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GEORGE KEGLEY

Editor of the JOURNAL

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The Great Flood of 1749

Klaus Wust, a German scholar, historian, traveler and interpreter, described his findings on the Roanoke River flood of August, 1749 in a talk to the Society in Autumn, 1969. His text appears here. Wust, author of "The Virginia Germans" and "Folk Art in Stone—Southwest Virginia," lives at Edinburg in Shenandoah County.

By KLAUS WUST

While the flood of 1969 will certainly remain one of the most trying events of recent history, the early pioneers on the Roanoke and its tributaries had ample reason to remember the flood of 1749 for a long time. Inundations were frequent in the western parts of Virginia but two German reports made independently from each other seem to indicate that an unusually ferocious flood occurred shortly after midnight on August 25th, 1749.

Two German itinerant preachers of the Moravian Brotherhood in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, Leonhard Schnell and John Brandmuller, who passed through the area in November, 1749, recorded several details about the experiences of people during that fateful summer night. Of one family, Schnell wrote: "The man and his wife with their six children had climbed into a tree, which had fallen down halfway. There they spent the whole night." The travelers had great difficulties to obtain food because everywhere there was a shortage of grain and bread. About two miles from James River a woman with whom they lodged related "that she and two of her children were lifted up by the water in the bed in which they slept and were carried about on the bed while asleep until they woke up."

The best report, however, is contained in a letter which Samuel Eckerlin, head of the Sabbatarian Dunker colony on New River, wrote to Alexander Mack, junior, in Germantown, Pennsylvania on September 23rd, 1749. Mack, who had lived on New River from 1745 until 1747, considered the letter newsworthy enough to pass it on to Christopher Sauer, publisher of the German newspaper in Germantown. It appeared in the "Pennsylvanische Berichte" on January 16, 1750. Sauer's newspaper reported on the Dunker colony on New River from time to time. Only a few weeks after Eckerlin and some followers had set out for western Virginia, the Germantown paper carried their story on October 16, 1745. Eckerlin frequently visited the Roanoke country. He was both a hunter and a doctor, apart from his religious activities as the spiritual leader of a band of monks and married "householders" who pioneered the Dunkards Bottom and Sinking Creek areas.

The place name "Mahanaim" was chosen by Eckerlin in 1745. It is of biblical origin (Genesis 32:1-2) and means "Two Camps,"

evidently indicating the separation of the monastic colony from the individual homesteads of the "householders". Here is the full text of Eckerlin's letter in English translation:

Mahanaim on the New River in Virginia
the 23rd of September (1749)

Beloved Brother,

upon this occasion I want to report to you about the great inundations which occurred on the 25th of August, a little past midnight, on the Roanoke and the area northeast of it. Our river as well as the Little River were also very high but nobody here suffered mentionable damage. On the Roanoke, however, and other nearby places there was much damage. At several spots entire hills were swept down and leveled and several tracts of bottom land, all inhabited, were filled with so much gravel and sand that they can no longer be lived on. This I have seen myself. Also houses and barns were carried away and with them a great deal of the crop.

The Roanoke was a mile wide at several places and the water rose to 15 feet above otherwise dry land. Since you are familiar with this area, I want to give you details about several places as follows: One mile below Tobias Breit a man and a child were drowned; a woman managed to save herself on a tree; livestock was practically all drowned because the water rose so suddenly and right at midnight that none could have been driven away. The house of Henrich Braun with whom we stayed has been torn up. Clad in nothing but their shirts they got away with their children, the water reaching up to their arms. His three cows in the field were carried 3 miles downstream by the waters where they gained firm land alive.

Peter Kinter and his wife found a horrible end. They were not yet asleep but had been drinking together, were in good cheer and thought of no danger till the water suddenly rose up to the house and no more escape was possible. So they retreated to the attic. No sooner had they reached it than the water rose up to them. They placed boards on the collar beam and sat on them. When the water reached up to their arms and no more flight seemed possible, he lost heart and told his people: He believed that this was another deluge and the Last Judgment had come. He asked his wife to give him a kiss. As he grabbed her, both slid from the board and away with the waters. Those who were with them on the boards saw no more of them.

Kassel's wife and children and their old mother were in the house at the same time. They all survived up on the collar

beam save for a small child whom Peter Kinter's wife had on her lap. It drowned with them. After daybreak, the others found out that they had been carried with the upper part of the house for a mile into some woods. They found a rope and tied it to a tree so that they would not be carried any further until the waters subsided or someone would come to their rescue. After a few days, Peter Kinter's wife was found dead and naked, hanging on a tree with one arm. And several days later he was also found. But he had no more head and only one arm. Maybe some wild animal had already feasted on him. Thus the children of man pass away in their security. He who fears the Lord, is watchful. We live in a wicked and evil world the fruits and berries of which are speedily ripening.

But how hard it is not to be corrupted by it. And not to be frightened by the judgments which hurt and will hurt. The Lord may save our and all pious men's Ark of Faith which, departing from the shores of vanity, plies the savage seas without casting anchor until it reaches the blessed land of eternity. With the Faith and the Hope in the compass and the magnet of eternal love it will reach the longed for haven of peace where all storms subside and all peril ends. My heartfelt longing may thus be part of the prayer of all Children of God awaiting His Salvation, all those who await His Salvation and who tire not, then it will happen and we shall rejoice and sing many a Halleluiah to the Lamb Who paid the price.

Farewell,

Samuel Eckerlin

The letter is of particular local interest because its writer mentions four German families with whom the Sabbatarians were acquainted. Tobias Breit (Bright) and his brother, Erich Breit had settled on the North Fork of the Roanoke soon after 1740. Henrich Braun (Henry Brown) was one of the occupants of Browns Bottom between Cravens Creek and the Roanoke in east Salem and Roanoke County. His three brothers, Samuel, Daniel and David were also among the earliest settlers of this neighborhood.

Peter Kinter (Kinder) lived on the other side of the Roanoke along Peters Creek. Kinder had arrived in Philadelphia from Germany in 1738 and located on Peters Creek well before 1744. After his tragic death, neighbors appraised his personal belongings which were considerable for a man who had migrated to America only 11 years before. Besides his land, Kinder left 10 horses, 10 cows, sundry tools and a beaver hat—all amounting to 100 pounds and 10 shillings—to his surviving children, Christian, Sarah, Peter and Catherine. They were bound out by the church wardens. The "Kassel's wife" mentioned by Eckerlin might have been the spouse of Jacob Cassel (Castle) who appears often as a hunter in Augusta County records

and he might have been on one of his long hunting expeditions while his wife, children and mother stayed with the Kinder family.

Samuel Eckerlin's letter thus provides us with the clue to the ethnic origin of four families whose names were thoroughly anglicized in local records: Bright, Brown, Kinder and Castle. The last portion of his epistle gives some insight into the religious thinking of the Sabbatarians. For them, the outsiders were corrupted by the temptations of this world. A flood like that of August 25th, 1749 was taken as a sign from heaven. Little did Samuel Eckerlin dream that but a few years later several of the virtuous Sabbatarians would be killed by Indians and that two of his brothers would perish in French captivity.

Another report on the Roanoke River flood of 1749 was handed down in the Journal of Dr. Thomas Walker of Albemarle County, who wrote of "a Fresh" which carried off houses, grain and fences. Dr. Walker, the explorer who is credited with naming Cumberland Gap, wrote on March 15, 1750 that the fresh occurred "last Summer" which would confirm the date. The account in his journal for March 15-16:

We went to the Great Lick on a Branch of the Staunton & bought corn of Michael Campbell for our Horses. This Lick has been one of the best places for Game in these parts and would have been if the Hunters had not killed the Buffaloes for diversion, and the Elks and Deer for their skins.

This afternoon we got to the Staunton where the Houses of the inhabitants had been carried off with their grain and Fences by the Fresh last Summer, and lodged at James Robinson's, the only place I could hear of where they had Corn to spare, notwithstanding the land is such that an industrious man might make 100 barrels a share in a seasonable year.

We kept up the Staunton to William Engleshe's (Ingles). He lives on a small branch and was not much hurt by the Fresh. He has a Mill, which is the furthest back except one lately built by the Sect of people, who call themselves of the Brotherhood of the Euphrates, and are commonly called the Duncards, who are the upper inhabitants of the New River, which is about 400 yards wide at this place. They live on the west side and we were obliged to swim our Horses over.

There is no known reference to a Michael Campbell but Malcolm Campbell lived at the Great Lick and later owned a 400-acre tract containing much of downtown Roanoke. A James Robinson lived north of Cloverdale in Botetourt County. William English or Ingles lived in the area between the present towns of Blacksburg and Christiansburg.

Roanoke County in the 1840's



Maria Jane Gish Frantz

home, near Burlington, north of Roanoke. It now is owned by A. T. Loyd. About 1851, the Gishes moved to Roanoke, Ill., a community named by families who moved from this area. In 1857, Maria married Henry Jackson Frantz, son of Jacob and Eliza Petty Frantz, who had moved west from Roanoke County. They lived in Oklahoma and had 10 children, including a son, Frank Christian Frantz, who was a captain in the Rough Riders and the last territorial governor of Oklahoma in 1906.

By MARIA JANE GISH FRANTZ

I was born in Roanoke County, Va. on October 28th, 1838, 8 miles from Salem, the County seat, one half mile from the little Village of Burlington, and 2 miles from Hollins, formerly Botetourt Springs. My father's name was Christian Gish, my mother's name was Elizabeth Houtz, daughter of John and Susan Klein Houtz. I am the youngest of 8 children, Hester, John Henry, Eliza Ann, James Rufus, Susan Frances, Sarah Catherin, Mary Elizabeth, Maria Jane (myself).

I was in my 14th year when father sold his farm and moved to Woodford County, Ill., where we lived on a farm one mile north of Roanoke, Ill. Father lived to be in his 90th year, mother having died some years before. Both are buried in the Roanoke Cemetery together with brother, John Rufus, sister Susan and Elizabeth. Sister Hester, Eliza and Sarah having died in Virginia are buried on the old home place on a little hill in the west part of the orchard. I never knew either of my grandparents on my father's side. (George Gish & Wife Susannah Stover).

This account of girlhood on a Roanoke County farm before the Civil War was written by Maria Jane Gish Frantz in 1914. She died the age of 91 in 1929 at Enid, Okla. Her recollections were preserved by her grandson, F. M. Heironimus of Tulsa, Okla., and passed along to another relative, Mrs. Ola Gish Durr of Roanoke, a member of the Society.

Born in the year Roanoke County was formed from Botetourt, the writer was the daughter of Christian Gish, who moved from near Bonsack to what has been known as the R. L. Walrond

My brother John Gish was a very large man, and I remember they used to say he struck back to the Stover family as they were all very large and fleshy men. My oldest sister, Hester, or Hettie as we always called her, married Jacob Smith. Eliza married Isaac Renn, Susan married John Woosa, Elizabeth married John McCaully. My husband was Henry Jackson Frantz. I am the last one living of a family of 8.

My father, Christian Gish, was one of 7 brothers, George, John, David, Jacob, Abraham and William Gish. He had 1 sister who married John Beckner. Uncle George lived near Roanoke, Va. (Vinton). Uncle Abraham lived near Salem, Uncle John once lived in Laporte, Indiana, then moved to Livingston County, Mo., where he died, his wife having died before in Indiana. At the time of his death his 12 children lived around him, so that he could visit them all in one day. He was near 90 when he died. Uncle David lived in South Bend, Ind. where his son, Pike, lives, as far as I know, but I think on a farm. Uncle Jacob lived in Lafayette, Ind. Uncle William Gish, lived in Leesburg, Ohio and we visited them on our way to Ill. He was keeping a Hotel then, afterwards he moved to Atchinson, Kansas, where he died. He had 6 girls, no boys. His girls were Lucinda, Emma, Eliza, Susan, Phoebe or Rachel, I forget which, and Hattie. If those girls all married and changed their names we will never know who they are, as we never saw them after moving to Ill. and we may be living among them and not know it. Neither did we hear from them after they moved to Kansas.

Father (Christian Gish) was born on August 12, 1792, and was a Soldier in the War of 1812. Was in Camp for 16 weeks but was never called out. Grandfather, (George Gish) hired a substitute for him and came and took him home. He received a Land Grant on land of 40 acres in Ill. This was Gov. land. He bought a thousand acres of Prairie land in Ill.

Father always lived at the same place while he lived in Va. that he bought and moved to when he and Mother were married. (1816). He cleared the most of it himself, having hired hands to help. Mother always had a loom and spinning wheel, and made cloth to sell and help to pay off the hired hands. We raised Flax and had sheep to shear, Wool to wash, pick and Spin. We children took delight in helping to wash the wool. We would all go out in a wagon to the creek, with the baskets, tubs and buckets, and as the water was warm we would each take a basket, put it half full of Wool, and wade into the creek where it was gravel bottom, and get into the baskets with our feet and tramp the wool until the water ran clean from the basket, then the wool was clean. We would walk out, drain the wool, and put it back into the sheets on the grass, fill the baskets and into the water again!

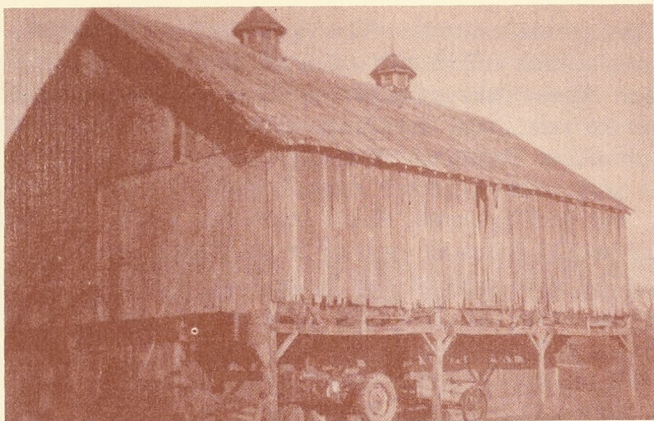
This was great fun to us. Now, as I was the youngest, you may wonder who were the children that I speak of; my oldest sister (Hester) died and left three little girls, Lizzie, Sarah and Susan Smith. These, Mother took to raise, and they were always like sisters to me. Lizzie was older than me, Sarah about my age, and Susie younger. We little girls had to pick wool in the hot summer days and how tired we would get sitting and picking wool. Some times we would slip out to play and Mother would have to call us in to finish our tasks, then we could play. The wool picking had to be done after school closed and before harvest came on. We little girls had to gather sheaves, and carry water to the harvest hands. The wheat was cut with Cradles, perhaps eight or ten Cradles going at the same time. As many rakers and as many men to bind up the sheaves. We had no reapers in those days. It kept my mother and two older sisters busy cooking for so many hands. Then we milked from 6 to 8 cows and made butter for the market. We little girls did the churning down at the spring-house in summer in the early morning while it was cool. We had the old fashioned dash churn and two of us would get hold of the dasher and sing:

Come butter come, Come Butter Come,
Peter's standing at the gate,
Waiting for the butter cake,
Come Butter come.

We thought sure the butter would come quicker if we sang that song.

I used to milk an old Cow named Cherry when I was too little to know the right side from the wrong. It was fun then, but when I got older it was not so funny; I remember how I used to chase the cows up, when I was older, and stand with my bare feet, in the warm place, of a dewey morning. Then away to the pasture with the cows. We little girls had to take the cows to the pasture in the morning, then go for them in the evening. Sometimes we would have to go a long way to the farthest corner of the farm. Often we would find the cows at the bars, waiting to come home. We always had a Bell cow. If the cows would happen to be in the new pasture or over a hill (for it was hilly in Va.) we would have to listen for the bell. The cows would hurry home to get a cool drink of water from the big spring that ran through the springhouse, where we kept the milk and butter, and any thing else that needed to be kept cool in summer, the water being almost ice-cold in the summer, but seemed warm to the touch in winter.

There were big shade trees all around the spring, where father and the hired men would always go for an hour's rest after dinner in the summer time, either sitting or lying down on the grass, for we



Barn on Roanoke County farm where Mrs. Frantz was born

had a beautiful bluegrass yard. Many a time we took knives and dug up the plantain and dandelions or any other weed that would happen to come up, so that it looked like a green velvet yard. There was a sweet Briar Rose growing and vining over the west window of the sitting room in the dear old home. It seems to me I can smell its sweet fragrance yet, after 77 years!

How well I remember every nook and cranny of the old house! The Loom house, the smoke house, the hen house, and the spring house, and the bubbling spring, whose waters never, never failed, and was a delight to those who came thirsty for a drink of its cooling waters. The horses too, how they would hurry to the trough on a hot summer day, to quench their thirst, then turn away and march back to the barn to be fed.

We had a large barn where the front projected over like a wide porch, where the cattle would gather under to keep out of rain or snow. Besides there was always a large stack of straw in the barnyard after thrashing time, so that the cattle would have shelter from the cold on any side of it, as it was in the middle of the barn yard.

What fun we children used to have gathering eggs by the dozens in the old barn or on the straw stack, in the hen house too; and what fun we had sliding down the straw stack, for it was nearly tall as the barn, but sloping down so that it was easy to climb up again. and in winter when snow covered the ground we would carry boards to the top of the hill in the orchard, and then get on the slide and down the hill we would go, then roll off in the snow, and the boards would go through under the fence into the barnyard. Then back again we would go. The children in town miss all the fun we children in the country had.

I must not forget to tell of the Flax raising. When in bloom it waved like a blue sea and was very beautiful. When the bloom dropped it would soon begin to turn brown. And when the seed was ripe it was ready for the harvest. We would pull it up, tie it in bundles as large as your arm, and stick it with roots down and seeds up, in small stacks to dry. When dry it was hauled to the barn and the seed beat off and the stacks spread in smooth wind rows in the newly mown meadow where the grass was short, where the rain and the dew would fall on it until the stalks were rotted or brittle so they could be broken, then it was raked up and taken back to the barn, where Father would break it. I cannot describe a Flax break to you so you would understand it. Then we women folks would scrutch it, and mother would hackle it and it was ready for the spinning wheel. It looked like soft and beautiful gray hair as it was made into twists and hung up on the walls of the loom house. Then came the spinning of the Flax by mother and the older girls. We children that were younger had to spin tow. Tow is the tangled part that is hackled out of the Flax on sharp pointed steel pins. This is made into coarse cloath, the flax into figured table linen, or plain cloth for sheets, pillow cases, towels, etc.

I used to fill quills for the weaver, and got very tired sometimes, but everybody had to work. My older sisters had to spin the wool in summer on a big wheel and they would sing and spin. I seem to hear them yet, and see them draw out the long woolen thread from the woolroll. That was after the wool had been picked to remove all the trash out of it and it had been sent to the Carding machine to be made into rolls. Then after the spinning came the washing again, then the coloring of it into different colors, to be woven into woolen goods for our winter dresses, or plain blue brown or black for the men's wear, or left white for the blankets, or the colors were woven into beautiful designs for bed spreads. There were many uses for it. The older sisters used to weave beautiful white figured counterpanes for the beds, or carpets for the floors, some which were made from the coarse part of Tow, and colored different colors. Some were made from rags.

