often you had to come back and try some other time. People like Turner spent an awful lot of time on the way to doing things and then not being able to do them. Dealing with the poor was a duty which brought with it many frustrations of this sort.

One among many cases recorded by Turner stands out. It concerns a girl who belonged to Thomas Turner's parish and who was unmarried but pregnant. If the baby had been born and Turner could not find out who the father was, the baby and the mother would both have been a charge on the parish of East Hoathly. It was therefore very important, from the parish's point of view, to find out who the father was and to try and get the couple married so that the father could assume responsibility. Turner managed to discover that the father actually belonged to another parish. It was thus even more important to get the two married, because by that means all this became the responsibility of the other parish should they need support. Turner spent fourteen days on this particular case, because the father knew perfectly well what was going on, and was determined to try and get the best deal that he could. The other parish, too, knew what was going on, and its officials were being as obstructionist as they could. It was enormously frustrating for the shopkeeper.

If the diary had not survived, only two or three official pieces of paper would have survived from this whole transaction: an examination before the justices of the unmarried mother, a bastardy bond under which the father acknowledged his paternity and admitted his responsibility, and then the removal order which removed the pregnant woman to the father's

parish. They would have dates on them, and we would be able to piece together the sequence of events. But we would have no idea of what was involved in the business of getting these documents prepared. It took Turner fourteen days of constant involvement, of having to find someone to look after his shop while he was away, of getting on his horse in the rain and going off to Lewes to get documents signed only to find the justice of the peace was not there, and then coming back and finding that the father had changed his mind, saying no he was not going to marry the woman, and so on, and so on. The diary shows all this and also that at the end of these fourteen days, the parish of East Hoathly had to bribe the bridegroom to do his duty. It cost the parish something like £6. 10s., five stones of beef, a marriage license, and a ten-shilling ring for the bride, and the cost of the wedding breakfast, all in order to get this unborn, illegitimate child settled. All this information comes from the diary of a busy shopkeeper, kept over an eleven-year period.

In conclusion I would like to tell you a little about the diary itself, because it illustrates the change that has come over the study of local history in recent years. The diary itself is in 111 little volumes, though once there were at least 117. It survived in the family and eventually came to rest in the Sussex Archaeological Society's library in Lewes, Sussex. In the nineteenth century, two local clergymen made extracts from the diary, which they did not keep in the right order, but having taken the extracts, they then used them in order to show how curious life had been in Sussex a hundred years before that. They published these little extracts and called it "The Diary of Thomas Turner."

No one from that time on seems to have wondered whether there was anything else. Everyone, including Charles Dickens, who commented on them, assumed that those little extracts were the diary of Thomas Turner, and they were republished again and again. In 1979 they appeared once more with a new introduction by G. H. Jennings. Meanwhile the diary itself had migrated from the museum in Sussex to Sterling Library at Yale. Its sale was negotiated, I think, by Professor Wallace Notestein during one of his foraging trips in England in the 1930s. My attention was drawn to it there, since I was interested in the history of retailing, and I attempted, with others, to get Oxford University Press to publish the entire diary and to do justice to the real Thomas Turner. The size of the project was daunting to them, but they allowed me to do a new set of extracts and to present the diary so that it showed a rounded picture of the society in which the diarist lived and worked. In doing that, and in according to Thomas Turner his proper place as someone who observed life without artifice between 1754 and 1765, I hope that I have also done my bit to demonstrate not only the value but also the joys and the rewards of local history.

A Point of View on "Points of View"

Pamela H. Simpson

SEVERAL years ago Winifred Hadsel first suggested to me that the Historical Society should sponsor an exhibition of local artists doing local scenes. The idea had been suggested to her by an exhibit she had seen in England. But it was only when Georgianna Brush moved to Lexington that we felt we had the right person to organize such a show. Winifred had read an article about Georgie's work in the National Trust for Historic Preservation's *Preservation News* and decided that the Society had to get the services of someone this talented before the other local groups discovered her. So Winifred forged ahead and asked her. Many of us have shared a similar experience of having Winifred ask us to do things for the Historical Society; somehow you just cannot say "no" to her. That is one reason why this fiftieth anniversary year of the Society's founding has been so exciting. Winifred has asked so many of you for your time, energies, and talents, and so many of you have responded.

Georgie Brush also said "yes" and undertook the planning and organization that has encompassed almost a year's worth of time. She also asked many of our members for help, and some thirty-two of you responded. Volunteers made the flyer, did the design and printing, contacted the

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Pamela H. Simpson, professor of art history at Washington and Lee University, delivered her slide-illustrated lecture in the Lexington Presbyterian Church's Dunlap Auditorium on April 24, 1989. Her talk had been preceded by a reception at the Campbell House where Society members had a special showing of "Points of View I" and met with a number of the artists represented.

Georgianna Brush and Harriett Stokes organize "Points of View I" at the Campbell House.

artists, and talked to store owners to get permission to put paintings in their windows. Another group of people received the work from the artists, sorted it out, and labeled it. Another group hung the show, and still another group has promised to come back and help disburse the show at the end of October. There were people involved in publicity. Barbara Crawford did a special display for the Visitor Center. Stanley Lewis designed not only the flyer but also our banner. Harriett Stokes of Salem agreed to do the difficult task of deciding which work would go downtown and which would hang in the Campbell House. She did an excellent job of representing the total range of artworks submitted in her selection for the longer-running Campbell House portion of the exhibit.

There are, of course, two "Points of View" exhibitions on at the moment. "Points of View I" is at the Campbell House and will run until October 31,

1989. Almost all of the artists who submitted work ended up with at least one painting in this portion of the show. "Points of View II" is in downtown Lexington as a storefront art show throughout the month of April. Eighty of the 150 works in the exhibit are in these downtown windows. The cooperation of our local merchants and businesses was crucial to the success of this portion of the operation. Some fifty stores have paintings in their windows, and there were another forty who agreed to display work; but we did not have enough paintings to go around! This enthusiastic cooperation says a lot about Lexington. It is this sort of community spirit that is one of our strengths. It is one reason why it is so good to live and work here.

Altogether there are forty-three artists represented in the show. Of the 150 works included, 66 are hanging in the Campbell House; that portion of the show will be open to visitors daily from April through October. Dr. Charles Turner and a host of volunteers will be keeping the house open, meeting visitors, and talking about the show. It was Winifred who decided when she first became our president that the Campbell House should be open during the summer with special exhibits to attract visitors. The first exhibit in 1987 was a display on the Fourth of July (see Appendix II-3). In 1988 it was a display concerning Lexington's architecture, and now in 1989 it is the "Points of View" art exhibit.

With all of that as background and introduction as to how the exhibition came about, let us now turn to the artwork itself. Georgie and her committee early decided on certain criteria. First, it was to be the work of living artists. We did make some exceptions to this because of the prominence and significance of two deceased Rockbridge artists. The first was Pierre Daura, who arrived in Rockbridge Baths from France in 1939. So it is the fiftieth anniversary of his arrival as well as the fiftieth anniversary of the Society's founding. Daura was an internationally known artist. He was head of the Art Department at Randolph-Macon Woman's College and continued to work and exhibit internationally while he lived in Rockbridge Baths.

The other major artist was Marion Junkin, who died in 1977. Junkin had been raised in Lexington, attended Washington and Lee, and then studied at the Art Students' League in New York. He taught at the Richmond Professional School before founding the Art Department at Vanderbilt University; in 1949 he founded the Art Department at Washington and Lee. Like Pierre Daura, Junkin had many local pupils in addition to his regular college students. Junkin's watercolors and Daura's oils are well known to people here and hang in many a local home.

There is one other deceased artist that we included, Jennie Bacon Lacy. She was not professionally trained and was not a professional teacher of

art. Yet she was an active artist who carved, painted, and worked in ceramics. The exhibition includes a bowl she made on the commission of Mary Monroe Penick for the wedding of Mr. and Mrs. James Whitehead's son.

The work of these three artists—Daura, Junkin, and Lacy—is in the dining room of the Campbell House, the room to your left when you enter the house. In the hallway and the exhibit room to the right are the works of the living artists in the show. To help us know who they are, Helen Wise put together a book that will become the major document for this show. In it she put a photograph of each artist with a brief biography that explains their education, training, and work. This book is on prominent display, and after the show it will be put in the Society's collection in the W&L Library.

As I looked through Helen's book and thought about the work in the show, I made several observations. I would like to share them with you and give my "point of view" on this exhibit.

One of the first things that became apparent to me as I read the biographies that Helen had assembled was that an extraordinary number of these artists had had professional training. I am always fond of claiming Lexington's unique sophistication, and here is further evidence of it. Can you imagine many other towns of seven thousand people that can claim this many professionally trained artists? Of the forty-three artists in the show, twenty-seven went to professional art schools. You might point out that having an art faculty at Washington and Lee, VMI, and Southern Seminary may account for a goodly proportion of these professionals, and you would be correct. But that is again part of Lexington's and Rockbridge County's uniqueness—the number of colleges we have here. People like I-Hsiung Ju, Larry Stene, Kathleen Olson, and Gerard Doyon are here because they teach in the Art Department of W&L. Barbara Crawford teaches at Southern Seminary. But there are many other examples of professionally trained artists who did not simply come here to teach.

One exceptional example of a professional artist is Cy Twombly, an internationally known artist whose works hang in major museums both in America and Europe. But he grew up here. His father was W&L's Athletic Director, and young Cy studied with both Pierre Daura and Marion Junkin before going off to professional art school. We are fortunate to have an early portrait that he did of Jack Roberson in the show.

You might say at this point: "Okay, a lot of famous artists came from small towns and those towns are delighted to claim them, but does that really mean we have an unusual number of artists?" Yes, we do. Not many are as well known as Twombly, but the professionally trained artists are here in abundance. There are people like Rob Stuart who grew up here,

received his training elsewhere, but keeps coming back to us. Or there is Libby Carson, who studied at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Art, or Pobai Heffelfinger or Elise Sprunt, who also studied professionally. Moreover, not only are twenty-seven of the forty-three artists products of art schools, nineteen of the forty-three actually make their living by either making or teaching art. That is an extraordinary proportion for such a small town.

There are exceptions to this professional training; in fact, some of my favorite paintings in the show are from the "amateurs," people like Bill Bobbitt who are self-trained. Bill did not take up painting until he retired. Of the forty-three artists, however, only five are really self-taught amateurs. Almost all of the rest had some sort of training. They may not have majored in art in college or studied at an art school, but they have studied with someone, and often that "someone" is another local artist. In fact, it is the interconnection among the artists that is so striking. We really have an art community here where people share their interest and their expertise. Margaret McDonald, for example, studied with Maxine Foster, and Tony Murray studied with Mr. Ju. The networking of the local artist is also evident in organizations such as the Rockbridge Arts Guild and the sales outlet "Artists in Cahoots."

Another theme that emerges from looking at the artists' biographies is the number of artists who are not native to Rockbridge. They came here to work, like John Winfrey, who teaches economics at W&L but also paints, or Maxine Foster, who came here because her husband took a teaching position at VMI, or Pat Thomas, whose husband also teaches at VMI while she teaches at Hollins College, or Bill Byers, who is also with VMI.

There are some exceptions to this nonindigenous trend of course. Thomas Hoffman is a self-taught painter who grew up in Lexington. Tony Murray also grew up here before attending Washington and Lee and studying with Mr. Ju, and he continues to reside in Lexington and to paint in his spare time while he works in W&L's Library.

But the majority of our artists were not born here. They came, instead, drawn by our institutions and industries. If we can summarize what is evident in these biographies, we could say that (1) the majority of the artists are professionally trained, (2) most of them came from somewhere else, and (3) they have formed a true art community here.

The next question as we start to look at the art itself is what is the "point of view" evident in these local artists' work? Confronted with some 150 pieces of individual artwork, I began sorting them into categories, and I found the categories themselves helped me understand something of their various "points of view."

First of all, there was landscape. There are many landscape paintings in

this show. They range from Barbara Crawford's small, intimate scenes of foliage to Libby Carson's broader views of mountains and trees. Many of the landscape paintings were of distinctive and easily recognized local landmarks like House Mountain. There were at least five views of it, and Georgie Brush told me that if she had wanted to, she could have filled the entire room with various views of House Mountain. There are also paintings of Natural Bridge, Goshen Pass, and the Maury River.

As I stacked all the slides representing landscape painting together, the pile got so high that I started a subcategory that I called "Landscape with Building." This stack got even higher than the landscape pile. They are paintings that are predominantly landscape, but the natural features are set off by contrast with an architectural form. This is a helpful juxtaposition of raw, rural, chaotic nature with human-made geometry. There is a polarity of opposites that makes the composition work and offers us the content of the painting. In a painting like Bill Bobbitt's *Webb Hill Farm,* the farm sits in the middle of a vast landscape. It is the interaction of the geometry of the buildings with the curves of the natural scene that is key to understanding the painting. In a painting by Eleanor Penn, the gable of the barn repeats the shape of the mountain behind it; or in Jane Riegel's work, the color and beauty of a fall landscape are set off against the stark whiteness of a house.

I had another category pile of architectural forms that I called "Townscapes." These were general views, predominantly of buildings, but with nature now serving as a secondary foil. A painting by Hope Laughlin gives us mostly buildings and dominant geometry, but nature interweaves its secondary curves in the corners and edges of the town.

My largest pile of slides, however, was for a category I simply called "Architecture." The fact that there were so many paintings in this category shows that people associate the distinctive features of our community with specific buildings. There were some like those by Ingrid Murou that were views of downtown Lexington landmarks. Others, like the watercolors of Pobai Heffelfinger, were more general views of ordinary buildings. Many were views of specific houses, including the Campbell House, but others were the artists' own houses or those of their neighbors as in Pat Thomas's view of Jackson Avenue in *Pinky's Cat.*

There were often architectural forms too. Mills turned up frequently, as did picturesque cabins and barns and even one cemetery. (I guess we could call that a kind of final architecture.)

Our educational institutions also came in for considerable notice. Gerard Doyon gave us Southern Seminary; Nell Cooke Byers and Maxine Foster gave us views of VMI; and there were a whole group depicting Washington and Lee. How could anyone walk by the colonnade without wanting to

paint it? Thse great white columns and the red brick against the green lawns and trees were done in all seasons.

Another major architectural grouping was churches. St. Patricks, the Lexington Presbyterian, and R. E. Lee Episcopal all appeared in paintings.

While architecture was definitely my largest pile, I did have a few other categories as well. One was animals. There were several paintings of sheep, one of our common agricultural industries. There were also quite a few cows and especially horses. With the Horse Center now located here, we are all very much aware of the prominence of horses in our midst. Ann Lyne and Jeanne Shepherd gave expression to this current equine passion of ours.

