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First Work of A Pioneer in His Field:

John Nolen's Roanoke City Plan of 1907

by FRANCES J. NIEDERER

Daily in 1907 the *Roanoke Times* ran a slogan on its editorial page, just under the weather report: "Greater Roanoke, Population 50,000, Year 1910." Ambition for growth was keen, and the goal of 50,000 a magic number for the Magic City. Mayor Joel H. Cutchin was sure that the current population figure of 36,800 was wrong, that 40,000 would be more accurate. Definitely 6500 residents had been added since the last census of April, 1906, and these only within the corporate limits, not including suburbs like Norwich and Crystal Spring.¹

Four hundred men attended a "smoker" given at the Armory by the Chamber of Commerce in September, 1907 to invite subscribers to a proposed Industrial Securities Company which was to help to attract and to establish new industries.² More and more people, more and more businesses, more and more buildings: the dream of civic expansion was vivid in the minds of the men of Roanoke.

"MORE THAN 700 BUILDINGS OF ALL CHARACTERS HAVE BEEN ERECTED in Roanoke since the publication of the last directory" boasted the *Times*, and with "more than 200 in course of construction . . . the improvement has been phenomenal."³ Hoped for were extension and volume: "The time will come when the whistles of factories will be heard from Roanoke to Salem and to Vinton."⁴ Desired were new civic edifices: "a splendid city hall . . . a number of municipal buildings . . . a new police station."⁵ "The Smoker," commented a reporter, "far surpasses any function of its kind ever given here and will live long in the memories of Roanokers . . . as an expression of the new spirit and the new age in the history of the Magic City."⁶

Miss Niederer, associate professor of art at Hollins College, is the author of "Fincastle Springs: Resort of the '80s" in the Winter 1964-65 issue of the *JOURNAL*. That article is now part of her book "The Town of Fincastle, Virginia," just published by the University of Virginia Press, a fine study of the pioneer community and its buildings which includes some 25 well-reproduced photographs, numerous house plans and an inserted contemporary map of Fincastle in 1880. Miss Niederer received her BA from Douglass College, her MA from Yale and her PhD from New York University. She also has studied at Harvard and in Paris as a Carnegie Scholar. Miss Niederer is a member of this Society.

But the women saw things differently. "Patchwork! Patchwork!" cried one, protesting the enlargement of the old courthouse. "More money spent in makeshift streets—macadam streets a year ago, mud streets now—makeshift public buildings . . . Would it not be wiser and more business-like to adopt a carefully thought out plan of city improvement? To learn from unbiased experts the best method of doing things municipal? So that when we do spend the city's money it will be for improvements which will be adequate fifty years hence, and which will add something to the city's assets in the way of utility, dignity, and beauty?"⁷

Size interested the women far less than did betterment of existing conditions, new businesses far less than a program for public sanitation. And the 126 members of the Woman's Civic Betterment Club, "their watchword the inspiring cry 'All for Roanoke,'" decided to do something about it.⁸

They sought unbiased experts. They commissioned C. E. Emerson, Jr., and Ezra B. Whitman, civil and sanitary engineers of Baltimore, to do a study on *Sanitary Roanoke*, and John Nolen, landscape architect of Cambridge, Massachusetts, one on *Remodeling Roanoke*. Nolen sent his report to Mrs. Lucian H. Cocke, president of the Woman's Civic Betterment Club, late in August 1907, and the paper on schemes for improved sanitation was ready in November. Both reports were printed as pamphlets, paid for by the Club (which had raised money by giving an elaborate Fall Festival through ten days in November). The text of *Sanitary Roanoke* totalled 118 pages, plus two maps, diagrams, and tables. There were only 25 pages of text in *Remodeling Roanoke*, but six maps and plans and 94 photographs. Both were ready for distribution early in 1908.⁹

For John Nolen, who was to become a distinguished city planner, the Roanoke study was a pioneer effort, and as such is of historical importance. John Hancock in his recent article on Nolen says "the early development of modern physical planning as a separate profession in the United States coincides with the reform period in our political history known as the 'progressive era'. . . . Of the planners, few seem to have been better prepared to deal with the demands of a rapidly changing order than John Nolen, whose background prior to his first

¹ Roanoke Times, September 10 and 13, 1907. Walsh's Roanoke City Directory of this month gave the 36,800 figure (28,700 white, 8,100 Negro).

² Roanoke Times, September 13, 1907. In succeeding notes, those giving date alone refer to issues of this newspaper.

³ September 10, 1907.

⁴ January 11, 1908.

⁵ January 5, 1908.

⁶ September 13, 1907.

⁷ March 29, 1908.

⁸ October 4, 1907.

⁹ These booklets are available in the Roanoke Public Library. For the Fall Festival, see issues of October 4 and 11, November 12 and 13, 1907.

REMODELING ROANOKE

*Report to the Committee on
Civic Improvement by John
Nolen, Landscape Architect*
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

Frontispiece of Original Nolen Report.

major works in 1909 exemplifies that mixture of ongoing attitudes and innovations necessary to meet changing cultural conditions."¹⁰

Nolen (1869-1937), born in Philadelphia and graduated first in his class from Girard College at the age of 15, went on to study economics and public administration at the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania. Then, after ten years' work as executive secretary of the Society for the Extension of University Teaching and a year in Europe, he went back to school. There was as yet no professional city planning, but Nolen completed the program of the School of Landscape Architecture at Harvard University and received a master's degree in 1905. In June of that year he became advisor to the Park and Tree Commission of Charlotte, N. C., and did a tentative city plan for Charlotte (which was, however, not completed until 1917), and in 1906 he did a Park Plan for Savannah.¹¹

Only four cities in the United States had had comprehensive plans drawn before 1907: San Francisco and Columbia, S. C., in 1905, Oakland, Cal., and Denver in 1906. In 1907 came the plans for Roanoke, New York, St. Louis, Grand Rapids, Dubuque, and Greenville, S. C.¹²

The text of the Roanoke plan was printed in full in John Nolen's first book on his own work, published in 1912 and titled *Replanning Small Cities: Six Typical Studies*. First of these was Roanoke, subtitled "A Small City of the New South." Other studies were of "San Diego:

¹⁰ John Hancock, "John Nolen: The Background of a Pioneer Planner," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, XXVI, 4 (November, 1960), p. 302.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 303-309.

¹² John Nolen, *Twenty Years of City Planning Progress in the United States* (National Conference on City Planning, 1927), pp. 18, 23.

A Pacific Coast Resort; Montclair: A Residence Town Suburban to New York; Glen Ridge: A Model Borough in New Jersey; Reading: A Small Industrial Center; and Madison: A State Capital and University Town." By this time, 1912, more city plans were completed or in progress across the country; Nolen listed 70 in the appendix to his book. Roanoke's was the only one in Virginia, but there were other southern ones (in addition to the pre-1908 plans): Chattanooga and Memphis, Louisville, New Orleans, Savannah, and Dallas.

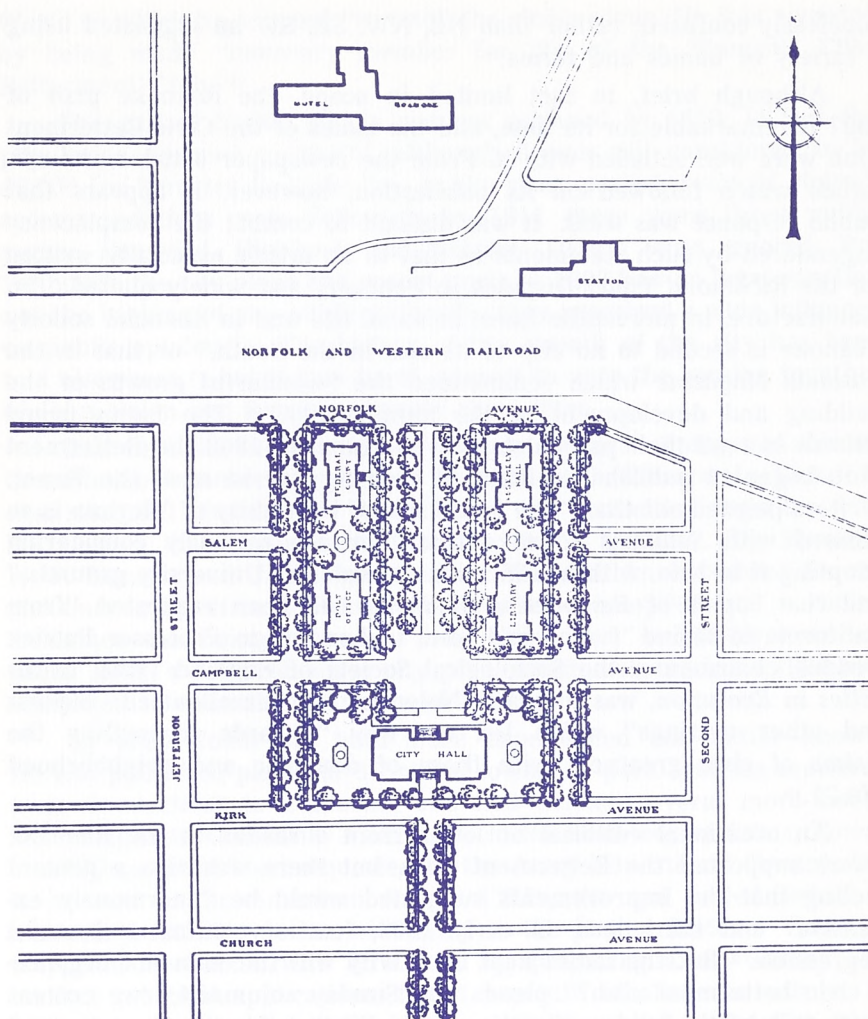
Nolen's philosophy was first stated in the Roanoke report. He was opposed to the current taste for display and formality, and his credo was much like that of Louis Sullivan, "form follows function." "It is a grave mistake," wrote Nolen, "to look upon civic improvement as concerned mainly, or even primarily, with beauty; at least if by beauty is meant merely an agreeable and pleasing appearance—'What is fair must first be fit.' Serviceableness as well as charm, use as well as beauty, must always be secured. Without one city life is inefficient; without the other sordid and commonplace. Therefore comprehensive and definite provision should be made for the business of Roanoke—its retail stores, its manufacturing, and its business-like efficiency as a municipality."¹³

Nolen's training and his disposition toward landscape architecture led him to stress planning for parks, civic squares, playgrounds, and parkways; only in his later work was he particularly concerned with such problems as better housing or traffic control.