I tell you all of this that the grandchildren may know how easy they have it now!

All of our sewing was done by hand. We had no sewing machines then, nor cooking stoves. All the cooking was done over a fire place.

Our kitchen fire place was half as wide as the kitchen. But we had a big clay oven in the yard where we did most of the bread or pie baking. Occasionally Mother would bake biscuits or custard pies in a dutch oven on the hearth, if needed between baking days, and our corn pone (we never had any other sort in those days) was baked in

the same Dutch oven on the hearth, putting coals of fire under and on top of the oven. And how delicious it was—not hard crusted or dried out like a cook stove makes it.

I used to go to school at the old Green Ridge school house near a mile away and sit all day from sun up till sun down, on seats without any backs, but we never thought of getting tired. How we made the air ring with happy voices, and how we tried to get the last tag away as we ran to our homes in the evening. We never had kerosene lamps in those days, but had tallow candles, and we would burn pine knots in the fireplace to see to get our lessons with—it was much brighter. The girls used to spin too by the light of the pine knots, I mean on the little Flax wheels. They never spun wool at night. Sometimes they would want to go and spend the evening with a neighbor girl, or girls. Then they would gather up their wheels and go and laugh and talk and spin and visit till bed time, then pick up their wheels and go home again, to be ready for the business next morning. Those were happy days.



Virginia State Library photo

1853 farm scene from the Southern Planter

A Misty Tour of Henry

BY CLARE WHITE

On the morning of the historical tour of Henry County, May 16, the weather couldn't make up its mind whether to settle in for a steady rain or to mizzle along with fog. By afternoon, when 115 members of the Roanoke Historical Society got back to the starting place, the weather was still on the fence.

The misty day, however, held back only a few of the number who had signed up for the all-day excursion, the first joint tour with another historical group. The Henry County Historical Society joined forces with the Roanoke society to sponsor the spring tour of historic houses in Martinsville and Henry County.

The Henry County group furnished tour guides, both for their own school busloads of 80 weatherproof sightseers, and for the three

busloads of Roanoke visitors. The buses were routed on contrasting schedules so all would not converge on a stop at the same time. One set started west of Martinsville and worked around to the east; the other took the eastern side first.

On the western circuit, a guide was picked up at Oak Level, a short distance off U. S. 220. Proceeding south on a country road roughly paralleling the old Carolina Road, a pre-Revolutionary trail to the south, the first stop was made at "Hordsville," an ante-bellum plantation house built in 1813 by Col. George "Rusty" Hairston. The colonel, a state senator, built the house as a copy of a Richmond house he had admired.

The house, occupied by one of Col. Hairston's two surviving descendants, his great-granddaughter, Miss Mattie Hairston, was not open to visitors. The grounds, however, were open, as was the cemetery in the rear where Col. Hairston, his wife and succeeding generations are buried.

The bricks of the house were made on the plantation by slaves, who also did the building. It stands today just about as it did when it was built, with the exception of a porch on the back. Dependencies still standing include the cook house, smoke house and corn bin. One of the original slave cabins can be seen from the road.

Further along the Carolina Road, the buses stopped at "Hillcroft," a house whose beginnings date back to 1740. This house, now owned by Dr. and Mrs. M. R. King, has been added to a number of times. Each section, however, has been preserved with faithful



Hillcroft, home of Dr. and Mrs. M. R. King

attention to its authenticity.

The first section, a salt box type of architecture, has its original brick flooring, worn into hollows by years of use. Other sections retain their separate staircases, beautiful old mantels and carved woodwork.

Of special interest to visitors was Dr. King's collection of antique guns, clocks and tools. The house is also furnished with a fine collection of antique furniture.

"Hillcroft" was begun by Col. Henry Lyne of the Continental Army. In 1814 it became the property of John Cousins Traylor, a clergyman, who built the middle section. James Rangeley, English-born, purchased the home in the 1840's and added the third section, differing from the rest in that it was built of brick. Dr. A. Warren Rucker built the kitchen section in 1936 and Dr. King added a wing to the rear.



The Bassett House

Not far from "Hillcroft" was what has always been called "The Bassett House." Visitors were welcomed to the grounds of this house, thought to have been built in 1818 by Alexander Hunter Bassett, by a descendant, Mrs. Reuben S. Reynolds and her husband.

Originally a two-room log cabin, one room up and one down, the house has been added to until it appears almost modern. Under the weatherboards, however, are the original logs, grooved by hand and hewn with an adz.

Huge tree boxwood surround the house, some as high as 18 feet. English boxwood, equally as old, line the roadbed of the old Carolina Road which went by the front door.

Below the house could be seen the roadbed of the Danville and Western Railroad, built in 1885 from Danville to Stuart. It was

in operation until 1942 when the rails were taken up for scrap iron to be used in World War II.

Upon leaving the Bassett House, and upon consulting the time, it was decided to skip a planned visit to "Grassdale," the Dr. John Shackelford home built in 1870, and proceed to the Horsepasture Christian Church for lunch.

The women of the church served over 200 people with dispatch and good food in a well-equipped, modern establishment, the third church to occupy the site. The misting rain had cancelled much of a planned entertainment but a country music trio played in the church for those who had to wait for a place in the dining room.

The first Horsepasture church is reputed to have been founded in the early 1820s as a free church about a mile west of the present location. After a split in the membership, a new church was built on the present site, to be followed by two others as the congregation grew.

After lunch, the tour was resumed, still following the old Carolina Road direction. "Bellevue," six miles southwest of Martinsville, was built in 1783 by Maj. John Redd who, tradition says, liked to sit on his porch and keep a lookout for travelers to invite in for the midday meal.

The house, a Georgian colonial, is a two-story gray frame structure with double porticos. It is particularly significant for the detailed woodwork both within and without. It features arched doorways, wainscoting, original pine flooring, double dentil moldings and carved mantles.

The present owner is Mrs. Kennon Whittle, widow of Virginia Supreme Court Judge Kennon Whittle, fifth great-grandson of Maj. Redd. The Whittles restored the house in 1955. A portrait of John



Bellevue, Judge Kennon Whittle's home



Beaver Creek, James Covington home

Redd, painted when he was 87, now hangs over the restored carved mantel in the library. He served in the Indian Wars and the Revolution.

From "Bellevue" the buses went into Martinsville to see a reconstructed house, "Greenwood," known also as the "McCabe-Martin House." It was rebuilt in 1944, using the original brick and the original plans.

The house was first constructed 10 miles to the northwest in 1818 by Col. Joseph Martin, son of Indian fighter, Gen. Joseph Martin, for whom Martinsville was named. In 1913 the owner, then Maynard West, attempted to put a basement under the structure. Heavy rains fell during the work and the front wall of the house fell as its foundations sank. Dr. and Mrs. J. P. McCabe purchased what was left and rebuilt the house in Martinsville.

Of particular interest are the original mantels, hand carved in England. "Greenwood" is now the home of Col. and Mrs. Paul Roy.

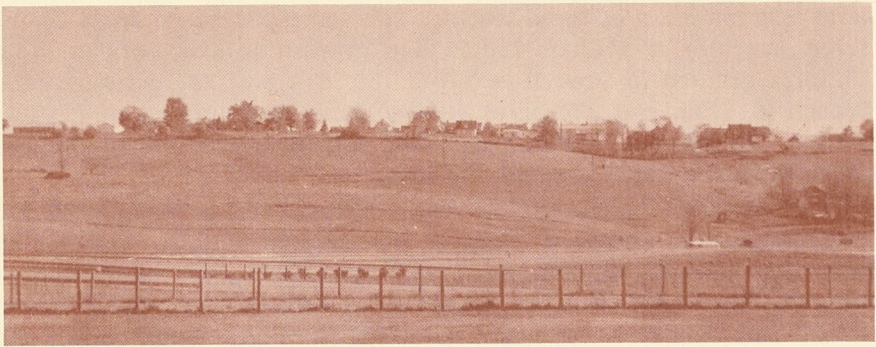
The last home on the tour was "Beaver Creek," the plantation house of one of the largest land and slave owners in Virginia, another Col. George Hairston. Land amounting to 238,795 acres and slaves counting to 2,960 are credited to Col. Hairston.

The original house at Beaver Creek, built by Col. Hairston in 1776, was of brick and was destroyed by fire. The present frame building, built by one of the colonel's sons, Marshall, dates back to around 1837. It is constructed of virgin oak, with beams running the length of the house from front to back. The uprights go from basement to roof, held together with wooden pegs, a construction detail visible now in window cutout sections provided by the owners.

The wings have been added, two by Maj. James Thomas Watt Hairston near the end of the 19th century, and a third one by the present owner, James E. Covington.

The walk to the family cemetery is bordered by a magnificent boxwood hedge, 35 feet tall and well over 100 years old. Other giant English boxwoods and ancient magnolia trees are on the grounds.

The Town of Newbern



Newbern, a hilltop village in Pulaski County

BY MARY B. KEGLEY

The town of Newbern, Pulaski's first county seat from 1839 to 1895,¹ is located on a small ridge west of Dublin. From this ridge, blue-green mountains unfolding in the distance perhaps caused the founders of the town to remember Bern, Switzerland.

In any case, the town had its official beginning on March 3, 1810 when Adam Hance and his associates laid off 29 lots "for the purpose of erecting a town to be called and known by the name of Newbern."² The associates of Adam Hance included Henry Wiser, Jr., George Whitefield, Samuel Cecil *Senr.* Henry Hance, Jeremiah Early, John Myers, William Eyrs, and two others whose names are not legible.³

Each of the lots, except the tanyard, fronted on Main Street, also referred to as High Street, the Great Road or simply the Highway.⁴ Twenty-eight of the lots were six poles along the Main Street and 13 poles back, or 99 feet by 214 feet, 6 inches. Main Street was divided into four sections by the Cross Street, each section containing seven lots. The tanyard lot was located below the Main Street, 20 poles from Bullock Pen Branch, a suitable location for such an operation.⁵

Adam Hance, upon whose lands the town was laid out, first appeared in the records of the neighborhood about 1770⁶ as a young man about 23 years of age.⁷ He served as a constable in 1773 and 1779⁸ and as a juryman in 1773 and 1785.⁹ His first land purchased was a small tract of 45 acres which he bought from Samuel Ingram and his wife, Anne, to which he added in 1788 a tract of 376 acres by

Mary B. Kegley, wife of Dr. James B. Kegley of Wytheville, writes of the settlement and growth of an often overlooked but important Southwest Virginia village. A native of New Brunswick, Canada, Mrs. Kegley has devoted a considerable amount of time and work to research in early Virginia history.

survey.¹⁰ The lands in the vicinity of Newbern were first taken up in small tracts and in 1799 put into an inclusive survey of 1,000 acres by David Crouch.¹¹ Montgomery County records show that the 1,000 acres was made up of these tracts: "200 acres purchased from Daniel Trigg, executor of William Ingles, and granted to executors in 1783; 45 acres granted to Crouch in 1787; 130, 214 and 137 acres granted Crouch in 1795, and 274 acres entered later and granted in 1797 to Crouch." In this year, 1799, Crouch died, leaving a wife and 10 children and the lands became available for sale.

Adam Hance purchased the dower interest and between 1799 and 1802 bought the shares of some of the Crouch children, but five of them had left the neighborhood and moved to other states before releasing their interest in the lands. A law suit in the Superior Court of Law and Chancery was heard in Wythe County in 1820, confirming the title to Hance.¹² Apparently anticipating no difficulty in gaining the title to the land, Hance undertook to begin Newbern 10 years before the title was validated.

In beginning the town, Hance was concerned about the water supply for this location was 2,135 feet above sea level,¹³ and some distance from the nearest branch. However, there were two available springs, one lying below and fronting in the Cross Street where a fountain was established, and another at the opposite end of the Cross Street which could provide an additional supply. This second "convenient supply could be obtained by leading the water in pipes or conductors from a spring where Peter Hance now resides." suggested Adam Hance.¹⁴ And the purchasers of the lots were to "take, use and *employ* such practicable *measures* as shall be adjudged expedite for conveying water from either or both springs."¹⁵ The fact that Adam Hance left one pair of "water truck wheels valued at \$10" in his estate in 1827 would suggest how they solved the conveyance problem.¹⁶ In 1870 the town erected a reservoir and the town was served by a system of water pipes. Tradition states an earlier system was begun in 1848.¹⁷

Hance and his associates wanted to encourage development in the new town, and to those who built the first four houses, timber was to be provided gratis. Each lot was purchased on the condition "that the house on each lot should be at least 16 feet square, 1½ stories high of hewn logs with a stone or brick chimney, *seems* filled with lime and sand, two glass windows at least of 12 *lights*."¹⁸

The first lots were sold on August 2, 1811¹⁹ and sales were recorded over the next several years. Some of those who owned lots between 1811 and 1829 included Gordon Cloyd, Almarine Marshall, Henry Hance, Henry Wysor, Jeremiah Early, Richard Guthrie, John Fizer, Benjamin T. Garne, Thomas Wilmore, James Hoge, James Overstreet,

Peter Hance, Phillip Long, John Hance, James Shields, Adam Hance, Christian Dedmore, John Myers, Richard and Harless Macdaniell, William Eyres, Randolph Simpson, James Hance, James Tiffany, Peter Fizer, Samuel H. Gordon, William Flanagan, Daniel Wolford, John Trollinger, Michael Jordan, John Ryan, Isaac Bratton, Reazen (Reason) Vermillion, Meredith Raines, George Vineyard and John Miller.⁷⁰

From these deeds it was learned that Newbern in its infancy had a tanyard,²¹ a store house,²² a wagon-maker's shop,²³ a blacksmith shop²⁴ and a tavern.²⁵

When the new county of Pulaski was formed in 1839, locations were viewed for the new Courthouse. Sites at Thorn Spring and the paper mill were considered, but Newbern appeared to be the logical choice. Dublin and Pulaski were not yet in existence. In fact, when Henry Howe wrote about Pulaski County in 1845 he stated that Newbern was the only village in the county. The town then contained five mercantile stores, one Presbyterian Church, one Methodist Church and a population of about 300.²⁶ In 1970, the population was about 200 persons.²⁷

The first court met at James Tiffany's, probably at his tavern located on Lot 3 in the town. He was the son-in-law of Adam Hance and the owner-operator of the tavern since 1824.²⁸ The marker in Newbern gives further details of this first Court.

"The first Court held in Pulaski County was in a building known as the James Tiffany house on May 9, 1839 at which term an order was entered adopting the house of Henry Hance (a great grandfather of K. B. Alexander, present owner) as a place to hold Court on the site of which house this monument is erected. This Court was presided over by John McTaylor, presiding Justice."

Other justices sworn in at the same session were: John Hoge, James Hoge, Samuel Shields, Randolph Fugate, John G. Cecil, Henry Wysor, James Crockett, John Calfee, George R. C. Floyd, Joseph Cloyd, Samuel Calfee, David G. Sheppard, David T. Martin, Joseph H. Howe and David F. Kent.²⁹

When the Court met on June 5, 1840 it was ordered that David F. Kent, John Raines, Henry Wysor and Henry Hance be appointed commissioners to superintend the building of the courthouse for this (Pulaski) County.³⁰ On January 6, 1842 the commissioner reported on the building of the courthouse and stated that the contract had been complied with, and the court directed the clerk to remove the books and papers into the office as soon as possible and to take possession of the new courthouse.³¹

On July 5, 1840, Henry Hance was appointed commissioner to



Courthouse at Newbern, destroyed by fire in 1893

have the necessary repairs done to the house now used as a courthouse for the purpose of using it as the clerk's office, also for this county.³²

On July 10, 1851, the court appointed J. B. Alexander, John Swope, and William P. Kerrin as commissioners to examine the enclosure of public buildings and report whether this had been executed according to the contract and specifications filed in the courthouse. On August 7 of the same year, it was reported that the work had been well and faithfully executed and finished according to specifications of the contract. John C. Darst, the sheriff, was to pay James V. Pendleton, contractor \$350, the residue due.³³

In July 1853, Benjamin F. Wysor and Robert Craig, commissioners, were to contract for the erection of a cupola on the top of the courthouse. George Hubbert was paid the sum of \$260 on November 14, 1853 for building it.³⁴

Isaac Carper, the jailor, was directed on September 6, 1855 to procure 24 substantial split bottom chairs for the use of the court house and also a requisite number of spit boxes were to be placed in the court room.³⁵

The business carried out at the court sessions over the years was of a wide variety. School commissioners were appointed, road workers and viewers were given assignments, licenses were issued for taverns and "house of private entertainment," rates were set for the taverns, free Negroes were recorded by name, persons newly from Europe were recognized as citizens of the United States, and

the Revolutionary soldiers still receiving pensions were noted. There were many other items of legal business taken care of in these sessions.

The first lawyers who received permission to practice were James L. Yost, Benjamin R. Floyd, James F. Preston, Benjamin F. Wysor, Richard T. Matthews, David L. Summers, James Edmundson and Alfred C. Moore.³⁶ Later additions included William N. Harman, William S. Tipton, James J. Hill, James A. Walker and William C. Hogan.³⁷

James A. Walker who became a general in the Civil War, returned afterward to make his home in Newbern. He built his house on a lot in the northwest part of town and operated a school for boys in the basement.

The activities at the court house kept Newbern alive, but in the mid 1850's when the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad completed a line through Pulaski County, the new towns of Dublin and Pulaski had their beginning. It was expected they would grow into important centers and that Newbern would decline for its only claim to importance remaining was the courthouse. When fire destroyed the building in 1893, rumors persisting to this day stated that the citizens of Pulaski wanted the court house removed to their town and knew the only way to get it was to eliminate the one in Newbern. It was not quite that easy, however.



Old jail stands near courthouse site

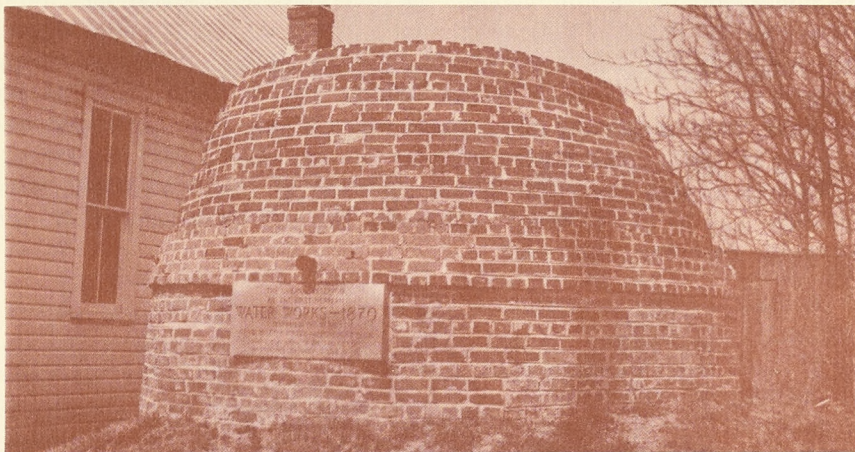
For two years, contests among the citizens of Dublin, Pulaski and Newbern raised tempers. The citizens of the whole County eventually became involved, because they had to vote on their choice for a new location for the courthouse.