The last category, and surprisingly the smallest one, was the one called "People." It is still one of the most interesting of the categories. Here we find the familiar faces of people we know in portraits as well as people in activities like Nell Cooke Byers's *Skaters.* Hope Laughlin's *Boys at Goshen* reminds us of a summer experience that is familiar to most of us. One of the most interesting in this category is Bill Bobbitt's *Hog Killing*—a typical rural event. Thomas Hoffman's *Fuller Street* is a form of urban folklore. Here is the corner of Fuller and Massie streets which serves as a kind of community gathering center. Especially in the summer when the evening begins to cool, people gather here to gossip, laugh, and enjoy each other's company. Marie Doyon gives us another view of local activity in her lively and spirited view of the *Rockbridge Squares,* the local square-dancing group.

The last category I have is called "Historical," and here I place Nancy Caldwell's pastel portrait of Julia Jackson Preston and the wonderful stained glass pieces by Florence Raynal that retell the story of Mary Greenlee.

What I have tried to do here is to give an overview of who the artists are and the themes I see portrayed in their art. In conclusion, though, I would like to consider one more question; that is, what values do we find here? If a person fifty or a hundred years from now would look at Helen Wise's book and my slides, what would they conclude about the people who put this exhibit together? There are several suggestions we might offer. One is that there is a real and passionate love of nautre. The views we present are of our landscape as rural and unspoiled. It may be that we sense a tenuousness in this, that the environment is at risk, and that is why we want to celebrate it in these paintings.

There is also clearly a love of architecture. We like quaint rural buildings and impressive educational institutions. Buildings do reflect our values. So much of our lives revolves around these institutions, it is not surprising that they appear so often in paint.

But I think we might also get at the values present here by asking what does not appear in paint. What is not in our exhibit? Here are churches, local landmarks, W&L, and VMI; but there are no shopping centers, no McDonald's, no gas stations, no hotels, and so on. These things we paint are the buildings that loom largest in our lives, not those so common that we ignore them. If I were an historian of the future, I think I would see a community very much aware of its own history. My strongest impression from this exhibit is that here is a community conscious of its past and conscious of how the present is a continuum of the past. On the whole, that is not a bad statement for a fiftieth year anniversary exhibit for an historical society.

1939 Remembered: Some Oral History of Fifty Years Ago

THE Society's Golden Anniversary picnic was held on July 24, 1989, on the Society's own property behind the Sloan House. The program featured brief reminiscences from five people who were acquainted with Lexington and Rockbridge County events in 1939 when the Society was founded. Hunter McClung grew up in Lexington, went to VMI, and later returned to practice medicine for many years. Mary Hope Pusey came to Lexington in 1940 as the wife of a Washington and Lee University professor. Mary Frances Cummings grew up in Lexington and has long been interested in local history. William "Buck" Buchanan came to Washington and Lee as an undergraduate and later came back to teach. Robert Hunter also came to Lexington as a Washington and Lee student; he returned to teach history at VMI.

Hunter McClung: I perhaps don't belong here because I was not in Lexington very much for ten years, from 1930 to 1941, except when I was at VMI between 1931 and 1935. I was here long enough to get married in 1939, but then I went to finish medical school in 1939 and spent a few years in Philadelphia before I came back. But I do remember some things about medicine, being around my father and being interested in the way medicine was practiced in those days.

Dr. Ned Brush came here in 1939 to practice. Dr. Brooke came a few years before that, and Dr. Ken Byrne, maybe a year before that. I'm not certain of these dates, but John Gilmore, who died about 1942, came about that time also. There were about eight general practitioners in Lexington. There were four or five, I believe, in Buena Vista, and there was a doctor in Brownsburg, Fairfield, Natural Bridge Station, Collierstown, and Raphine.

Society members and guests line up to get their picnic baskets at the summer meeting, July 24, 1989.

In 1939 Jackson Memorial Hospital, which had been started by the United Daughters of the Confederacy in 1904, had been in operation for thirty-five years, which is about as long as the present hospital. In 1938 the new wing of the old Jackson Memorial Hospital was opened. In it were the new operating room and a third-floor delivery room for babies; previously the babies had been born in the basement. The new wing had a laboratory in the subbasement. Miss Gwendolyn Howe was very proud of the fact that they had a good north light which she could use for doing blood sugars in the colorometer. Gwendolyn was quite a character.

The new patient rooms were on the ground floor—the main floor—about ten or twelve rooms, I suppose. At that time there was no Blue Cross or third-party insurance. The hospital carried a lot of folks who could not pay and so did the physicians.

The old hospital was run by the United Daughters of the Confederacy. Miss Lottie Moore was the superintendent of nurses and really ran the place mostly, and Cleveland Davis was the chairman from the UDC. Lillian Swink was the secretary and bookkeeper. One person that some of you

will remember was Sam Morrison, a black man from Collierstown and a lovely person who was the orderly and man of all works. It is really remarkable how much got done with such a small staff. Of course, there wasn't as much demand in those days as there is today.

Mary Hope Pusey: Naturally, my first recollections of Lexington are connected with Washington and Lee, where my husband had a job. I did not arrive in Lexington until 1940, but my husband, then twenty-eight years old and sporting a moustache to conceal his youthful appearance, arrived in Lexington as an associate professor and head of the German Department on September 1, 1939—the very day that the Nazis launched their blitzkrieg into Poland. This is possibly not the most auspicious date for a Yankee with a strange name like Pusey to make his appearance at General Lee's college.

At that time Washington and Lee had 837 academic students and 109 law students. There were fifty-seven full-time teachers, a situation which was described by the late Ollinger Crenshaw as being "one man and one boy for each department."

In that era few women had jobs away from home, for a variety of reasons. For one, the country was very poor at that time and they were just so delighted that their husband had a job they didn't even think about having one of their own. I might mention, incidentally, in case you think my husband was rich, he made a salary of $3,000 a year. For these reasons, most women had volunteer jobs. My first volunteer job was the Lexington Girls Club in what is still known as the old Fish Bait House on north Main Street. It is a small, red-brick house in the curve by VMI. It is a miracle that the house is still standing. The main highway used to come along that way and many trucks failed to maneuver that curve and came right into the house. Fortunately, this did not happen while we were there.

Mrs. Lewis Tyree was in charge and I taught cooking, sewing, folk dancing, and whatever else we could think of. Jack Roberson played a mean piano, and while the piano was old and not very good, he really knew how to handle that thing. Unfortunately, this girls club did not survive after World War II, likely because we did not have someone like Leroy Henderson to see that it kept going.

I recall the advice given to us by the wonderful doctor at Washington and Lee, Dr. Reid White. He told us that we should be very careful about making any derogatory remarks about anyone in Lexington, for they were all related to each other. This was referred to by the late Ollinger Crenshaw as the "cousin-wealth of Virginia."

One thing I remember especially was the making and receiving of social calls. All faculty members and their wives made a twenty-minute call on all

new faculty members and their wives, as did other fine citizens of the community. So each evening after dinner, you hurriedly cleaned up the living room and any other part of the house you thought might be seen, turned on the porch light, and sat to wait for the callers to arrive. Ladies, single ones especially, called in the afternoon, and even sometimes in the morning, always leaving their calling cards. Such calls had to be returned very promptly or you were not socially accepted very well here.

It was rumored that some couples did a little cheating on all of this at times. If they happened to have friends who were making calls and the recipients of these calls happened not to be at home, two sets of cards were left at the house instead of just one set carried by the callers. I have no proof of this, but it could be a big help in keeping up on your social obligations—if you didn't get caught. Of course, no lady called on a gentleman in those days, so the husband carried a card with his name and his wife's name, as well as a second card with just his name on it.

Then there was the dinner call. When people were invited to dinner, the guests were expected to make a call upon the host and hostess within two weeks' time. Dinner attire, incidentally, was a long dress for the wife and at least a dark suit—if not a tuxedo—for the man.

All dances were formal or informal. By informal I mean wearing a tuxedo; if it were formal, it meant full dress. You can imagine as poor as we were then, this was barely expected, but that's the way it was. There were four dance sets during the year at Washington and Lee, lasting from two to three nights each. A well-known orchestra usually played for one of the nights, at least. The dances lasted usually until 2:00 a.m., but the one at Finals lasted until sunrise, whereupon people gathered on the bridge over Woods Creek by Doremus Gym and sang songs. You can imagine what condition they were in when they arrived to sing.

Our telephone system at that time was a bit primitive too, to say the least. But there was a wonderful personal touch in the telephone company, and people like Dr. McClung could leave messages as to where he could be reached when he had to leave his office.

The telephone numbers were two and three digits but the Rev. Dr. J. J. Murray had a very special number: 9. This information was received with consternation when he was in New York or in some other rather large city. They simply couldn't believe a telephone number could possibly be 9.

The operators—all women—worked very hard. When there was snow and ice, the whole system broke down, and this usually happened in February about Fancy Dress Ball time. Hundreds of young people would arrive in Lexington and need to get in touch with their dates as well as with their hostesses—and I mean *hostesses,* because women always stayed in private residences which were approved houses. I remember this particu-

larly because my husband spent four years being chairman of the dance floor at Washington and Lee. With little children, that many dances, and those late hours, believe me, it was rough going.

At that time almost no one owned his own home. We lived in somewhat primitive quarters, but much better than most people. We lived in the lower part of Miss Annie Jo White's house on campus, the one with the picture windows—the first picture windows in town, incidentally. But we didn't have all the house. We just had a dining room and bedroom in the same room with a screen in between. We shared the bathroom with four students who lived in the back of the house.

But we lived in a beautiful country and we were associated with a wonderful university and another one nearby. People were friendly, helpful, and compatible, and while war clouds were gathering fast, we were young, hopeful, and happy to be residents of Lexington, Virginia.

Buck Buchanan: In 1939 I was a sophomore and junior at Washington and Lee. Looking back, it seems to me we then had much more contact with the community than the Washington and Lee students now do—for example, with the merchants and the other people who performed various services. Most of the contacts, it seems to me, were with the women of Lexington. That is, there were the girls, and we would have liked to have even closer contact with them, but we dealt with their mothers, the landladies (I lived with one of the Miss Wades on Preston Street), the ladies in the churches, the faculty wives who were in charge of the social events and who were chaprones—something that has disappeared—and the housemothers. Altogether it seemed to me that there was very close contact with the lady who ran the boardinghouse, like Miss Mary Laird. And there were several others. Miss Mary Elizabeth Barclay ran a boarding house at 109 Lee Avenue; Miss Lizzie Graham on Letcher Avenue. These were people we saw every day.

My second observation has to do with Miss Annie Jo White's perception in choosing—for that gap in the year when the boys didn't have much to do—to have a fancy dress ball. To me that symbolizes Lexington then, in contrast to what it is now. While I can see quite a variety of costume among a group of people who come together at a particular occasion now, then I think we dressed much more more alike at any particular time, but there was much wider variety during the year. The norm for college students in the United States then was to wear sweaters. But Washington and Lee students dressed like Richmond businessmen. That is, the upper classmen did. The freshmen dressed like Richmond businessmen in blue beanies with a white button on top.

At VMI the students dressed like Civil War soldiers, except on Sundays when they all came out in gold braid, and the faculty all dressed like, and indeed frequently were, army officers.

On weekends we put on tuxedos to go to the fraternity house parties. There were, as I recall, two societies called Tan and White societies, that had no function whatsoever other than to dress oddly on one or two occasions during the year. Then of course, when we had the dances, if we could afford them, we wore tails and the ladies were in evening dress with much more frequency than I think they are now.

I was introduced to Lexington as a perpetual costume party in my freshman year. On the eve of the University of Virginia game, when the freshmen all dressed in their pajamas (we would put them on over something else), there was a bonfire in front of the gym. If it was bad weather they would have a program in the gym. Cy Young would make an impassioned speech about "beat those damn Wahoos," and as I came from a Methodist home in Danville where the word "damn" wasn't very often said, and certainly not in public, it impressed me with the importance of the affair and the sophistication of the institution I had just arrived at.

After this was over, we came out in our pajamas and somebody had collected a whole bunch of tomato stakes with cloth wrapped around them soaked in kerosene. We put these into the bonfire and then had a torchlight parade down to the State Theater where we rushed the place. The manager, Ralph Daves, was standing there trying to look surprised. (He had just walked around warning any legitimate customer that they didn't want to go to the movie that night—come back tomorrow.) And a fire engine was there so we wouldn't set anything afire when we disposed of our torches. So in those days, in a sense, Lexington was a perpetual costume party.

Bob Hunter: I was just one year behind Buck. I was a freshman in 1938 and a sophomore in 1939. There are things that have not changed in Lexington since 1939—at least it impresses me that way—and things that have changed. Four things have not changed since 1939 that I've noticed. One is the post office. Another is the court house. The third is George Macheras's restaurant. And the last is Jackson Avenue, a remarkable street. I can think of only one house on that street that was torn down and replaced with a new house in that fifty years: 407, next door to George Brooke. It was owned by Almond Coleman of the Washington and Lee faculty at that time and Mr. Hay tore it down, sold the lumber to Charlie Barger, and built a new house. The rest of them are the same houses which have been beautifully cared for and kept up. The avenue is a real museum piece still.

As far as changes in the schools go, if you stand in front of Lee Chapel and look around you and then go down to VMI and stand in the middle of the parade ground and look around you, at Washington and Lee not much has changed. It looks about the same as it did then; there has been a great deal of change, but it has been on the periphery. At VMI you see change every which way you look. I don't think either institution would have it any other way.

Mary Laird's boarding house at 150 South Main Street was a wonderful old gray brick house sitting sideways to the street; you entered through a side porch. She had some of the best food in Lexington. I recall her brother very well; Colonel Laird we called him. I don't know whether the "colonel" was honorary or not, but he was old enough to remember General Hunter's occupation of Lexington in 1864, and he never tired of talking about it.

I also remember going down the street to Boley's Bookstore in 1939. In the back of the store sat Henry Boley autographing copies of his *Lexington in Old Virginia.* Being a sophomore, I didn't have sense enough to buy one. I'd like to have that to do over again.

I also remember that the Nelson Street bridge was under construction when I came to Lexington. Once some Washington and Lee students were crossing it to go to a fraternity house after dark, and the flooring wasn't completed, and one of them went through. Fortunately, it was soft earth about twenty feet below. He was hurt, but not as badly as he might have been.

Not all Washington and Lee students had automobiles in those days. That's a difference. We traveled a lot by bus, and I remember the bus station behind McCrum's Drugstore in what is now a parking lot. The buses came and went all day and all night every day of the week in 1939.