Among the 47 photographs of the Roanoke area in the 1907 booklet the first was of Carvin's Cove waterfall; there were nine pictures of the Roanoke River and seven of Tinker Creek—all these, he suggested, should be developed as parkways and recreation areas.¹⁴ He recommended a grouping of public buildings (city hall, library, post office, federal court, assembly hall) either on a site between Tazewell and Elm Avenues or, preferably, in the public market area south of the railroad. Nolen admired the "superior natural advantages" of Roanoke and praised its progressiveness in planning for the future. But he did not flatter: he pointed out the poorly graded narrow streets, the unsightly localities, the lack of playgrounds and of "adequate provision for quick, easy, and agreeable access to the center of the city." He said frankly, "The city has developed rapidly from its humble beginning, from Big Lick to Bigger Lick. It has not radically changed its character." He added a note to the report (and later included this note in the text of his 1912 book) about the fact that each street seemed to have two or three names, so that even the residents were

¹³ Nolen, *Remodeling Roanoke*, p. 17, and *Small Cities*, p. 13.

¹⁴ The rest of the 94 photographs were of good examples, which included the 1699 plan of Williamsburg and the University of Virginia



THE GROUPING OF PUBLIC BUILDINGS
IN CONNECTION WITH THE
REMODELING OF ROANOKE

Scale 200 ft = 1 in.
JOHN NOLAN LANDSCAPE ARCHITECT
CAMBRIDGE MASS
1907

This map from the 1907 report shows Nolan's plan for clearing the city market area and creating a tree-lined plaza with city hall, library, auditorium, post office and federal building. Now, two generations later, the Downtown East project proposes a medical and shopping center in the same area still occupied by the same city market.

hopelessly confused; rather than NE, NW, SE, SW he suggested using a variety of names and terms.¹⁵

Although brief, in fact limited in scope, the Roanoke plan of 1907 is remarkable for its time, and the ladies of the Civic Betterment Club were well satisfied with it. From the newspaper articles and editorials which followed on its publication, however, it appears that public response was weak. It was difficult to combat the complacency engendered by such statements as that in an article especially written for the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* in February and widely quoted: "In manufacture, in mercantile lines, in social life and in financial solidity Roanoke is second to no city of its size in the South," or that in the *National Magazine* which commended the "wonderful growth of the building and development of the municipality."¹⁶ The ladies urged citizens to read their pamphlets, and in March of 1908 the Betterment Club began to publish a column in each Sunday issue of the *Times*. Writers pointed out that "The board of the University of Virginia is so pleased with *Sanitary Roanoke* that they are seriously considering adopting it in toto, with modifications to suit the University grounds," and that copies of *Remodeling Roanoke* had been requested "from California to Maine."¹⁷ One had gone to London, to Professor Patrick Geddes, chairman of the Sociological Society of England (who, in his *Cities in Evolution*, was to praise Nolen for his "excellent city reports and other writings" which led the way "towards reconciling the claims of civic greatness with those of domestic and neighborhood life.").¹⁸

An occasional editorial or letter from a reader to the *Roanoke Times* supported the Betterment Club, but there was also a general feeling that the improvements suggested would be "enormously expensive" and there was, in early 1908, fear of continued financial depression.¹⁹ But the ladies kept on. "Why will the *men* not organize a civic betterment club?" pleads one Sunday columnist; "we entreat them to take the lead . . ." ²⁰ An editorial writer for the *Times* gained the Club's gratitude early in April for his favorable words, and was praised. "One man, at least, in this community realizes that the Betterment Club has—as well as worthy aims and inspiring municipal ideals—a business-like plan of improvement . . . but alas! it appeals but to a few . . . the club feels that it has not had the support of the men of Roanoke, and this editorial is the first public masculine utterance endorsing our policy."²¹ The first utterance was happily soon followed by another: H. H. Hudgins wrote an article for the *Evening-*

¹⁵ *Remodeling Roanoke*, pp. 10-11, 19.

¹⁶ February 18, 1908; September 10, 1907.

¹⁷ February 25, 1908.

¹⁸ February 16, 1908; Patrick Geddes, *Cities in Evolution*, originally published 1915 (revised edition, N. Y., 1950), p. 67.

¹⁹ February 15 and 16, 1908; March 13, 1908.

²⁰ March 29, 1908.

²¹ April 5, 1908.

World in which he adopted "in toto" the club's plans. He was awarded by being made "honorary member for life of the Woman's Civic Betterment Club."²²

The goal of 50,000 people was not achieved by 1910; in fact the population dropped to 34,874, although it was still considered to be 40,000 for "greater Roanoke."²³ As the years passed, some of Nolen's recommendations were followed; by 1911 there were three public parks: Elmwood, Highland, and Melrose. Others were ignored. But "although the city plans and report made in 1907 had no legal sanction nor the backing of any public authority, they exercised a wide influence on public opinion."²⁴ The history of the growth of the city has been told elsewhere,²⁵ but it may be of interest to note the coming together of John Nolen and Roanoke, twenty years later.

This time the connection was official. A City Planning and Zoning Commission had been appointed in 1926, with Edward L. Stone as chairman and Mrs. Lucian H. Cocke on the committee together with D. D. Hull, Jr., C. Shelburne Spindle, B. N. Eubank, City Manager W. P. Hunter, and City Engineer C. L. Watkins. An *Industrial Survey* and one on *Public and Private Welfare* were compiled and a zoning ordinance was being prepared. John Nolen and Associates were engaged to do a comprehensive city plan, which was ready in 1928 and submitted to council in January of 1929.

By 1928 Nolen was both more experienced and better known. He had published plans for 16 cities, towns, or park systems scattered from Connecticut to California and had written several more books and pamphlets. One book, *New Ideals in the Planning of Cities, Towns and Villages*, had been requested by the Army Educational Commission to be sent to the American Army, A.E.F.; the war ended before it was ready, but it was then circulated in the United States.²⁶ This was a type of workbook, with directions for preparing a city survey and making practical applications, but it was still idealistic in nature. In 1922 Nolen had published *The Place of the Beautiful in the City Plan*, and in 1927 *New Towns for Old*—the appendix to this mentions the Roanoke plan of 1907 under "more important printed reports on re-planning."

As President of the National Conference on City Planning Nolen gave a speech in 1927 which was quite different from his remarks at the first National Conference of 1909.²⁷ Then he had posed the query: "What is needed in American City Planning?" and answered it:

²² April 26, 1908.

²³ George S. Jack, *History of Roanoke County* (Roanoke, 1912), p. 102.

²⁴ John Nolen, *Comprehensive City Plan* (Roanoke, 1928), p. 11.

²⁵ Jack, op. cit.; *Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration in the State of Virginia, Roanoke, Story of County and City* (Roanoke: 1942).

²⁶ It was published in New York in 1919.

²⁷ The 1927 speech was published in pamphlet form; see note 12.

"Everything."²⁸ But now, in 1927, he was able both to note progress and to point out changes in conditions and ideas which were producing new environments: the influence of the World War of 1914-18, the development of the skyscraper, and especially of the "bewildering increase in the manufacture and use of motor vehicles." In 1905, said Nolen, there were 77,400 passenger cars registered; by 1927, 22,330,000. The first Ford car had been manufactured in 1908; on January 1, 1926 there were registered 8,164,275 (exclusive of trucks). Again he spoke of the plans of 1907, as "Landmarks—events and publications of exceptional importance either because of their priority or by reason of the influence they exerted on city planning afterward."²⁹

The 1928 plan for Roanoke was of course longer and broader in scope, with attention given to new problems: traffic circulation, highway entrances to the city, automobile parking, zoning, bridges, grade crossing elimination. But Nolen still insisted on open spaces, on parks and parkways and playgrounds, and on the value of grouping public buildings within a civic center. Although specific in some recommendations, the plan was kept in general elastic enough to allow for independent growth and modification. The situation had changed in the two decades between 1907 and 1928, as it has changed in the nearly four decades since 1928. Were John Nolen to do another plan now, he would again envision "the gradual creation of an environment that will be so different from the present that without exaggeration it may be called new."³⁰

One feels, however, that he would reiterate a key statement in his report of 1907: "there has been no realization yet of the great possibilities of city-making, of the need to ameliorate city conditions, of the full requirements of child life, and of the necessity for the public to own and preserve its most convenient and most beautiful resources in valley, field, and mountain."³¹

²⁸ Quoted by Hancock, *op. cit.*, p. 309.

²⁹ Nolen, *Twenty Years*, pp. 8-9, 18.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

³¹ *Remodeling Roanoke*, p. 11.

More About Early Roads:

Southwest Virginia Turnpikes

by LEE PENDLETON

We were glad to read the informative article on toll roads by Edmund P. Goodwin in the last issue of the *Journal* as we had done some research on their operation in the Roanoke-Montgomery area. It supplied much we did not have.

Dr. Ralph M. Brown, longtime librarian at VPI, spent a good deal of time collecting historical papers pertaining to southwest Virginia. Among other things he obtained from Richmond certain acts of the legislature and had them bound, along with road orders of Augusta, Botetourt, Fincastle and Montgomery counties.

He overlooked one act which we feel was the "daddy" of later toll roads in southwest Virginia. On December 31, 1805, a toll road was authorized to run "from the last crossing of the Roanoke over Alleghany Mountain to the house of John Pendleton" (not related to this writer). The ford referred to is now crossed by a double bridge on U.S. 11, half a mile east of Shawsville. It remained a division point in later road work and a tollhouse stood there until the road was taken over by the state.