The election was held on March 9, 1894 with the largest turnout in the history of the county. Pulaski led with 1,439 votes, Dublin received 308 and Newbern 923. In a second election, Pulaski had 1536 votes, Dublin 615, and Newbern, only 17. But the Newbern resi-

dents would not give up. They raised funds to bring a suit, which finally was decided in favor of Pulaski in Richmond courts in 1895.³⁸

Newbern's social life did not depend entirely on the events of the court sessions. The Methodist Church organized a Bible class, the Masons held lodge meetings at the courthouse and a social committee appears to have directed some evening parties.

The Bible class was organized between 1826 and 1830 by Philip Woolwine, who became the teacher. Among the early members of his class were his wife Mary, James Wall and his wife Sallie, Peggy Hance, Polly Wygal, Sallie Wygal, John G. Cecil and Betsy his wife, Elizabeth Jordan, Andrew Morehead, Betsy Morehead, Enoch Morehead and Jacob Woolwine.³⁹ Tradition states that Jerry Early and wife Nancy, Peggy Hoge, and Michael Jordan were also early members.



1870 water works in the county seat

In July 1857, the court granted permission to the Freemasons to hold their meetings in one of the jury rooms of the court house. In December 1858, a partition was ordered to be made in the long jury room to make a compartment at least 25 feet square.

When not in use by the jury, the room was granted to the Henry Clay Lodge No. 165, the order of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons of the county, for a period of five years beginning January 1, 1859. Half of the actual cost of the alteration was to be paid by the lodge and the Masons were to provide a stove and fixtures for the comfortable occupation and enjoyment of the room. Michael O'Burne was to do the actual work of the alteration.⁴⁰

In November 1847, a party was held for Miss Susan Shields and Colonel Thomas Wilson at the Union Hotel in the town of Newbern. The invitation was signed by "The Committee." The next month,

Mr. and Mrs. John Dunbar Howe sent out invitations for a dancing party to be held on December 28, 1847, beginning at six in the evening. Again the invitation was signed by "The Committee", apparently indicating a social organization of some kind. The members of the Committee were William J. Jordan, Thomas J. Charlton, James M. Aiken, William J. Wall, John B. Baskerville, J. W. Shields, Leander Smith, Herman Bope, and James M. Ward.⁴¹



Log building with old Alexander home at right rear

United States postal records indicate a post office was established at Newbern, in what was then Montgomery County, on April 8, 1812. Postmasters and the date of their appointment have been:

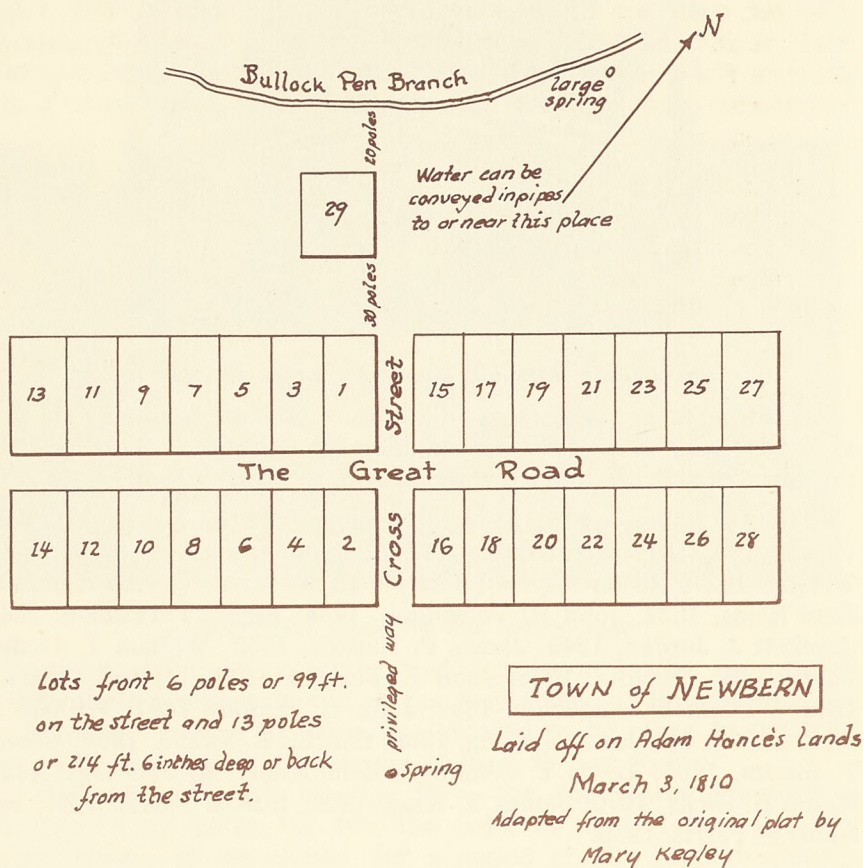
Henry Hance, 1812; James Overstreet, 1818; Daniel Wehlford (Wohlford), 1819; John Rains, 1824; James Overstreet, 1825; James Tiffany, 1827; Hiram Hayne (Haney), 1829; James Overstreet, 1829; John Rains, 1832; John H. Vermillion, 1844; Regen Vermillion, 1845; Crockett J. Jordan, 1849; James P. Hawley, 1852; William J. Jordan, 1857; J. W. Norville, 1865; John L. Feagles, 1871; Mary J. Feagles, 1874; William W. Anderson, 1893; John M. Feagles, 1897; William A. Smith, 1897; Charles J. Gearing, 1899; Charles E. Swaim, 1906; George T. Swaim, 1906; Lewis T. Jennings, 1908; Oscar M. Jennings, 1909; Mollie E. Hicks, 1910; James T. King, 1924; Roscoe Farris, 1955, and Annis F. Farris, 1958.

In 1872 the Corporation of Newbern published 27 by-laws for the town, effective April 1. These regulations were for the safety and protection of the residents and excerpts attached here, show a concern for the Sabbath day, interest in protection of their animals, and attention to fire prevention measures.⁴²

Newbern, plagued by several fires over the years, has seen its courthouse come and go, houses and churches replaced by others,

and taverns and dance halls become silent. The Alexander house and the log outbuildings, probably the oldest in Newbern, have survived. The jail still stands below the lot once used for the court house.

The Community Club of Newbern has taken a great interest in keeping Newbern's history alive and has placed markers at several locations in the town. Current dreams and plans call for restoration or at the very least preservation of this unusual little town. In the meantime, the view from the ridge still is of the blue-green mountains seen by Adam Hance and his associates more than 160 years ago.



EXCERPTS FROM NEWBERN BY-LAWS

1. It shall not be lawful for any boys or other persons to play at ball, engage in throwing stones, or any other game of amusement in the streets of the Town; nor shall it be lawful for boys or other persons to assemble on the Sabbath day in any part of the Town, for the purpose of playing at any game or amusement, such as

wrestling, running, shouting, or committing any other immoral act, and a penalty not exceeding \$1 hereby imposed on any person who shall so offend.

6. If any person who is the owner of, or in charge of any mule, horses, or colts over the age of one year, shall permit the same to run at large, without control, in the streets or alleys of the Town of Newbern, he shall be fined \$1 for such offence.

7. Any person who shall cruelly beat, bruise, wound or otherwise maltreat any horse or other dumb animal, within this Corporation, shall for each such offence, forfeit and pay the sum of \$5.

9. Any person who shall run his horse within the limits of the Corporation through the streets or alleys shall for every such offence, pay a fine of \$1.

10. Any wagoner, cartman, or drayman, who shall be found working his horses, or loading or unloading his wagon, cart, or dray within the limits of the Corporation on the Sabbath day, shall pay a fine of \$5 for every such offence.

16. If any person shall build his chimneys or stove pipes in such manner as to endanger his own or neighbor's property by being likely to catch on fire therefrom, he shall be liable to pay a fine of \$10 for every twenty-four hours he neglects to alter his chimneys or stove pipe after he has been notified that the Council requires such alterations to be made.

18. Any person who shall carry a candle, or fire of any kind uncovered, or exposed into a stable, barn, carpenter's shop, or any room in which there are kegs of powder, barrels of kerosene oils, or other highly inflammable and combustible material, or shall smoke in either or any of said places, within the limits of the Corporation, shall forfeit and pay a fine of \$5.

23. A tax of \$5 shall be collected from every exhibition of a menagerie or circus; and a tax of \$2 on all other public shows, within the Corporation.

26. In case of offence against the By-Laws of the Corporation, by persons under the age of 21 years, the fines and penalties incurred thereby, together with the fees of the Sergeant, shall be paid by the parent or guardian of the offender.

The foregoing By-Laws shall take effect and be in force from and after the 1st day of April 1872.

W. H. Davis, Clerk

Jos. L. Anderson, Mayor

(Printed by Virginia People Print. Newbern, Va.)

1. "Milestones in History," The Southwest Times, Pulaski, Virginia (July 21, 1968), p. 45
2. Original document outlining plans for the town, in possession of K. B. Alexander Newbern, Virginia. Designated as KBA (1)
3. IBID.; illegible names possibly John R. Johns and Henry Yost
4. Deed Books, Montgomery County, Virginia, E-169, 171, 311; G-241. Designated as DBM
5. From original map in possession of K. B. Alexander, Newbern, Virginia. Designated KBA (2)
6. William Ingles' Tithable List, 1770 Botetourt County, Virginia
7. From Bible in possession of K. B. Alexander, Newbern, Virginia "Adam Hance died July 9, 1826 age 79 years."
8. Lewis Preston Summers, ANNALS OF SOUTHWEST VIRGINIA, 1769-1800 (Kingsport, 1929), p. 594, 729
9. IBID. p. 610, 614
10. IBID. p. 919; Plat Book D-410, Montgomery County, Virginia
11. Plat Book E-518, Montgomery County, Virginia
12. Superior Court of Law and Chancery, Book 2-245, Wythe County, Virginia
13. Raus McDill Hanson, VIRGINIA PLACE NAMES, DERIVATIONS, HISTORICAL USES (Verona, Virginia, 1969), p. 169
14. KBA (1), KBA (2)
15. KBA (1)
16. Will Book 5-494, Montgomery County, Virginia
17. "Milestones in History," p. 45; Ollie Cook, NEWBERN, VA, RESTORATION, Winston-Salem, N. C. newspaper (March 1, 1970)
18. KBA (1)
19. DBM E-169, 171
20. DBM E-169, 171, 311, 134, 300, 459; F-124, 130; G-146, 170, 158, 164, 172, 176, 241; H-93, 394, 575, 599, 607, 608; IJ-61, 63, 345, 362, 365; K-31, 32, 384, 385
21. DBM G-176
22. DBM E-300
23. DBM H-93
24. DBM K-32
25. Will Book 4-262 Adam Hance's Will, codicil
26. Henry Howe, HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS OF VIRGINIA (Baltimore, 1969 reprint or 1845 copy), p. 444
27. State Farm Road Atlas, Rand and McNally, 1961
28. DBM H-608; Montgomery Will Book 4-262
29. A. D. Smith, SOUTH-WEST VIRGINIA AND THE VALLEY (Roanoke, Virginia, 1892), p. 303
30. Pulaski County Order Book 1, p. 36. Designated as POB
31. IBID., p. 120
32. IBID., p. 37
33. POB 3, p. 74, 76
34. IBID., p. 168
35. IBID., p. 268
36. POB 1, dated May 9, 1839
37. POB 1, 2 and 3, selected items
38. "Milestones in History", p. 45
39. IBID., p. 47
40. POB 2-372, 444
41. Daniel Dunbar Howe, LISTEN TO THE MOCKINGBIRD (Boyce, Va. 1961) p. 38
42. By-Laws of the Corporation of Newbern, Virginia People Print (Newbern, Virginia, 1872)

On Campus 70 Years Ago

Protesting young people who storm dean's offices and set up picket lines on campuses in the 1960's and 1970's would scarcely recognize the advice given new students at Roanoke College for the 1898-99 session.

The YMCA Student's Hand Book offered these "Pointers for New Students" at Roanoke around the turn of the century:

Be courteous to the Professors and never fail to lift your hat to them.

Treat every student with respect and he will respect you.

Don't be fresh. You're liable to be salted.

Don't know it all. Leave a little for others.

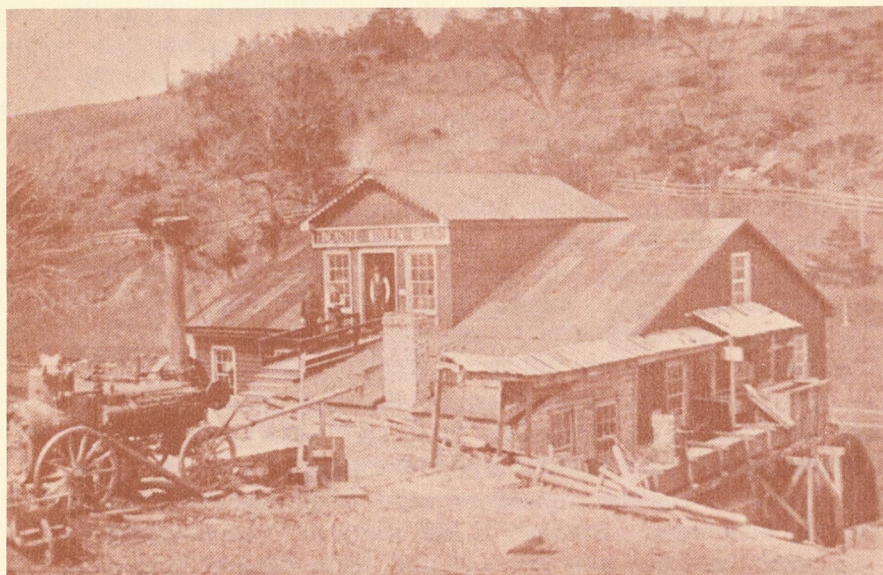
Don't have the swelled head. It might burst.

Don't ask too many questions. Professors get tired.

Don't try to tell it all in the classroom. There are others.

Don't talk too loud on the front porch. Somebody might hear you.

Woolen Mill, A Major Botetourt Industry



Two photographs of the old Fincastle Woolen Mill of the Ammen family have been located by Mrs. Jacob K. Rader of Troutville. The view across the millpond comes from a postcard owned by Garland K. Stevens of Fincastle. It was taken about 1900. A steam engine is shown at the left and the mill wheel at lower right in the other picture, probably made at a different time. Descended from Durst Ammen who came to this country from Switzerland in 1749, Benjamin Ammen (1800-1867) operated a flour and gristmill, sawmill, hatter's shop and carding mill, in addition to the woolen factory where most of the cloth was made for clothing in this section. Fincastle patterns were woven into blankets for years and the mill provided supplies for the Confederacy. Michael Ammen owned the woolen factory after 1900.

Civil War Draft Problems in the Shenandoah Valley

by ALICE I. HOHENBERG

Portions of a Hollins College senior thesis by Miss Alice I. Hohenberg, Class of 1967, on "The Mennonites and Brethren of Rockingham County, Virginia during the Civil War: A study of non-resistance" are used here with her permission. The plight of the Mennonites and Brethren relates to the Vietnam draft protest of the 1970's.

The year of 1861 witnessed not only the chaos of secession but also the problems involving the organization of a new state. One of the most urgent problems facing the Confederacy, and one that directly concerned the Mennonites and Brethren, was that of raising and organizing an army. During the first year of the war, the army was recruited by means of a volunteer system, each state being responsible for providing its own volunteers. However, from the very beginning, this "volunteer" service proved to be more than "volunteer" for the Mennonites and Brethren of Rockingham County.

In late June of 1861, a Confederate captain walked into a church service being held at Weaver's Church (a Mennonite church in Rockingham County) and demanded that all males between the ages of 18 and 45 report for military duty.² In July 1861 an editorial appearing in the Register addressed to the "Tunkers, Mennonites, and others opposed to war," said that because the Union was the aggressor, the South fighting only in self-defense, it was the duty of all Christians to support the Confederacy; moreover, Christians should be willing not only to give one son but two to fight for the Confederacy.³

What were the Mennonites and Brethren to do? They faced the alternative of either joining the army and being ostracized from their church⁴ or finding ways to escape induction.

Some of the sect members were forced into the army. John Brunk, Mennonite, recorded in his claim for war damages that his son was forcefully inducted.⁵ In the Olive Branch of Peace, John Showalter, a Dunker, recounts the amusing story of how he was forced to join, deserted, was court-martialed, and finally consented to serve as cook for a company.⁶ Other sect members sought employment in necessary civilian occupations in order to avoid induction. Jacob Cecil, a Mennonite, bought the postmastership of Edom (in northern Rockingham County).⁷ Others were able to avoid induction by finding a substitute to go to war for them. The February, 1862 issue of The Gospel Visitor (a Brethren magazine printed in Illinois but circulated among sect members in the South during the war) said the following about the induction situation:

The news from Rockingham and the adjoining counties is this: the militia are all called into the battlefield, and so our dear brethren there have been compelled to engage in military service unless they could hire substitutes. (Is this the religious freedom to be enjoyed in the Sunny South?).⁸

But many took part in what Judge Sydney Baxter of the Confederate War Department later called the "Tunker Panic"⁹ (using the term "Tunker" collectively to include Mennonites also), by hiding or fleeing through the mountains of West Virginia to the West.¹⁰

Yet resistance to induction was not as solid as sect chronicles would like one to believe. For example, Melchiah Breneman, a Mennonite from Rockingham County, served in the cavalry until shortly before the end of the war.¹¹ Margaret Rhodes, in her claim for war damages, stated that two of her nephews died fighting in the Confederate army.¹²

A Dunker, Peter Williams, who lived east of Woodstock, (just north of Rockingham County), related the following account of his experiences during the first year of the war:

They made about four attempts to take me, but never got me away from home. In the fall of '61, the conscript officers came to take me. I told them I could not go and gave them my reasons. They finally went away and left me. Then during that winter and the next spring they came three different times to take me at the point of the bayonet, saying they had orders to take me dead or alive. I told them that if dead men were of any service to them, and they saw fit, they could use me; but that was the only way they could get any service out of me in the army. . . . I reasoned with them kindly, and every time they went away and left me. But citizens and "bushwackers" threatened to take my life, and as my life was in danger I was advised to go into the army. I, however, replied that I could not take up arms even if it would be the means of saving my life. I never went to the woods or the mountains for concealment as some did to get out of the way, . . . Finally, I paid my fine. Still I was accused of being a Union man, and my life was threatened. Three of my neighbors were shot, being accused as Union men; and a number left their homes and went North to save their lives. I remained at home at my post, and I am still here, thank the Lord, who is our Strength, and to whom belongs all honor and praise.¹³

The language of the above account may seem humorous, but it illustrates the fact that civilians often exerted more pressure on the sects than the military authorities. This pressure from civilians became increasingly strong as the war continued.