Mary Frances Cummings: Looking back, a great many things have changed. Nineteen thirty-nine was before television, penicillin, polio shots, frozen foods, Xerox, plastic, contact lenses, and the pill. It was before radar, credit cards, split atoms, laser beams, ballpoint pens, panty hose, dish washers, clothes dryers, electric blankets, air conditioners, drip dry clothes, security systems, and before man walked on the moon. We thought "fast food" was what you ate during lent. "Outer space" was the back seat in the movie theater. In that time closets were for clothes, not for coming out of. Straight meant a direction. Bunnies were small rabbits, and rabbits were not Volkswagens. Having a meaningful relationship meant getting along with your cousins. Cigarette smoking was fashionable. We were certainly not born before the difference between the sexes was discovered, but we were surely born before the sex change and we were the last generation that was so dumb as to think you needed a husband to have a baby.

On the more serious side, Brownsburg High School had its largest enrollment that year: 394. The *Rockbridge County News* said that the citizens of Natural Bridge District voted on the site for their proposed new high school. But the School Board promised the voters that they would not allow them to make the final decision, that the Board would ultimately decide where the new high school would be. One area decided to boycott the vote. It turned out that the Board put the school in their area.

On November 10 Washington and Lee played the University of Virginia in football, and the next day VMI played Duke. Try to imagine that weekend in Lexington! Also pertaining to schools, the PTA and the SCA would have "pounding parties" where people brought food to be used for hot lunches in the schools—potatoes, rice, tomatoes, sugar, salt, meat, and other things.

We did have cars with names like Bentley, but we did not have any cars that had numbers like 240Z, GXL, 4000, 5T6, or XJ6. James Lees, the carpet manufacturer in Glasgow, was called Blue Ridge Rug Company then. Electricity was finally coming to many homes in the Rockbridge Baths. And perhaps most astounding of all, there was only one real estate agent in Lexington and Rockbridge County. Kroger's sausage was 17½ cents a pound and Pender's bread was 8 cents a loaf.

Present-day airport proponents should note that the newspaper said: "If Congress approves the program of airports throughout the country, Lexington will be one of the communities to have the modern landing field."

Marion Junkin exhibited his painting "Crucifix" at the World's Fair in New York. The late Senator A. Willis Robertson stated that "reduction in spending rather than increase in taxation is the way we should go." He also said that "a national defense program in which we all plan for aggression is eliminated."

At that time we had a mayor who had been a mayor for twenty years, Mr. G. A. Rhodes. Edgar Shannon and Archibald Stuart, who was from Buena Vista, were initiated into Phi Beta Kappa that year. Charlie McDowell and Matt Paxton got on the honor role in the third grade in grammar school. Colonel Couper completed his VMI history. Frank Hague, who lived on McDowell Street, was appointed a judge in New Jersey. Perhaps some of you remember some of the hubbub that New Jersey had over the years with the Hague family.

I remember Henry Boley's funeral. Every store in town closed that day for the funeral. It was held late in the afternoon, about 5:00, because there was a rain forecast and it was a stormy day. About ten minutes or so until 5:00, the sky cleared, the sun came out, and it was a beautiful late afternoon for the funeral. As soon as the funeral was over, the sky closed in and it was dreary again.

I had a job at which I was discriminated against. I was told that the rule was that whenever I got married I had to leave the job in three months. So I had to leave.

In other aspects of the time, divorces fell off by three that year, as compared to the year before. Hal Kemp lead the orchestra at Fancy Dress. The theme was "Old Williamsburg" and the costumes were from the year 1716. A market was held on Saturday morning in the Dutch Inn where they sold jonquils, dressed chickens, cakes, fresh eggs, salads, cottage cheese, and bread. Lexington High School pledged to obtain five hundred to one thousand iris roots to beautify the school grounds. An alumnus named E. L. Green wrote to the *County News* about a visit that he had here with Hale Houston in what we now call the Campbell House. Mr. Green said of Mr. Houston: "Beautifully kept home, as by a most fastidious lady." Wayne Morris, the star of the film "Brother Rat," visited Lexington on his honeymoon in 1939, and General George Marshall was appointed army chief of staff by President Roosevelt.

Finally, some other differences between then and now were that grass was something to be mowed and pot was something you cooked in. Coke was a drink. Rock music was a grandma's lullaby. Aids were helpers in the principal's office. We did not have house-husbands, gay rights, computer dating, dual careers, or computer marriages. We were born before daycare centers, group therapy, and nursing homes. We had never heard of FM radio, tape decks, electric typewriters, artificial hearts, yogurt, guys wearing earrings, or word processors. A chip meant a piece of wood. Hardware meant hardware. And software wasn't even a word. The word "making out" was a term that was referred to as how you did on your exam. Pizza, McDonald's, and instant coffee were as yet unknown when the Rockbridge Historical Society began its operations in 1939.

PART ONE

The Way We Were

Robert E. R. Huntley

MY comments will be a series of anecdotal reminiscences which do not qualify, I am afraid, as either scholarship or history. Most of what I have to reminiscence about will be Washington and Lee rather than Rockbridge County or Lexington, although the two are intertwined in my mind in such a way that I cannot and will not attempt to separate them.

My first awareness of Washington and Lee was through Dr. and Mrs. Francis P. Gaines, who knew my family when I was a young boy during the time that Dr. Gaines was president of Wake Forest College in the town of Wake Forest, North Carolina, long before the school moved to Winston-Salem. He and his family visited my parents at a little cottage we had at the beach from time to time. I remember him sitting on the front porch of the cottage reading dime novels and enjoying his vacation. It was he, and my knowledge of him, that caused me to decide very early that Washington and Lee was where I would come. My brother came here for the same reason and I never considered any other school, either then or later.

Frank Gaines and his beloved wife, Sadie, were perhaps the most magnetic people I have ever met. Either or both of them, especially both of

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Robert E. R. Huntley has known Rockbridge County as an undergraduate, law student, faculty member, and president (1967–83) of Washington and Lee University. After leaving Lexington, he held important posts in several firms and institutions. Since 1988 he has been a member of the Richmond law firm of Hunton and Williams. Mr. Huntley's address was delivered in Lee Chapel, October 23, 1989.

them together, could enter a room, even a room of total strangers, and within a matter of minutes be the center of pleasurable attention. As host and hostess, they could put everyone at ease in a matter of seconds. They had what, in a later day, we learned to call charisma.

Gaines was an orator without peer. He spoke without notes and without apparent effort, although those who knew him well know that it was never without effort. he arose early on the mornings of speeches, I am told. But his delivery belied that and you would have sworn it was largely spontaneous. Through him, and this capacity as an orator and his stature in the country, Washington and Lee achieved a great deal of national attention. He could command the ear of an audience in a way that almost no other speaker I have ever heard could, even a hostile or inattentive audience.

I remember one such occasion in the early 1950s, at the time of the great athletic controversy, when Washington and Lee's Board of Trustees had, as history proves to have been wisely, removed athletic scholarships. The decision was not without unpopularity in some quarters among alumni and students. In those days Washington and Lee still had compulsory assemblies. (They were only compulsory in the sense that one had to pay a fine to miss them, but most people went. All of the students were at this particular assembly, and something nearly unheard of in the 1950s occurred. A murmur of dissent could be heard rising from the back of the room against the unpopular decision about athletics, which Dr. Gaines was addressing. Without missing a beat, Dr. Gaines moved from the main subject of his address into a simple prayer. The waves of dissent were quelled and the ceremony proceeded without mishap.

In those days students did not think of themselves as entitled to take the time of the president. One heard him in speeches and often saw him walking jauntily across the campus with one of his great collection of canes. But one did not drop by to pass the time of day with the president. But one could drop by to see Frank Gilliam, the dean of students. He was always there, always wise, not as a parental symbol but as a gentle force of persuasion and advice. Rules were rare at W&L, but the force of Gilliam's disapproval was incredibly strong. Mrs. Gilliam was cut from the same cloth: genteel but never unbending. To be invited to the Gilliams' home as a student was the ultimate sign of approval. Gilliam, perhaps more than General Lee, built the sense of student responsibility of which the honor system is the centerpiece—that sense of student responsibility upon which all of us who came after have drawn. Students then, as now, often failed to accept or discharge their responsibilities, but they were somehow made to feel the burden of self-determination and were thus led from childhood into adulthood. The school helped them to absorb the consequences of their failures. It did not absorb them for them but shared them, in a kind of

loving way that gave them time to grow up, and Frank Gilliam was part of that tradition. He knew every student on the campus, knew the problems of most of them, and did not hesitate occasionally to address those problems.

There are many anecdotes about Frank Gilliam, but I will only tell one. After I had graduated and had been away in the Navy, I came back to law school in the 1950s and was serving as vice president of the student body. One evening Dean Gilliam called me at home and said, "Bob, I wish you'd see if you could get hold of one or two other student body officers and go over to the gymnasium." I didn't question him further. I did find one or two other student body officers and went over to the gymnasium where, as it developed, a lady of the evening had set up shop in a handball court. She had attracted some customers, but we were able to bring the event to an end and send folks on their way. Dean Gilliam never mentioned the episode to me thereafter.

A latter-day story about the Gilliams is one that occurred after I became president. I was invited there for dinner one night—still, to me, the ultimate sign of approval. I was seated beside Mrs. Gilliam and enjoying the marvelous food they always served and the gracious hospitality always extended. Mrs. Gilliam's service was always in the grand manner, and after the main courses the servant would bring the fingerbowl with its underpinning doily and place it on a little plate in front of each guest. The proper procedure, as I well knew, was to remove the fingerbowl, preferably with doily, to a spot somewhere off to the side; then the servant would place the dessert on the remaining plate. Unfortunately I moved the bowl without the doily and the servant placed the baked alaska on one of Mrs. Gilliam's finest linen doilies. I had trouble cutting it, but I had actually severed a wedge-shaped slice of the doily. Mrs. Gilliam had watched this entire procedure with great interest and waited until I got it into my mouth before she said "Bob, what *are* you going to do with that doily?"

I came here in 1946 as a seventeen-year-old student, by train, arriving from Balcony Falls (or, as the conductors on that train insisted on calling it, Bal-Cony Falls). I lived in the freshman dorm—there was only one dormitory then—on the fourth floor. The student body was predominately returning veterans. The average age of the student body must have been twenty-two, which made them seen like "grey beards" to us sixteen and seventeen year olds. These returning veterans felt very strongly the need to pass on to us kids the traditions they thought they remembered. Naturally they remembered some traditions that perhaps had not been here, and perhaps they remembered the ones that had been here in better form than they in fact had existed, which was a good thing. Those years just after the war represented one of the golden eras of Washington and Lee's history,

and that was one of the reasons for it. The veterans brought a certain maturity that perhaps helped, but more important, they brought a certain remembered tradition about Washington and Lee back from the war and passed it on to those of us who were newcomers to the school, with some force and vigor when necessary. That era produced some wonderful leaders: governors, senators, justices, business leaders, college presidents, college professors, and lots of men like that.

The year after I came, I think, Dr. James Leyburn arrived on the academic scene. He came with a vision that inspired even the more indifferent students, like me. He certainly inspired the faculty with a vision that serves us to this day. His leadership and vision for our future were to some degree interrupted by the controversy over the decision made by the Board to remove athletic scholarships. He played almost no part in making the decision, but he became the focal point of irate dissenters. He accepted that role with characteristic fortitude and courage and was instrumental in seeing us through it so that we emerged stronger and with a general consensus of the rightness of the new path.

In the years just after the war, there had been growing pressure to set the athletes apart from the rest of the student body, if Washington and Lee was to be competitive in its four major sports on the major college level. This was a path which Washington and Lee clearly could not follow with success. The decision the trustees made in the early 1950s was, therefore, inevitable. It was triggered by a cheating episode involving one of the athletic teams, but the cause was more basic. It did produce a great dissension among students and more even among alumni, but the school emerged from it with greater strength. In large measure this was because of Jim Leyburn, as well as others.

Lexington on the one hand and Washington and Lee and VMI on the other are blessed to have each other here. It is hard to imagine Washington and Lee and VMI located anywhere but in Lexington and impossible to imagine a Lexington without a VMI and a Washington and Lee. Lexington is an oddly cosmopolitan community. The residents have literally seen everything and most of them have been everywhere and are here mainly because they want to be here, because they love it. If they are occasionally irritated with the schools and their students, they are finally tolerant, willing to play their role in bringing these young people to responsible adulthood. And students grow to love Lexington, although they do not always admit that when they are students. But they admit it by their footsteps, because probably all of them would stay here when they graduated if they could support themselves.

In my sophomore year, 1947, I lived just across the street from the fraternity house which I had joined in the Barclay House, 109 Lee Avenue.

Elizabeth and Mary Barclay (of course I never called them by their first names) were then the residents and owners of that home, and marvelous people they were. They had no rules, at least no published rules. We sensed, as one perhaps did in those days, what the rules were and, in the best fashion we could, abided by them. There were no penalties for failure, but if you did behave properly as a resident of the Barclays' house, there were several rewards. One was the Barclays would speak to you. Another was that after several months, perhaps even six months, they would invite you to tea; it was well known by the students who lived there that eventually, upon acceptance, you would be invited to tea. I looked forward to that acceptance, and finally the day came and I was invited to tea. I prepared myself for the method by which one drinks and prepares tea and was delighted to find that tea with the Barclays amounted to the service of a small quantity of straight bourbon.

Just up the street at 111 Lee Avenue lived the Gadsden sisters, who were twins and looked very much alike. When I came as a student, Ellenor spent some of her time working for the Washington and Lee Library and Anzolette spent some time working for the VMI Library. One of the popular pastimes among students was to send a new freshman to the VMI Library, he having just left the Washington and Lee Library, to fetch a book or a volume. He could not understand how Miss Gadsden got from one to the other so quickly. They became close friends of Evelyn and mine in the years that followed.

Earl S. Mattingly was the treasurer of Washington and Lee in my students years and was still the treasurer when I became president. He held the finances of the school in a vice-like grip, probably by necessity. There was, to the best of my knowledge, no budget at Washington and Lee in those days. Mr. Mattingly saw budgets as licenses to spend, and he reserved the only license to spend for himself, on a case by case, line by line basis. There was occasionally resentment on the part of the faculty and others who had to go to Mr. Mattingly for even the most trivial expenditure and sometimes did not get it, but this also led to a grudging recognition that perhaps in hard times—and those were fairly hard times—hard measures are necessary. Mr. Mattingly was responsible, in large part I suspect, for bringing Washington and Lee financially intact through some of those difficult years, but he did it with an iron hand. He was a man of great fun, however, and he could enjoy a good time as much as any one I ever knew. He had a great baritone voice and liked to sing, sometimes late at night at a party, sometimes even with the students.

When Evelyn and I came back here, she taught and earned the money and I went to law school. We came one June day to Lexington, and in one day I applied for and was admitted to Washington and Lee Law School.