George Hancock, a former congressman, no doubt exercised influence in having the act passed. He was the successful bidder and operated the road until his death in 1820, after which his son took over the operation until it was sold to Edmundson and McClannahan, and sold by them to the Southwest Virginia Turnpike Authority in 1846.

The act recited that work of tithables had not been sufficient to build and keep in repair the eight miles to be improved and maintained. Kegley's *Virginia Frontier* shows the South Fork as first used leaving the present Lee Highway opposite "Madison" and going in the direction of Little Tunnel on the present N&W Railway, crossing the river and going up Tobe Hollow to the Walnut Grove home and then making a sharp right turn up a ridge north of the Snead home and reaching the eastern continental divide where the old Lee Highway and the present three-lane road merge.

Much credit has been given the buffalo and the Indian as original "surveyors" of roads which pioneers used later. This route was not a good recommendation for their skill. We think there was a steep

Lee Pendleton, a resident of Cambria (Christiansburg), Va., is a lifelong student of southwest Virginia history. He is a member of this Society.

embankment now crossed by a bridge and that the valley was covered with a dense forest and swamps through which horses could not travel. At best the road was only a bridle or packhorse path until after the Fort Vause massacre in 1756, after which the road was switched to its present location up Whiteside Branch, and Jacob Kent opened a tavern in 1770. There are several orders relating to the "clearing" and other work on this stretch of road.

The terms under which the road was built seem to have been favorable to Col. Hancock. He was allowed to realize not less than six and not more than 15 per cent on his investment. We do not know how much it cost him to build it but we recall seeing at the courthouse a paper concerning his borrowing of money in New York.

His 1818 report showed tolls of \$921.39 and the stage coach paying \$234. He had spent \$368.50 for repairs and allowed the tollgate keeper \$128, thus realizing a net profit of \$658.89. Ten years later the road showed a profit of \$831—indicating more traffic or less maintenance or possibly both.

Pendleton, the tavern-tollgate keeper when the road was first built with his home as the terminus, was indicted with others in 1780 for selling liquor and operating a tavern without a license.

(One of the first pieces of business of the newly formed Montgomery county in 1777 had been to fix the price of good whiskey at eight shillings per gallon; indifferent whiskey half price. It also provided the price of a night's lodging with clean sheets at sixpence. There was no quotation on used sheets. A "hot diet" was listed as a shilling—16 $\frac{2}{3}$ cents or less than a hotdog today—and cold diet was half as much.)

Pendleton had bought about 300 acres adjoining Hancock's land just east of the cloverleaf, the deed being made to "Pennitent" and so executed when he sold. He served in Capt. Barnett's company as Pendleton and his marriage license was made out in that name. The tollhouse stood until about 1950 and was considered a county landmark.

For 140 years Lafayette has been a small village with a big name. Formerly known as "The Forks", where Rev. John Craig established the New Derry congregation in 1769, the town was laid out in 1828 and the name "Fayette" given the first post office—changed ten years later to Lafayette.

As early as 1745 an order was entered for a road from Isaac Taylor's house at The Forks to the house of Jacob Brown, with John Robinson as overseer. It would go by Ellett and later to Blacksburg and Peppers Ferry.

In 1836 its population was 103, all white, and there were a flour mill, tavern, two stores, a doctor and a church. With the organization of a turnpike company in 1838 Lafayette was designated as the begin-

ning of a road through Christiansburg to English's (Ingles) Ferry, books to be opened for \$8,000 in stock subscriptions by Joseph Logan, Joseph Barnett, John Pepper, Charles L. Barnett and Powell Huff. In Salem the books would be opened by John H. Griffin, William C. Bowyer, John F. White, William Williams, George Shanks, John Logan and George Walton.

At the same time authority was granted for the building of a road from Salem by Lafayette and Blacksburg to Peppers Ferry, and the same citizens to open books for \$15,000 in stock. This road would connect at Blacksburg with another into Giles county.

It wasn't long, however, until the South Western Turnpike superseded these private projects. Chartered January 28, 1946 with a \$75,000 appropriation from the state, the original road was to have a 46-foot right-of-way but a month later the act was amended and the width increased to 60 feet "to be vested in the Commonwealth for the use of said road, or of a railroad, should one hereafter be established over the same ground, or any part thereof."

The next year another \$75,000 was appropriated, and the third year \$300,000 more was authorized, and the company directed "to complete the road and cause the whole line to be surveyed through Scott County to the Tennessee line." Only \$75,000 could be expended in any one year. By the same act the Board of Public Works was "directed to borrow at 6% so much as may be necessary to make up any deficiency in the Treasury to meet the above annual expense." We don't know if funds were actually borrowed.

Using the Salem-Peppers ferry turnpike to near Lafayette and then the Ingles Ferry turnpike and purchasing the Alleghany turnpike, the road would bypass Lafayette and otherwise be much straighter than the dirt roads it took over. Virginia had experimented with plank roads where there was an abundance of timber but without much success. Along this route there was limestone rock which would not have to be hauled far. Bridges would take the place of fords. Two long covered bridges would be built near Elliston. It would be a most advanced road for the time, and horsepower would be reduced by half. At the end of three score and ten years it showed little wear and tear.

There is a paradox here: Colonel Hancock's road (the first built except by tithables) was ahead of its time—a ditched and graded highway through a mountain pass. The "Great Road" and its successor, the South Western Turnpike, ranked high among the arteries which helped settle the west. But by 1918 the road from Roanoke county line to the top of the Alleghany summit had become a quagmire, at least during four or five months of the year. It continued to be a disgrace to the state until 1926 when it was rebuilt as the last gap in the new Lee Highway (U.S. 11) and the largest crowd ever seen in Christians-

burg attended the dedication of a marker commemorating that road's completion.

And at this writing Interstate 81 is being built up the mountain from Dixie Caverns to east of Christiansburg—also virtually the last gap in that undertaking from far up the Shenandoah to Tennessee.

**REGULAR
PROHIBITION TICKET.**

ELECTION, TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 1892.

FOR PRESIDENT,
JOHN BIDWELL,
OF CALIFORNIA.

FOR VICE-PRESIDENT,
JAMES B. CRANFILL,
OF TEXAS.

ELECTORS AT LARGE,
ROBERT Y. ZACHARY, of Norfolk City.
JAMES R. MILLER, of Pulaski City.

DISTRICT ELECTORS,
1st. WILLIAM S. MILLS, of Accomac Co.
2nd. WILLIAM B. WILDER, of Portsmouth.
3rd. JOHN G. LUMPKIN, of Richmond City.
4th. HERBERT C. BARROW, of Brunswick.
5th. SAMUEL C. ADAMS, of Henry Co.
6th. ROBERT H. BEAZLEY, of Halifax Co.
7th. REUBEN A. FINNELL, of Warren Co.
8th. DANIEL J. HOGE, of Loudoun Co.
9th. WILLIE B. KEGLEY, of Wytheville.
10th. WILLIAM B. BOYD, of Botetourt Co.

For Congress,

.....District,

1753: Saga of a Pioneer Pilgrimage Through the Roanoke Region

In 1751 the Moravians were granted 100,000 acres in North Carolina including the site of Winston-Salem. Bishop Spangenberg and party reached the land from eastern Carolina the next year and surveyed it. And in October, 1753 about a dozen brethren, all unmarried, set out from Bethlehem, Pa., to settle there.

Apparently they had scant knowledge of the country for instead of taking the relatively flat and much shorter route south through Philadelphia and piedmont Virginia they went west and then up the Shenandoah. For us their route was fortunate because their diary is among the earliest detailed records of people and geography of this area.

This diary was translated from the German and printed many years ago but the translators edited out much of the flavor and piquancy of the original. In 1915 Miss Adelaide L. Fries made a literal translation in which the phrasing and original spellings of proper names remain. This Society has a copy of the manuscript from the Moravian Archives in Winston-Salem and we present here the portion of it covering the route from about Buchanan to the Blackwater River northeast of Rocky Mount, Va. By road today it comprises some 44 miles; the brethren made it in nine days and must have covered at least 90 miles.

The chronicle makes good reading. It poses questions, too. For example when and how did "Benjamin Reh, an old man of about 90 years, and his wife who is nearly a hundred" establish a house near what is now the Garden City section of Roanoke?