Despite the fact that civilians often harassed the sects more than military authorities, the arrival of Confederate Major General T. J. (Stonewall) Jackson in the Valley in March of 1862 caused the induction problems of the sects to become critical. Jackson needed men to wage the Valley Campaign. Due to the fact that the Southern armies were still recruited on a volunteer basis, one of his most lucrative sources of men was the area in which the campaign was being fought.

In reaction to the increased induction pressure caused by Jackson's presence in the Valley, the sects made their first organized escape attempts. In March, at least two groups, with a combined total of approximately ninety men, attempted to escape through the mountains into West Virginia. General Jackson immediately dispatched several detachments and captured the offenders. Among those imprisoned was Elder John Kline.¹⁴

It is interesting and informative to note the reaction of different people to the escape attempts. Mennonites and Brethren looked upon these men as martyrs for the cause of non-resistance.¹⁵ Judge Sydney Baxter, who interrogated the group held in Richmond, became so convinced of their sincerity that in his report to the War Department he strongly urged their immediate release.¹⁶ The editors of the Olive Branch claim that Baxter's favorable report later influenced the passage of the Confederate exemption act.¹⁷

Military personnel viewed the incident in a different light. Stonewall Jackson, as commander of the forces in the Valley at that time, was very practical about the matter. As long as sect members, eligible for military service, could be used in a non-combatant capacity, as teamsters or such, he gave orders not to induct them.¹⁸ In his report to Governor Letcher concerning the capture of one of the groups, Jackson explained why he would rather not induct them. "I understand some of them (sect members) say they will not 'shoot.' They can be made to fire but can easily take bad aim."¹⁹ But in the same report, Jackson did not hesitate to relate how he had had the group captured as they attempted to escape.²⁰ In other words, he would respect the sects' beliefs as long as they did not interfere with his military operations. A soldier, serving under Jackson, recorded the following account of the capture of "draft" dodgers.

A good many men who lived along the base of the Blue Ridge, who were liable for military duty, and some deserters, had taken refuge in the mountains and fortified themselves, and defied the conscript officers to arrest them. General Jackson sent some infantry and calvary to capture them, when an old lady living near remarked that "The deserters had mortified in the Blue Ridge, but that General Jackson sent a foot company and a critter company to ranshag the Blue Ridge and capture them."²¹

This writer did not specifically mention either of the sects, but his attitude toward escape attempts illustrated the attitude of the everyday soldier toward those who tried to escape service. The account is humorous but not very sympathetic.

At least one northern newspaper, *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, used the capture as a "juicy" bit of propaganda. As quoted in the June, 1862 issue of *The Gospel Visitor*, *The Inquirer* stated:

. . . a short time ago a squadron of Rebel Cavalry made a descent upon a "Donkard" settlement in the valley of Rockingham County, Virginia. They captured around seventy of these hard-working, long snuff-coated, and longbearded, unoffensive people, and carried them to Richmond . . .²²

The most significant reaction, for the purpose of this paper, was recorded in the *Rockingham Register*. The *Register* headlined its account of the capture of the group, in which John Kline was a member, with "Union Men Captured."²³ The *Register* furnishes the only available source for tracing the changes in the attitude of the people of Rockingham County toward the sects. For the first time, the people of the county seemed concerned not only with the sects' unwillingness to fight but also with their Union sympathy.

During this period of so-called volunteer service, leaders of both sects realized the need for official military exemption. Their initial efforts were directed toward the state legislature since the state was still responsible for their own recruits.²⁴ Though chroniclers occasionally mention Mennonites who were active in the exemption efforts,²⁵ the men responsible for the majority of the letter writing to state officials and the visits to Richmond on behalf of the sects were Brethren such as Elder John Kline of Rockingham County, Elder Jonas Graybill and Elder Benjamin Moomaw of Botetourt County. Through their efforts the problem of conscientious objection was brought to the attention of the Virginia legislature.²⁶

Several legislators from those counties which had relatively large Mennonite and Brethren constituencies, championed the cause of the religious objectors in the legislature. John Hopkins and Algernon Gray of Rockingham County and George Baylor of Botetourt County were responsible for presenting and defending the exemption bill which passed the legislature on March 29, 1862.²⁷

The act provided for the exemption of religious objectors upon presentation of a certificate of membership and payment of five hundred dollars plus 2% of the assessed value of taxable property. If unable to pay, the individual would be used, when possible, as a teamster. The act also required an "oath or affirmation" of loyalty

to the Confederate government. (Though both churches prohibited the swearing of oaths, both allowed affirmation.)²⁸

Victory was short-lived. On April 16, 1862, the Confederate Congress passed the first universal conscription act. This act took the power of organizing militias from the states and centralized it under the Confederate War Department. Though the system of volunteer service was not abandoned, it was supplemented by a system based on conscription—all men between the ages of 18-45 were liable for service unless exempted by the Confederate Congress.²⁹ Another act, passed on April 21, exempted certain classes of persons vital to the Confederacy in civilian occupations, but the sects were not exempted. In the area of religion, only ordained ministers were exempted.³⁰

The conclusion of this study is concerned with an attempt to evaluate the actions of the Mennonites and Brethren during the war period. This evaluation will be divided into two parts, that which concerns the principle of non-resistance as applied to conscientious objection and that which concerns the principle of non-resistance as applied to the "underground railroad."

Both the Mennonites and Brethren were conscientiously opposed to killing human beings, which was one basis for their principles of non-resistance. The army, as that instrument by which a nation counters force with force, condoned killing when necessary; therefore, the sects were opposed to military service. Yet both sects during the Civil War allowed their members to buy substitutes to fight in their stead and to pay fines that would undoubtedly be used to further the war effort. How could this be justified in the light of their principles of non-resistance?

The problem of substitution and fines was debated during the war, especially by the Brethren. In the April 1864 issue of *The Gospel Visitor*, Sister E. A. Teter of Goshen, Indiana wrote an article criticizing the Brethren practice of allowing substitution. In this article she stated that the hiring of substitutes was a blatant transgression of church doctrine and that it in fact condoned killing.³¹ In the May issue of the *Visitor*, the following statement was made:

I would make no difference between paying a man to go to war, or going myself. I would not consider that I would any more violate the spirit of the gospel in one case, than the other. Neither do I consider that I am any more violating the command of the Saviour if I serve as a general in the field, or as a soldier in the ranks than I do if I serve as Sheriff . . . , or cast my vote for a member of Congress . . . They that vote for officers in government . . . yet refuse to defend the government in time of need, are neither faithful to the kingdom of Christ, nor that of this world.³²

The author of this article was one of the few who seemed to recognize the basic problem. How could the sects vote and participate in the temporal government without bearing the full responsibility of citizenship which included fighting to defend that government?

Their position may not be morally justifiable, but perhaps it can be explained. The sects, since the Revolutionary War, had accepted the fact that they would be required to compensate the government for not serving in the army. Both fines and substitutes were a form of compensation; therefore, it is conceivable that the majority of the sect members never even questioned the practice. They never seemed to recognize the discrepancy between their professional beliefs and their actions. This hypothesis is founded on such attitudes as are expressed in the following quotations. In the August, 1865 issue of *The Visitor*, John Moomaw of Botetourt County stated:

Christians, as I understand the matter, are pilgrims and strangers in the world belonging to another kingdom, not of this world. Therefore, they should have as little as possible to do with the affairs of the government or kingdom of this world.³³

Even after the war had ended the sects seemed to think that they could withdraw from the temporal world, in spite of the events of the past few years. In the August, 1864 issue of *The Herald of Truth*, a Mennonite stated:

Let us through God's help make our walk consistent with our profession and not be worldly minded, and seeking the use of the law and the sword . . . We must either belong to Christ's kingdom or we must belong to the kingdom of the world (Mammon and unrighteousness).³⁴

The Mennonite seemed to realize that the separation of the two kingdoms would be difficult, but he still believed that it could be done. Again, it appears that the sects never realized that by paying fines and hiring substitutes they were participating in the world and were in fact transgressing their own doctrines. Edward Frantz, editor of the Brethren magazine, *The Gospel Messenger* (this was the name given *The Gospel Visitor* in the late nineteenth century), explained the sects' attitude as follows:

The general attitude at the time . . . (was) that the Church of the Brethren (this applies to the Mennonites also) and the civil government were two different things. Churchmen could not fight and the church should have no connection with the civil government, but the government's duty was to fight. What was wrong for the Church was not wrong for the government . . . The Brethren did not apply moral and Biblical principles to everyone.³⁵

The "underground railroad" presents another problem. The principle of non-resistance as professed by both churches, required one to passively endure suffering. Yet, the sects did not passively endure. It is highly probable that they actively aided deserters and refugees to escape from the Coinfederacy, even if they themselves did not bear arms.

Assuming that there was an "underground railroad," how can one justify the sects' involvement? Perhaps it can not be morally justified; but, again, as in the case of substitutes, it can be explained. Since their founding the sects had forbidden slavery. They had always professed the doctrines of non-resistance and the separation of church and state. The immediate cause of secession was the slavery issue. Based on the belief that the state was ordained by God as long as it did not transgress the laws of God, the sects sided with the Union, whose policy toward slavery was in accordance with their church doctrines. Before Virginia seceded, sect leaders (John Kline in particular) used their influence against secession. After Virginia joined the Confederacy and the war had begun, the sects seemed to think that once they had obtained military exemption they would be able to withdraw from the war.

For almost two years their leaders made a concerted effort to get an exemption act passed, but after passage the act did not solve the sects' problems. Economic conditions and the increasingly hopeless war effort contributed in making non-involvement impossible. Reacting to pressure exerted by their neighbors and by officials, the sects organized an escape system, initially used by their own sect members. Rationalizing aiding deserters and refugees was an easy step to take. Why should they not help others escape from war and military service which as churches they condemned? Furthermore, why should they not aid a government they believed to be legal against a government they did not condone and a society which had persecuted them?

In the case of the question of fines and substitutes and in the case of the "underground railroad," the sects did not seem to realize that their loyalties to "the kingdom of world" had made them compromise their principles of non-resistance. But whether they realized it or not, they were men as well as Mennonites and Brethren; and as men, they reacted to the conditions of the times. They were faced with self-preservation during a period when their front doorsteps were being used as battlefields. As far as humanly possible, they tried to live by their non-resistant principles. They reacted to a situation; they did not act. The major criticism of the sects during the war period is that they considered themselves martyrs for the cause of non-resistance when in fact they were not. The Mennonites and

Brethren did not realize that one cannot separate the "kingdom of the world" from the "kingdom of Christ."

- ¹ Albert Moore, CONSCRIPTION AND CONFLICT IN THE CONFEDERACY (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1924) pp. 1, 14.
- ² H. D. Weaver, "A History of Weaver's Church," THE CHRISTIAN MONITOR, September, 1932, pp. 302-303.
- ³ ROCKINGHAM REGISTER, July 15, 1861.
- ⁴ THE MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETINGS OF THE CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN 1778-1909 (Elgin, Ill.: Brethren Publishing House, 1909) Art. 15, p. 231-232; Letter from L. J. Heatwolle to Edward N. Wright, Nov. 15, 1928, as cited by Samuel Horst, "Mennonites in the Confederacy; A Study in the Expression of Pacifism" (unpublished manuscript, by Dr. Horst, professor of history at Eastern Mennonite College) p. 38.
- ⁵ Claim, No. 21856.
- ⁶ Sanger, pp. 104-106.
- ⁷ Claim, No. 21844.
- ⁸ THE GOSPEL VISITOR, XII, Feb., 1862.
- ⁹ WAR OF THE REBELLION: A COMPILATION OF OFFICIAL RECORDS OF THE UNION AND CONFEDERATE ARMIES, Series 2, III, p. 835. Hereafter referred to as O. R.
- ¹⁰ Harry Brunk, THE LIFE OF PETER HARTMAN (n.p.: The Hartman Family Press, 1939) p. 53-54.
- ¹¹ Charles C. Breneman, A HISTORY OF THE DESCENDENTS OF ABRAHAM BRENE-MAN (Elida, Ohio: by the author, 1939) p. 39.
- ¹² Claim, No. 9527.
- ¹³ Sanger, pp. 106-107.
- ¹⁴ Letter from Major General Jackson to Colonel French, March 21, 1862, HOTCHKISS PAPERS, no. 168 (National Archives); O.R., Series 2, III, p. 835; Funk, p. 448.
- ¹⁵ Zigler, pp. 108-110; Sanger, pp. 59-73; Brunk, THE LIFE OF PETER HARTMAN, pp. 55-56; Funk, pp. 448-453.
- ¹⁶ O.R., Series 2, III, p. 835.
- ¹⁷ Sanger, p. 72.
- ¹⁸ Special Order, issued to Lt. Colonel J. R. Jones from Major General T. J. Jackson, March 31, 1862 (the original found in the historical library of Eastern Mennonite College).
- ¹⁹ Letter from Jackson to Col. French, March 21, 1862, HOTCHKISS PAPERS, no. 168 (National Archives).
- ²⁰ Ibid.
- ²¹ J. O. Casler, FOUR YEARS IN THE STONEWALL BRIGADE (2d ed., Marietta, Georgia: Continental Book Co., 1951) p. 70.
- ²² GOSPEL VISITOR, Vol. 12, June 1862.
- ²³ Zigler, pp. 109-111, quoting a photostat copy of the letter Kline wrote the ROCKINGHAM REGISTER on April 15, 1862, in response to the REGISTER'S article concerning the capture.
- ²⁴ The Quakers of the South did not coordinate their efforts with those of the Mennonites and Brethren. This is primarily attributable to the fact that the largest and most active Quaker groups were located in North Carolina and not the Shenandoah Valley and to the fact that their interpretation of the doctrine of non-resistance was not the same as that of the Mennonites and Brethren. Refer to Edward N. Wright, THE CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR IN THE CIVIL WAR for a full account of Quaker activities.
- ²⁵ Zigler, pp. 98-99.
- ²⁶ Funk, pp. 446-447; Zigler, p. 98; Sanger, p. 54.
- ²⁷ Zigler, p. 101; JOURNAL OF THE HOUSE OF DELEGATES OF THE STATE OF VIRGINIA FOR THE SESSION OF 1861-1862, pp. 308, 319-320, 329.
- ²⁸ ACTS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE STATE OF VIRGINIA, PASSED IN 1861, chap. 25, pp. 50-51.
- ²⁹ CONFEDERATE STATUTES AT LARGE, First Congress, Session I, Vol II, chap. 31, p. 29.
- ³⁰ Ibid, Chap. 74, pp. 51-52.
- ³¹ GOSPEL VISITOR, Vol. XIV, April 1864.
- ³² GOSPEL VISITOR, Vol. XV, May 1865.
- ³³ GOSPEL VISITOR, Vol. XV, August 1865.
- ³⁴ HERALD OF TRUTH, Vol. I, August 1864.
- ³⁵ Rufus Bowman, THE CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN AND WAR, 1708-1941 (Elgin, Ill.: Brethren Printing House, 1944) p. 119, quoting from a personal interview with Edward Frantz, 1942.

Hales Ford Classical School



Hales Ford School as it stands today

BY MISS SARAH DINWIDDLE

When a person lives a long time, she accumulates a little knowledge, sometimes. Sometimes it begins to get away, but you can usually draw it out. Anyway, I do know and remember something about the Duncan School. I have gotten information from many places: (1) from old scraps of paper found in the old Duncan house after vandals had scattered papers which had been filed in cartons; (2) from correspondence with four grandchildren of the Duncans; (3) from the Bedford County records; (4) from many old letters preserved by a granddaughter of the Duncans, Mrs. E. Burton Williams of Danville. I went down there early one morning and I read letters all day long, and I didn't finish. Mrs. Williams picked out the ones which she thought would be the highlights and I read until we had to leave. (5) I received some information from two patrons, the only living students that I know anything about, and they each said, "It's been so long," so I didn't get too much from them. One

Private schools and academies were an important part of 19th century education even after the start of the public school system a century ago. Hales Ford Classical School, a unique Franklin County institution which operated at least 20 years after it was formed in 1874, is described by Miss Sarah "Sallie" Dinwiddie, a retired school teacher, who lived nearby for years. The old school and the Duncan home nearby are still standing on Rt. 122, about six miles north of Burnt Chimney. Pictures of Capt. and Mrs. W. E. Duncan were provided by their granddaughter, Mrs. E. Burton Williams, Danville. A building at Virginia Western Community College in Roanoke is named for Capt. Duncan.

was Mrs. C. C. Maxey, mother of Miss Mae Maxey, who was a teacher here. The other is B. H. Hancock of Bluefield, W. Va. who is the brother of Jack Hancock, at one time an official of the Appalachian Power Co. They are the only two that I know about. If anybody else knows of any former students who are still living I would like to know about them. Also, from my memory I got stories told to me by Mrs. Duncan when she was an invalid with arthritis, and from other members of the family.

Duncan School was Captain William E. Duncan and his wife, Sallie Elizabeth Duncan, and so I shall devote most of this article to their lives.

William Erastus Duncan (1825-1912), called "Ras" by his family, was born in Amherst County, May 19, 1825, the son of Wesley Leland Duncan and Sallie Camden Duncan. Wesley Leland later moved to Bedford County, but he retained his Amherst property. In his will he made William E. Duncan his administrator of that property. Another son administered the Bedford property. Wesley Leland Duncan was the son of John Duncan, said to be the first Baptist preacher in that area, and Wesley Leland Duncan was also a preacher of the doctrine. I tell you that because of what comes next. When William E. Duncan grew up he considered the ministry as his profession. He wrote to a minister friend of the family to ask what he thought of the ministry as a profession. The friend's reply, preserved by Mrs. Williams, told of so many difficulties that Ras changed his mind. However, he seems to have kept his interest in the Church. In 1858 there is a letter to his father-in-law on business which has this postscript, "I hope you have a good meeting at the Church." In 1882 there is recorded in the minutes of the old Hales Ford Baptist Church that "William E. Duncan took the chair, called the church to order to call a pastor." This meeting was held in the old schoolhouse. It wasn't an old schoolhouse at that time, it was brand new.

William E. Duncan obtained his college education from Columbian College in Washington, D. C., which later became George Washington University. He received both A.B. and A.M. degrees from this college. Mrs. Williams has a photostatic copy of one of the diplomas written in Latin but the date was carefully blocked out, so we do not know when he was in school there or when he graduated.