On the same day Evelyn applied for and received a job teaching school at Ann Smith School, which housed the first through the fourth grades. We lived in the paper huts of Hillside Terrace, on Myers Street where the mental health clinic now stands. Those in Hillside Terrace thought they were great. For one thing, they were only thirty-two dollars a month, including utilities. And if you did not like the configuration of the rooms, you could cut right through the walls. My mother called shortly after we moved in and said "Son, do you have central heat." I said, "We do, indeed, have a stove right in the center of the living room."

I looked back recently to determine how much money it took to live in those days. I know that we left here after three years in law school with a thousand dollars in the bank, and we did not have any when we started. Evelyn earned twenty-one hundred dollars a year, I received twelve hundred dollars from the G.I. Bill, and we worked part-time jobs in the summer and other times to piece together a few additional dollars. We paid tuition, bought books, and lived out of that and saved a thousand dollars. I haven't been able to do that since!

After I had finished law school and practiced for a while in Alexandria, Clayton Williams talked me into coming back to teach. We lived on the first floor of the farmhouse out by Liberty Hall, perhaps among the last people to live there. After we had been here a year or two, we wanted to buy a house. We found one five or six miles out in the country and went to see Mr. Mattingly to get his approval for a faculty housing loan. One never knew precisely what Mr. Mattingly was looking for in deciding whether or not to approve a particular house for a university loan. There were no forms, as I recall, and no specific questions that one answered. He came by late one afternoon to see Evelyn and me and walked briefly around the house. He never gave us a yes or no but sat down on a chair with a drink and said, "Where do you plan to keep the dog?" We knew we had been approved. That's the way the finances were handled in those days.

I had some extraordinary teachers at Washington and Lee in my undergraduate and law days, who managed somehow, eventually, to inspire me to learn even against an initial intransigent determination not to do so. I was an English major as an undergraduate, and thus I saw a lot of Dr. Fitzgerald Flournoy and Dr. James S. Moffett, who were co-heads of the department. I never quite understood co-headship and I am not sure that it ever existed before or since. My guess—I don't know for sure—is that Washington and Lee was proud of Dr. Flournoy's scholarly achievements, but he was not a very well organized man; Dr. Moffett was somewhat better organized, and perhaps the administration thought that in tandem things would go better. Dr. Flournoy was a marvelously flamboyant, if somewhat undisciplined, scholar who thought of himself as Falstaff. And

Dr. Moffett was a quiet and unhurried and thoughtful person who thought of himself as Wordsworth.

I took all of Dr. Flournoy's courses, all of which ended up being Shakespeare with a smattering of Ibsen. He was a marvelous teacher. But he disapproved the teaching of the sophomore English survey course, and he certainly disapproved of being required to teach it himself. But in the spirit of equality—or perhaps because he was required to do so—he did teach it, but he would not grade the papers. So the department hired a senior English major each year, and I was blessed to be the person selected to grade Dr. Flournoy's sophomore survey course papers. He was supposed to supervise the grading process and to review them, but he never did. He would allow me to use his office at night as a private spot to do the grading, and sometimes he would burst in upon me, unannounced, see me at his desk, and be surprised that I was there, though I was almost always there at night grading his papers. And he would say "Oh, yes, Mr., Mr., Mr.—don't tell me—Mr. Huntley." When I came back here to teach some years later, Dr. Flournoy still could not remember my name and never did.

I remember all of the law school teachers well. Mr. McDowell, for example, began in the middle of his subject and taught in all directions at once. If you were prepared, he was a marvelous lecturer and teacher, offering commentaries on what he assumed you already knew. If you had not done your preparation, as many had not, you were lost, and he did not hesitate to call that to your attention. If you asked him a stupid question, he had one of two reactions. He either would ignore you completely, or occasionally would respond, "You can't tell nobody nothing what don't know nothing."

Charles Laughlin was a good teacher of mine in law school. Lawyers are taught to analyze everything, and after my very first class in one of the procedure courses—I was still brash and young—I went up to Mr. Laughlin and said, "Professor Laughlin, what you told us about probate procedure, that's not the way they do it in North Carolina." Then I described to him how I thought they did it in North Carolina. He said, "Well, Mr. Huntley, there are three possibilities. The first, and by far the most likely possibility, is that you do not understand what you were seeing. The second possibility, far more remote, is that North Carolina has a system of jurisprudence otherwise unknown in the Anglo-American world. The third possibility—and I mention it purely as a theoretical possibility—is I may be wrong." The first possibility was the correct one, incidentally.

I can still see Charlie Light pacing the dais in old Tucker Hall. The desk or teacher's place was on a raised dais that is fairly long, but it wasn't quite long enough for Charlie Light. A marvelous lecturer and teacher, he paced rapidly back and forth across the platform and even once or twice fell off,

but he never missed a beat. He had a nervous habit of running his fingers across his bald pate while spouting forth the law in a torrent, which sometimes we were able to get. Later on when I became president, he and his wife lived next door on the campus, and sometimes when I was up late at night, I would hear a little tap, tap, tap on the back door, and Charlie would be there and say, "Bob, I saw your lights on, thought I'd stop by for a nightcap."

When I came back to teach, I came to know these men who had taught me as friends and colleagues, and I formed some of the most lasting friendships of my life with Sid Coulling, Wes Barritt, Lou Hodges, Ed Turner, Bill Pusey, and many others. Later, in my role as president, these men never changed their attitude toward me. They accepted me. They still taught me. They nurtured me as they nurtured the institution.

The thing that mainly stands out in my mind, in my fifteen years as president, is the faculty. They accepted me with a gratifying willingness to work together to strengthen the school and they understood the role that people have to play on a college campus: faculty having primary aegis in the academic and curricular area, and the president in the financial and administration area, with great gray areas between. Somehow we worked our way through the gray areas without those kinds of power struggles or showdowns in which, on a college campus, everyone loses, especially the school.

I was blessed with the skilled and sensitive academic deans like Bill Pusey, Bill Watt, Ed Atwood, and Roy Steinheimer and extraordinary administrative help from people such as Frank Parsons, who can do any task to which he sets his hand, and Jim Whitehead, who succeeded Mr. Mattingly and who wrestled courageously and successfully with the arcane matters of college finance, which were not his first love, and Farris Hotchkiss, who could sell ice to Eskimos, or more appropriately, get blood from turnips. And there were others such as Pat Brady, Jim Arthur, Rupert Latture, and too many more to name. The incredible Albertina Ravenhorst made it possible for me to survive as president, organizing my inbred disorganization, shielding me from those she knew I could not, or should not, or did not wish to see, while making it appear that my door was always open—even when it was closed.

All these people labored for Washington and Lee because of an affection for the school, which I am sure they could not explain any better than I can. They were called, so they responded. Not because the specific jobs were jobs they wanted; in fact, in many cases they would have preferred doing something else, such as teaching instead of deaning. This sort of thing is the tapestry of this place and it's what makes it special.

Faculty meetings I remember. Every month of the school year the

Washington and Lee faculty meets, whether they need to or not. The faculty has rules that prevent precipitate action (e.g., a proposal for new action must lie over a month before it can be acted upon), but theoretically everything is open for discussion and ultimately for action each month. Even as president, I enjoyed faculty meetings. I tell other former college presidents that and they look at me as if I were crazy, but I did. I sort of enjoyed planning them out, trying to anticipate possible issues, and devising approaches that would somehow allow an intelligent discussion and some decision. When I was about to leave as president, Tina Ravenhorst found a cartoon and cut it out and put it on my desk. It said, "We proceed by Robert's Rules of Order, and I'm Robert." But the faculty tolerated my effort to guide us through these parliamentary procedures.

I specifically remember when the perennial issue of whether or not physical education should and could continue to be required was being debated. (It was always being debated, and probably still is.) The impassioned pleas being made by Norm Lord of the Athletic Department on behalf of continuing the requirement were beginning, I thought, to fall on deaf ears, when up rose Fitzgerald Flournoy, the world's least athletic human being, who proceeded, with Shakespearean eloquence, to argue the case for continued physical education and carried the day, for then and for at least a decade thereafter.

Many in Lexington will remember Felix Welch. In faculty meetings, Felix had a particular custom; four or five times a year, at least, he would move an amendment or substitute to the principal motion. Whether by design or not, I have never known, his substitute amendment or proposed amendment *always* captured the worst elements of the principal motion. None of them ever passed, but they almost always caused the principal motion also to fail. Just before Felix's retirement, and only a few years before I stepped out as president, he proposed an amendment of this kind in a calendar argument of some sort. (The faculty endlessly argues about the school calendar.) Low and behold, his motion passed, I think almost unanimously. He was startled; the faculty rose and gave him a standing ovation.

We all remember the 1969–70 academic year, especially May 1970, when across college campuses everywhere a strange new chemistry was causing previously unexperienced ferment. I have no time here for a detailed analysis of what caused all that. But I do remember that in the year or so just prior to that what seemed like a sudden estrangement of the students from their parents became increasingly obvious. We had to keep freshmen dormitories open during the holidays for a while, because many of the students would not leave the campus. In any event, it was far more than disagreement over the Vietnam War, although that was the trigger event.

At Washington and Lee, discussions with the students went on round the clock, requiring endless patience. Petitions were circulated daily and spontaneous gatherings coalesced without warning and frequently without apparent reason. Washington and Lee was designated a "strike center" for the United States. The *Washington Post* gladly proclaimed that prominently. Having read that in the *Post,* I walked over to the Student Union to see what a strike center looked like; two students were there, and I think they were the strike center. Ultimately we worked our way through it, not without listening to lots of vehement rhetoric but without violence and without any irreparable damage to the most precious parts of our heritage. The school remained open because the faculty unanimously voted that it should and was determined that it should. The students grudgingly and then willingly accepted that conclusion.

We had good student leadership during most of the time I was here as president. The two student body presidents in those particular years I remember very well: Swede Hendberg, one of our best students; and he was succeeded by a young man named Fran Lawrence, also an able fellow. Both of them brought insight to me from the students and even, occasionally, carried some from me to them.

I remember lots of anecdotes from those days, but I will tell just one. One night during early May 1970, when things were in their most volatile period, a group of students decided to guard the president's house, in which Evelyn and I and our children were living. One of them rang the bell at, perhaps, eleven o'clock at night; Evelyn went to the door, and he told her that they expected to camp on the front porch and guard us from some band of unknown folks who might otherwise come in and confront us. That was occasionally occurring on adjoining campuses, so they were going to protect us from that, they said. At first Evelyn advised them that it was likely to be a very cold night—even though it was May—and they should be home in bed. But when she saw that they were determined to remain on anyway, she told them she would leave the front door unlatched so they could bring in her geraniums if it frosted. There were countless other stories like that on the campus and in Lexington, which may have done more to defuse the overall emotions of that day than any more formal steps could have done.

One place where the remnants of those days perhaps can still be seen should be the carpet in the den of the Lee House, where Bill Pusey and I spent many a long evening with Bill puffing his then omnipresent pipe and scattering glowing ashes on the rug. Later on that year, at graduation time, we encountered some new things. The question was raised: what happens if we don't come to graduation? Students wanted to know a final answer to every question. We know it's compulsory, but what's the sanction if we

don't show? No one had ever really addressed that, so far as we could determine. The Executive Committee and the faculty met and arrived at what I thought was a Solomonesque conclusion. Since graduation ceremony is a symbol, and since the sheepskin is also a symbol—not the fact—of graduation, students could be regarded as having been graduated, even if they were not there, but could not get the sheepskin until much later. One symbol would be exchanged for another. As I recall, they all came.

There were also rules about dress at graduation. (I think they had to have shoes on.) Somehow the marshals, in some way that I have never understood, saw to it each year that all the graduates had on all the necessary subgarments that came out from beneath the robe so that it showed some semblance of dress, and we got through that also. One student did give me a squirt of water in the face as he came by, but I could see in his face that he was terribly embarrassed at having done so, especially when I laughed and went on with the rest of the ceremony. He never forgot that and came up and apologized to me later. (That reminds me of the time a young lady at Fancy Dress, thinking I was another student, dumped a bucket of beer over my head because her date dared her to. This was when I was younger, and I *was* embarrassed by that.)

W&L was blessed with a courageous, generous, and farsighted board, the building of which had begun under the quiet and effective leadership of my predecessor, Fred Cole. During his eight years as president, Cole brought a great inner strength to Washington and Lee, at a time when its traditional strengths were showing signs of decay and erosion. The board began to rebuild itself during his time and came to a clearer understanding of its role and its responsibility. He brought to the board such men as Lewis Powell, Ross Malone, and John Stemmons. He encouraged the strongest members of the board who were already there, such as Jack Thomas, Houston Sinclair, and Joe Lykes. He and these men refought the battle of free inquiry and free speech on the campus, the admission of black students, and the role of the faculty. He instilled a new pride in the faculty and new discipline in the administration. He was a shy man and never got the credit he deserved. I admired him greatly; to the degree that I could live up to it, he was my exemplar. The foundations he laid we are still building on. This board knew that much had to be done at Washington and Lee, and they were courageous in committing the school boldly, even when there was no clear view as to the source of dollars. Many millions would be required, they knew, and they sent me out to spend it as well as to help them raise it. It worked, not without effort, to be sure, but beyond effort there was a large measure of faith.

Fundraising was part of my job as president. I never saw it as the most

important part, although it occupied a great deal of my attention. There are a couple of fundraising stories that I would like to tell. For example, I asked Syd and Frances Lewis for a hundred thousand dollars and they gave eleven million. So much for the myth that you always get less than you ask for. Once I went to see a dear little lady in New York City, Miss Ruth Parmly, whom I had never met, and who had no formal nexus with Washington and Lee. But her parents had been friends of Mr. Doremus, an early twentieth-century benefactor of the school, and as a child Ruth Parmly had heard him tell the story, that all old Washington and Lee students know, about Doremus visiting the campus as a newcomer and stranger, being greeted by a student who did not know him, and shown such courtesy and graciousness that he left the school several millions of dollars. That story Ruth Parmly repeated to me, having never heard it from me, which I suppose gives it some independent verification. In any event, perhaps because of that, and because of her later love affair with Washington and Lee, she gave us a million and a half dollars, which she did one day in her New York apartment by taking a small folding check out of her checkbook and writing the numbers all down the side of the check. She said, "My goodness, I've never written one this big." The bank cashed it. She made that gift and we honored the memory of her father, who had been a distinguished professor in the last century and early years of this century at City College of New York.