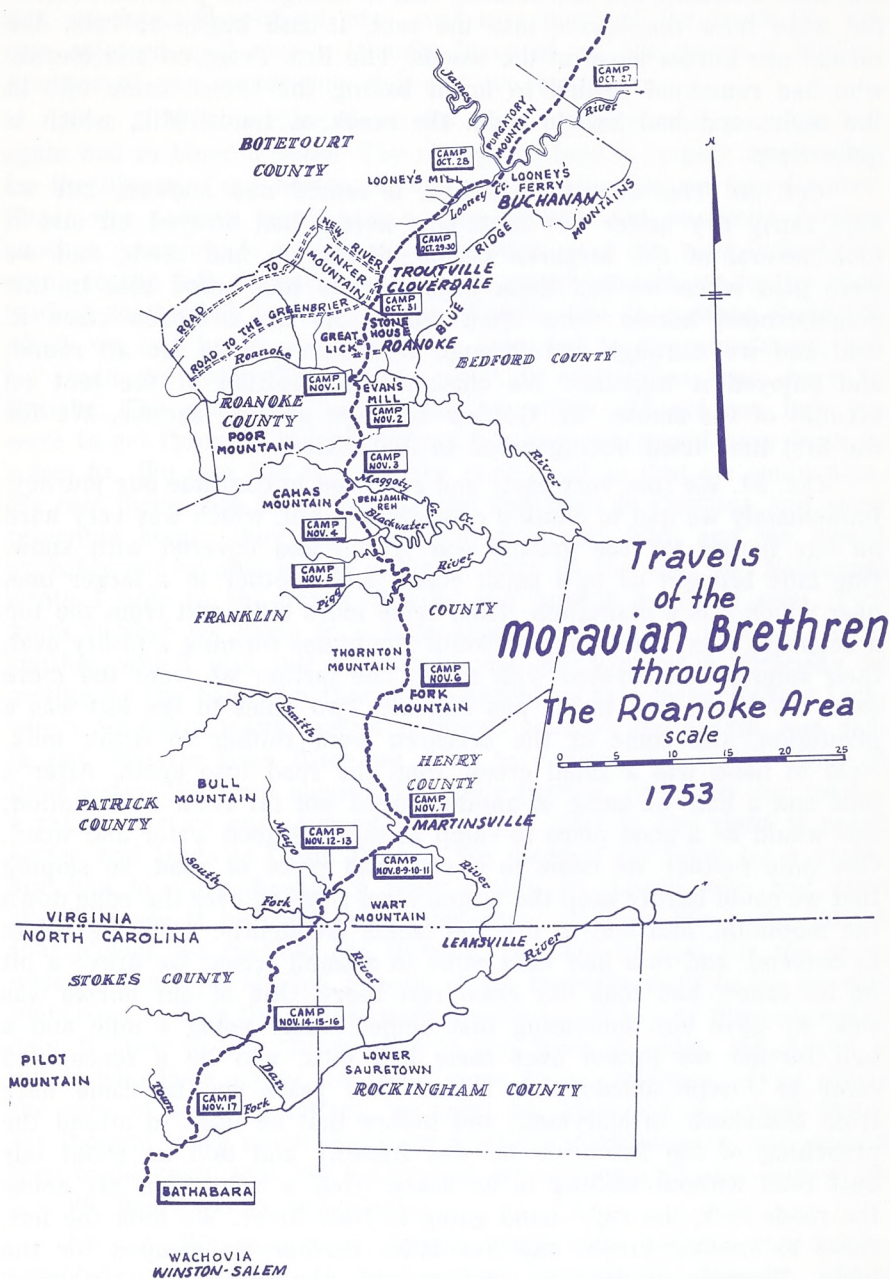
Oct. 8, 1753, we rose early and made ready for our start, our dear Dr. Christian Seidel holding morning prayer for us. And so with a feeling of blessing and contentment we set out from our beloved Bethlehem—the Brn. Grube, Jac. Loesch, Merkli, Feldhausen, Erich Ingepretsen, Peterson, Lunge, Hermanus Loesch, Pfeil, Beroth, Lischer, Kalberlahn and Joseph Haberland, the last named to accompany us only to the Susquehannah. Our "Cher Junger" Dr. Gottlieb, Hoffman, Eberhard, and several other Brethren went with us for a few miles, and when we had taken tender leave of each other we went our way humbly happy over the goodness that the Lamb of God had shown to us poor mortals in His congregation. The Brethren Gottlob and Nathanael followed us in a few hours, and in the evening we met at the Missellimer Mill and remained there over night—the people were fairly civil in their entertainment of us though hitherto they have refused to let Brethren stop there. On the way we picked up several

pieces of our baggage which had been left by our wagon when it stuck fast and had to be unloaded before it could be pulled out . . .

[And so for the next 20 days the Brethren continued their not-too-direct journey—west to “Harrison’s Ferry” (Harrisburg), then south across Maryland and up the Shenandoah Valley, following very generally the route of present U.S. 11 on the west side of the Massanutten range. By October 28 they had reached the vicinity of present-day Buchanan and — —]

Towards evening we saw the Jeams River; the road to it ran down so very steep a hill that we fastened a small tree to the back of our wagon, locked the wheels, and the brethren held back by the tree with all their might, but even then the wagon went down so fast that most of the brethren lost their footing; no harm was done, and we thanked the Lord that He had so graciously protected us, for it looked dangerous and we thought at times that it could not possibly be done without accident, but in spite of stump and stone we got down safely. We made our camp near the River, and rested well after the fatigue of the day, for the road had all been bad, and yet we had made sixteen miles. A man visited us, and asked whether we had come down the steep hill; he expressed surprise at our success, and said we need not have come that way, but might have turned to the right toward the Blue Mountains and have followed a good road around through a valley. Br. Gottlob held evening prayer.

Oct. 29. We rose at five, having had a rather cold night with frost for the first time on this trip. We drove half a mile to the River, and found two roads, the one to the right going one mile further to Lunis Ferry, that to the left fording the river. A couple of the brethren rode through to see what kind of crossing it was, for there were many rocks and stones in the stream. Fortunately for us all the rivers and creeks are low just now, otherwise we could make little progress, for even the smallest creeks rise so in rainy weather that the horses would have to swim. From the Buffler Creek here we crossed streams every two or three miles. We crossed Jeams River safely, and thanked our Father in heaven that He had helped us through so many difficulties. We then had two miles of good road, crossed a creek, and came to a house where we spent most of the day, taking time to bake bread and kill a hog that we bought. We were visited by the Mr. Illison from whom Br. Hermanus recently bought corn, and he asked that the brethren would shoe his horse, which was done. He said that he would soon go to Philadelphia, and offered to attend to anything we wished done there. The Brn. Gottlob and Nathanael wrote letters to our friends in Bethlehem . . . This evening we went about four miles further over a rather bad road. On the way we got some bread that we had had baked at Lunis’ Mill. We crossed a large creek and set up our tent two miles from the



Mill near a stream, but immediately had to change our position because the wind blew the smoke into the tent. It also began to rain. We turned our horses loose in the woods. The Brn. Petersen and Merkli, who had remained behind to finish baking the bread, came late in the night, and had had to swim the creek at Lunis' Mill, which is quite deep.

Oct. 30. The weather was bad, it rained and snowed, but we kept fairly dry under our tent. Our horses had strayed off and it took several of the brethren nearly all day to find them, and we were glad when we had them back, for we had heard that in this neighborhood horses were often stolen. As the brethren came in cold and wet through and through we had a cup of tea all round, and enjoyed it together. We changed the position of the tent on account of the smoke. Br. Gottlob held the evening service. We for the first time tried baking bread in the ashes.

Oct. 31. We rose very early and prepared to continue our journey. Immediately we had to climb a considerable hill, which was very hard on our horses for the ground was frozen and covered with snow. One mile brought us to a small creek, and another to a larger one, near which was a plantation. Then came more hills, and from the top a beautiful view, the Blue and South Mountains forming a pretty oval, their summits all covered with snow. The farther we went the more snow we found, and travel was difficult. Two miles to the left was a plantation, and some of the brethren went thither to drink milk. Near at hand was a small creek, then the road rose again. After a mile and a half we came to another creek not far from a plantation; this would be a good place to camp as there is good water and wood. One mile further we came to a very bad piece of road, so sloping that we could hardly keep the wagon from slipping over the edge down the mountain, and had to use the tackle frequently. Then we began to descend, and in a half mile came to a small creek; we drove a bit up its valley, and took our noon rest there. One of our horses was sick, we gave him something that helped. After going a mile and a half further we passed over some bad hills, and by a fence, and came to Joseph Macdonald's house. Two years ago he came here from Manakesie in Maryland, and before that he used to attend the preaching of the Brethren; he was friendly and told us about our best road without waiting to be asked. Half a mile from his house the roads fork, the right hand going to New River. We took the left, came to another creek, and five miles further we camped for the night. Towards evening we met an old man whom Br. Nathanael engaged in conversation, and as we passed near his fence we asked him to sell us some turnips, but he was so good as to make us a present of a nice quantity, and gave an invitation that any of our people passing this way should visit him. He had heard perhaps a

hundred lies about the Brethren,—that we were “bearded people”, that we enjoined celibacy, etc.—and now learning the truth the old man rejoiced, and took a friendly leave of us. His name is Muller. Another of our horses was sick and we bled him.

Nov. 1. With earliest dawn we were again on our journey, but again had to bleed a horse. The change in food is largely responsible for the illness of our horses. At one and a half miles we found water. There was a small creek half a mile beyond, and one mile further another, near which was an old plantation, and the road forked, we going to the left. A quarter of a mile more brought us to the road leading to the left up the hills to Warrik, and to a stone house of which we had heard and where we expected to buy provisions, but we could get little. The people count it nine miles from here to Runoke. The road was narrow and we often did not see how we were to get through, indeed without our axes we would have been in a bad fix. We also had to work the road itself so that we could pass. We met three men from Warrik who had been to Carolina and were returning home; they said the road was very bad, and we would probably not be able to buy any provisions on the way. Br. Nathanael wrote a note to Br. Christ. Rauch, and sent it by these men. Two miles further we came to a little creek, and in two miles more to another which was full of stones, and we had much difficulty in getting up the bank. Another mile brought us to a large Buffalo Lick, where formerly many buffalo gathered because the marsh was rich in salt. Not far from there we came to a plantation where there is good water. We went about half a mile further, and then our road—a rather narrow one—turned to the left. That to the right is much better and leads to Grain Brayer. We stopped for noon by a creek, and had to drive through a large marsh. Br. Losch, who had gone ahead to see if he could buy some corn, rejoined the party. About four o'clock we reached the Runoke, and had to wait for the corn, which was not yet shelled. Several of the brethren went to the nearest plantation to help the people shell the corn, and two of them threshed oats. It grew so late that we had to stay here all night. Mr. Evens, a miller who lives across the river, came to us and gave advice about the care of our sick horses, we tried his plan and it helped them. We thought today much about our brethren in Heidelberg, and wished they could know that the Savior had brought us well and content so far. We made twelve miles today.

Nov. 2. We rose early, having slept little because the smoke troubled us all night. At day-break we crossed the Runoke, which was very low, and not quite so large as the Lecha, but full of slippery stones; and in high water it runs half a mile over the banks. We had much difficulty in getting our sick horses across. A quarter of a mile beyond we came to Evens' mill, where our road turned to the

left and became very narrow. A mile further we came to a steep hill, and the road sloped badly. We soon stuck in a ditch, and were in danger of breaking our axle. In another mile a rather high hill rose before us, and we had to unload half our things and carry them up on our backs, and even then we could hardly get the wagon up. The going down was also steep, we locked two wheels, hung a tree on behind, and all the brethren held back by it; and so we crossed this hill safely. Then we had a mile and a half of good road, and stopped for lunch by a creek. It looked much like rain and there was a large hill before us. We asked a man that we met whether we could get across the hill today and he said "Yes, some one lived on the top, and we could spend the night there". We believed him and drove to the foot of the hill, crossing a large creek. Then we tried to climb the hill but it was impossible, the hill being too steep. So we decided to unload and carry the things up the hill. The Brn. Lischer and Pfeil stayed with the wagon, and the rest of us made the ascent. Half way up it began to rain and was hard on us and the horses, but we hoped on the top to find the house of which the man had told us. The time seemed long to us and when we reached the summit neither house nor water was to be found. There was nothing to do but go on down the mountain in the darkness and heavy rain. At last in the valley we found a little creek, having been two and a half hours crossing the hill. There we made camp as best we might, having much trouble to get a fire, for it was raining heavily and everything was wet. We set up the tent and lay close together on the wet bedding, and rested a little. Toward morning it cleared and was very cold.

