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Contents

George Kegley

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Seeing Virginia in 1797

by Louis Philippe

These selections describe Southwest Virginia as seen in April 15-23, 1797 by a future French king who traveled in America 33 years before he ascended to the throne.

The 15th. We took our noon meal at a little town called *Kized's town* twelve miles from Frey's. There is another road, to the right, from New Market to Staunton and a city called *Harrison'sburg,* capital of Rockingham county, about the same distance from *Kized's town.* We dined at Hudson's tavern and slept in Staunton at the General Washington Inn, proprietor *Peter Heiskell,* a Pennsylvania German. Excellent inn. Staunton's environs are quite hilly. The town consists of about 300 houses or families, for each family has its own. Bad weather during the day.

The 16th. The country still hilly. We begin to glimpse the northern mountains to our right. To our left rise others. Between the two ranges the land is varied, sometimes copses and groves, then smaller ranges cutting through the valleys, etc. We dined at David Steel's house halfway to Lexington. This poor unfortunate was captured by Parleton's † corps, and after he had surrendered they fetched him two blows of the saber to the head, so he says, bashing out a piece of bone that his wife showed us. M. de Chastellux stayed with them on his way to and from the Natural Bridge. Steel told us funny stories. We reached Lexington late. It was full night and we had great trouble locating the ford across the north branch of the James river; we even missed it; we even missed the road; and we were a long time finding it and then crossing another stream that lay beyond. The town is only half a mile from it. Weather less bad than the day before. Put up at the Red Lion, proprietor Hanna; nice people, but a beggarly inn.

The 17th. Stopover in Lexington, [Virginia].

The 18th. One of our horses being lame, we did almost the whole day's journey on foot. Country still mountainous, indifferently farmed and uninteresting. We made a halt at Captain Bartley's inn, a real hovel. The master of the house is a decent sort and a jokester. He guided us to the Natural Bridge, about a mile and a half from his inn. This is a very

†Probably a slip of the pen for Tarleton.

unusual bridge. It spans *Cedar creek,* a very small stream. It is a tall mass of rock which seems to have been hollowed out by the water's steady action, perhaps like the rifts of the Rhone; and as the mass of rock is quite narrow, it would seem that the earth above and below the bridge either collapsed or was swept away by the stream and left the bridge suspended between two masses of rock. Its height in the middle is 71 yards above the water. In that same spot the rocky arch is 50 feet thick. The gap at water level is 40 feet; above, the span is 30 yards. There is a path below the bridge by which one can stroll under the arch along the stream. This is truly an exceptional sight, and though the region is scrubby, the bridge is surely picturesque. Otherwise it seems to me that a good sketch and a precise description should do the trick, and that it is not really worth a second trip. Captain Bartley gave me all those measurements. Today was very cold; it froze last night and snowed this morning, but the snow did not stick.

The 19th. Almost all the oaks leafing, and consequently the forests turning green. Yet in this respect there is considerable variation among the oaks. Some are altogether green, others are only budding, and for still others it might be January. This does not seem to depend on the exposure, for we find many examples proving the contrary; more probably it is due to the greater or lesser warmth of the ground. The soil here is full of clay, mixed with more or less sand and good humus, and is consequently yellowish or reddish, never black like the rich soil of France. All the forests I have so far seen consist wholly of oaks and pines (in the mountains). Of course I except a scattering of other sorts.

In leaving Captain Bartley's we crossed Cedar creek, which drives a mill wheel. The closer we approached the James river, the sandier, and therefore less cultivated, the soil. We dined on the left bank of that river, at Padensburg, a town of twenty souls, as they themselves boast. Their inn is fairly good. We crossed the river by ferry. The district is rather picturesque. It stretches along the James river's course through the Blue Ridge Mountains.

The landscape improves beyond the river and there are more people. About four miles along, the road forks. One fork leads to *Fincastle,* also called *Botitourt,* also called *Munroe,* and crosses the *Kanhaway,* which along this stretch is called *New river,* at *Pepper's ferry.* That is the right-hand fork. The other passes through a new town called *Amsterdam* and crosses the Kanhaway at *English's ferry.* That is the better road. The two ferries have given their names to the two roads, *Pepper's road* and *English's road.* The latter is a bit longer, but better in all respects. We slept in Amsterdam at a good inn, proprietor Mr. Botts, 15 miles from Padensburg and five from Fincastle, which is twelve miles from the river. There is a road from Fincastle to English's road.

In Bott's tavern we found ourselves among a large group of travelers much like those Fielding describes. They were headed for Kentucky

and uneasy about the latest massacre by the Indians. In their anxiety they wanted us to swell their number, but we ignored the plea, knowing only too well the miseries such a crowd could cause in the region's tiny inns. Also, every man has his own way of traveling and travelers are mutually annoying; and aside from that, nothing is more boring than bored people who want to talk and have nothing to talk about. During the three hours they made us wait, as usual, for a few slices of fried ham and coffee with brown sugar, there were some who never shut up for a moment and others who never said a word but could not stop yawning, scratching, belching, etc.

The 20th. Instead of sallying forth at dawn, as they had boasted they would, our wayfarers only started out at 7 o'clock, leaving the staff at the inn less than overwhelmed by their generosity, and having managed several disagreements with their host.

We dined at the home of Mr. Coles, a Pennsylvania German. The countryside unimpressive except here and there. Greenery thick, and in the oak forests whole groves are all green. We crossed the river Raunoake six times and went to sleep at Colonel Lewis's, two miles above Colonel Hancock. A pleasant and comfortable place. His house is charmingly set on a foothill of the Alleghanys and surrounded by lush meadows. In the old days there was a fort here (Voss's fort) that was captured by the Indians.