There is also a marvelous story about one of the trustees seeking to raise money. The trustees went out on the hustings to raise money themselves. Sometimes they succeeded, sometimes they failed, but they tried, and they succeeded more often than they failed. We had been trying for a long time without success to get an appointment with a man somewhere in Alabama, perhaps Birmingham, whom I will call "Jim Jones." So we asked one of our volunteer helpers from Little Rock, Adrian Williamson, to talk to Trustee Jack Warner from Tuscaloosa. We figured that if Jack could not get in in Birmingham, no one could. So Adrian called, mentioned Jack's name, and got the appointment. He and Jack showed up at Jim Jones's office in Birmingham and began their best handy-dandy fundraising story in behalf of Washington and Lee. In the midst of the story, both almost simultaneously observed that on the walls of Jim Jones's office were nothing but diplomas from Alabama. The Jim Jones they wanted to see was an alumnus of Washington and Lee; it occurred to both of them that they were in the office of the wrong Jim Jones. One can only imagine the reaction of the fellow who was listening to all this. The story goes that Jack Warner, without missing a beat, simply switched his pitch from the sale of Washington and Lee to the sale of certain paintings he was then enamored

of, ended up selling two of the paintings to this misidentified Jim Jones, and gave the money to Washington and Lee.

Our alumni have continued to support us unswervingly and generously, not because of any one person here on the campus, but because they are part of this Washington and Lee tapestry and part of Lexington.

These are some glimpses of the way we were. Glimpses which remind me that this is a place with which it is very easy to have a love affair. My sense of things, judged from some distance now, is that the best of the way we were is here today in the way we are. The student body is gaining new strength from the admission of women. The faculty is growing in stature and commitment to their professions and to their university. The administration is obviously highly skilled and has already developed its own love affair with this special place. And the alumni are, as always, thin-skinned about their alma mater and determined to see it succeed. The challenge of strength and success is at least as great, perhaps greater, than the challenge of hard times. Washington and Lee's long history, its special tapestry, demonstrates that it can rise to both kinds of challenges.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX I

Rockbridge Genealogy

Charles W. Turner

ROCKBRIDGE County has a wealth of family records. Most of those who came down the Valley of Virginia from Pennsylvania, following the "Great Road" from Philadelphia, were Scotch-Irish and German. These immigrants were soon joined by the English from the Tidewater and Piedmont areas of the commonwealth, accompanied by black servants. This had made for a great number of "Macs" and "-boughs" as well as Grigsbys, Paxtons, Bradys, Lindsays, Johnsons, Moores, Andersons, Alexanders, Smiths, and others. This population changed but slightly with the addition of families of the school faculties and an increasing number of retired people who have discovered the good life here. What the new Horse Center will bring is anybody's guess.

Sources for research on genealogies are available in the county courthouse and the public and college libraries. Particularly useful are the references in the Washington and Lee University Library, where the university holdings and those of the Rockbridge Historical Society are kept in the Special Collections section. The sources belonging to the Society have been gathered over a fifty-year period, having first been stored at the Society's former headquarters "The Castle," under the direction of Dr. E. Pendleton Tompkins and continued by the author. A guide to this collection was published in 1989 as an illustrated researcher's pamphlet.

Special collections which the Society is proud to include are the Tompkins Scrapbooks of six volumes consisting of his own research papers, local newspaper clippings, and other interesting historical memorabilia that the

doctor preserved over a thirty-year period. There are also twenty scrapbooks prepared by the Misses Lucy and Margaret Withrow, including volumes on Lee and Jackson, the colleges, Rockbridge County, and many other local topics, saved over a forty-year period. These sisters lived in the Alexander-Withrow House on the corner of Main and Washington streets. Their scrapbooks are owned jointly by the Society and Washington and Lee University.

There are more than fifty boxes of genealogical correspondence of the late Dr. George W. Diehl, one-time president of the Society and a prominent minister of several of the Presbyterian churches in the area. This material was given to the university by his stepson.

Recognizing the importance of economic history, the Society has collected the papers of businesses connected with the Dold, Myers, and Moore families as well as of the Lexington Manufacturing Company, canalboat records, etc.

There are more than twenty-five Bibles in our collection. These include those of the Campbells, Davisons, Dormans, Leyburns, Smiths, and others; some contain family records.

The Society's collection includes information on the following families:

Alexander: William A. and Archibald's genealogy; Caruthers and Moore connections; a few papers of a John, Robert, and William.

Anderson: Francis T. Anderson family; W. A. Anderson papers; papers of John, Joseph Reid, and Miss Ellen.

Barclay: papers of Alexander Tedford and William Houston.

Beard: papers of Thomas.

Bell: pepers of Joseph and relations.

Borden: the story of Benjamin Borden and his grant.

Bowyer: papers of General John of "Thorn Hill."

Campbell: a large file of Dr. Leslie Lyle's papers; some papers of Charles, David, Harry D., John Lyle, Robert F., and Reverend William S.; a scrapbook of William A.; birth records.

Carr: genealogy of family.

Caruthers: papers of Horace, John F., and W. A.

Clyce: papers of Jacob and others.

Coffey: papers and birth records of Luther B..

Cooke: articles on Dr. Robert P.

Crawford: papers on the operation on Mary; papers of Moses and James; Deacon family connections.

Davidson: a large collection of John D.'s papers, poems, Civil War letters of his four sons and two daughters.

Day: a brief biography of Admiral Ben F.

Dixon: papers of Ira E., birth records.

Dod: David's story.

Dold: papers of the "original" H. O.; letters of Dr. Charles; scrapbook of William.

Dorman: Civil War letters and business papers of Charles.

Edmondson: Civil War letters of James K.

Ewing: some papers of Andrew.

Gibbs: geneaology of family.

Gilmer: a biographical sketch of the family.

Glasgow: notes on Charles S. and others.

Graham: biblical references to Edward and John; sketches of William.

Grant: notes on the family.

Greenlee: genealogical material on the family.

Grigsby: papers of "Soldier John" and his "Hill" homes.

Hays: notes on family.

Hickman: a few references to family.

Holman: several items on family.

Houston: materials on David G., Finley Willson, Livingston Waddell, Matthew, Samuel, and William Wilson; letters of prisoner of war Thomas D.; scrapbooks of Kitty Estil and Mary Waddell.

Jackson: biographical data on George.

Johnston: letters of Dr. John (1789–1832); a few papers on Zachariah.

Jones: Henry Boswell's diary (1797–1882).

Jordan: Clippings on John, notebook.

Kerr: genealogy of family.

Kirkpatrick: notes on family.

Laird: correspondence on family.

Lee: a few papers on the family.

Letcher: business papers of Sam.

Lyle: genealogies of Sam W. and Oscar K.

Mackey: a genealogy of the family.

McClung: Elizabeth C. genealogy.

McCorkle: papers of the family.
McCoy: a few references to family.
McCulloch: Mrs. Ruth's extensive papers.
McNutt: John's genealogy.
Miley: Michael's biographical material.
Morrison: story of Dr. Samuel Brown.
Parsons: materials on Henry C.
Patton: papers on family.
Paxton: materials on Alexander, Elisha F., John, Thomas, and William.
Pendleton: references on Alexander Spotswood and W. C.
Poage: papers on W. L.
Poindexter: papers on Miles.
Preston: papers on S. L. and William.
Reid: papers on Andrew and Samuel McDowell.
Robinson: papers on John.
Ruff: papers on John and Jacob.
Saville: references to family.
Shafer: papers on Elizabeth.
Shanks: references to family.
Sterrett: papers on John and R. S.
Taylor: papers regarding Bishop William.
Teaford: papers on J. H.
Tolley: references to family.
Tompkins: a large collection of papers of Dr. E. Pendleton.
Tutwiler: references to family.
Waddell: papers of Harrington.
Wallace: papers of W. A.
Weaver: references on William.
Welch: family letters.
White: Civil War letters of Professor James J.
Williamson: papers on the family.
Willson: references to family.

In the Rockbridge County Court House in Lexington, on the main floor, beside the Clerk's office, there are wills and deeds recorded from the

years of the county's organization in 1778. There are helpful indexes to these, as well as birth and marriage records from early in the nineteenth century. Some of the original papers regarding the above are still preserved there. In the basement of the Court House are landbooks (tax records) from 1800, with the names of owners, locations, and the nature of their properties.

The general references for the researcher available in the Washington and Lee University Library are:

Oren Morton, *History of Rockbridge County.* Morton, in addition to topical chapters, has genealogical tables of major families of the county.

D. and E. Kirkpatrick, *Rockbridge County Marriages, 1778–1850.*

E. Irwin, *Virginia Genealogical Index,* I and II.

Lyman Chalkley, *Records of Augusta County,* I–III.

Botetourt County Historical Commission, *Botetourt County Before 1900,* I–IV.

Typical family histories of the county are: Leslie Lyle Campbell, *History of the Campbell Family* and *History of the Houston Family;* W. M. Paxton, *Paxton Family;* H. McCormick, *History of the McCormick Family.*

Between 1984 and 1987 I conducted tape-recorded interviews with some 250 persons concerning their life and work in the county. These are available in the Special Collections section of the Washington and Lee University Library.

In each center where these references are located, you will meet knowledgeable persons who will be delighted to help you find records concerning your family.

APPENDIX II

Open House Essays on Lexington Lore

N order to display the Society's Campbell House headquarters building and interesting portions of its artifact collection, Winifred Hadsel—then in charge of programs—initiated a series of open houses in 1986. Guides were present in the Campbell House to explain the exhibits to visitors, answer questions, and sell Society publications. The first of these open houses occurred April 18–20, 1986. The centerpiece of the exhibit was a table made by Rockbridge County craftsman Matthew Kahle (who also carved "Old George" atop Washington and Lee University's Washington Hall). This table and its complementary set of Miller School chairs were formerly the property of the Gadsden sisters, who kept a "table" in their home. The first two essays were written for this exhibit. The third essay was written for the second open house on July 4, 1986, for an exhibit discussing the changing emphasis on and methods of celebrating the Fourth in Rockbridge County.

1. Table Keeping

Charles W. Turner

In college towns all over the country, the custom of "keeping a table" by widows and maiden ladies (for the town and gown people) was popular in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It proved a profitable and social adventure, especially when ladies had only limited economic opportunities. Professors—especially bachelors—townspeople, and students found at those tables a wonderful diet at reasonable rates. Most interesting conversation was engaged in, too, making a sort of social center possible.

In what is now the Rockbridge Historical Society's headquarters, the Campbell House, Miss Martha Waddell, one of the famous Waddell sisters, opened a table. The students who sat at the table lived in "the Castle," just back of the house. A second table was opened by Miss Bell Larrick on Letcher Avenue, and nearby Miss Elizabeth Graham had another. Both of the latter had faculty and students of both colleges. On Main Street Miss Mary Laird had a table in her home, where Leggett's Department Store now stands, serving townspeople as well as students.

On Lee Avenue, side by side, were two famous tables: those of the Misses Barclay and the Misses Gadsden. Around the corner, for a time, Mrs. Forrest Edwards maintained another table for students.

At "The Pines" the Misses Gadsden used tables and chairs that have since been donated to the Rockbridge Historical Society. Fine food was set before an interesting group which met daily about this table. Some of those who frequented the table were Mr. Earl Mattingly, long-time treasurer of Washington and Lee University, Miss Jenny Hopkins of the "Hopkins' Green" properties, Mr. and Mrs. Jack Rogers, formerly of London, the Misses Purcell of Richmond, and many others.

The meals were prepared by outstanding cooks, including Mrs. Rissie Alexander, Miss Alice Ware, Mrs. Roxie Hughes, Mrs. Emma Franklin, and others. The conversation about the tables was of college happenings, politics, local events, and plain gossip. One's day was made by having the privilege of sitting at one of these tables.

2. The Gadsden Twins

Josephine Rogers Morrison

Born April 11, 1886, the Gadsden twins, Anzolette Pendleton (died January 25, 1961) and Ellinor Porcher (died December 13, 1984), came to Lexington from Washington, D.C., in 1906 upon the death of their father, Edward Miles Gadsden. They lived with their mother at "The Pines," which had been intended as the retirement home of their grandfather, William Nelson Pendleton. Its purchase was made possible by Grace Episcopal Church (now R. E. Lee Memorial) in recognition of his services as its rector. A graduate of West Point and the Virginia Theological Seminary in Alexandria, he had been the first headmaster of Episcopal High School. At the outbreak of the Civil War he took leave from Grace Church, and with the rank of brigadier general served as Lee's chief of artillery.

The twins called each other "Allie," and being almost indistinguishable and inseparable, came to be known as "The Allies." Their Aunt Rose had taught kindergarden at "The Pines," and the Allies did likewise. No punishment was meted out; instead their philosophy was to reward with a large lump of fudge. Later each became an assistant librarian, Anzolette at VMI and Ellinor at Washington and Lee.

Both were tennis enthusiasts. There was a grass court in front of the house, later to become the scene of wild croquet matches. Indoor activity was backgammon. Back in the days when it was the Lexington custom to house students and dance-weekend girls, "The Pines" was considered one of *the* places to stay. The summer months found the Allies presiding over a revolving house party of friends. Both despised cooking, and to subsidize a cook dinner was served to a select company with an Allie at either end of the table.

As girls they visited relatives and friends in Charleston, South Carolina, New Orleans, Indian Rock, and Richmond. Amid great excitement, in 1931 they took off for Europe aboard *The Leviathan,* keeping a diary and an account book, precise to the last detail (e.g., "Punting on the Cam for 1 hour—1/ (25¢);" "half a tip at New York theatre—5¢").

Ellinor never lost this love of excitement and adventure. Until her final illness she was game to go anywhere, any time—be it church, the supermarket, the bank, the Homestead for lunch, Howard Johnson's for ice cream—not to mention New York for a wedding at age 89 and New Orleans at 90.

The Allies were characters when Lexington was populated with characters. By the frugality that was typical of their generation and good management, they were to leave an estate of three-quarters of a million dollars to that same church for which their mother, Lella Pendleton, had led the initial fund raising.

3. Fourth of July in Lexington

Winifred Hadsel and Pamela H. Simpson

How did your family celebrate the nation's birthday in years gone by? Picnics? Parades? Fireworks? Many local residents, when asked this question, pause and then respond as Dr. John L. Couper did, "I don't remember ever celebrating the Fourth. We had a parade on Memorial Day and fireworks at Christmas, but nothing on the Fourth."

Dr. Couper's memories reflect a situation that developed in the South after the Civil War when the Fourth became viewed as a Yankee holiday and attention was focused on that Southern invention—Memorial Day. But this was not always the case. There is ample evidence in the local newspapers that before the Civil War, the Fourth of July was a major day of celebration locally.

Interest in observing the Fourth began to revive as the twentieth century unfolded, but public celebrations have been sporadic. This year [1986] the community has come up with a full-fledged celebration in which all citizens are invited to participate. Maybe the revival of an annual tradition is at hand.

As early as 1823 the local weekly reported that Lexington had had a traditional Fourth of July. The Rockbridge Volunteers had led a mid-morning parade to the courthouse square, where there had been a public program that included the reading of the Declaration of Independence and a patriotic oration. The crowd had then adjourned to a nearby farm for an early dinner and a long series of toasts to "The Nation," various Revolutionary heroes, and such perennial favorites as "The Ladies" (even though they were not present), and "Our Mountain Home."