Nov. 3. At dawn we went back across the hill to get the other things and the wagon. The Brn. Gottlob, Nathanael, and Kalberland stayed with the tent. The brethren who had remained in the wagon had also had a cold night, and we were glad to see each other again. We loaded our horses and took most of the things to the top of the hill, made a fire, and Br. Haberland stayed while the rest went back for the wagon. Although it was almost empty it was all we could do to push and pull it up, but in half an hour we were at the top. Loading our belongings we traveled a little way upward along the ridge; then came the descent and we locked the wheels, hung a tree on behind, and all held back by it, and so we came safely down to our tent, and rejoiced that the Saviour had helped us. Although there were a couple of steep, sloping hills before us, yet we crossed them before night, and set up our tent by a creek, turning our horses into the woods. We were all very tired and sleepy and let the angels be our guard during the night.

Nov. 4. We had an almost untrodden road, and had to cut a number of trees out of the way. Our wagon stuck fast in a mud-hole, and

it took two hours to get it out. The tackle did us good service. One mile beyond we found water, then had four miles of good road to a creek, where we stopped for noon. In the afternoon we crossed Maggedi Creek, near which lives Benjamin Reh, an old man of about 90 years, and his wife who is nearly a hundred. Both are quite bright and active, gave us milk to drink, and were very friendly. Near this house is a deep muddy place. Then we climbed a steep hill to the Warriik Road, which leads in a western direction and is fairly good.

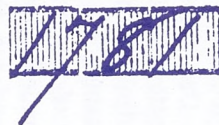
Nov. 5. We rose early and went on our way. Had several miles of good road along the ridge. When we had driven five miles we came to the home of Mr. Robert Kohl, Justice of the Peace, from whom we bought some corn. He is a pleasant man, and expressed regrets that he did not know we were coming, for he would gladly have met us and led us by a better and nearer way so that we could have escaped the hills and mountains. The road was indeed not entirely cleared, but there were so many of us that we could have gotten through with little trouble. He said he would see to it that this road was opened at once. Two brethren stayed here to help shell some bushels of corn that bought. We had again some bad places to drive up. At half a mile was a small creek, and another half mile brought us to Black Water, a large creek with very steep banks . . .

[Twelve long days and innumerable creeks and mudholes later the brethren were approaching their land at Bethabara—near present-day Winston-Salem, 107 miles from Roanoke by road today.]

Nov. 17. We rose early having had a cold night; it looked much like snow. Some of the brethren went ahead with axes and grubbing hoes to clear the road and cut down the steep banks of the creeks. One mile from Altem's we crossed Forck Creek, and came to the new road leading across our land to the Etkin. On the right hand side of the creek is a plantation, and the people gave us two sacks of pumpkins and offered us a wagon-full more free of charge. Two miles from our land we crossed Buffler Creek. One mile from our land we stopped for the noon rest. The Brn. Gottlob and Nathanael had gone ahead to the next plantation, which adjoins our land, and the people presented them with a couple of bushels of turnips. At last, at half-past twelve, we reached the boundary of our land, whereat we all rejoiced; and there we were met and tenderly welcomed by Br. Gottlob and Br. Nathanael. It touched us and we thanked our Saviour that He had so graciously led us hither and had helped us through all the hard places, for no matter how dangerous it seemed, nor how little we saw how we could win through, everything always went better than seemed possible . . .

Original of the
Ticket of the
New-London Academy
Lottery, given to
A. Anson Jamison of
Roanoke, Va.

No



BY AUTHORITY OF THE LEGISLATURE OF VIRGINIA.
Lottery for the benefit of the New-London Academy.
SECOND CLASS.

THIS Ticket will entitle the bearer to such a prize as may be drawn to its number, if demanded within twelve months after the drawing is finished, subject to a deduction of fifteen per cent, payable at one of the Banks in Lynchburg, immediately after the completion of the drawing.

WILLIAM CALLAWAY, Sr.
NATHANIEL REID,
WILLIAM IRVINE,
JOHN WATTS,
HENRY BROWN,

}

SAMUEL WHITE,
CHRISTOPHER CLARK,
WILLIAM STEPTOE,
J. T. W. READ,

}

SAMUEL READ,
ABNER E. CALLAWAY,
SETH WARD,
ALEXANDER AUSTIN.

}

Managers.

You Could Take A Legal Gamble in 1796

A century and a half ago gambling was not only legal, it was essential for the survival of New London Academy. Founded in 1795 as a college preparatory school at the frontier center of New London in Bedford County, the academy was financed for 50 years by a lottery authorized by Virginia's legislature Nov. 21, 1796. This original lottery ticket was given the Society by A. Anson Jamison of Roanoke.

When Editorials Were Editorials:

Butler In Richmond

[From the *Roanoke Times* (Salem, Va.) January 18, 1868. Copy in the Society's Museum collection]

News Dispatch:

RICHMOND, Jan. 14—In the Convention an article of the Constitution was adopted, declaring that Virginia shall ever remain in the Union; and pledging her to resist all efforts to break it up. — Another article adopted declares that slavery in the State is forever abolished.

A resolution from the Republican side of the House inviting Gen'l Butler to address the Convention was adopted. — Another was offered from the Conservatives, inviting General Wise. At this point a Radical moved to reconsider the vote in inviting Gen'l Butler, and pending the discussion, amid motions to adjourn, Butler entered the door. Shortly after, the Conservative members left the House in a body, with one or two Radicals who had opposed the invitation. Butler, in his speech, said: "There should be as few changes in the Constitution as possible; as few disfranchisements, and as few test-oaths." With reference to the disfranchisements, he thought it should apply to the controlling officers of corporations, railroads, &c. The tax for education should be laid on persons, and other taxes should be borne by property and persons alike. He urged the Convention to be diligent, and to get through their work soon. Suffrage should not be taken from a man after it had been granted; but the Legislature might hereafter, as an incentive to education, confer it only upon those who could read and write.

The Convention voted its thanks to him and adjourned.

Editorial:

This coward, thief, renegade, murderer and outlaw has paid a visit to Richmond; and though in every civilized country on the face of the earth he is loathed and contemned, he is furnished a room on one of the first Hotels in the late capitol of the Confederate States. Instead of being shunned as a loathsome leper, or some vile, poisonous reptile, the Ballard House receives him, and gives shelter and entertainment to the vilest specimen of humanity which any country has ever presented.

Is it possible that all self-respect and manly pride and independence has been extinguished in the hearts of the Southern people, and that we have not the spirit left, if not to resent, at least to show that we sensibly feel the insult intended and most shamefully thrust at us

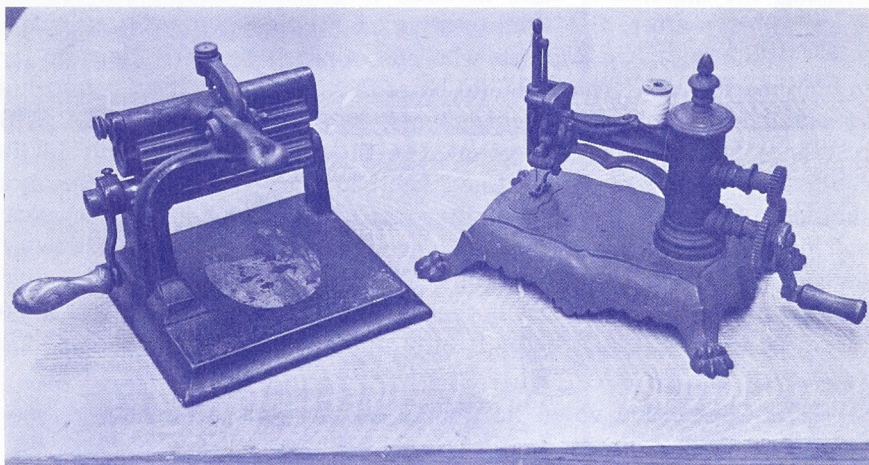
by such abandoned and cowardly wretches, who, taking advantage of our helpless condition, dare to torment us by the presence of their loathsome carcasses?

We have been vanquished on the battle-field, and are not now disposed to take up arms to redress our wrongs, yet it is base and servile to show any respect to such men, or recognize them in any other way than BUTLER was by the Conservative band who so faithfully represent the true Virginia sentiment in the Convention in Richmond.

Butler in Richmond!

An insult to every man, woman and child, white or black, in Virginia! . . .

Machine Age: 1832

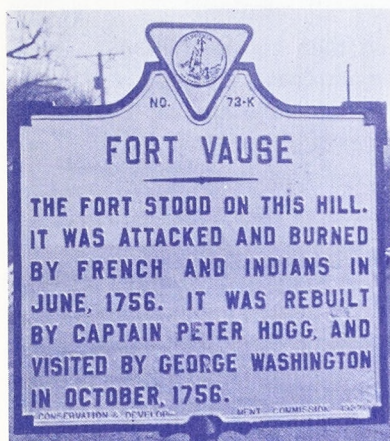


This 134-year-old sewing machine (right) is in working condition after use by several generations of the Horton family. The object at left is not a small printing press but a fluting machine for men's shirts. They were loaned to the Society's museum by Mrs. W. H. Horton.