Sallie Elizabeth Holland Duncan (1835-1920) was a daughter of Captain Asa Holland. She was reared in the old brick house which is still standing near the school. She was educated at Danville Female Academy, conducted by Dr. Dame. She probably entered there in 1848. A letter from S. H. Holland, Danville, to "Dear Asa," says, "Dr. Dame has returned and informs me that his school will commence the 2nd of October, would be pleased to receive Sally as schollar (sic) and boarder, price of board \$10 per month, she furnishing her own

towels only. The tuition the same as Miss Benedict's which is regulated by the trustees at \$1.00 to \$2.00. Music, \$4 per month."

On Dec. 12, 1849, Sally writes to "My Dear Pa" that she had stopped having two classes in French on Monday because she had caught up with the others who had been studying (French) two months. "Also, Dr. Dame says if I will try I soon can catch up with the class that has been studying two years." Pretty good for a fourteen-year-old! !

At Dr. Dame's School in Danville, besides French she studied the usual subjects, piano, and organ music as well as the Episcopal Prayer Book which she could repeat from memory. Mrs. Duncan's family were staunch Baptists also, and her father was the leading spirit in building the Hales Ford Baptist Church.

This building was begun in 1854. Captain Asa was such a prominent leader in the church that the church was referred to as Captain Asa Holland's church. Another of her ancestors was turned out of the Quaker Church "for consorting with the Baptists." Sallie Elizabeth Holland was married to William E. Duncan on February 22, 1852. There were eight children, two sons and six daughters, born of this marriage.

The Duncan children all of whom are dead, were: Kate Duncan Keeney, who lived and died in Texas; A. Leland Duncan, judge in Missoula, Mont.; Sallie Willie Duncan Keeney, Georgia; Lula Duncan Moir, Virginia; Mattie Duncan, Virginia; Annie (Ras) Duncan Booth, Danville; William Duncan, died young, and Julia Duncan Hancock, Blackstone.

Some wag made this doggerel about the children which was much repeated:

Kate, Lee, Sal, Lou

Matt, Ann, Bill, Ju.

When and where William E. Duncan began to teach is not known. The first position he held, of which we have positive knowledge, was at Hollins College. He took his young wife and baby there in 1854. In the college there was a parlor which was reserved for the faculty members and their wives. One evening soon after they arrived, Mrs. Duncan came into this parlor and took a seat. There were lifted eyebrows and exchanged glances, and also some remarks made about students not being allowed in the parlor. But Sallie Bet knew that she was supposed to be there, so she sat on. Presently, the nurse brought the baby to be kissed goodnight and Sallie Bet was accepted into the group.

It is thought that Captain Duncan was at Hollins one or more years when he accepted the position of organizing the Alleghany College at Blue Sulphur Springs, Greenbrier County, Virginia, now

West Virginia. I have two blank report cards, signed with the printed name of William E. Duncan, and from the subjects offered there must have been a considerable number in the faculty of this school.

There was English for the junior, intermediate and senior classes. There was also Latin, Greek and mathematics for those three classes. There was French, German, natural science, moral science, history and Spanish for the juniors and seniors. This covers a pretty wide curriculum. Evidently they were also required to attend worship and to attend Bible classes, because on the cards there is a place marked "Absent from Bible class times." The grades were from one to five, five being the highest. Grade V signifies in scholarship "Excellent," in deportment "Very orderly."

Mr. Duncan was at this college until 1861 when he volunteered for the Confederate Army. Mrs. Duncan wrote her father that Ras had been made a captain at \$140 a month.

He seems to have spent a while recruiting for the Army and trying to retain this area in the Confederacy before he was assigned to a quartermaster's position. His military record is in the Virginia State Library, Archives Division. A record, as told by him to his daughter, Mrs. Lula Duncan Moir, is also there. In this package there are four photostatic copies of orders from his superior officer. One of these has this interesting statement:

"I assure you that I had not the slightest intention of placing any reflections upon you for the manner in which you have discharged the duties of your office. I am satisfied that under the circumstances you do the best you can.

Respectfully your obedient servant,
Edward McMahon
Major and Quartermaster"

(No one, not even a major, treaded upon the Captain with impunity.)

During the early days of the war, Colonel Robert E. Lee came to Blue Sulphur to review the troops. Mrs. Duncan and other ladies were on the balcony overlooking the parade ground. They sent an invitation to the Colonel to have lunch with them at the college. He lifted his hat in a courtly bow and thanked them, but said that he always ate with the boys.

Another letter in Mrs. Williams' possession shows the other work the Captain did at that time. This letter, written on April 11, 1905, exactly 44 years after the event, had at the top of the page, S. C. Perrow, Lawyer, Houston, Virginia, and read as follows:

"When the Civil War broke out I was going to school at Alleghany College in Greenbrier County. The school (sic) broke up and not having any money to pay my way home in Campbell

Co. I borrowed a little from you. I do not remember the amount (or kind of currency) but I think it was \$12. When I got home the war prevented the return of the money and I volunteered. I have never known your address since until a gentleman at the hotel last night gave it to me. Now if this money loaned (sic) me came out of your pocket instead of that of the college, I want to pay you. Please let me know and let me know also if I am right about the amount."

He did not sign it.

The college building at Blue Sulphur was burned during the war and Alleghany did not reopen. After the war was over, Capt. Duncan took his family to a farm owned by his father-in-law in Pittsylvania County.

The captain was not a farmer, he found it hard to adjust to the changed economic conditions after the war. The family had hard sledding. They finally came back to her father's home. The captain and his eldest son, Lee, stayed on at the farm. His letters to his wife express his frustrations and keen longing for his family. He was still there in June, 1874. However, he came to Hales Ford and opened his school in the fall of that year. It seems it was held in the Hales Ford Baptist Church, a brick building on a lot given by Asa Holland. He had school there for several years until the building burned, probably in the late winter of 1881. The handbill for 1881 states: "School will open November 1—in a new, commodious and comfortable school-room recently erected."

The new school building was a frame building divided into two rooms by a folding partition. This partition could be folded back, making one large room for assemblies. The front room where the Captain taught was heated by a large stone fireplace. The back room where Mrs. Duncan taught was heated by an oblong iron stove which would hold logs two feet or more long. The stove pipe extended across the front of the room and into the stove chimney. The blackboard was really a board, several of the broad ceiling boards painted black. There was a movable blackboard of the same material, boards painted black. This blackboard was used in Mrs. Duncan's room. The seats were benches, and the desks were handmade.

The handbill for 1881 describes the school and the curriculum. "The course of instruction embraces, besides the usual English branches, Latin, Greek, French, Mathematics. Natural Science, and History. Special attention given to INSTRUCTION IN THE PRIMARY BRANCHES." Mrs. Duncan was employed by the county to teach the elementary grades. She held a professional certificate.

In 1893 in Franklin County there were 21 teachers with professional certificates. Five of these were named Duncan. The list of



Asa Holland — Capt. Duncan home

teachers which went to the state superintendent of education contains many names of those who attended Capt. Duncan's School.

A handbill, dated 1890, is signed W. E. Duncan and T. A. Walker, principals. How long Mr. Walker was with the school I do not know. In an interesting letter from Mr. Walker, dated in Lynchburg in August, 1890, and replying to the captain's offer of a position, he says in part: "I ask one small favor. I want one of the offices in your yard all to myself. I won't want anybody in that office with me. I don't care how good or how religious he may be. I shall want to study and I don't want to be bothered. Signed, T. A. Walker."

The Duncan household cared for some of the students. With eight children in their family, one wonders how there was room for more in the house. Early, the two offices were built, one on either side of the front yard, and these were used as dormitories for the boys. The girls were cared for in the house. I heard one of the Duncan girls tell of sleeping on the floor in the attic when the house was full. As the handbill states, other students boarded with neighbors. My mother, whose home was in Bedford County, boarded with her cousin who lived three miles from the school. I heard of more than one family who rented a house and moved near the school so that the children could attend. Some rode horseback for many miles.

While Mrs. Duncan taught at the school house and also taught piano and organ after hours, someone had to tend the kitchen. This position was ably filled by Aunt Mandy Hancock. She came to work for the family about the time the school started. She lived in her own house down the lane and reared her family. But the kitchen, a log

building with one room up, one down and a big fireplace, was where Aunt Mandy reigned supreme, preparing delectables and sending piping hot breads to the dining room in the basement of the big house, 75 feet away. The carrier was probably one of Aunt Mandy's sons.

I heard this story from one of the Duncan girls. Some boys came calling on Sunday afternoon and stayed until supper time. Courtesy, which Mrs. Duncan never lacked, demanded that the boys be invited to have supper. Aunt Mandy was not informed that she had hungry young men to feed, in time to make more biscuits. The little bell rang for more biscuits. Sam brought them. Again the bell rang. This time the biscuit plate was not piled high, and was soon empty. Again the bell rang. The boys waited and waited. Finally Sam appeared at the table with a corn pone on the plate, a corn pone which Aunt Mandy always prepared for herself. He presented the plate to Mrs. Duncan, saying, "Dis here is de last." When the laughter had died down the boys said they were about through anyway.

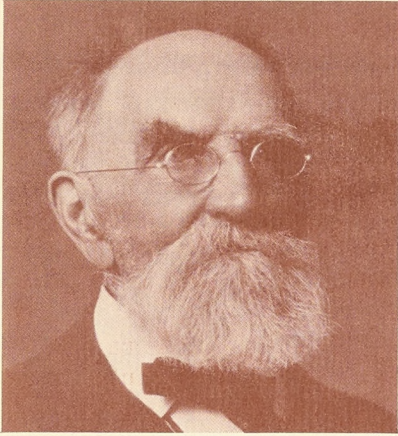
Aunt Mandy remained with the family until after the Captain had passed away. She became so senile she saw little devils all around. Finally she said the devils had gotten in the attic and would have to be burned out. The family sadly and tearfully placed Aunt Mandy in a hospital.

School boys of that time, as in other times, had extra energy to work off and got into mischief. The Captain usually fitted the punishment to the crime.

One day feathers were floating in the air. The captain found the one who started it, had him stand on the platform facing the school, put a feather in the air, and informed him what would happen to him if he failed to keep it up. The feather went up, the boy puffed, and puffed. When about out of breath came "Captain"—puff—"Duncan," puff, "please," puff, "please," puff, puff. At long last the Captain let him sit down. No more feathers.

Two boys got shelled corn from the Captain's corn house, walked the mile up to the Garret place, then dropping one grain of corn at a time, tolled two geese to the school house and shut them in. One boy then went to the Captain's house before school time and said, "Captain Duncan!" The Captain, at his desk, did not answer. Again he called, "Captain Duncan, there are two geese up at the school." The Captain looked up and said, "If I know anything about it, there are more than that up there." When he opened the door of the school, later, there were the geese. He soon found the boys responsible, sent them to his corn house for more corn, and said, "Now, toll them back where you got them from."

Once a couple of boys climbed on the roof and stuffed the chimney with cedar branches. When the Captain made a fire the next morn-



Capt. William E. Duncan and wife, Sallie Elizabeth

ing the chimney would not draw and the school filled with smoke. He soon discovered the trouble and correctly guessing the culprits, sent them up to unstop the chimney.

In disciplining the students he usually used a mild, mannerly reproof. But he could administer a sharp tongue-lashing when irritated. A favorite was to declare before the school that the culprit "had not been half-raised." His own teen-aged son irritated him once, and the Captain applied his "half-raised" formula to him. The son impudently retorted, "Captain, you raised me." The captain's reaction to this is not reported.

Captain Duncan was always interested in public education. The law establishing Virginia public schools system went into effect in 1870. In June, 1874, while he was still in Pittsylvania, he wrote this letter to his wife.

"Tell Charles (his brother) I would be glad to hear from him about the school. Tell him he need not be at all bothered about the "Civil Rights Bill," even if that bill were to pass. (I don't think it will.) I don't think it would interfere with the Free Schools of the State because the patrons of every free school could easily pay a small sum, say \$1 a year besides what the County paid and then the school would not be wholly supported by the Public cost. Again, the Legislature regulates its own domestic matters, schools and all, and they would not allow mixed schools. So, I don't think it possible with the passage of the Bill to force mixed schools on Virginia. So I see nothing at all connected with the Civil Rights Bill to keep the people of Halesford from going ahead with their school. I wish you would mention these things to Charlie."

The school was built with the help of the citizens and it was called Sandy Fork. The old building, still standing, was used until 1912 or

1913, when a new two-room school was built at Epworth Church.

It would seem that Captain Duncan had his hands full, running a school for young people in the winter, a school for teachers in the summer, and running a farm. However, he found time to be superintendent of the public schools in Franklin County. He served from 1877 to 1880, and then again from 1886 to 1889.

One of his duties was to give examinations to teachers in various parts of the county. A letter headed Penello, August 31, 1887, to his wife, says, "I am just through my examination at Rock Spring. Had exactly twenty teachers, the same number I had at the courthouse yesterday. I expect a still larger number at Providence. There will be a larger number of applicants than schools. Many men applicants whom I have never seen nor heard of are being examined. Quite a number from other counties, and one from another state. I shall try to get home Saturday if possible, but if it should so happen that I do not get home, please send by someone, the bundle of notices in my desk, about the times and places of the examinations."

It seems there was some improvement in the County's public education, by comparison of the reports to the state of 1877, the first year he was superintendent, and the reports of 1889, the last year he served.

	1877	1889
Money for teachers' wages	\$7,878+	\$16,300+
Real estate, buildings, furniture	1,197+	1,413+
Libraries, maps, globes	21.91	113.18
Number studying higher branches	100	121

The school closed as an academy about 1895. One and another of his daughters taught the public school in the building for many years.

But who can tell the influence of one dedicated teacher? This article from the Bedford Democrat sums it up very well:

A leaflet bearing the date of October 12, 1885, which in its nature takes the form of a prospectus of the old well-known private school of Captain W. E. Duncan at Hale's Ford in Franklin County, was shown in this office a few days ago. Pioneering in the field of education back in the early '80's and '90's, the Duncan school of learning in the State. The leaflet was to all appearances intended as an inclosure for correspondence and sets forth in classic English the aims and intents of the distinguished Principal and his staff of educators.

Captioned "Hale's Ford Classical School For Both Sexes" it states "the ensuing session of this school will begin on Monday, October 12th, 1885, and continue eight months, with a short vacation for Christmas."

"After years of experience the Principal is convinced that co-

education of the sexes proves successful both in refining the manners of the pupils and producing a generous rivalry between males and females.

"The object of this school is to prepare young ladies and young men to enter the higher classes of our best Male and Female Colleges, or to completely fit them for the active duties of life. The Course of Instruction is thorough in all departments. Particular attention given to the Primary Branches.

"The curriculum of studies embraces the usual English branches taught in our best schools, together with Latin, Greek, French, Mathematics, Natural Science and History.

"The Hale's Ford neighborhood is noted for morality, refinement, healthfulness and freedom from any enticements to idleness or neglect of study.

"Board in good families convenient to the school room, at \$8.00 per month. Tuition from \$2.50 to \$3.50 per month, according to studies pursued.

"The Principal is assisted by Mrs. Duncan, who teaches Music on both Piano and Organ. Pupils furnish their own lights, towels, combs and brushes.

"For other particulars address the Principal at Hale's Ford P. O. Franklin County, Virginia.

W. E. Duncan, A.M.
Principal"

It is a long backward cry from the present splendid educational system of the State to the wholly inadequate facilities of the '80's and '90's. In that day youth was afforded only a three-months "free school" session during the midwinter months. Parents who could afford to do so employed private tutors or sent their children to private schools, such as conducted by Captain Duncan, and to his institution, many a young man and woman of Franklin and Bedford counties is indebted for the basic ground work of an education.

New Books on Old Themes

FOLK ART IN STONE—SOUTHWEST VIRGINIA by Klaus Wust, Shenandoah History, Edinburg, 28 pages, 43 illustrations, three maps, \$1.95.

The unexplored field of tombstone art in Southwest Virginia is the subject of a brief study by German scholar Klaus Wust, the man who wrote "The Virginia Germans" and spoke to the Society about the flood of 1749 (See his text in this issue). Excellent photographs are accompanied by a well-written description of stone work in the 1790-1835 period. Wust begins his book this way:

"Embedded among the hills of Southwestern Virginia, often hug-

ging the ground of a breezy hillside and well hidden from the hurried traveler, a great many remarkable creations of folk art have survived on the burial-grounds of erstwhile German churches."

AUGUSTA PARISH, VIRGINIA 1738-1780 by Dr. Beverley Ruffin, McClure Press, Verona, 74 pages, \$2.95.

Dr. Beverley Ruffin, retired librarian at Longwood College, Mary Baldwin College, Stuart Hall and other schools, has written of the beginnings of Augusta Parish, major branch of local government in colonial days. Augusta Parish and Augusta County were forerunners of all of the westward growth behind the mountains, of course.

Dr. Ruffin tells of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians who held a majority of the seats on the parish vestry in 1746, of indentures and contracts, processioning of land, care of the poor, laying the parish levy and other matters of importance in the frontier parish.

Botetourt's 200th Birthday

Climaxed by a rousing pageant, "Echo From the Hills," Botetourt County's bicentennial celebration made 1970 the biggest year since the frontier county was formed in 1770.

From the traditional ringing of the Fincastle bells on New Year's Eve—with a special meaning this year—through the Easter Sunrise service, Memorial Day service and Bicentennial Emphasis Week June 21-27, hundreds of Botetourt residents participated in many activities marking the passage of the county's first 200 years. The pageant alone required the talents of 450 people.

Scores of almost forgotten events were recalled as all of present Botetourt and many former residents were reminded of a heritage to be proud of. "Honoring the Past, Searching the Future" was the Bicentennial slogan.

The highlight of the year was the pageant, written and produced by Botetourt people, and staged four times at the county's two high schools, Lord Botetourt and James River. It dramatized the frontier "mother of counties," the days when the community was known as Miller's Mill and later Monroe before Fincastle was the name finally agreed upon, the first court meeting at the home of Robert Breckenridge, the county's role in the nation's wars, changes in social life and a variety of happenings from Botetourt's yesterdays. A large choir and colorful costumes added to the spectacle.

Plans have been suggested to stage the pageant again, possibly in connection with Fincastle's bicentennial in 1972.

A great variety of events involved every community of the county during Emphasis Week. Opening with Religious Heritage Day, home-



Celebration of the Botetourt Bicentennial was a family affair as is shown by these pictures of the Billy Simmons and Jim Sifford families as they appeared in the pageant, "Echo From the Hills." Sifford and his daughters, Debra (left) and Sally, and son, Lewis, were attired in colonial dress, on their way to church. Simmons and his wife, Myrtle, stood by a covered wagon with their four sons, Billy Jr. (left), Gene, Phillip and Lynn. Simmons later won the county contest for the most handsome beard.

coming services were held in many county churches and vesper services were conducted at the two high schools. Guided walking tours were offered at the county seat several days and Monday was featured as the day for the county's high school graduates to have homecoming luncheons and a square dance on the courthouse square in Fincastle. Graduates of schools long closed held reunions.