In 1826 the outdoor ceremony was moved into a room in the recently completed Washington Hall, and in the 1830s it was moved to the Presbyterian church. With better acoustics the patriotic orations grew longer and more numerous, prayers and hymns were added to the program, the dinners were postponed to the late afternoon, and the toasting continued into the evening (though perfect decorum was said to have been maintained).

With the church setting, large numbers of women began to attend the celebration and by the mid 1830s, there were so many women that the men and boys were obliged to take standing room only. In 1842 a new type of Fourth of July celebration emerged in Lexington. VMI Superintendent Francis H. Smith chose the Fourth for the Institute's graduation day. Rather than devise a new form of program for the event, Smith simply took over the familiar mixture of patriotism and piety that characterized the Lexington celebration. He had the Lexington Volunteers and their band lead a parade that was made up of cadets, students from Washington College, faculty and visitors of VMI and the trustees of the college, girls of the Ann Smith Academy and their teachers, and numerous townspeople and part of the throng of visitors who had come to see the VMI commencement.

They assembled at the Presbyterian church, with the band in the gallery, and the familiar Independence Day program unrolled: prayers and suitable hymns, reading of the Declaration of Independence by a cadet, and deliv-

ery of patriotic orations, one by a cadet. Then came the feature—the VMI superintendent conferred degrees on the sixteen graduating members of the corps and inaugurated the custom of giving each a Bible. Smith then gave a concluding address.

After the exercises at the church, the Lexington Volunteers and band once again led a parade, with various groups dropping out along the way, and the cadets returned to their barracks and the Finals entertainments. So appropriate did the choice of the Fourth as VMI's commencement day seem, that the date was adhered to until the Civil War.

During the war, observation of the Fourth of July ceased in Lexington. In the division of war the concept of an American national day had disappeared. After the war the important patriotic occasion became Memorial Day. It was a Southern invention as a tribute to Confederate soldiers. Eventually, it became a day for remembering all those who had made contributions to the country.

VMI tried for a while to hold its post-Civil War commencements on July Fourth, but new ideas about a shortened academic year and the lack of popular enthusiasm for the day eventually eliminated the Fourth as the finals day.

For the last three decades of the the nineteenth century, Lexington townspeople did not regard the Fourth as a patriotic occasion. The banks and post offices closed, and private citizens used the day for family reunions, swimming, baseball games, or for enjoying the cheap excursions the railroads offered during the Fourth weekend. There were a few celebrations in the early twentieth century, but they were sporadic.

In 1908 Buena Vista had a flag raising, public speaking, a drill by the Fire Company, and a double-header ball game. In 1909 the First Baptist Church in Lexington celebrated the fifteenth anniversary of its cornerstone laying. It was perhaps in connection with this that the local black restauranteur, R. R. Alexander, held his own Independence Day celebration. He invited the mayor, town council, court officials, and local citizens for a dinner at his Nelson Street restaurant, at which he offered an address "appropriate to the occasion," a dance, a balloon ascension, and fireworks.

As exciting as this special event must have been, such celebrations were the exception rather than the rule. When they occurred, they were frequently connected with a cornerstone laying or an anniversary. The Fourth of July as a nation's birthday was usually acknowledged only by store closings and holiday hours.

This situation changed in 1910. There was in that year the sudden appearance of poems, flags, and special stories on the holiday in the local paper. After that date public celebrations might be sporadic but the day was always acknowledged as something special. Perhaps enough time had

elapsed since the Civil War for the South to see its national identity.

Lexington had a spectacular Fourth of July in 1916 when the local firemen sponsored a celebratory competition. Visiting fire companies came from around the state for a full day of "glare and glitter." There were a morning baseball game, a parade, lunch at the Trinity Methodist Church, reel races, the 100-yard dash on Main Street, and more baseball in the afternoon. There were games, prizes, and fireworks.

The *Lexington Gazette's* comment on the Fourth of July of 1918 could summarize the usual situation for Lexington for most of the century: "With stores and business houses closed last Thursday, Independence Day was quiet in Lexington. The streets seemed almost deserted. Many people went to Natural Bridge for the day while some went fishing and others enjoyed an outing in automobiles. There was no public demonstration of any sort."

There was a Civic League fete on the Episcopal Rectory lawn in 1920, but there was no consistent public celebration until 1934. In that year Ralph Daves, manager of the local Warner Brothers Theaters, hit on the idea of a children's parade. He invited children from Lexington and the surrounding communities to a free show at the New Theater. All they had to do was meet at 10:30 a.m. at the firehouse and carry a small American flag. They were then led in a parade by the Lexington band down Main to Jefferson and back up to Nelson for the show. Nearly five hundred youngsters turned out that first year, and the event was deemed so successful that it was repeated annually until 1943. By 1935 McCrums had contributed to the day by providing free ice cream, and one year that meant fifteen hundred cups. But the annual children's parade was finally abandoned in the mid-1940s war era. Ralph Daves recently commented that by that time "it was no longer a novelty."

In 1976 the nation's bicentennial brought forth a huge community effort on the Fourth. A day-long festival with exhibits, booths, craft demonstrations, a cow milking contest on the courthouse lawn, music, and fireworks all brought hundreds of people to town. The event was so successful, it eventually evolved into the Rockbridge Community Festival which continues to be celebrated each August.

This year, ten years after the Bicentennial Festival, the community is again preparing for a special Fourth of July. There will be a new children's parade, an open house at the Rockbridge Historical Society's headquarters, games, races, and a program in the evening. Whether this will become an annual event, or whether Lexington will return to its "quiet and sleepy" acknowledgement of Independence Day, remains to be seen. Perhaps Lexingtonians of the future will remember the nation's birthday as a grand public day.

APPENDIX III

Constitution and By-Laws of the Rockbridge Historical Society

(as amended to February 1, 1988)

CONSTITUTION

THIS is to certify that the Rockbridge Historical Society, an association not organized for profit, in which no capital stock is required or is to be issued, and which operates under the provisions and subject to the requirements stated in section 501(c)(3) of the U.S. Internal Revenue Code of 1954 for non-profit organizations, sets forth its Articles of Constitution as follows:

Article 1: The name of the organization is "Rockbridge Historical Society."

Article 2: The city and county where its principal office is to be located is Lexington, Rockbridge County, Virginia.

Article 3: The purpose for which the Society is formed is the educational one of promoting widespread community interest in and public knowledge of the history of the Rockbridge County, Virginia, area. The Society shall accordingly hold regular quarterly meetings and publish materials in furtherance of its purpose. It shall also collect, preserve, interpret and present to the general public on a continuing basis, insofar as practicable, its historical objects and artifacts (including buildings), records, documents, photographs and books relating to the antiquities, history, landmarks and literature of the Rockbridge County area.

Article 4: The title to all of the Society's properties shall be vested in four trustees who shall be chosen by the Society in accordance with the By-Laws, and who shall be mindful of the public interest.

Article 5: The public educational purposes as set forth in Article 3 shall be carried out by a Board of Directors chosen by the members of the Society in accordance with the By-Laws.

Article 6: The period of the duration of the Society is unlimited. However, if at any time the Society shall be dissolved the Trustees and Board shall turn over the Society's material assets in accordance with the provisions of Article 7B of this Constitution, concerning dissolution of the organization, to a qualified non-profit organization or organizations in the Rockbridge County, Virginia, area that performs a public service similar to that of the Rockbridge Historical Society.

Article 7:

A. 1. The Society shall receive and maintain a fund or funds of real or personal property, or both, and, subject to the restrictions and limitations hereinafter set forth, shall use and apply the whole or any part of the income therefrom and the principal thereof, exclusively for the operation of a historical society and shall stimulate and enhance public awareness of, interest in, and appreciation of local history.

2. The Society shall distribute its income for each taxable year at such time and in such manner as not to become subject to tax on undistributed income imposed by section 4942 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 and corresponding provisions of any subsequent federal tax laws.

3. The Society shall not engage in any act of self-dealing as defined in section 4941(d) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 or corresponding provisions of any subsequent federal tax laws.

4. The Society shall not retain any excess business holdings as defined in section 4943(c) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 or corresponding provisions of any subsequent federal tax laws.

5. The Society shall not make any investment in such manner as to subject it to tax under section 4944 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 or corresponding provisions of any subsequent federal tax laws.

6. The Society shall not make any taxable expenditures as defined in section 4945(d) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 or corresponding provisions of any subsequent federal tax laws.

7. Notwithstanding any of the above statements the Society shall not, except to an insubstantial degree, engage in any activities not in furtherance of the exempt purposes of the Society.

8. The Society is not organized for pecuniary profit, and no part of the net earnings shall inure to the benefit of any member or indi-

vidual, including its members, trustees, or officers, except that the Society shall be authorized and empowered to pay reasonable compensation for services rendered and to make payments and distributions in furtherance of the purposes set forth in Article Third hereof. No substantial part of the activities of the Society shall be the carrying on of propaganda, or otherwise attempting to influence legislation, and the Society shall not participate in, or intervene in (including the publishing or distribution of statements) any political campaign on behalf of any candidate for public office.

B. Upon the dissolution of the Society, the Board of Directors shall, after paying or making provision for the payment of all of the liabilities of the Society, dispose of all of the assets of the Society exclusively for the purposes of the Society in such manner, or to such organization or organizations organized and operated exclusively for charitable, educational, religious, or scientific purposes as shall at the time qualify as an exempt organization or organizations under section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (or the corresponding provision of any future United States Internal Revenue Law), as the Board of Directors shall determine. Any such assets not so disposed of shall be disposed of by the Court of the county in which the principal office of the Society is then located, exclusively for such purposes or to such organization or organizations as said Court shall determine, which are organized and operated exclusively for such purposes.

By-Laws

Article 1. Membership and Dues

A. Membership in the Rockbridge Historical Society shall be broadly based by being made open to all persons interested in the purpose of the organization, as stated in Article 3 of the Constitution, regardless of sex, race, ethnic origin, or place of residence.

B. Membership shall be of two kinds:

1. Regular Members, who shall pay annual dues on a calender basis, as set by the Board. These dues shall be kept minimal in order to encourage the widest possible community participation in the Society.

2. Life Members, who shall pay life membership dues as set by the Board in lieu of annual dues.

C. Contributions from all Members are welcomed at any time.

D. If any Regular Member fails to pay dues for two years, the Board shall cause his name to be removed from the list of members.

Article 2. Trustees

A. Title to the Society's collections, documents, real estate, and all other property shall be vested in four trustees elected by the Society, from past officers who are recognized as community leaders capable of representing the public interest at the meeting at which officers of the Society are elected, and under the same rules as those applying to the nomination and election of those officers.

B. The trustees shall elect their own chairman, and they shall meet either upon the call of their chairman or at the request of the Board.

C. The trustees shall serve without term, subject to the proviso that any trustee suffering from incapacity to serve shall, upon a majority decision of the Board, be informed that he will be replaced at the next meeting at which the Society elects officers.

D. Trustees shall be invited by the Board to attend Board meetings in *ex officio* capacity.

Article 3. Officers and Elections

A. The officers of this Society shall be: President, Vice-President, Secretary, and Treasurer.

B. The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society, shall have power to appoint all standing and special committee chairmen, with the exception of the Nominating Committee Chairman and Committee.

C. The Vice-President shall discharge the duties of the President whenever the latter shall be absent or unable to act as such. The Vice-President shall also be willing to accept a responsible committee chairmanship selected by the President.

D. The Secretary shall keep an accurate written record of the proceedings of the Society and the meetings of the Board. The Secretary shall also furnish information to the press, with a view to keeping the community informed of the Society's activities.

E. The Treasurer shall receive all funds of the Society and disburse same, and shall submit a proper report and account of the transactions of that office at the Board meetings and at the annual meetings of the Society.

F. The above officers shall be elected by members of the Society at the annual October meeting in even-numbered years and shall serve for two years, subject to the qualification that the President shall not be eligible to hold office for more than two successive terms. Following the report of the nominating committee, members may be nominated from the floor for any office, and the majority of votes cast by the members present and voting at the election shall be sufficient for election. Vacancies occurring in any office between elections shall be filled by the Board.

Article 4. Board

A. The Board shall be composed of the President, Vice-President, Secretary, and Treasurer, with such other members as may be appointed by the President to make up a Board consisting of not less than ten or more than fifteen voting members.

B. The Board shall meet at the call of the President not less than four times a year, and shall be empowered: to discuss and transact current business of the Society in the interim between regular meetings of the Society; to appoint the Nominating Committee and to take all other action necessary and incident to the proper transaction of the business of the Society not required to be performed at a regular meeting.

C. Committee Chairmen and Committees

1. *The Librarian/Curator,* who shall be appointed by the President, shall receive and oversee the custody and care of historical objects and records of all kinds that are received by the Society and set up and supervise arrangements for interpreting them and making them available on a continuing basis to the general public, in accordance with Article 3 of the Constitution. He shall keep the Trustees informed periodically of significant acquisitions. The Librarian/Curator, whose office shall be in the Society's headquarters, shall also cooperate with the Lexington Visitor Center in helping tourists locate sites and records of special interest to them and generally assisting visitors who have an interest in the history of the Rockbridge County area.

2. *The Editor/Publications Chairman,* who shall be appointed by the President, shall be responsible for the publication of the Society's quarterly *News-Notes* (sent to all members to inform them of forthcoming meetings and important proposals or actions of the Board). The Editor shall also be responsible for the publication of the Society's *Proceedings,* which disseminate to a wide public and libraries the information on Rockbridge County area history that is presented in the papers read or discussions held at the Society's meetings.

3. *The Program Chairman* shall be appointed by the President to plan programs for each regular quarterly meeting of the Society. These programs are to carry out the Society's educational purpose and hence shall have a broad appeal to persons having an interest in the past, present and future of Rockbridge County and its communities.

4. *The Real Estate Property Chairman* shall be appointed by the President and shall oversee the use and maintenance of any buildings owned by the Society. Proceeds from these properties shall be used for the maintenance and preservation of the buildings, with such remaining sums as may accrue being used for the furtherance of the Society's educational objective as defined in Article 3 of the Constitution.

6. *All of the Chairmen* shall be permitted to expand the membership of their committees as needed from the general membership of the Society.

7. *Other Committee Chairmen responsible for specific activities* of the Society as may contribute to the educational purpose of the Society may be appointed by the President and made members of the Board.

8. *The Nominating Committee* shall consist of not less than three nor more than five members to be appointed by the Board not less than thirty days before the date of the fourth quarterly meeting of the Society held in October in even-numbered years. None of the four officers or the four trustees of the Society shall be members of this committee. It shall be the duty of this committee to submit one or more names of suitable persons to be voted upon for each office at the October meeting.