Fort Vause: The Site And the Story

by LENA GARDNER SAMMONS

Mrs. Macon Sammons, the writer, teaches history and government at the high school in her native Shawsville. A graduate of Longwood College, she has studied at the University of North Carolina and at VPI and during World War II she worked with the Red Cross. Mrs. Sammons, the former Lena Mac Gardner, lives a stone's throw below the fort site.



The Site

In the village of Shawsville, Virginia less than a quarter mile off U. S. Route 11, there is a low hill whose level summit marks the site of Fort Vause. At the foot of the hill, a state marker gives this scant but impressive information:

"The fort stood on this hill. It was attacked and burned by the French and Indians in June 1756. It was rebuilt by Captain Peter Hogg and visited by George Washington in October 1756."

Occasionally, tourists stop to read the sign and come to our home to ask questions or to get permission to climb the hill. Whenever this happens, I am glad, for nothing is so gratifying as the opportunity to share a cherished heritage.

As I welcome the guests, I think of my father and of his respect for the land and the brave people who first settled it. Father bought the fort site in 1903, several years after moving from the North Fork to the South Fork of the Roanoke River. He often took visitors to the hill and proudly pointed out to them, as older members of our community had pointed out to him, the embankments that defined the general area covered by Fort Vause. He also pointed out two springs, one to the east and one to the west that had furnished water for the

1 It is the opinion of some people that this marker's information is misleading since it refers to the two forts as having one site. They feel that the stockade fort built around the Vause home had a different location from the second fort which was planned by the Colony's War Council (July 1756) to be the largest fortified fort in the southern line of linking frontier forts. Since there is, as yet, no certain proof as to the exact location of the Vause dwelling, we may expect this difference of opinion to continue.

early settlers, and sometimes, he told his visitors a story that had been handed down from one generation to another about an Indian spy shot from a tall sycamore tree at the west spring. Here was an example of alertness and accuracy that we all admired!

The Indian spy had climbed the tall tree hoping to look over into the fort. He would have reported what he saw, no doubt, to the enemy, the French and Indians of the Ohio Valley. This calamity was prevented, glory be, by a remarkable feat of marksmanship performed by the guard on duty at the fort.

In the last decade of the nineteenth century, when my father first knew the site, the tall sycamore tree was still standing, the two springs were still in use, and on the hill where the fort had been there stood an old log dwelling, perhaps a remaining relic of the abandoned second fort. This old house, which had been used as a home until around 1897, was torn down shortly before father bought the land. He was saddened by the thought that an intriguing historical relic was destroyed—likely used for kindling wood. As the fort site's new owner, he was resolved to see that the contour of the land, at least, be left undisturbed. To protect the land from frequent plowings he planted apple trees on the hill, spacing them with ample room between the trees and seeing to it that no tree was located so that it blocked the vantage points to the west and to the east.

It was awesome to recall the number of significant pioneers who had probably looked to the west and to the east from these vantage points; George Washington, only twenty-four years old and already a veteran of two campaigns in the Ohio Valley, Andrew Lewis, Augusta County's brave soldier-adventurer, Captain John Smith, fearless defender of the fort at Vause's home, Captain Peter Hogg, patient and able builder of the second fort, and most certainly, Captain Ephraim Vause, the man who knew a deep love for the land as his frontier home. We children were taught to respect them all, but to Captain Vause we gave the special esteem usually reserved for one's blood ancestors. This was because Captain Vause's early adventures, as shown by the Augusta County records, closely paralleled those of our ancestor, Brian McDonald. Both men had been granted land on Virginia's western frontier in 1746 and soon thereafter had been given similar responsibilities for the building and maintaining of roadways leading westward to New River; Ephraim Vause on the South Fork of the Roanoke and Brian McDonald on the North Fork.

In Father's mind, however, the true bond of kinship between our ancestor and Ephraim Vause was proven by the determined courage with which they held fast to their new homes in the frightening months that followed General Braddock's defeat in the Ohio Valley. In those days of panic when great throngs of people



Apple trees grow today on the gentle plateau where Fort Vause once commanded the western approach to the upper Roanoke River Valley. It is just west of present-day Shawsville.

were going back across the Blue Ridge Mountains to a more assured safety, it was apparent that neither Ephraim Vause nor Brian McDonald considered joining the mass migration. Instead, they busied themselves with building new means of defense. My fourth great-grandfather built a secret staircase back of his fireplace that led by way of an underground passage to an opening some distance from the house (being Scottish, he had little reliance on the British influenced House of Burgesses), while Ephraim Vause, at his own expense, built a fort for the protection of his family and neighbors. Early in 1756 Captain Vause was successful in having the able Captain John Smith assigned to supervise the fort's defense.

These family instigated fortifications, built by brave and willing hands, tell of an intense and loving loyalty for frontier homes. Such loyalty is no passing fancy. It leaves a lasting impression on future sons. It portrays the durable and intimate warmth of personal dreams and desires. One has only to stand on the hill back of our house to feel the presence of these early settlers. They return to their beloved home and we meet them there. It is as natural as the rhythmic motion of the tiny yellow butterflies that move about among the wild mint and the daisies.

In the golden summers of my own childhood, father and I often climbed the hill together and sat on the board bench that was built around the trunk of the Rambo apple tree. "Breathe deep and look long," he would say to me, and we would inhale the sweet fragrance of the ripening apples and let our eyes feast their fill, first to the

west, always first to the west because the Shawnee Indians came through the western pass in the mountains, and then to the east. Looking west, over the pasture field, our eyes would follow the proud winding roadway, moving sedately up and around in its search for the natural divide in the mountains; looking east, over the roof of our home, we could rest our eyes on the friendly hills, as they leisurely rolled themselves out, one after the other, until they fell back to rest against the strong, blue mountains.

Father would light his after-supper cigar and we would lean back against the broad trunk of the Rambo tree, basking in the contentment of a mutual appreciation. "I won't forget," I promised him, "I'll tell the story of Fort Vause to anyone who will listen."

The Story

The story of Fort Vause is sad but fascinating. It tells of adventure, of suspense, of heart-breaking loss and of magnificent courage. The story begins, of course, with Ephraim Vause. As far as can be determined he was the first inhabitant of Virginia to bear the Vause name. Where he had lived before he came into Augusta County or how long his family had lived in the colonies is uncertain, but it is evident that from the first months of his arrival on the Virginia frontier he was a man of influence in his community. The first land deeded to Ephraim Vause in the county bears the date of January, 1746. In November of the same year he was named by the County Court to be in charge of building and maintaining a roadway west, along the South Fork of the Roanoke River. Although Ephraim Vause bought numerous tracts of land in Augusta County, it was for this land, along the South Fork of the Roanoke, that he developed a particular attachment and it was here in the vicinity of the present village of Shawsville that he concentrated on establishing his estate.

His home was described as being where the valley closes in and the trail starts over the mountain, an area satisfying in beauty but sadly exposed to danger from the Indian raiders. The murder of five white men at the home of Ephraim Vause in 1753 probably prompted the appointment of Lieutenant Andrew Lewis, as a representative from the Virginia militia, to assist in the organizing of Augusta County's defense. Lewis was asked to recruit rangers and select officers who might train them. Before 1754 there were only two known fortified places on Virginia's frontier. One was at the pass leading from Catawba to the head branches of the Roanoke and the other was on the South Fork of the Roanoke, at the home of Ephraim Vause. Mr. Vause was appointed "Captain of the Horse" and his home was selected as the gathering place for a group of rangers recruited from the vicinity.

George Washington's defeat in 1754, at the hands of the French

in the Ohio Valley, followed one year later by General Braddock's losses, had filled the settlers with terror. Parties of raiding Shawnee Indians, encouraged and supplied by the French, attacked almost at will along Virginia's western frontier. The Indian Massacre at Drapers' Meadow, Blacksburg, in July, 1755 was warning enough of Indian hostility. It was small wonder that alarmed settlers began abandoning their homes and fleeing back across the Blue Ridge Mountains to safety. By the spring of 1756 John Madison, Clerk of Augusta County, spoke of the frontier as being practically deserted.

Sometime before August, 1755 Ephraim Vause, at his own expense, built a stockade fort around his home for the protection of his family and his neighbors. In the county records of this period we are told that in the fall and winter of 1755, Fort Vause and the Fort at Catawba, sometimes called Fort Preston or Fort William, served to good purpose. The story of the Indian spy shot from the tall sycamore may have happened during this time of anxiety. Although the Indian raiders and spies were consistently troublesome in the months after the tragedy at Drapers' Meadow, there had been no mass Indian attack in the period of eleven months and perhaps Andrew Lewis, now a major, felt that the time had come to shift tactics to an offensive warfare against the Indians. At any rate, in the early summer of 1756, he reduced the strength of the frontier ranger companies by taking some of the men with him on an expedition to the Cherokee country, likely to ask the Cherokees to fight with the English against the French and the Shawnees. Very soon after Major Lewis' departure, on June 16th to be exact, a small band of Indians appeared near Fort Vause. At the time they were sighted, there were only four or five men at the fort, so it was thought not advisable to give battle. Several miles from the fort one white man was taken captive and carried to an Indian camp on the New River. Fortunately, three days after his capture the white man managed to make his escape and straightway came to warn Captain John Smith at Fort Vause. One of the Indians in the group spoke English, he said, and had told him that a large number of Shawnee Indians, under the leadership of a French captain by the name of Babee, were on their way to rout out the English settlers along the frontier line. Fort Vause and the fort at Catawba were among their first objectives.

Captain Smith immediately sent a message to Captain William Preston who was in command of the Ranger Company at the fort near Catawba. In Captain Smith's message he stated that he had only eight or ten men and lacked sufficient ammunition to withstand a major attack. Only an hour before the message arrived on June 22nd, Captain Preston had dismissed his company of rangers so that it was not until June 25th that he was able to gather eighteen of his rangers to march with twenty-nine members of the militia in answer to Captain

Smith's plea for help. With what relish the Indian spies must have relayed this information to their French promoters! For it was on that very day, while Captain Preston and his forty-seven men were marching to bring the requested help, that Fort Vause was attacked and burned to the ground.