On Tuesday, buses transported many on a tour of interesting homes, churches and other points and on Wednesday, houses and gardens were on a separate bus itinerary. Old agricultural implements were shown at James River High on Thursday and art works were exhibited at Tinker Mill, Daleville, and at Buchanan Community House on Friday.

Bands, floats and costumes were features of a parade in the county seat on Saturday afternoon. Prizes were given for the best beard, costumes and parade entries. The week closed with a talk by Edmund Harding, Washington, N. C. speaker, and fireworks Saturday night.

Thomas E. Reynolds served as chairman of the 12-member board of directors which arranged and often played major parts in the Bicentennial program.

After the celebration, one of the directors said the most important thing during the year was "that it drew many of our areas within the county closer together."

Col. William Fleming Recalled

Col. William Fleming, one of the more important men who have lived in Roanoke Valley, was recalled by three separate incidents in the summer of 1970, exactly 175 years after his death.

The Scottish-born surgeon, Indian fighter and governor of Virginia for 10 days in June, 1781, made local historical news in this manner:

—A great-great-great-grandson named Van Fleming brought his wife and three children from San Clemente, Calif., to see where their ancestor once lived on Tinker Creek.

—The Iron Worker, a quarterly magazine of the Lynchburg Foundry, published a picture captioned "William Fleming" with an article referring to Fleming's brief service as governor while senior member present of the Council of State after the expiration of Thomas Jefferson's term. However, the magazine was in error and the picture was that of a portrait of a state Supreme Court judge named William Fleming, who was born in Goochland County and was a contemporary of Col. Fleming of Botetourt.

—The Society has received a desk used by Fleming at Bellmont from Arthur M. Kent of Wytheville, whose great-aunt was the grand-

daughter of Fleming. A portion of Belmont is still standing on Monterey Golf Course north of Roanoke. Kent earlier contributed a set of Fleming's surgical instruments.

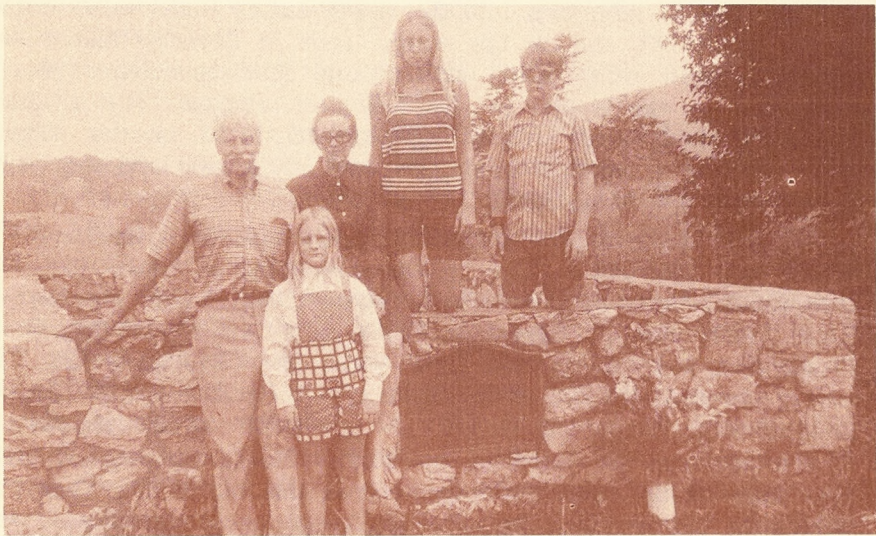
Van Fleming, his wife, June, and their children, Laura, Kelly and Vanessa, visited Belmont and took flowers to Fleming's grave nearby on the golf course. Mrs. Fleming has done considerable genealogical research on the Fleming family.

The California Fleming, believed to be the only male descendant from this line in his generation, is descended from Leonard Israel Fleming, Col. Fleming's son, who moved to Kentucky. Leonard Israel was the father of William Bowyer Fleming, who had a son, William Bowyer Fleming, Jr., whose son was Clinton Kelly Fleming, father of Harris Van Alstyne Fleming now of San Clemente. This family retains strong ties with Fleming relatives in Kentucky.

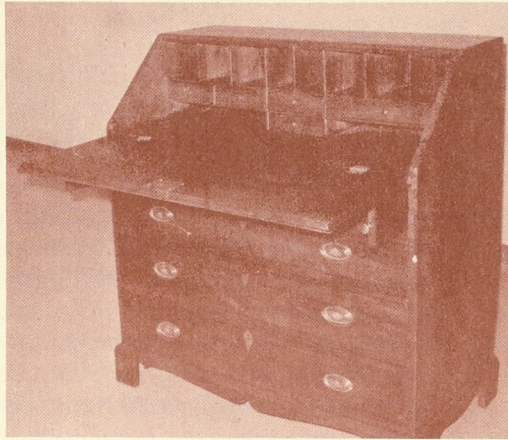
Edmund P. Goodwin, past president of the Society and an authority on Fleming, spotted the error in the Iron Worker. It was later admitted by the State Library, which supplied the picture. Goodwin says he has never heard of a portrait of Fleming but he has seen a reference to a silhouette.

The Fleming desk is being refinished and the Society hopes to place it on display in the future.

In still another related development, Belmont is being occupied for the first time in a number of years. Paul Kosko, the Monterey Golf



Van Fleming and wife, June, with Vanessa (left), Laura and Kelley at grave of Col. William Fleming



Col. Fleming's cherry desk, Gov. Winthrop style

Course pro, and his wife have improved the 200-year-old log and frame building for use as their home. As part of the golf course property, it is owned by Cy Bahakel of Charlotte, N. C., and leased by Kosko.

High Bridge Church Is 200

BY DR. GEORGE WEST DIEHL

The tide of migration into the upper James River valley began in the late 1730's and, as the choice lands in Beverley Manor and Borden's Grant were taken, settlers and land speculators moved southward on the trough of the Valley of Virginia. The southern boundary of Borden's Grant, approximately that of the "Thorn Hill" estate, just south of Lexington, was left behind and the virgin valleys beyond were occupied.

The channel of the migration was an ancient Indian path, known as "The Great Road," "The Pennsylvania Road" or "The Irish Road." In what is now Rockbridge County, it left the Buffalo Creek valley and, crossing the divide, it struck the upper Cedar Creek area, the stream that flows under the Natural Bridge. The exit at the southern rim of the valley was through a low gap in the dividing ridge which opened upon the headwaters of Roaring Run.

David Cloyd and his wife, the former Margaret Campbell, with their little family, came down the trail in the mid 1740's. They had arrived in Pennsylvania in 1730 and were now migrating to the rich limestone land of the James River. On May 5, 1745, Cloyd bought 400 acres of land from John Buchanan in what is now Bote-

tourt County. He also patented several tracts of land in the "Fork of James" section, on Cedar Creek, Sept. 20, 1748.

In March, 1764, Indian raiders struck the Cloyd home, at the head of Rentfroe's Branch in Botetourt County of today. John Cloyd was slain and his mother was so badly tomahawked that she expired the next day. More than two hundred pounds worth of gold and silver coins were taken. The dead were buried in the little graveyard just west of the home. Here David Cloyd was buried when he died in 1790. When his son Joseph sold the home-place to John Withrow and David Shanks in 1797, he reserved the one-half acre where the graveyard "now stands."

David Cloyd 2nd, born in 1783, grew to manhood on the Virginia frontier where he met, wooed and won his bride—she was Elizabeth, the daughter of Andrew and Martha Woods and granddaughter of Michael Woods, of Blair Park, and his wife Mary Campbell. On May 29, 1761, he paid his father twenty pounds for a tract of 400 acres, one of those his parents had patented in the "Fork of James." Here, not far from a cool spring of water, he erected his cabin home to which he brought his bride three years later.

Already the settlers, hungry for religious fellowship and the uplift of the spiritual, had formed "societies" for common worship, under the leadership of men of their own choosing. The Cedar Creek group appears to have centered at the "Red Mill," formerly the home of William Poage, now owned by William McClanachan. Just a few miles south of David Cloyd's home, the pioneers of Roaring Run and Spreading Springs were holding "society" meetings in Capt. Audley Paul's stockade fort.

With the coming of the Rev. John Craig, of the Tinkling Spring Church, into the community in 1768, the two groups seem to have formed a union at his suggestion. The next year, Hanover Presbytery appointed the Rev. John Brown, pastor of New Providence Church, to supply one Sabbath at "Rock Bridge," as the congregation

The story of High Bridge Presbyterian Church in Rockbridge County through its first two centuries, 1770 to 1970, is narrated by Dr. George West Diehl, historian, educator and Presbyterian minister. Dr. Diehl's new book, "The Reverend Samuel Houston V.D.M." has just been published by McClure Press, Verona. Houston, a cousin of Gen. Sam Houston, served High Bridge Church for 44 years. He used the initials, V.D.M., to signify "Verbi Dei Magister" or "Minister of the Word of God." Dr. Diehl, writer of a bicentennial pageant for High Bridge Church earlier this year, has written historical columns, magazine articles and other works. Here, he tells of a church which has been a longtime landmark beside an early trail, turnpike and later U. S. 11 and Interstate 81.

was first known. It is apparent that the two groups were "set in church order" in 1770. No church site had been selected and the congregation, on Oct. 9, 1771, petitioned Presbytery to designate the Rev. Mr. Craig to assist in the selection of a good location and to determine the bounds of the congregation.

David Cloyd 2nd, whose farm was in between the two sections of the new church, gave the site. For some reason, no deed was given—if one had been, it has become lost. However, when Matthew Houston sold the Cloyd estate to Wm. P. Arnold on Oct. 6, 1841, the boundaries were given as "passing High Bridge Church (which, with two acres of land with the use of a spring contiguous thereto, is hereby reserved to the use of the church forever)".

The first church structure, a small log building, was erected in 1771 after the site had been selected and permission granted. It was replaced under the pastorate of the Rev. Samuel Houston by a larger and more convenient frame structure. This was in the 1790's. In the valley, John McConkey had bought 93 acres of land from Caufield Taylor who had purchased it from his father-in-law, Capt. Audley Paul. The transaction was made on Sept. 6, 1796. The property was adjacent to the cemetery which had grown up on the hillside between the church and "The Great Road." The development made expansion of the church necessary.

The tract was laid off in town lots with "The Great Road" as Main Street bordered on either side by twenty lots. The village was given the name of Springfield. Soon here R. L. Northern operated a tailoring shop, Joseph Baker opened his hatters establishment, Jacob Siler offered his service as a gunsmith and Daniel Heck operated his wagon and rope shop in a building made from the logs of the old High Bridge Church, to mention a few of the industries.



High Bridge Presbyterian Church

The frame building that housed the High Bridge congregation was designed by the pastor and it was he who supervised its construction. The Rev. Mr. Houston loved it. In it he preached for almost forty years and from it he was buried in the cemetery within its shadow.

The present brick structure was erected in 1903. In 1922, it was remodeled and a wing was added on the western side without change to the original structure. Then, a few years ago there were many improvements made to the building which have intensified the beauty and the attractiveness of the place. An educational building was erected about two hundred feet away from the church and an ample parking facility was supplied, all of which does not detract from the uniqueness and beauty of the old church, as she breathes a benediction upon the dead of generations as modern civilization flits by on the concrete bands of Interstate 81.

About one-half mile north of the old church, where the present exit from the interstate for Natural Bridge joins the service road, stood a large cherry tree by the side of the stage-road. It was said to have marked the center, the heart, of Virginia in those days of long ago. On the tree were four sign-boards, each bearing a distinctive message: "Abingdon, 200 miles", "Harpers Ferry, 200 miles", "Wheeling, 200 miles" and "Albemarle Sound, 200 miles".

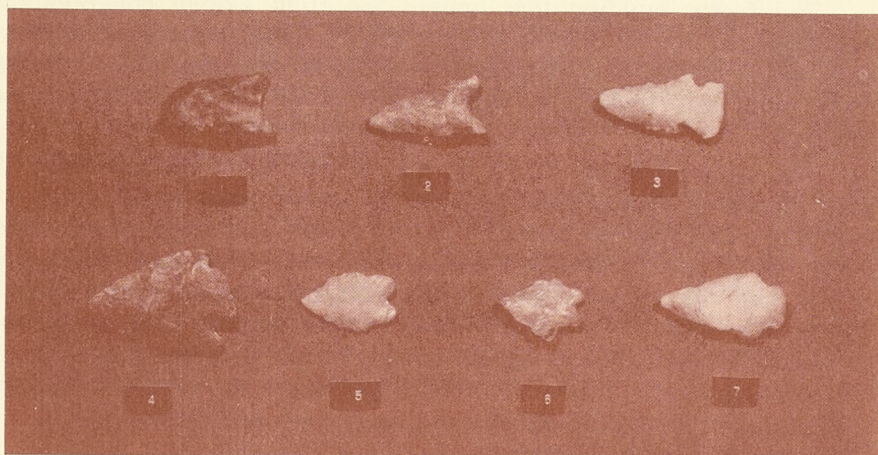
The old cherry tree has long been gone and forgotten, but the church on the hill in the distance still ministers to the community and is loved by a multitude far and near. It is the very center of their affection.

Ancient Artifacts Acquired

A large collection of Indian artifacts, mainly arrow points, from the estate of Col. J. Sinclair Brown, prominent Roanoke County banker and legislator, has been given the Society by his daughter, Mrs. W. S. Russell.

The 784 artifacts classified by Col. Howard MacCord, archeologist with the Virginia State Library, cover a broad time span ranging from a Clovis fluted type point from the Paleo-Indian period, 9,000-10,000 B.C., up through Clarksville triangular points placed at 1500-1750 A.D. MacCord said many of the artifacts came from other parts of the country indicating that Indians or latter-day collectors carried or exchanged them in their travels.

MacCord found a Steatite pot fragment, two crude knives, eight pieces of Clarksville type of pottery, five Guildford type knives or blades, a pottery trowel or anvil used in pottery making, a piece of pottery, possibly Catawba, three crude chipped axes, half of a stone



Seven of the older arrow points in the Brown Collection are (from left, top) Clovis fluted type, Paleo-Indian, 9000-10,000 B.C.; Hardaway-Dalton, estimated at 8000 B.C.; Palmer corner notched type, approximately 8000 B.C.; Charleston corner notched, 7900 B.C.; Lecroy bifurcated, 6300 B.C.; Kanawha, 5800 B.C.; and Lamuka type, 3000 B.C.

gorget, three hammerstones, five grubbing tools, five stemmed scrapers, 10 drills and 27 knives.

In quantities, he reported 160 Savannah River type arrow points, 2000 to 1000 B.C., 65 Morrow Mountain type points, approximately 5000 B.C., 85 Archaic Culture Guildford type, 45 Halifax type, 4000 B.C., 44 Big Sandy Side points, 44 McCorkle type, approximately 7000 B.C., 24 Caraway type, 19 Coosa, early woodland, and 16 Yadkin type, early woodland.

James McDowell's Travels in 1828

Notes from the Virginia phase of a western trip taken by James McDowell of Fincastle in 1828 were loaned recently by Mrs. James McDowell of Fincastle, whose late husband was a great-grandson of the writer. That earlier James served two terms as U.S. consul to Belfast in his native Ireland, according to his granddaughter, Miss Ruth McDowell of Roanoke. He started the 1828 trip with relatives in North Carolina and went as far as Ohio "traveling in search of a place to locate a store." He worked for his uncle, Robert Kyle, at his store and bank, known as Bolton's Store today.

Sunday, Jan. 27, I have got to Cook's 31 miles by sundown after crossing the blue ridge at Ward's Gap, fare good, the best Irish potatoes and milk & butter that I had seen since I left Botetourt.

Tuesday, Jan. 29. Started after breakfast for Wythe Co. House

22 miles where I arrived at 2 o'clock p.m. and spent the evening very pleasantly at Mr. Jas. St. Clair's where I sat with his Mother-in-law, Mrs. Gibboney. The specimen of her family that I saw in Mrs. St. Clair was certainly a good one.

Wednesday, Jan. 30. Left Wythe after breakfast and got to Beattie's 7 miles ford, 33 miles same evening, after passing through a very fertile well inhabited valley stocked with cattle and sheep. Fare at Beattie's Good.

Wythe, the Co. House town of Wythe Co. in good weather when the streets are clean, may be said to be a tolerably handsome village. It is compactly built with a brick Co. House and several handsome private residences, 5 or 6 stores with tolerable good assortments, but business is said to be overdone in it by competition, very little a doing during my stay in it. Stayletown 13 miles west of Wythe is one of the most frightful looking places that I ever saw. It has a scared look about it. I requested a Blacksmith to chain it for fear of its running away. One Tavern, one little shop of Goods, a blacksmith shop etc., with a few log huts compose the town.

Thursday, Jan. 31st. Left Beattie's ford after breakfast and got to Abingdon at 2 o'clock p.m.—the country still fertile and stocked with almost innumerable herds of cattle. The country is very thickly settled along the road, and some of the dwellings very handsome.

Abingdon is situated on a tolerably high hill with a considerable fall on each side, but notwithstanding its elevated situation, it beats all the places for mud that I ever saw. Horses have to wade through mud in the middle of the street belly deep and crossing the street is out of the question unless at places where large logs are sunk in the mud for that purpose. In other respects it looks tolerably well, has a brick court house and a Methodist church and 5 stores all of whom have pretty good assortments, and some of them doing very well. It is decidedly in my opinion the best place for business that I have seen since I left home.

Friday, Feb. 1st. Still at Findlay's in Abingdon, waterbound and compelled by the incessant rain to keep the house all day without even a chance of seeing the town. Findlay keeps the bell Tavern, and is an Irishman by birth.

Saturday, Feb. 2nd. Left Abingdon at daybreak and got to Shumaker's for breakfast 14 miles.

Two months later, McDowell's notes told of his return trip.

Saturday, April 5th. Left Beverly and got to the Warm Springs 80 miles on Tuesday, April 8th after travelling 4 days through snow from 9 to 18 inches deep over the roughest country and worst roads in the United States, unable sometimes to procure anything for my horse to eat and generally obliged to shake the snow off my bed

clothes in the morning that had drifted in through the chinks between the logs of the miserable cabins that I was compelled to lodge in. This I considered rather an unpleasant situation for a man in a delicate state of health.

On my way to the Warm Springs from Beverly I stopped at Barner's, Waddel's and Mrs. Gatewood's the latter the only tolerable house for 90 miles, indeed I might almost say for 220 miles the whole distance from Marietta to Bath Co. House. I spent the greater part of Tuesday at the Warm Springs witnessing their county elections, and when I contrasted the appearance of the citizens there (although I presume the roughest in the valley) with those west of the Alleghany I could not help rejoicing that I had again reached a land of civilization.