Article 5. Meetings of the Society

A. There shall be four regular meetings of the Society during the year, at each of which there shall be a program designed to appeal to a substantial number of persons in the community who have a broad interest in Rockbridge County's history and development. These meetings shall be held, insofar as the Board finds it possible, on the fourth Monday of January, April, July and October, and all these meetings shall be publicized and made open to the public. At activities where space is limited priority shall be given to members.

B. The October meeting, in addition to being a program meeting, shall be the annual business meeting of the Society. A quorum for the transaction of business at these business meetings shall be twenty-four members, and a majority of members present shall be sufficient to determine all matters submitted.

C. Special meetings of the members of the Society for a program or the conduct of business may be called by the President or a majority of the Board. These meetings, like the regular program meetings, shall be publicized and open to the public.

Article 6. Order of Business at Meetings

A. The order of business at the annual business meeting shall be:
   1. Reading of Minutes of Regular, Program and previous Business Meetings of the Society during the past year.
   2. Annual reports by President and Treasurer.
   3. Unfinished business.
   4. Communications.
   5. New business.
   6. Program and general discussion.

B. At the annual business meeting held in even-numbered years, elec-

tions of officers shall be taken up under New Business.

C. The order of business at Board meetings shall follow the same general pattern as that for general meetings, subject to the President's discretion in order to carry out the proper purposes of the meetings.

Article 7. Amendments

The articles of association heretofore approved shall be the Constitution of this Society, and such Constitution as well as the By-Laws, or any of them, may be amended at any regular meeting of the Society by a two-thirds vote of those members attending and voting, provided such proposed amendment has been submitted at a previous meeting, and notice thereof conveyed to the members by mail or by publication in one of the local papers not less than ten days before the meeting at which the same is to be voted upon, save that previous notice shall not be required as to any amendment approved and recommended by the Board.

The above Constitution and By-Laws were adopted by the Rockbridge Historical Society, in Lexington, Virginia, on August 9, 1939, and amended April 4, 1944; January 24, 1949; April 25, 1966, October 24, 1974, and February 1, 1988

Signed by the Trustees:

Bates McIlwaine Gilliam
COLONEL B. M. GILLIAM

Ben P. Knight, Jr.
BEN P. KNIGHT, JR.

J. S. Letcher
GENERAL J. S. LETCHER

Charles W. Turner
DR. CHARLES W. TURNER

The address of the headquarters of the Rockbridge Historical Society is 101 East Washington Street, Lexington, Virginia (P.O. Box 514) 24450. Conformed copy signed by the President.

Winifred Hadsel
WINIFRED HADSEL

I certify this is a true and correct copy of the Constitution and By-Laws of the Rockbridge Historical Society adopted February 1, 1988.

Winifred Hadsel
Winifred Hadsel
President

APPENDIX IV

Acquisitions Policy: Manuscript Collection

(adopted November 1988)

1. *Statement of Purpose:* The Rockbridge Historical Society constitution and by-laws as amended February 1, 1988, state that the Society was formed for the purpose of promoting "community interest in and public knowledge of the history of the Rockbridge County, Virginia, area." They further state that the Society "shall also collect, preserve, interpret and present to the general public on a continuing basis . . . records, documents, photographs and books relating to the antiquities, history, landmarks and literature of the Rockbridge area."

2. *Acquisition Policy:* The purpose of this document is to provide direction for collecting research material which is relevant to the stated goals of the Society. It is the policy of the society to collect only those materials which are needed or useful for research, publication, exhibit, and other educational purposes in order to effectively interpret the history of the Rockbridge County area.

3. *Collecting Objectives:* The collecting objective of the Society is to build upon the strength of its present collection with respect to the stated purposes, and to collect documentary materials, photographs, manuscripts, scrapbooks, tape recordings, diaries, maps, business records and other print (such as broadsides) and near-print materials that pertain to any and all aspects of the history of the Rockbridge area.

The special collections librarian, working with the collections committee, may suggest to a potential donor that certain materials offered to the Society would be more appropriate in another library—such as materials on the history of VMI to VMI, the history of W&L to W&L, or modern military history to the Marshall Library. If any part of a collection is deemed not appropriate for cataloging, the special collections librarian, working with the collections committee, can dispose of it.

The Society will discourage gifts of books since it is not feasible for the Washington and Lee University Library to manage and service a special and separate book collection that is not a part of its own book holdings. If books come to the Society by gift, they can be accepted only if it is understood by the donor that the books might at a later date be placed in another depository, such as VMI or the regional library.

4. *Collections Committee:* The Society shall appoint a committee of no less than three and no more than five of its members to approve the appropriateness of every potential gift to the Society's collection in line with the stated policies of the Society. The special collections librarian of Washington and Lee University Library shall act as a voting ex-officio member of the committee, whether or not he or she is among the appointed members of the described committee above. In the event that the special collections librarian cannot serve, the university librarian shall serve in that capacity or appoint another member of the library staff to serve. The committee shall elect a chairman from among its members to serve one two-year term.

5. *Means of Acquisition:* It is the policy of the Society to acquire materials by outright gift whenever possible. In certain cases the Society can purchase research materials upon recommendation of the collections committee and approval of the Society's board of directors. Whenever possible the Society will avoid accepting manuscript collections and other research materials on loan, the exception being when it appears extremely probable that title to the collection will eventually pass to the Society.

6. *Access and Restrictions:* Manuscript collections and other research materials acquired by the Society normally are opened to researchers upon completion of processing and cataloging.

Most material given to the Society will be given without restrictions. However, in some cases a donor may give a manuscript collection with certain restrictions, if the restrictions are acceptable to the collections committee. Example: A donor may give a manuscript collection with the restriction that the collection could not be published in its entirely, as in *The Letters of . . .* (without permission of the donor or heir(s) of the donor) but otherwise wishes the collection to be "open" to researchers. It is important that the deed of gift spell out any restrictions clearly, and particularly the time when the collection will be open without restrictions. It will be the duty of the special collections librarian to inform researchers of any restrictions that apply to individual collections.

7. No member of the society or the special collections librarian shall evaluate a collection for tax purposes. However, assistance may be given a

donor in locating a professional appraiser. The donor must bear the cost of the appraisal.

8. Depository of the Society's Manuscript and Other Research Collections: In the deposit agreement dated October 23, 1978, Washington and Lee's University Library agreed to "hold in its care and custody . . . the Society's manuscripts, letters, books and other historical papers and documents. A copy of that agreement is attached.

. . . . . .

AGREEMENT made this 23rd day of October, 1978, by and between WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY ("the University") and ROCKBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY ("the Society").

1. The University hereby agrees to hold in its care and custody, and the Society hereby agrees to deliver to the University to be so held such items from the Society's collection of manuscripts, letters, books and other historical papers and documents as the Society may from time to time select. This agreement is meant to cover all manuscripts, letters, books, historical papers and documents so selected now owned by or hereafter to be acquired by the Society (until the termination of this agreement). The items so selected are delivered (and future acquisitions will be delivered) to the University solely for the custodial purpose set forth herein. No ownership rights whatsoever are to be transferred hereby.

2. The University will maintain those items delivered to it pursuant to this agreement as a separate unit within its special library collection subject to the control of that person from time to time acting as University librarian. The University will index such items and maintain a complete card file for them. The University will supply to the Society inventory (main entry) cards covering the items delivered to it.

3. Material covered by this agreement will be subject to the same rules and regulations with regard to access, use, copying and removal from the library as are from time to time in effect for the University's general rare book collections. The University assumes no liability for damange or loss resulting from normal, authorized use of such material.

4. The University will provide at no cost to the Society the same degree of care and preservation of the material covered by this agreement that it provides for its general rare book collections.

5. If any public use, by publication, reproduction or otherwise is made of material covered by this agreement, such material shall be identified as

part of the Rockbridge Historical Society collection in the Washington and Lee University library.

6. This agreement may be terminated by either party on 90 days written notice. Such notice shall be delivered to the President or the Treasurer in the case of the Society and to the President or the Librarian in the case of the University. Upon such termination, the material covered by this agreement will be removed from the University library within a reasonable time and delivered to the Society at a location designated by it. The Society will bear all costs incurred as a result of such termination.

. . . . . .

SAMPLE DEED OF GIFT

Gift of [describe gift, such as "Papers of _____ "]

by _____ [donor]

to the Rockbridge Historical Society, Lexington, Virginia

1. I, [Donor] , (hereinafter referred to as the Donor), hereby give to the Rockbridge Historical Society, (hereinafter referred to as the Society), [description of gift as stated above] , (hereinafter referred to as the Materials), which are described in full in Appendix A, attached hereto.

2. Title to the Materials shall pass to the Society upon the execution of this document.

3. Following delivery to the Society, the Materials shall be arranged, catalogued and made available to researchers as soon as practicable by the Special Collections Department of Washington and Lee University Library, Lexington, Virginia. Access to the Material will be through the Library's special collections librarian.

[Optional] 4. It is the Donor's wish that the Materials be made available for research as soon as possible following delivery to the Society. At the same time, it is his wish to guard against the possibility of their contents being used to embarrass, damage, injure, or harass living persons and to safeguard his interests and those of the Society's. Accordingly, the University's special collections librarian shall review the Materials and remove from the collection any Material relating to the personal, family, and confidential business affairs of the Donor or of persons who have had correspondence with him, as well as all other material which contains

information or statements that might be used to embarrass, damage, injure or harass any living person.

5. Subject to the restrictions imposed herein, the Society may deposit in another repository or otherwise dispose of any of the Materials which it determines does not fit into the acquisition guidelines as laid out by the Society's charter and the directors.

6. The Donor hereby gives and assigns to the Society all literary and property rights which he has in any of the Materials donated to the Society.

7. In the event that at a later date the Society accepts additional papers and other historical materials from the Donor all of the foregoing provisions of this instrument shall be applicable to such additional materials. A description of the additional papers and other historical materials so given shall be prepared, dated, and attached hereto.

Signed: [donor] Date: _____

The foregoing gift is accepted on behalf of the Rockbridge Historical Society, subject to the terms and restrictions hereinbefore set forth.

Signed: [chairman, collections committee, Rockbridge Historical Society]

Date: _____

APPENDIX V

Rockbridge Historical Society Collections Policy for Objects

Statement of Purpose

THIS policy is specifically concerned with objects/artifacts of the Society. The acquisitions policy for documents and related primary sources is set forth in Appendix V.

The Rockbridge Historical Soceity Constitution and By-laws as amended on February 1, 1988, indicate that the Society was formed for the purpose of "promoting widespread community interest in and public knowledge of the history of the Rockbridge County Virginia area" (Rockbridge Historical Society Constitution and By-Laws, Article 3). The constitution and by-laws further state that the Society "shall also collect, preserve, interpret and present to the general public on a continuing basis, in so far as practicable, its historical objects and artifacts (including buildings), records, documents, photographs and books relating to the antiquities, history, landmarks and literature of the Rockbridge County area" (Ibid.).

Acquisition and Deaccession Policy

The purpose of this policy is to provide direction for collecting research and exhibit materials which are relevant to the stated goal of the Society. It is the policy of the Rockbridge Historical Society to collect only those items which are needed or useful for research, publication, exhibit and other educational purposes in order to effectively interpret the history and lifeways of the residents of the Rockbridge County area.

The Society's Collecting Objectives

The collecting objective of the Rockbridge Historical Society is to build

upon the strength of its present collection with respect to the stated purposes of the Society, according to the following priority:

> Eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth century items documented to have been made or used in the Rockbridge County area of Virginia. These objects would generally include folk and decorative arts and may include, but not be restricted to, architectural artifacts, furniture, furnishings, portraits, paintings, basketry, textiles, clothing and accessories, glass, ceramics, silver, etc.

Acquisition Criteria:

Objects should meet all of the following tests of acquisition before being acquired by the Society through any means.

1. The objects are relevant to and consistent with the purposes, collecting objects, and activities of the Rockbridge Historical Society.
2. The Rockbridge Historical Society can provide for the storage, protection, and preservation of objects under conditions which ensure their availability for the museum's purposes and which are in keeping with professionally accepted standards.
3. It is intended that the objects shall remain in the collections as long as they retain their physical integrity, authenticity, and relevance for the purposes of the Rockbridge Historical Society.
4. Under special circumstances such as bequests, acquisitions may be accepted for development purposes rather than accessioning, provided that this is determined in advance and agreed upon by the donor or executor.
5. The object should, if possible, be documented as to provenance.
6. The significance of the object must be determined.
7. The present owner must have a clear title to the objects being considered for acquisition. Title for all items acquired for the collections should be obtained free and clear without donor-imposed restrictions whenever possible, as to placement, exhibition, or further disposition.
8. If the object being considered is for sale, the president acting on behalf of the Board must arrange funding before purchase.
9. A fair market value must be determined between the concerned parties.
10. If possible, no acquisitions will be encumbered by less than full literary rights, property rights or copyrights. All rights of duplication and publication also become the property of the Society.
11. All moral, legal, and ethical implications of the acquisition must have been considered.

Means of Acquisition:

Objects may be acquired by purchase, bequest, gift, exchange, field collection, excavation, abandonment, reversionary clause, and adverse possession. No materials or objects shall be knowingly or willfully accepted or acquired which are known to have been illegally imported into or illegally collected in the United States contrary to local or state law, federal law, regulation, treaty, or convention.

Authority to Acquire:

Authority to acquire objects is delegated to the Board of the Society. Objects for potential acquisition are proposed by the chairperson of the collections committee at the regular Board meetings of the Society. The Board's decision regarding acquisition of objects is final.

Ownership:

Title to the Society's collections, and all other property, whether received by gift or purchase, shall be invested in the four elected trustees of the Society.

Loans:

The president of the Society in consultation with the chairperson of the collections committee shall be authorized to loan objects for exhibition and study purposes for definite periods of time. Loans may be renewed at the end of the stated period by written agreement. Appropriate insurance coverage and safety and security measures will be undertaken for both objects loaned out or taken in on loan by the Society. A loan form will be completed and retained for each object loaned and shall include detailed object description and value as well as specifics regarding the loan period. Indefinite or "permanent" loans will not be considered.

Recordkeeping:

All objects acquired for or included in the Society's collections shall be accessioned, registered, catalogued, photographed, and documented according to the procedures described herein. Permanent accession files shall contain all relevant information about the individual objects, legal instruments, and conveyances pertaining to each acquisition or source. Three separate files relating to collections will be maintained by the Society, as follows:

A. A card catalogue shall be maintained and reviewed each year by the chairman of the collections committee. It shall contain a separate

card for each object within the Society's collection, including the accession number, name, description, including material, dimension or size, donor, and period of use or age, as well as any other information relevant to provenance. Each object will have its accession number either marked on it or attached to it by a suitable tag. The accession number given to each object within the Society's collection is taken from the Society's classification scheme and contains specific information about each object, such as its identification and the manner in which it functioned during use.