Some sources say three hundred Indians came about ten in the morning and set fire to the cabins adjoining the fort. The fighting lasted until approximately four in the afternoon when Captain Smith was forced to surrender because of exhaustion of ammunition. At the time of surrender there were only three men able to give battle, all of the others having been either killed or wounded. Fire was set to the Vause home within the fort and all buildings on the plantation were burned to ashes. Andrew Lewis later wrote to Governor Dinwiddie stating that about eighty head of cattle and horses were either killed or carried away at the time of the attack.

William Preston and his men were met at three in the afternoon, three miles from the fort, by a servant of Captain Vause who told of having been that morning at the ruins of the Vause home. He said that he and six men were about two miles from the fort at the time



Some say the first stockade fort was located on Vause property near this estate — Walnut Grove — just southeast of Shawsville and less than a mile from the Sammons home.

of the attack and had hastened to give what help they could. His companions had outrun him and twice had got within one hundred yards of the fort and fired on the attackers. He had been without firearms and so could not attack, but had hidden and seen some of the proceedings.

Captain Preston took down the names of those persons in the fort at the time of the attack and sent them to Governor Dinwiddie. In all, twenty-five persons were killed, wounded, or taken prisoner. Among those taken were Mrs. Vause, her two daughters, Captain Smith and several of his sons; also, captured was Mrs. William Ingles, aunt-in-law of another Mary Ingles, captured by the Indians in the massacre at Drapers' meadow. Ephraim Vause and his two sons were not present at the time of the tragedy. The two Vause boys had gone about two miles distant to the mill that day, and Ephraim Vause was probably out on a recruiting mission for frontier defense.

Thomas Calloway must have been one of the men who marched with William Preston on that fateful day, for among the Draper Papers may be found an account he gives of viewing the mangled bodies at the fort, "all lying in heaps." He was one of a group of men who followed the Indians over the mountains into Kentucky and Ohio. On the bark of sycamore and beech trees along the way they sighted the name of *Levice*, which convinced them that Levice Vause had been carried that way; however, their search for her and others of her party was unsuccessful. It was not until after the war that Levice Vause related the story of her travels to the Calloways and others. She had seen, she said, her family's scalps hung out to dry and their clothes torn off until the skins of animals were needed to take their place. Levisa Fork, Kentucky and Levice Ford, near present-day Cincinnati, are streams whose names mark the route over which the prisoners were taken.

Less than a month after the burning of Fort Vause, a council of war, with Colonel Washington as chairman, was held at Fort Cumberland. At this time plans were made to establish a line of frontier forts, about twenty or thirty miles apart, and to fortify each of these forts with fifty or sixty men. The loss of Fort Vause was given as an example of the need for better planned fortifications.

Several weeks later a second council of war was called in Augusta County. At this meeting it was agreed to rebuild Fort Vause and the dimensions for this new fort were set at one hundred square feet in the clear with stockades to be at least fourteen feet long. Captain Peter Hogg was put in charge of the construction of the fort. Again plans for the linking frontier forts were discussed and sizes designated for the forts, other than Vause, were set at sixty feet square with two bastions. Seventy men were assigned to Fort Vause, exclusive of officers; other forts were to be assigned from thirty to sixty men.

It was in October of this same year that Washington came on his tour of inspection. In his letter to the Governor he wrote, "We got safely to Voss' where Captain Peter Hogg, with only eighteen men of his company, were building a fort which must employ them until Christmas without more assistance."

In this same letter Washington reports that Captain Hunt, with thirty men, was present, but none would "strike a stroke" unless he (Washington) would promise that they would be paid forty pounds in tobacco per day, as the carpenters were allowed in Williamsburg by rule of the Burgesses. This he could not, nor would not do! Washington felt the men under Captain Hunt were insolent and irregular, and that the men, on the whole, were extremely careless, keeping no guard, although the danger was constant.

It cannot be certain that the second Fort Vause was built according to the plans laid down for it. In June, 1757 the list of men stationed at frontier forts showed that sixty men rather than the aforesaid seventy men were stationed at Fort Vause. The fact that frontier defense was lacking in efficiency during the year of 1757 is made evident by Governor Dinwiddie's letter of November, 1757. He wrote that Augusta County was demanding more assistance than all the other counties combined, and he felt that a good part of the trouble was due to poor organization and lack of cooperation. He asked that the militia captains from all frontier forts meet at Vause for the purpose of reorganization.

During the winter of 1757-58 Captain Vause and Morris Griffith, listed as escaped victims from the Roanoke settlement, worked to organize a second voluntary expedition against the Shawnee Indians. They travelled to Williamsburg to present their plans to the governor, proposing to him that the expedition be made up of two or three hundred volunteers who wanted only to be supplied with provisions, arms and ammunition. The two men were referred to the council of war and Colonel Read of Augusta County Militia was directed to order a meeting of the chief men interested in the expedition so that they might make a choice among themselves of commanding officers. These volunteers called themselves The Associators.

It was agreed that sufficient provisions should be purchased and collected at Vause's Fort, or near there, to be carried on horses to the pass of the mountains where the horses must be left under guard until the troops returned. Captain Vause was sure that around three hundred men would volunteer to march out with them against the Shawnees. It was further decided that three companies would be left to defend Augusta County while the men were on expedition. Supplies in kettles, Dutch blankets, powder, ball and swan-shot were sent to Colonel Read and commissaries were appointed to purchase other necessities. Flour was actually delivered at Thomas Tosh's "for the

use of the Associators," and an order was drawn on the treasurer for money needed.

The Associators' proposed expedition, although ardently supported by many frontiersmen including John Madison, was doomed to failure because of the strife and dissatisfaction attending the selection of officers, and arguments over the required number of volunteers necessary for the success of the mission. After much delay and inefficiency, organized aid to the plan was withdrawn. Later in the land petitions of 1780 many land-hungry settlers asked for government grants, justifying their requests by stating that their service had been given to the Associators during the French and Indian War, but failing to mention that the Associators only talked of an expedition. As a group they never saw action. Some of the lands granted in answer to these petitions were for as much as two or three thousand acres, and the ironic truth was that there seemed little relationship between the size of the grant and the worth of the service rendered. There may have been requests made by the families of Ephraim Vause or Morris Griffith for services rendered in the winter of 1757-58, but I cannot locate them. These two hearty pioneers must have known dismay and disappointment following the Colony's change in plans, but as individuals they had no intention of accepting defeat. Both men moved out of the Colony of Virginia in March 1758. The descendants of Ephraim Vause say he went west into Kentucky.

In late 1758 Major Andrew Lewis was instructed to use his own discretion as to the abandoning of Fort Vause and the need for re-stationing forces there. Virginia volunteers were asked to join with the British forces under Major John Forbes in a major attack against the French and Indians. Andrew Lewis was among those who marched into the Ohio Valley. (He was captured and was held as a prisoner by the French.) This campaign was a successful one for the British. They not only routed the French from their fort at Duquesne, but, after seizing the site of the destroyed French fort, they built Fort Pitt, named in honor of their war minister who had shown a strong interest in Virginia's struggle for the Ohio Valley. The treaty marking the end of the war with the French was not signed until several years later (1763) but the extreme danger to Virginia's frontier line was never as great after the Campaign of 1758.

It is interesting to speculate to what extent the successful British strategy was influenced by the advice given the authorities by Captain John Smith of Fort Vause fame. It is possible that his return to the Colony may also have encouraged Ephraim Vause and Morris Griffith in their endeavor to strike out at the enemy.

Captain Smith's paper, dated 1758, was read to the war council and referred to the House of Burgesses for action, but ordered to lie

on the table for the perusal of the members of the House. It is given as follows:

APRIL 3, 1758—A MEMORIAL OF JOHN SMITH

"Captain John Smith, late a Captain of a Company of Rangers on the frontiers of this colony makes this statement, On June 25, 1756, Smith, then at Fort Vause, Augusta County, with a small party, was attacked by the enemy, which after having defended the fort until he had but three men left, he was obliged to surrender; that the enemy inhumanly murdered his eldest son before his face and carried Capt. Smith as a prisoner to the Shawnee towns and French Forts, and from thence to Quebec, where he was put on board a Cartel ship and carried eventually to England. That from the observations he made, while a prisoner, he is of the opinion that a small party of men (about 800) might, if properly conducted, easily destroy those Indian towns and perhaps some of the French Forts. That while he was in England he had the honor to be introduced to Mr. Secretary Pitt, to whom he communicated his observations, who highly approved his scheme and recommended his to Lord Loudon to encourage his and to promote such an enterprise, that he, Captain Smith, lost three sons and a great part of his fortune in the service of his country, and that he is still ready and zealous for his Majesty's service, and well acquainted with the route necessary to be taken to distress the enemy in those parts. He humbly offers himself to undertake such an expedition if it should be approved of."

The Vause land on the South Fork must have been allowed to lie practically untended in the years between 1758 and 1760. Ephraim Vause's family, what was left of it, stayed on in Kentucky and later moved on into Ohio. In 1760 the Vause land was sold to John Madison who, during his contact with the Associators, had grown fond of the area on the South Fork of the Roanoke. John Madison's son sold the land to Jacob Kent Jr. in 1790 and it was passed down from generation in the Kent family until 1897 when the heirs of Sarah Kent Anderson, great granddaughter of Jacob Kent, Jr., sold the property to J. H. and Ella Crockett. There have been two law suits over the ownership of the land, one following the death of John Madison and one later after the death of J. A. and Ella Crockett. The John Spotte heirs, apparently relatives by marriage of the Crockett family, sold the land to W. H. Basham, and in 1903 the fort site was sold by W. H. and Patsy Basham to G. W. M. Gardner. It is now owned by Mr. Gardner's widow, Mrs. Lena McDonald Gardner.