Wednesday, April 9. Left Warm Springs and got to Mr. McKee's 30 miles same evening, stopping for an hour on my way at William's Springs. The honors of the table at Mr. McKee's were done by Miss Jane McKee, a handsome, blooming, rosy cheeked girl of 16 or 18 whom I could have very soon fallen in love with had I been a marrying man. I was confined to bed for the early part of the next day and on entering the sitting room at 1 p.m. I found Mr. Hutton, a discarded lover, who had come as I was led to believe to renew his suit. Miss McKee entered the room a few minutes after I did and in passing 2 or 3 hours in a conversation of a general nature in which all but Mr. H. took part I began to fear that I was occupying the situation of the dog in the manger and thinking that the parties would come to an understanding sooner if I were out of the way I determined on making my exit, (Not being disposed at that time to take a hand myself) and arrived in Lexington 7 miles at sun set same evening.

Lexington is a handsome improving village, contains a population of about 1,000, has 10 stores, 4 taverns, an arsenal, a college, a female academy, besides houses of worship and a great number of very handsome private residences and mechanics shops of almost every description. I was present at their general muster and am under the impression that they will bear a comparison with the citizens of any other county in the state with respect to smoothness of appearance & general deportment.

Friday, April 11. Left Lexington and got to Lynchburg, 42 miles by way of the canal on at 4 P. M. after stopping all day on Saturday to let my horse pasture on Mr. Paxton's meadow. Lynchburg is handsomely situated on a rising ground south of the James River in Campbell County, has a population of 6 or 7000, from 20 to 30 stores of different descriptions, 4 or 5 Taverns, several tobacco warehouses in which considerable business is done, a Theatre, several good schools, and churches of almost all professions—business is said to be dull in it at present on a/c of the low price of tobacco.

Fire Protection

A "remedy against fire" was found in the Bible of George Washington Rader, a member of one of the older German families in Botetourt County. Born in Shenandoah County in 1797, he came with his family to Botetourt four years later and lived there until his death in 1894. Perhaps his longevity was attributed in part to the old folk remedy.

A certain remedy against fire whereby we may greatly withstand it. Will also keep lightning or thunder out of the house where ever the same be in the house; it consists of 25 letters as is to be seen in the following table:

S A T O R
A R E T O
T E S E T
O T E R A
R O T A S

These are the 25 letters and is the song which the 3, Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego sung, whom King Nebuchadnezzar had cast in the burning fiery furnace unto whom God sent his holy Angel which guarded and protected them in the cruel and raging fire as may be seen and read in the third chapter of Daniel the Prophet; whosoever therefore carries this song with him or has it in his House, his house will not be burnt up neither will lightning or thunder consume his house and if small children have fitts write these 25 letters on a bitt of paper lay it under the child's back 24 hours and the fitts will leave the child and will never take them again. Which has been proven by many; Also if any person have been bitt by a mad Dog and these letters are given him to eat it will not hurt him.

A Receipt for George W. Rader, November 27th, 1837.

Alleghany Turnpike, 7 Miles Long

BY WALTER K. WOOD

On December 31, 1805, the General Assembly passed "An Act establishing a Turnpike from the Head of Roanoke River over the Alleghany Mountain." Montgomery County's two members of the House of Delegates, John Ingles and Andrew Lewis¹, sponsored this bill because the cost of maintaining the previous public road in good condition had proved too great a burden on the laboring tithables.

John Ingles, Andrew Lewis, Daniel Trigg, Gordon Cloyd, Charles Taylor, Henry Edmundson, James Craig, John M. Taylor, and James Charlton were appointed commissioners and empowered to contract with the lowest bidder for opening the turnpike from the south fork of the Roanoke river to John Pendleton's house located on the Christiansburg side of the crest of Alleghany Mountain. To obtain the contract an undertaker was required to post a performance bond of \$20,000 to ensure performance within four years and to maintain the road in good and sufficient repair and to furnish an annual accounting of funds expended and the income derived from tolls, which were calculated to generate profits of between six and fifteen per cent. Whenever profits exceeded fifteen per cent, tolls were to be adjusted downward; if they fell below six per cent, the tolls were to be revised upward.²

As the low bidder on the project, George Hancock petitioned damnum (to what damage) to begin the lengthy procedures before actual construction. On May 10, 1806, the commissioners met for the first time at the home of Thomas Barnett to prepare the inquest which was to be returned, under seal, the first Tuesday in June, 1806. Because the result was not recorded until September 11, 1809, it is evident that some adjacent landowners delayed the proceedings with cross-complaints since opening the road depended upon the consent of surrounding landowners. In addition to these legalities, final improvement of the road, grading, digging the drainage ditches, and building the toll facilities, added to the delay.³ The Act of 1805 required performance upon the part of George Hancock within four years, under penalty of \$20,000. Thus, sometime in 1809, the Alleghany Turnpike commenced the first of its thirty-eight years of service to Montgomery County.

A thesis on the Alleghany Turnpike, built in Montgomery County more than 150 years ago, was written by Walter K. Wood of Portsmouth in partial fulfillment of a master's degree at Virginia Tech. Excerpts from his paper are used with his permission. Wood, now in the Army, is a graduate of Frederick College.

George Hancock was born on June 13, 1754, in Chesterfield County, where he attended school and pursued a classical program of study. The outbreak of the American Revolution drew him from his legal studies into the Virginia infantry, of which he rose to the rank of colonel. In October, 1779, Hancock, a member of Count Pulaski's general staff during the ill-fated siege of Savannah, was taken prisoner. Not long afterwards he was paroled and returned to Virginia where he read law in Powhatan County before his admission to the state bar in 1784. Soon he removed to the town of Fincastle in Botetourt County, where he served as Commonwealth's attorney, deputy state attorney, and as a colonel in the county militia. Hancock represented Botetourt County from 1784 to 1787, and in 1792, in the Virginia General Assembly, and between 1793 and 1797 in the United States House of Representatives. When at length he died on July 18, 1820, at "Fotheringay" in Montgomery County, the Lynchburg Virginian recorded that Hancock had been a "venerable man" and "an example of virtue".

Although George Hancock was a practicing attorney, his main preoccupation was the management of his rural estates, first "Santilane" in Botetourt, then "Fotheringay" in Montgomery County. Hancock's father was able to support him as a "gentleman farmer" at first. However, his own abilities added greatly to his father's aid and enabled him to become one of the largest landowners in Botetourt County. Included among his property for tax purposes were six four-wheeled carriages⁵ and some 2,200 acres purchased in parcels for prices ranging from five shillings to 2500 pounds.⁶ In 1796, while still a resident of Botetourt, Hancock purchased for 500 pounds, 800 acres⁷ on the Roanoke river in Montgomery County on which he later built a handsome mansion which he named "Fotheringay". In 1802, Hancock added by purchase to his "Fotheringay" estate 736 more acres on the north and south forks of the Roanoke.⁸

Hancock's "Fotheringay" estate was located on rich alluvial terraces, but it was far from existing roads. For his own convenience and for the possible tolls he might extract from his neighbors and unknown transients, Colonel Hancock determined to seek the franchise for a turnpike which would traverse his newly acquired land and inaugurate direct traffic with Christiansburg instead of journeying east about twenty-five miles to secure access to the Fincastle-Blacksburg-Christiansburg road up the Catawba Valley. Furthermore, as a leading political figure of the Sixth Congressional District, Hancock possessed the political acumen to accomplish his ends.

The Alleghany Turnpike, seven miles and 396 yards long and twenty-five feet wide, was built on modified macadam principles. The

Act of 1805 prescribed a "smooth convex surface, well-covered with gravel or stone, . . . to render the passing of wagons thereon as convenient as possible (without being paved)".¹⁰ Although the Alleghany Turnpike was raised in the center to allow adequate drainage into ditches on either side, it was not a thoroughly macadamized road. Nevertheless, it was quite an improvement over the previous public road which had only been a natural earth pathway. An agreement between George Hancock and Edward McDaniel in 1828 substantiated Hancock's compliance with the provisions of the act and the approximation of macadamized road principles. McDaniel was "to throw out loos (sic) rock, upon the ditches so as to drain the water in heavy rains, and . . . to cover the whole way with dirt so as to raise the road in the middle high enough to throw off the water to the sides . . ."¹¹

First, the General Assembly prescribed a schedule of tolls and enjoined toll collectors to maintain the road in good order, expedite traffic and administer the tolls impartially under penalty of fines ranging between two and five dollars, coupled with a two-dollar fine upon toll evaders, all fines being designated to aid the poor of Montgomery County. All drivers were supposed to keep to the right, leaving the other side open for passing. Then the legislature authorized Montgomery County to make male tithables work on road improvements. To ensure a return of not more than fifteen per cent per annum on its capital, the Alleghany Turnpike was authorized to establish the following schedule of tolls:¹²

<i>Each horse carrying a rider</i>	06¼
<i>Each horse without a rider</i>	03
<i>Each four-wheeled carriage for the conveyance of commodities</i>	37½
<i>Each four-wheeled carriage for the conveyance of persons</i>	75
<i>Each two-wheeled carriage for the conveyance of commodities</i>	17
<i>Each two-wheeled carriage for the conveyance of persons</i>	25
<i>Mules and asses were to be charged the same as horses and all things not enumerated were to pass toll free.</i>	

Although the Alleghany Turnpike opened in 1809, official records of expenses and revenues have disappeared before 1817-1818, the first extant record of revenues. In 1813, George Hancock filed and the court received without comment an account of expenses and revenues. To maintain his franchise Hancock felt compelled to file a complaint with the justice of the peace, Samuel Shields, against

Lensey C. Crow for refusing to pay tolls. Crow was fined eight dollars;¹³ but this was not to be the last time that Hancock experienced difficulties from Crow. As a federal mail carrier, Crow rode on horseback twice a week and by stagecoach once a week between Fincastle, Montgomery County's courthouse, and Wythe County's courthouse at the contracted rate of \$6,000 a year. Hancock had offered to charge the mailman an annual fee of seventy-five dollars for use of the road, but Crow was so reluctant to pay that the owner of the turnpike felt compelled to bring suit.¹⁴ Despite such difficulties, Hancock, as first owner of the turnpike, prospered from the operation of the road.

Like many early toll roads, the Alleghany Turnpike was not burdened at the outset with a heavy capital outlay. Because Hancock was only obligated to improve the preexistent public road and because exclusive rights and privileges were also granted, initial success was assured. However, continued profitable operation depended upon efficient management as well as a constant demand for use of the road. That both these variables were overcome is indicated by the accounts of expenses and revenues. Except for the years during the Panic of 1819, the tolls received increased. At the same time, however, road repairs decreased by forty per cent. Between 1817 and 1827, Hancock averaged \$600 net income from the operation of the turnpike.

Under the proprietorship of George Hancock, the Alleghany Turnpike met the demands of an increasingly productive Montgomery County. The central location of the road, together with the high cost of land transportation over long distances, insured its initial success.

After George Hancock's death in 1820, his son, also named George, assumed the responsibility of managing the turnpike. Mrs. Hancock assumed, upon her husband's death, a dower interest of one-third in "Fotheringay", land on the Alleghany mountain, and in the turnpike lands and profits. Appointed as trustees by Mrs. Hancock were James Barnett, David Barnett, James Law, and Walter Crockett.¹⁵ As long as Mrs. Hancock retained her dower interest, George Hancock, Jr., could not sell the turnpike and surrounding land. Because of the early success of the Alleghany road, Henry Edmundson became interested in purchasing it.

On May 26, 1828, George Hancock, Jr., and Henry Edmundson initiated negotiations preliminary to a contract for the sale of the turnpike. Hancock agreed to sell to Edmundson the turnpike and contiguous lands at the evaluation set by John M'Taylor and former governor of Virginia, James Patton Preston. As a partial payment Edmundson was to deliver nine slaves¹⁶ to Hancock on or before August 1, 1828, and to guarantee personally a note of \$1,500. The difference between the evaluation and the partial payment was to

be paid in five annual installments. Possession was given on May 25, 1828, after which Edmundson was to receive all tolls and pay for all repairs and improvements¹⁷ after the seasonable performance by Edward McDaniel with whom Hancock had contracted for clearing the road's drainage ditches and improving its surface with loose rock and dirt.¹⁸

When George Hancock, Jr., and his wife conveyed on August 12, 1828, their interest in the property to his mother, they did so in order that his mother's dower interest could be extinguished and that her share of the proceeds could be invested in a farm in Kentucky in which she would enjoy a life estate with the remainder to her son. On August 30, 1828, Edmundson paid \$7,500 for all property and stock designated as the Alleghany Turnpike. The property included two tracts of land totaling 886 acres and adjoining the turnpike road.¹⁹

Henry Edmundson was born in 1774 in Pennsylvania and moved to Botetourt County with his mother while still a child. In Botetourt, Edmundson met George Hancock, who was the leading political figure and one of the largest landowners in the county, and Elijah McClanahan,²⁰ later co-owner of the Alleghany Turnpike. Edmundson remained in Botetourt County "until old enough to act for himself" when he moved to Montgomery county after marrying Peggy King in 1799. In May of 1801, Edmundson purchased from James Barnett fifty acres on Crab Creek²¹ which he had probably rented. The young man's industry during the next eight years was attested by the fact that one of the local land magnates, Andrew Lewis, was willing to enter into a contract with him for the sale of 800 acres of Lewis' property on the south fork of the Roanoke River for the consideration of one dollar.²² It was on this tract of land that Edmundson was to build "Falling Waters" and where his and Peggy's son, Henry Alonzo, was born in 1814.²³

Beginning with almost nothing, Edmundson quickly improved his status. In 1816, he paid \$2,000 for seventy-two poles of land in Christiansburg and \$3,000 for 292 acres in the county.²⁴ Exclusive of the turnpike and "Fotheringay", Edmundson owned at one time or other some 2,000 acres. Between 1818 and 1820, in 1823-1824, and in 1826-27, Edmundson represented Montgomery County in the Virginia General Assembly.²⁵ Although he did serve briefly as high sheriff between 1842 and 1843, Edmundson devoted most of his time to successful operation of the Alleghany Turnpike between the time he purchased it in 1828 and his death at "Fotheringay" on December 18, 1847. Possessed of few if any material advantages in early life, Edmundson achieved reputation and standing through hard work, "indomitable energy" and probably a little luck. Besides affording a splendid example of the material rewards of the self-

made man, Edmundson also so embodied the qualities of courtesy and chivalry that in 1848, the Lynchburg Virginia eulogized him "as a landmark of ancient times—a model of the true gentleman".²⁸

"Fotheringay" estate became the property of Henry Edmundson in a circuitous manner. On August 30, 1828, the same day that the turnpike was sold, George Hancock, Jr., mortgaged his plantation to John Richardson of Albemarle County for \$5,000 to be paid in five installments to the actual lender, a certain Isaac Bronson of New York. Since Hancock was moving to Kentucky, he appointed Edmundson to act as his agent in the matter, stipulating that if Richardson failed to discharge the debt, Edmundson was instructed to sell "Fotheringay" and apply the proceeds to the debt owed Bronson.²⁹ In December of 1830, Edmundson bought up the mortgage on "Fotheringay" for \$10,000 cash and \$5,000 to be paid Colonel Andrew Beirne of Monroe County, Virginia. Presumably, about \$5,000 of the cash sale should have been paid to George Hancock who needed all the money he could lay his hands on to fit out his "establishments in the Cotton Country" of Kentucky.³⁰ Edmundson moved into "Fotheringay" sometime in 1832,³¹ and although his first draft was refused at Nashville, final settlement was made before the end of 1834.³²

Edmundson was more the agricultural capitalist than Hancock. Besides being the proprietor of the turnpike, Edmundson profitably devoted part of "Fotheringay" as an inn for the East-west travelers. In addition he engaged in selling land in Botetourt, Grayson, Montgomery, and Logan counties, from which he grossed \$3,307 in 1824 and 1825.³³ In negotiations between Hancock and Edmundson and his partner, McClanahan, the purchasers were as much interested in the "appendages" to the turnpike as in the road itself. Particularly did they covet the land on the east side of the top of the mountain which had been cleared for tobacco cultivation.³⁴ Edmundson and McClanahan later sold their tobacco at Salem via the canal operated by the Roanoke Navigation Company to Weldon, North Carolina. In 1831 depressed tobacco prices were so discouraging that McClanahan wrote to Edmundson that he "hardly had the courage to write." McClanahan reported the sale of 12,000 pounds of tobacco at prices ranging from four cents to six cents a pound. At that rate of exchange, the gross amount received was between \$480 and \$720 exclusive of unknown marketing expenses. At best, then, their tobacco venture was only a limited success and not one calculated to make them pretentiously wealthy. Only in connection with their other enterprises did tobacco cultivation become significant.³⁵

Although money was to be made from such staples as tobacco in good years, in years of depression or deflation ownership of the turnpike created certain additional revenue. The \$3,750 that Ed-

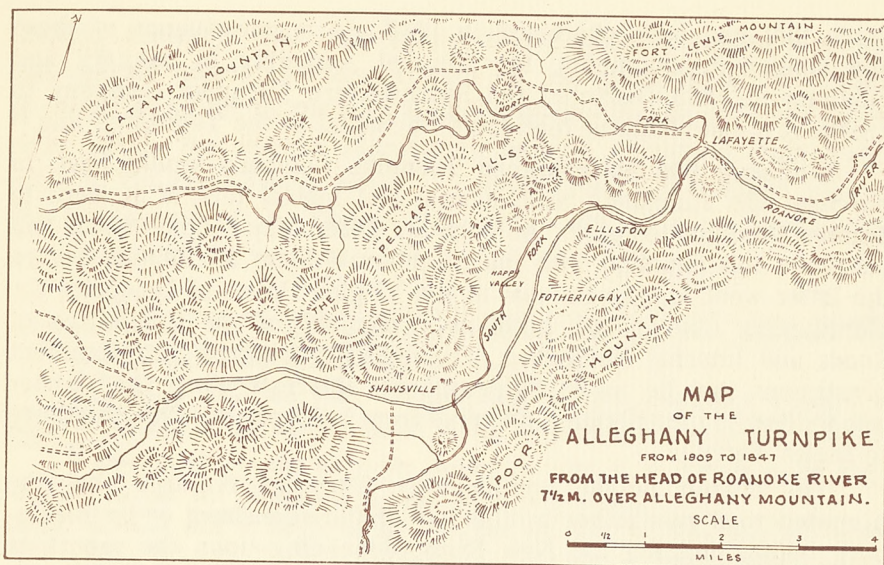
mundson and McClanahan each paid to purchase the turnpike was a considerable sum of money. Yet, apart from maintaining the road in good repair and avoiding theft or outrageously bad performance by those collecting tolls, they could expect to receive a steady income from the Alleghany Road as an integral link in one of the main routes between Virginia and the states to the southwest. That Hancock and Edmundson were unusually fortunate to have had so reliable a tollgate keeper as Archibald Murray and later Mrs. Murray, is shown in the difficulties reported by a neighboring competitor. The Salem and Pepper's Ferry Turnpike Company reported in 1848 that \$2,000.43 had been lost to gate keepers who had not produced vouchers.³⁶

Since McClanahan continued to live in Botetourt County, Edmundson himself superintended most of the road work or delegated it to some trustworthy and responsible individual when he was preoccupied with his other interests. The proprietors avoided outlays of cash insofar as possible by employing their slaves and by utilizing farm equipment. The seasonal nature of the toll road was more pronounced than one might think. Examination of monthly reports of tolls received indicated that the best months were September through October and the worst was March. In December, 1839, McClanahan wrote to Edmundson concerning improvement of the road for the coming spring:³⁸

We have horses and cattle of our own enough to carry on the work and our farms too. By Braking (sic) some of our young horses and by hiring one or two good plow boys each of us and an overseer. . . . I think we can manage our farms and the road too.