B. In addition to the card catalogue, a file of letters shall also be maintained dealing with acquisitions and containing all available correspondence and other such information about the objects in the Society's collections.

C. An additional file shall be maintained containing copies of the collections policy of the Rockbridge Historical Society, as well as its classification scheme used to organize objects in its collections.

When objects are acquired by the Society for purposes other than accessioning into the permanent collections (i.e. reproduction items for educational purposes or display, items offered for housekeeping use), they shall be marked and recorded to prevent confusion with the Society's collections.

Storage and Care of Collections:

Objects acquired by or currently in the collections of the Society shall be kept in the headquarters of the Rockbridge Historical Society; special objects requiring climate-controlled conditions to ensure their preservation will be maintained at either Washington and Lee University or Virginia Military Institute, providing the Society keeps an accurate record of the objects being stored in these locations. The chairperson of the collections committee shall annually review each object in the Society's collections in order to be sure that everything possible is being done to ensure the preservation of the individual objects. If additional steps need to be taken in order to ensure the proper preservation and curation of any object, the chairperson of the collections committee, in consultation with the president, shall make decisions relevant to appropriate action.

Deaccessioning

Objects should be retained permanently so long as they continue to be within the scope of the collections policy of the Society. Accessioned objects may be deaccessioned or permanently removed from the collections and disposed of when they are no longer relevant or useful to the purposes and activities of the Society or in the interest of improving the

Society's collections. Society objects to be considered for deaccession must meet at least one of the following criteria:

1. The object is outside the scope of the Society's stated purpose and collections policy.
2. The object is irrelevant to the purpose of the Society.
3. The object lacks physical integrity or is otherwise deteriorated beyond usefulness.
4. The object has failed to retain its identity or authenticity, or has been lost or stolen and remains lost for longer than two years.
5. The object is a duplicate.
6. The Society is unable to properly preserve, store, and use the object.
7. The object has doubtful potential utilization in the foreseeable future.

Procedure:

The deaccessioning process shall be cautious, deliberate, and scrupulous. The collections committee chairman may, after consultation with the members of the collections committee, recommend deaccessioning an object if, in his or her and the committee's best judgment, one or more criteria for deaccession have been met. All objects proposed for deaccessioning must be examined by the members of the collections committee. If the objects are inaccessible, photographs of the objects may be substituted. Subsequently, the collections committee chairman will make a recommendation to the president regarding materials to be deaccessioned. Such recommendations shall specify the source or provenance of the object, the reasons for deaccessioning, the estimated market value and the recommended means of disposal. After discussion, if the Society's president favors the recommended deaccession, then he or she will forward the committee recommendation to the Board of the Society for action.

Prior to the meeting in which the proposed deaccessions will be considered by the Board, the collections committee chairman will circulate a list of the objects to be considered to all members of the Board. The action of the Board on any recommendation will be considered final, although the Board may reconsider any rejected recommendation at a subsequent meeting. A record of all deaccessions will be kept in the minutes of the meetings of the Rockbridge Historical Society Board.

Restrictions:

Before any object is deaccessioned, efforts shall be made to ascertain that the Society is legally free to do so. Where restrictions to the disposition of the object are found, the following procedure shall be utilized:

1. Mandatory conditions of acquisition will be strictly observed unless deviation from their terms is authorized by a court of competent jurisdiction.
2. The donor of the item to be deaccessioned, if alive, or his heirs or assigns, will be notified if the object was accessioned within ten years.
3. In an event of a question concerning intent or force of restrictions, the Board shall seek the advice of legal counsel.

Disposal:

After the deaccessioning procedure is complete, the president, in consultation with the collections committee chairman, will decide the most appropriate means of disposal which may include exchange, sale (negotiated, private, public auction, sealed bid, or open bid), destruction or transfer to another institution. Disposal of the objects must be carried out in a manner which is in the best interest of the Society, the public which it serves, the public trust which it represents in owning the collections, and the scholarly interest which it represents in maintaining the integrity of the collections.

Primary consideration will be given to placing the objects, through gift, exchange, or sale in another tax exempt educational institution, where they may serve a valid purpose in education, research and exhibition. The Society will generally dispose of materials through public sales or auctions or transfer to another tax exempt educational institution; however, when the Society is in a position to acquire desirable materials from an individual, dealer, or other institution, it may engage in trades or private sales of deaccessioned objects.

Recordkeeping:

All records pertinent to the acquisition and cataloguing of items to be disposed of will be marked deaccessioned with the appropriate date of authorization. Information regarding the final disposition, the date, and the value or consideration received shall also be recorded on the permanent record which will then contain the history of the item while in the custody of the Rockbridge Historical Society.

APPENDIX VI

President's Report, 1987–88–89

Winifred Hadsel

DURING these three years the Society has continued to offer regular quarterly programs on the history of the Rockbridge County area that are both informative and delightful and to publish original research. In addition, the Society has placed a new emphasis on exhibits intended to foster community historical awareness, and has used its Campbell House headquarters for summer-long exhibitions for the first time since 1976–79.

To help finance its many activities, the Society has made major improvements in the general condition of its rental units in the three buildings that were bestowed on it in the 1960s for the purpose of providing the Society with financial support. In so doing the Society has found itself engaged in historic preservation on a significant scale since the properties concerned date from the first half of the nineteenth century (part of the the Castle is older) and are located in the Lexington Historic District.

Programs for our meetings ranged in 1987 and 1988 over many aspects of Rockbridge history. They included such diverse topics as recent archaeological finds; new views on inventor James E. A. Gibbs, VMI's famed graduate General George C. Marshall, and engineer Claudius Crozet; the history of various localities; and the music played and sung in this area during the last century.

In 1989 the programs focused on the Society's Fiftieth Anniversary. The four meetings of that year examined both the changes and the signs of continuity found in the county and in the Society itself during the last half century.

Attendance at meetings throughout the three-year period ranged from approximately 80 to 150, with the July picnic meetings bringing out about 165 members. The Society's membership mounted slowly but steadily from the platform figure of 500, which had been established in 1976, to 560 at the end of 1989.

Publications included a special Fiftieth Anniversary effort: the first guide the Society has ever issued to its large collection of primary sources, which are available in the Special Collections section of the Washington and Lee University Library. A number of scholars believe that this guide will prove to be one of the important long-term contributions made by our Fiftieth Anniversary program.

As a preliminary to the Fiftieth Anniversary, the Society published a 1989 calendar featuring Rockbridge photographs taken since 1939 and a month-by-month list of some six hundred historic local events during the last fifty years. This inclusion of local events was made possible by a team of members who researched the local press since 1939.

The Society's Volume X of *Proceedings* was scheduled for publication at the end of our Fiftieth Anniversary. Intensive work on this publication was done in 1988–89 in order to produce the most complete coverage the Society has ever attempted of the presentations made at its quarterly meetings. Work on a comprehensive index of Volumes I-X has also been very time-consuming, but is considered worthwhile because it will make all ten volumes far more useful to both researchers and general readers than they would be otherwise.

Exhibitions have been given greater emphasis than ever before. The major exhibitions at headquarters in 1988 and 1989 were intended not only for our members and the local public but the large number of tourists now coming to Lexington. The 1988 exhibit was a show of photographs illustrating "The Architecture of Historic Lexington." It was on view April 1 to October 1 from 9 A.M. to Noon, and flyers describing it were placed at the Visitor Center. Approximately one thousand visitors from all over the country saw this exhibit.

The 1989 exhibit related to our Fiftieth Anniversary and displayed more than sixty paintings by Rockbridge artists on Rockbridge subjects during the period since 1939. Entitled "Points of View," the exhibit was on view from April 1 to November 1 from 9 A.M. to 4 P.M., and was described in brochures placed at the Visitor Center. This show attracted approximately six thousand visitors over the seven months it was on display.

Also of interest in this connection is the fact that so many artists wished to be included in "Points of View," that it was impossible to provide enough wall space at the Campbell House. The problem was solved by

hanging a supplementary show of approximately one hundred paintings in the windows of downtown Lexington merchants who offered display space for the paintings during the month of April.

Other Fiftieth Anniversary exhibitions included three displays in the county (at Fairfield, Buena Vista, and Natural Bridge) on the history of those localities. There was also a show of the Society's publications, and two exhibits honoring the Society's founders and emphasizing their sense of mission when they established the organization.

The Society concluded its Fiftieth Anniversary in December with a three-day Open House that featured a County Christmas Tree decorated with 107 miniature "Church Portraits" painted by Rockbridge artist and Society member William E. Bobbitt. These "Church Portraits," although painted for the final event of our anniversary year, will become part of the Society's collection and constitute a unique record of the physical appearance of the churches in Rockbridge County in 1989.

One result of the new emphasis on exhibitions has been that many more members of the Society have been called on to participate in the activities of the organization. During 1988 and 1989 approximately one hundred volunteer docents were recruited for our various shows at the Campbell House. It was, in fact, these and other volunteers, along with our officers, board members, and the heads and members of our special Fiftieth Anniversary committees who carried out the activities which won the attention of the awards committee of the American Association for State and Local History. At their annual national meeting in Seattle on September 8, 1989, the AASLH gave our Society a Certificate of Commendation "For finding special opportunities in its Fiftieth Anniversary Program to strengthen the Society." I attended this meeting and took great pleasure in accepting the award on behalf of our Society.

Preservation of our properties has continued to be a matter of importance not only because those properties have long provided the Society with a large part of its income, but, to an extent that becomes more apparent every year, because our three buildings are an important part of the Lexington Historic District. After three years of repair work, the Castle, the Campbell House and Sloan House are, at the close of 1989, comfortable and attractive for our six tenants and our Society. Of course, we realize that catch-up is never complete and unpleasant surprises always lie ahead in old buildings. However, we are pleased that the present condition of the properties is good, and that the garden behind the Campbell House and the Castle has again been made, with the very welcome assistance of the Natural Bridge Garden Club, very pleasant.

During the period under review the board took action on a number of important organization problems:

CERTIFICATE OF

Commendation

Presented by The American Association for State and Local History

to Rockbridge Historical Society

For finding special opportunities in its 50th Anniversary Program to strengthen the Society

President

Chairman, Committee on Awards

Sept. 8, 1989

Date

1. On June 14, 1988, the Society successfully completed the process, begun in 1974–75 but not carried through at that time, of securing recognition by the Internal Revenue Service as a 501 (c) (3) tax exempt organization within the meaning of the Internal Revenue code. The IRS regards the Society as a private operating foundation, and has given us identification number 23-7090646. With this status the Society is able to assure all donors that contributions may be listed on IRS returns as charitable deductions.

2. The Society adopted a revised constitution on February 1, 1988. Revisions eliminated various anachronisms and brought the instrument in line with current official federal requirements for nonprofit organizations.

3. On December 16, 1987, the board resolved to make Summer Open House part of the Society's program, and provided for a part-time contracted curator for this program.

4. On December 16, 1987, the board defined the uses of the six rental units in its three properties and provided for a part-time contracted property manager. All six units have been under leases since mid-1988.

5. A policy on the Society's acquisition and deaccession of artifacts was adopted by the board on December 12, 1988.

6. A policy on the Society's acquisition and care of historical documents was adopted by the board on March 17, 1989.

APPENDIX VII

Memorial Resolution

THE members of the Rockbridge Historical Society were shocked and saddened by the sudden deaths of two of its important leaders this fall. Richard R. Fletcher died on October 31st and Allen W. Moger on November 29th. Both men were key to the revitalization of the Historical Society and its properties in the 1970s. They were dynamic leaders at a crucial time in our history.

Dick Fletcher came to Lexington as Executive Director of Sigma Nu Fraternity when he moved their headquarters here. Once he got the fraternity set up and functioning, he turned his attention to the town. History and preservation were two of his great passions, and he found ample outlets for his interests in both RHS and the Historic Lexington Foundation. For the Society he undertook the heroic task of getting our properties in order. They were cleaned up, renovated, and rented to give the Society a steady income to support our publications and programs. He did everything from move the headquarters to the Campbell House, manage the properties, plant the flowers, scoop the snow, organize the collections to editing the newsletter.

One of his greatest talents was his ability to fire enthusiasm in others. How many of us found ourselves involved in RHS projects because Dick asked? You couldn't say no to a man who was so tirelessly giving of himself. He would come in, set an organization on its feet, find capable successors, and then retire (though he would continue to offer sage advice and occasional puns). He did it for Sigma Nu, for HLF, for the City's Visitor Relations Center, for the SPCA, and especially for RHS.

Al Moger came to Lexington in 1929 to join the history department at Washington and Lee. His special areas of interest were British and American History and especially the era of the "New South." His book, *Virginia: Bourbonism to Byrd, 1870–1925,* was a standard reference work on the subject.

It's not surprising then that with this professional expertise in Virginia history, Al would turn his attention to the Rockbridge Historical Society.

A long-time member, he became president in 1973 and led us through the Bicentennial period. He was instrumental in providing the administrative leadership for the renovation of the properties, the expansion of the membership roles to nearly 500, and the revitalization of our publication program.

Al cared deeply about the Society and used his professional skills to ensure quality in our work. His image of excellence was an inspiration to us all.

On July 18, 1975, at the RHS summer picnic, Al Moger introduced a resolution to make it "Richard Fletcher Day" to thank Dick for all he had done for the Society's properties. It should have been "Al Moger and Dick Fletcher Day," for both of them had worked hard to make the renovations possible.

The Rockbridge Historical Society will always be grateful for the contributions of these two. Dick Fletcher and Al Moger were men of outstanding talent, administrative and organizational abilities, and tireless enthusiasts for preserving our local history. We will miss them.

I move the adoption of this resolution, that it be spread upon the Society's minutes, and that copies of it be sent to the families.

Pamela H. Simpson
December 12, 1988

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This cumulative index to the first fifty years of *Proceedings* is an edited compilation of previous indexes together with the index to volume ten. Unless otherwise noted, geographic locations (towns, churches, houses, etc.) are in Rockbridge County. Individuals are generally not indexed unless they were mentioned in the text. Excluded are lists of Society officers, members, recent deaths, the table of early settlers (10:136–38), and the checklist of Virginia potters (10:474–86). Publications are printed in italics. Recurring abbreviations are **Rev.** (Reverend), **RHS** (Rockbridge Historical Society), **VMI** (Virginia Military Institute), and **W&L** (Washington and Lee University). The periods covered by the volumes cited are: 1(October 1939–July 1941), 2(October 1941–October 1945), 3(1946–48), 4(1949–54), 5(1955–60), 6(1961–65), 7(1966–69), 8(1970–74), 9(1975–79), 10(1980–89).

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