NOTES AND SOURCES

The only relics I know of the early descendants of the Ephraim Vause family are six silver tablespoons now owned by Mrs. David Wells of Atlanta, Georgia. They bear the initials of William Voss Sodowsky, great-great-grandson of Ephraim Vause. The genealogical research made by Colonel Ralph Wilson establishes the Vause family line as follows:

- (1) Ephraim and Theodosia Vause
- (2) William Vause
- (3) Jemina Voss married Jacob Sodowsky
- (4) Ephraim Sodowsky
- (5) William Voss Sodowsky
- (6) Syndor George Sandusky
- (7) Julie Sandusky married Ralph W. Wilson
- (8) Louise Anne Wilson married David F. Wells

THE ATTACK ON FORT VAUSE

June 25, 1756

Persons killed, wounded, or taken as prisoner according to list sent to Gov. Dinwiddie by Captain William Preston

1. Captain John Smith; taken prisoner, returned
2. Peter Looney; Sgt. of the Ranger Co. at the Fort, taken prisoner, escaped
3. Joseph Smith; prisoner
4. William Pepper; prisoner
5. William Bratton
6. Mrs. Vause
- 7-8. Two Vause Daughters (One named Levice, later returned)
9. A Negro Servant
- 10-11. Two Indians
12. A Man Servant
13. James Bell; Prisoner
14. Christopher Hicks; prisoner
15. Benjamin Davis; prisoner
16. Lt. John Smith; son of Capt. Smith, killed in a brutal way before his father's eyes.
17. John Tracey; killed
18. John English (Ingles); killed
19. Mary English (Ingles); prisoner (Mrs. Ingles later returned to the vicinity and there is on record a letter requesting compensation for property lost at Fort Vause.)
20. William Robinson; killed (He had built the causeway at Fort Vause; his widow was later paid compensation.)
21. Sir (?) Thomas Robinson; wounded
22. John Robinson; killed
23. John Walker; prisoner
24. Cole; prisoner
25. Graham; prisoner

THESE SOURCES HAVE BEEN CONSULTED IN THE PREPARATION OF THIS PAPER:

Kegley, F. B. *Kegley's Virginia Frontier*, Roanoke, Va., Southwest Virginia Historical Society, 1938.

Journal of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1756-1758. Richmond, 1909.

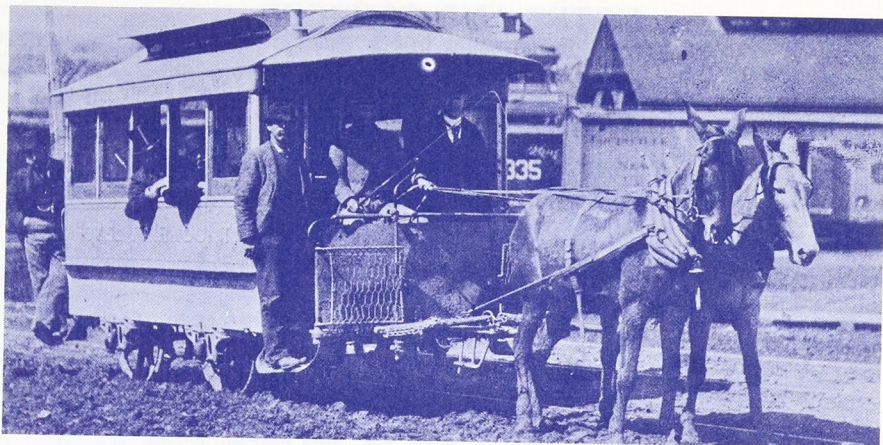
Koontz, L. K. *The Virginia Frontier, 1754-1763*. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins press, 1925.

Deed Books of Augusta County. Vol. 2 through Vol. 10. *Order Books of Augusta County*, Books 1 through 6.

Draper Papers, Mss 5 DD20. *Draper Mss. Preston Papers* 1QQ 134-135

Preston Register, Chalkley 11, 511

Genealogical research on Vause family compiled by Col. Ralph W. Wilson



This horse — or more correctly mulecar was of a type familiar to Editor Board in 1888. Picture was taken at the railway depot in Bristol, Va.

A Day In Richmond

Leaving Richmond on Wednesday, February 23 at 6 P. M., the writer was joined at Clay's by Superintendent N. D. Hawkins, both bound for Richmond. Spending a few hours in the Hill City, at 10 P. M. we boarded the sleeper on the Richmond & Alleghany Railroad, which brought us to the Capital city by 7 A. M. Thursday. The first notable thing we saw was a car on the electric street railway. A street car without horses was a little out of the usual order. The car passed around the southwestern corner of the capitol square and then up a heavy grade for a block, then turned another corner on its way to the western part of the city. As it passed the electric flashes were continually passing between the wheels and the rails. The power is supplied by a current of electricity conveyed by an overhead wire suspended on poles. From the top of the car a lever or arm is extended on which is a metallic pulley that runs on the wire. The arm is attached to the car by a hinge-like joint, which permits the pulley end to rise and fall so as to adapt itself to the rise and fall of the wire. This system of overhead wires is said to be inferior to others with the conducting wire buried underground, but it has the advantage of being less expensive. . . .

—C. A. BOARD, editor and publisher, in the *Bedford Democrat*, Liberty, Va., March 8, 1888

Thus a single paragraph points the rapidity of change, the kinship of the words "ultramodern" and "outmoded," and "current" and "historical." For today Editor Board could neither take a sleeping car from Lynchburg to Richmond nor see a street car in Virginia.

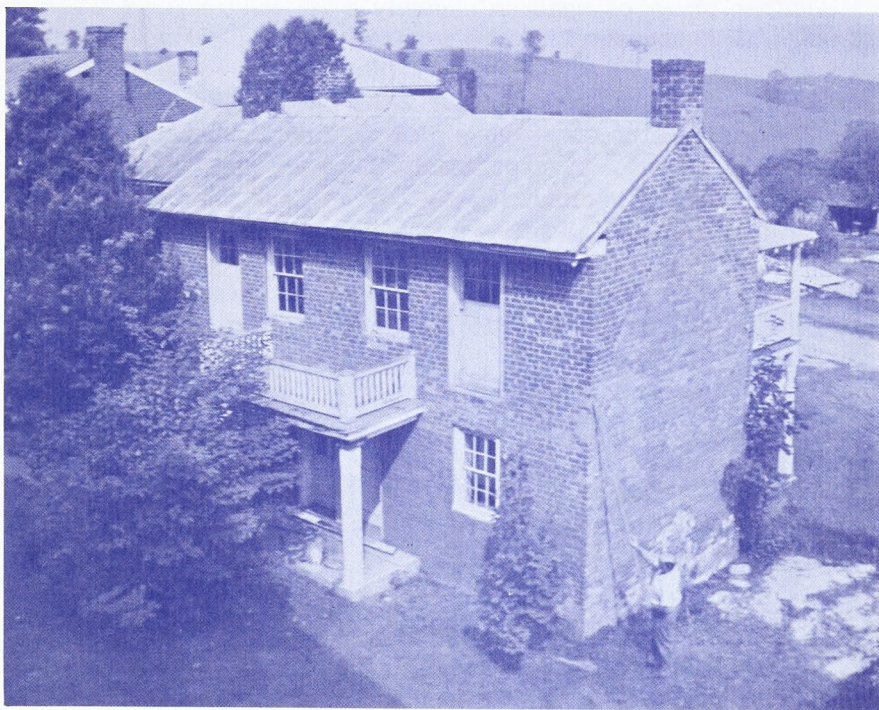
Note from the President

In the winter of 1965-66, our Society is turning its attention toward Botetourt, our mother county, and we have plans to start a museum in a part of the old Western Hotel building in Fincastle.

Let me emphasize at once that this will be an expansion of our present activities and it will not be a diversion in any way from the present operation of our museum which is open Saturdays from 2 to 5 in the Roanoke College library.

Aided by an anonymous donation of \$1,000, matched by the Society for the beginning of a study of possible preservation work in Fincastle, J. R. Hildebrand, our executive secretary, has completed four months of research into the history of the oldest buildings of the town. Using his information, the Society found that a brick building dating from the mid-19th Century, located just a few feet north of the Courthouse, could be leased from its present owner, Botetourt County, for \$1 a year for use as a local museum.

After signing an agreement with the county supervisors, the Society board and executive committee plan to support a committee of interested Botetourt County citizens in setting up a museum to display



This is the old Western Hotel building today. Man indicates with pointer the change in brick type when second story was added.

artifacts and items of historical value from that community which soon will be 200 years old.

Using funds derived from the Society's half interest in sale of "A Seed-Bed of the Republic," repairs and a minimum amount of exterior work on the building are planned. Part of the anonymous gift remains for this work. This plan was approved by the membership at the November meeting and the board of directors gave it further consideration in December.

Officers and directors of the Society are convinced that establishment of a museum and the beginning of preservation work in Fincastle will be an invaluable step toward safeguarding the rich history of our neighboring county. We trust that the people of Botetourt will respond to our support of an historical project in their midst.

Meanwhile, valuable articles have been added to our Salem museum and its educational merits have been recognized by fourth grade history classes and Scout troops who have made recent visits.

A copy of McCauley's Roanoke County history, an interesting collection of booklets assembled by the late Joseph A. Turner of Hollins College and a Hepplewhite chest, snuffbox, whale oil lamp and other items from the estate of Mrs. Kirk V. Conrad of Salem have been placed on the museum log.

Another phase of historical activity was well received when a full house of 75 saw the first in a series of winter films at the Public Library Dec. 5. Movies on Roanoke's 75th anniversary and the Wilderness Trail were shown by the Society. Others will be presented on the second Sunday afternoons of the winter months—January 9, February 13 and March 13—at 3 p. m. at the city library.

In appreciating Botetourt history, we must call attention to a new book "The Town of Fincastle, Virginia," is a most attractive architectural history by Miss Frances Niederer, Hollins College art professor and a Society member. Published by the University of Virginia Press, it's on sale at Roanoke book stores for \$3.50.

GEORGE KEGLEY, *President*

MOUNTAIN CLIMBER IDENTIFIED

Mrs. Manly B. Luck of Bedford tells us that the unidentified "very dignified personage" riding the Hudson to the Peaks of Otter in 1907 (*Journal*, Summer, 1965, p. 24) was her father, John P. Scott, and adds "I am confident this was his first ride in an automobile."