As time went on, however, such industriousness was not enough to ensure successful operation of the road. Bad weather, the opening of other turnpikes in the area, and the Panic of 1837 all influenced the steady decline in tolls after 1838.

The turnpike did not turn a profit in 1839. Not only did revenues decline to \$880.73, but expenses doubled to \$905.97. Undoubtedly, a freshet on one of the tributary streams of the Roanoke River was the cause of the heavy expense. Mrs. Murray, wife of the tollgate keeper, wrote Major Edmundson complaining, "you never come to see us and to know how we are doing at the gate. But you must now (know) as well as we do that they are not the usual tolls taken now as formerly."³⁹ In 1839, McClanahan was concerned over the deplorable condition of the road which the wet weather and then a freeze had almost made impassable.⁴⁰ In 1841, Mrs. Murray wrote Major Edmundson that the wagoners complained that the condition of the road was so horrible that "they will not pay by law". Indeed, she had encountered so much trouble in collecting toll that Mrs. Murray politely threatened to quit unless the road was put in good



order.⁴¹ Increased road repairs, however, were not resumed until the summer of 1844.⁴²

The Panic of 1837 and the depression which followed had serious effects in Virginia, even though no bank within the state failed. Planters faced the inability of not being able to dispose of their crops, while internal improvement projects faced reduced operations or abandonment.

It is not surprising that so long and deep a depression had its effects on Edmundson and McClanahan. By the spring of 1844 both needed to borrow money and the prospects of neither were good. McClanahan wrote Edmundson that he would not be able to spare any slaves from his Botetourt farm to work on the road in Montgomery.⁴³

A combination of depressed prices, specie contraction and unusually inclement weather caused the Alleghany Turnpike to lose money at the tollgate after 1838. These same conditions also affected other turnpikes in Montgomery County that had been chartered in 1838: Salem and Pepper's Ferry; Buchanan, Fincastle, and Blacksburg; Blacksburg and Newport, Salem and New Castle, and Lafayette and Ingles' Ferry.⁴⁴ Had it not been for the Panic of 1837, these new turnpikes would have offered competition to the Alleghany road; but, because of the panic, however, the positive results are negligible.

The inability of these two roads to prosper, joined with the recent deficit of the Alleghany Turnpike, typified the reasons for the growing demand by the Southwest that the Commonwealth buy and consolidate into a more effective network the various short-line toll

roads that had been chartered in 1838. As a consequence of these and similar developments, the General Assembly in January and February of 1845 chartered the Southwestern Turnpike Company to construct a macadamized road from Buchanan to the Tennessee line.⁴⁵

Obviously the Southwestern Turnpike Company would have to purchase the Alleghany road, a vital and logical link, if it were to achieve its stipulated goals. As early as 1838, Major Edmundson had discussed this situation with his neighbor William M. Peyton, before the latter went to take his seat in the Virginia House of Delegates for Montgomery County and serve as a member of the Committee of Roads and Internal Navigation. The legislator assured his prominent constituent that he would safeguard his interests when the charter was written to incorporate a turnpike from Lafayette by Christiansburg to Ingles' Ferry.⁴⁶

The charter of the Southwestern Turnpike required that the proposed road pass either by the way of Christiansburg or by Blacksburg before crossing the New River, depending upon the report of the chief engineer, Lewis M. Prevost, Jr., after a survey of both routes. On the basis of his recommendation, the shorter route through Christiansburg was selected. This decision virtually dictated Southwestern's purchase of the Alleghany, regardless of what might be done about the Pepper's Ferry and Lafayette turnpikes. After the route was decided upon, negotiations began at once between the Southwestern Turnpike Company and all private toll roads within Montgomery County.⁴⁷ Although Southwestern officials had declared \$7,000 too high a price for Edmundson's and McClanahan's turnpike, especially since the Alleghany revenues had fallen considerably since 1840, both parties eventually agreed on the \$7,000 figures.⁴⁸ Securing the mountainous ascent itself may well have been worth the entire purchase price for an established road in at least moderately good condition, since Edmundson had just completed road repairs the summer before the Southwestern Turnpike was granted a charter.⁴⁹

With the sale in 1847, the history of one turnpike ended and another began. The purpose of the Southwestern Turnpike⁵⁰ was indeed a noble gesture by concerned Virginians to overcome the sectional jealousies which had dimished the effectiveness of the broad policy initiated thirty years before. This effort, although noble, was a belated one. By 1847 the railroads had begun to crisscross the state and with every mile of track laid, the turnpike era slipped inexorably into the past as an integral, yet romanticized aspect of the Jacksonian Era.

Ironically, an augury of things to come appeared among Major Edmundson's papers. In February, 1831, an assembly of citizens at Staunton in Augusta County, Virginia, drafted a petition to the

General Assembly that underscored their desire to secure a cheap and reliable means of transportation for the products of the Valley of Virginia. As far as the best mode of transportation for their particular needs, the citizens adamantly "favored a railroad from Baltimore to the Ohio over a canal . . . which could not advance beyond the headwaters of the Shenandoah. (We) will do (the) utmost for a railroad, but not for a canal."⁵¹

¹ Earl G. Swem and John W. Williams, comp., *A Rewister of the General Assembly of Virginia 1776-1918 and of the Constitutional Convention* (Richmond, 1918; hereinafter cited as Swem, *Register of General Assembly*), p. 67.

² Acts of the General Assembly, 1805, pp. 12-14.

³ Montgomery County Records, Willbook I, 291, 403.

⁴ Lynchburg Press and Public Advertiser, July 28, 1820; Geographical Directory, p. 1001; Swem, *Register of the General Assembly*, p. 383; Roanoke: Story of County and City, comp. by Workers of the Writers Program of the Works Project Administration (Roanoke, 1942), pp. 72-73.

⁵ Robert Stoner, *A Seed-Bed of the Republic: A Study of the Pioneers in the Upper (Southern) Valley of Virginia* (Roanoke, 1962; thereafter cited as Stoner, *Seed-Bed of the Republic*), pp. 295, 407; Biographical Directory of Congress, p. 1001.

⁶ Botetourt County Records, Deed Book III, 134, 285-287, 321, 512-513; Deed Book IV, 339-340, 459; Deed Book V, 330-331, 335-336; Deed Book VI, 26-27, 503; Deed Book VII, 577-578, 603-604; Deed Book VIII, 0-1, 85-86, 144-145, 401-402.

⁷ Jacob Kent, Deed to George Hancock, Sept. 17, 1796, Montgomery County Records, Deed Book B, pp. 262-263.

⁸ James Bell (Woodford County, Kentucky), Deed to George Hancock, Aug. 4, 1802, *ibid.*, Deed Book D, p. 30. In 1809, Hancock bought seventy-five acres from John Barger, probably as an easement to his turnpike; see Deed Book D, pp. 629-630.

⁹ Thirty-Second Annual Report of the Board of Public Works, December 6, 1847, p. 20.

¹⁰ Acts of the General Assembly, 1805, p. 12. See also Lee Pendleton, "Southwest Virginia Turnpikes," *Journal of The Roanoke Historical Society*, II (Winter, 1965-1966), 9-12. The writer acknowledges with thanks the helpful suggestions of one of Montgomery County's leading amateur historians, Mr. Lee Pendleton of Christiansburg, Virginia, especially those expressed in his unpublished notes on the Alleghany Turnpike.

¹¹ Agreement between George Hancock and Edward McDaniel, March, 1928 in the Edmundson Family Papers, 1781-1949, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Virginia. (Hereinafter cited as Edmundson Papers, VHS). The writer acknowledges with many thanks the loan of a microfilm of this important family archive through the good offices of Mr. John Melville Jennings, Mr. and Mrs. Robert L. Nutt, Junior, of "Fotheringay," Elliston, Virginia, have been most generous in counseling the writer on matters pertaining to the Hancocks and Edmundsons who lived at this great country house of southwest Virginia.

¹² Certified Copy of the Acts of 1805 (imperfect) in the Edmundson Papers, VHS; Acts of the Assembly, 1805, pp. 12-14.

¹³ Montgomery County Records, Order Book XVIII, 6, 96.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Will Book III, 68, 155; Notes of F. B. Kegley loaned by George A. Kegley, Roanoke, Virginia. Crow's first contract was for the three-year period beginning in 1813 at \$3,000 a year.

¹⁵ Montgomery County Records, Order Book XXI, 139; Will Book III, 429-432.

¹⁶ In 1826, Edmundson became the owner of sixteen slaves previously owned by Andrew Lewis, who had become indebted to the heirs of Thomas White in the amount of \$2,338.96. Edmundson later returned to Margaret Lewis certain personal effects; Montgomery County Records, Deed Book I, J, 348-349; Will Book IV, 418.

¹⁷ Agreement between Henry Edmundson and George Hancock, May 26, 1828, Edmundson Papers, VHS.

¹⁸ Agreement between George Hancock and Edward McDaniel, March, 1828, *ibid.*

¹⁹ Montgomery County Records, Deed Book K, 162-163, 188.

²⁰ Elijah McClanahan inherited an estate of 814 acres from his father, William McClanahan, in 1807. McClanahan added 641 acres to the inheritance and represented Andrew Lewis and William Taylor as attorney. See Botetourt County Records, Deed Book VII, 256-257; Deed Book IX, 388-389, 602-603; Deed Book XIII, 202-203; Deed Book XIV, 269, 684-685; Deed Book XV, 97-98; Deed Book XIX, 553.

²¹ James Barnett, Deed to Henry Edmundson, May 5, 1801, Montgomery County Records, Deed Book C, 399-400.

²² Andrew Lewis, Deed to Henry Edmundson, Feb. 3, 1809, Montgomery County Records, Deed Book D, 662, Edmundson either aided Col. Andrew Lewis in a lawsuit brought by Andrew Cowan over militia pay, or served in Lewis' company himself, or both, since he was known as Major Edmundson. In any event, Edmundson's relations with Lewis were close. See Samuel Shepherd, *The Statutes at Large*, from October session 1792, to December session, 1806, inclusive (3 vols. Richmond, 1836), p. 331.

²³ Henry Alonzo Edmundson was born on June 14, 1814. After graduation from Georgetown University he was admitted to the bar in 1838 and set up law practice in Salem. Between 1849 and 1861 he served in Congress as a Democrat, resigning in the latter year to serve as a Lieutenant in the 54th Virginia Regiment. He died on Dec. 16, 1890, at "Falling Waters", Shawsville. See BIOGRAPHICAL DIRECTORY OF CONGRESS, p. 838.

²⁴ Montgomery County Records, Deed Book F, 389, 212.

²⁵ Montgomery County Records, Deed Book F, 449; Deed Book H, 479; Deed Book K,

- 503; Deed Book N, 409. "Fotheringay" and the turnpike included 1,686 acres.
- 26 Swem, Register of the General Assembly, p. 371.
- 27 Montgomery County Records, Deed Book N, 409. As High Sheriff Edmundson probably did not have much trouble with non-payment of tolls.
- 28 Lynchburg Virginian, Jan. 10, 1848. Edmundson's obituary was more properly an eulogy and illustrative of the yeoman ideal and the reality of the self-made man.
- 29 Montgomery County Records, Deed Book K, 190-191. Isaac Bronson was a United States Congressman from New York between 1837 and 1839. See Biographical Directory of Congress p. 602.
- 30 Ibid., Deed Book K, 658. At the age of 22, Andrew Beirne came to America in 1793 from Dangan, County Roscommon, Ireland. In Monroe County, Virginia, he engaged in mercantile and agricultural pursuits after representing that county in the Virginia Assembly. Served between 1837 and 1841 as a United States Congressman. See Biographical Directory of Congress, p. 536.
- 30 George Hancock to Henry Edmundson, Louisville, Ky., Apr. 11, 1834, Edmundson Papers, VHS.
- 31 Elijah McClanahan to Henry Edmundson, July 7, 1832, *ibid.*
- 32 George Hancock to Henry Edmundson, Louisville, Ky., Nov. 1, 1833, *ibid.*
- 33 Memoranda of Henry Edmundson, May 30, 1825, *ibid.*
- 34 Elijah McClanahan to Henry Edmundson, Christiansburg, April 10, 1828, Edmundson Papers, VHS.
- 35 Elijah McClanahan to Henry Edmundson, July 8, 1831, *ibid.*
- 36 President and Board of Directors of the Salem and Pepper's Ferry Turnpike Company, "Report for 1848" in Commonwealth of Virginia, Annual Report of the Board of Public Works (Richmond, 1848); hereinafter cited as Virginia Public Works Reports, XXXIII (1848), 699-700.
- 37 Elijah McClanahan to Henry Edmundson, July 7, 1832, Edmundson Papers, VHS. In the Alleghany Toll Account (1828-1829), Thomas Gore and Jonathan Link were listed as overseers of various maintenance work.
- 38 Elijah McClanahan to Henry Edmundson, Dec. 7, 1839, Edmundson Papers, VHS.
- 39 Mrs. Jane W. Murray to Harry Edmundson, Alleghany Tollgate, Apr. 26, 1838, Edmundson Papers, VHS.
- 40 Elijah McClanahan to Henry Edmundson, Dec. 7, 1839; *ibid.*
- 41 Mrs. Jane W. Murray to Henry Edmundson, Alleghany Tollgate, Apr. 17, 1841; *ibid.*
- 42 Elijah McClanahan to Henry Edmundson, Aug. 16, 1844; *ibid.*
- 43 Elijah McClanahan to Henry Edmundson, Mar. 5, 1844, Edmundson Papers, VHS.
- 44 Acts of the General Assembly, 1838. (Richmond, 1839), pp. 120-125. Capitalization ranged from \$5,000 (Blacksburg-Newport) to \$20,000 (Buchanan-Blacksburg). Each was required to be cleared to a width of thirty feet and surfaced to twenty feet in width.
- 45 Ibid., XXXI (1846), 259.
- 46 William M. Peyton to Henry Edmundson, Feb. 12, 1838, Edmundson Papers, VHS. Peyton was a delegate, 1838-1839. See Lynchburg Virginian, Dec. 25, 1845, for debate on the location of the road and the amendments offered by various "interests" for pecuniary reasons.
- 47 Virginia Public Works Report, XXXI (1846), 553-556.
- 48 Virginia Public Works Reports, XXXII (1847), 20; XXXIII (1848), 520; Montgomery County Records, Will Book VII, 107-109.
- 49 Elijah McClanahan to Henry Edmundson, Aug. 16, 1844, Edmundson Papers, VHS.
- 50 See Edmund P. Goodwin, "The South Western Turnpike Road," Journal of the Roanoke Historical Society, II (Summer, 1965), 1-2, 33-34.
- 51 Printed Circular Letter of the Augusta County Committee of Correspondence, Feb. 18, 1831, Edmundson Papers, VHS. In June, 1838, the Central Assembly recommended a liberal system of improvements throughout the state which included additional turnpikes and a railroad from Wytheville to the Tennessee line, with a branch to Danville and another one to the James River. See Lynchburg Virginian, June 29, 1838.

Where We Were in 1806

This excerpt from an account of Virginia's counties and their "capitals" was printed in Baltimore 164 years ago by John West Butler. This copy was purchased by Harry Stevens of Botetourt County in 1833. Its full title is "Geographical Compilation for the Use of Schools being an accurate description of all the empires, kingdoms, republics and states in the known world: with an account of their population government, religion, manners, literature, universities, history, civil divisions, ecclesiastical hierarchy, principal cities, with an account of their importance, remarkable monuments, illustrious citizens, commerce and population." This was arranged in catechetical form, compiled from the best American, English and French authors in two volumes by D.L.C., teacher of geography.

A. Charlestown, a handsome place of about 60 houses.

Q. What is the capital of Hampshire?

A. Romney, on the southern branch of the Potowmac; it has 70 houses.

Q. What is the capital of Hardy?

A. Moorfield, on the South branch of the Potowmac; it has about 70 houses.

Q. What is the capital of Frederick?

A. Winchester, on Opeckon creek, the most considerable town of the western district; it has a newly built Roman Catholic Church, and three for Protestants, a Court House and a gaol. Winchester carries on much trade in flour. Population 2,000 inhabitants.

Q. What is the capital of Shenandoah?

A. Woodstock, on a branch of the Shenandoah; it is chiefly inhabited by Germans, and has 200 houses.

Q. What is the capital of Rockingham?

A. Rockingham, or Rocktown, or a branch of the Shenandoah; it has only 30 houses.

Q. What is the capital of Augusta?

A. Staunton, on Middle river; it has a Court House, a gaol, and about 160 houses, mostly of stone.

Q. What is the capital of Rockbridge?

A. Lexington; it has 100 houses; about a mile from the town is Washington college, formerly Liberty Hall Academy, endowed by General Washington, and capable of containing 50 students. In this county is the famous natural bridge, which consists of a rock arched by nature, that unites two hills; it is 40 feet

thick, 90 long, and 60 broad; its elevation from the water underneath is 205, or according to some, 270 feet.

Q. What is the capital of Botetourt?

A. Fincastle, on Catabow creek. Population 700 inhabitants.

Q. What is the capital of Montgomery?

A. Christiansburg, near Little River.

Q. What is the capital of Grayson?

A. There is no county town.

Q. What is the capital of Wythe?

A. Evansham, it has only 25 houses; in this county are several lead mines.

Q. What is the capital of Washington county?

A. Abingdon; population 400 inhabitants.

Q. What are the capitals of the remaining counties of Virginia?

A. Lee has Jonesville; Russell and Kenbaway have no towns; Greenbriar has Lewisburg, a town of 60 houses; Bath has no town, but celebrated hot springs; Pendleton has Frankfort, a town of 30 houses; Randolph has no town; Monongalia has for capital Morgantown, which has 40 houses, on Monongahela river; Harrison has Clarksburg on the the Monongahela, a town of 40 houses; and Ohio has West Liberty, on the Ohio, a flourishing town, with some public buildings and 120 houses.

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Mrs. Edmund P. Goodwin	Leonard G. Muse	Dr. J. C. Zillhardt
Jack Goodykoontz	Miss Frances Niederer	

10 lines = 70 words