The 21st. Our road went on rising gently until we had reached the summit of the hills called the Alleghanys. I do not know their height above sea level; not great, I suspect, because they rise above the valley floors no higher than the hills around Paris, and the Blue Ridge Mountains are real mountains by comparison. To look at the Alleghanys one would never think they are one of the watersheds of this immense continent. Our own continent, though much smaller, has mountains so much more majestic; which brings us to the notion that perhaps the effect attributed to the trade winds is real, that the cumulative level of the sea along these coasts is higher than ours, that these waters, ebbing more reluctantly, are deeper and more widespread than on our continent, and that this laggard drainage prevents them from leaching off the soil and vegetable matter that still carpet the Alleghanys as most likely they used to carpet the Alps.

The Alleghanys (in the region where I crossed them) are covered with oaks; one sees hardly any pines. The soil is dry and arid. It is no more than a stony sand, not cultivable. There are no great masses of rock to be seen, and if not for the river currents and even more the map, the traveler would never believe himself in one of the principal ranges of North America. They say that around Pittsburg the mountains are craggier and higher than around here; we shall see about that on the

way back. Crossing the Alleghanys I saw evidence of the Americans' ignorance, or laziness, about mapping their roads. The one we followed crossed over the tallest of the rounded hills, leaving vales left and right where it would have been far easier to cut a road because with the land overgrown and no streams in the area, there would be no cliffs or swamps to hinder the work, just trees to fell, the same as on the crests. The only way I could make sense of this road was by assuming that the first travelers who blazed a trail across the Alleghanys were attracted to the highest ground by their impatience to see the land to the west, and that sheer laziness led the road builders to follow that trail and spare themselves the trouble of cutting a new one.

The western slope of these mountains struck us as infinitely worse than the eastern. The soil is sandy and dry, the land is flatter, and the springs rarer. The vegetation is much less varied and flourishing than on the other slope. Here, not an oak in bud, where we had before seen whole forests greening; the haws and sloes have only just begun to green and are no further along than those in Maryland at the beginning of the month.

We halted at a tiny village of about ten houses called Christiansburg, the seat of Montgomery County. It is nine miles from Colonel Lewis's.

Before continuing I should like to mention the notable height of men and girls on this side of the Shenando Valley. It seems to be increasing still, for most of the young people seem taller than their elders.

The countryside was about the same as far as the valley of the Big Kanhaway, which around here they call *New river.* The settlements here are few and squalid. From all I heard, they exist only along the road. The Big Kanhaway valley is better, though sparsely settled. It seems that fear of the Indians infected this area until the peace of '94. There is no inn at English's ferry. We dined two miles on the other side with some Irishmen who have given the name *New Dublin* to a shanty they've been living in for six years. We slept in the home of an old man named Carter who has just sold his house and his 700 acres for 400 pounds. U.S.† and who is shutting down his inn tomorrow. He is moving some twenty miles farther along on the Kanhaway. For some twenty miles the road runs within four or five miles of that river.

The 22nd. We halted at Fort Chiswel to have a horse shod. To the left of the road there was a big fort torn down since the peace. Before and beyond the fort you cross Read creek. The soil still indifferent, though better than what we saw as we emerged from the Alleghanys. We dined at Marshall's in Wythe, a village of ten or twelve houses, seat of the county of that name. A handsome house and a fine inn for the region. *Pepper's road* meets the other road here. After dinner we weathered a terrible storm, and we spent the night with a German named

†Sterling was still in use, along with dollars, as legal tender at the time.

Katternring.

The 22nd. Still rotten weather and indifferent country, the soil being generally yellow and sandy as it was east of the Alleghanys. We ran into some emigrants from North Carolina on their way to Cumberland. They say that last year a prodigious number of emigrants left that state for the same settlement, which is already sizable. Katternring was a Tory during the war. He was arrested and taken to Staunton, and they confiscated a mill built of stone that he had worked not far from his present home. He has only 200 acres of land left.

We had dinner at Atkins's, a good inn. His house is on the Holstein river. That night we slept at Colonel Campbell's; we had met him the night before and he all but forced us to come home with him, assuring us that we would find no tolerable inn until five miles from Abingdon. He lives on the left bank of the Holstein river, in a setting that would be lovely if the land were cleared; but, although he has six sons and several Negroes, he settles for what he cleared when he first arrived. And yet he has 3,000 acres here. I do not know what he and his sons do all day, and because he seems a fine fellow I asked him point blank. He answered that because he owns property in other parts he is always on the go and never at home.

I saw sugar maples on his property and again enjoyed the sight of their huge branches bowing earthward. I have often used their sugar in my coffee, which sweetening seems to me every bit as good as the other. It is impossible to estimate the yield of this product because it varies with the weather and with the trees themselves. It seems that America's changeable climate is the most favorable for these trees, as the sap only flows at the end of December, when a warm day with a thaw follows a cold night. In this area are trees that yield up to 15 pounds of brown sugar. There are many such hereabouts. Wild grapevines are another American plant that must subtly alter our impression of the landscape and differentiate it from our own. They always grow about another tree, twining to its upper limbs, whence tendrils droop to the ground. They produce very tart grapes, edible only after a frost. Apparently their leaves unfold very late, for we saw only buds on the other slope of the Alleghanys, and on this side they are much as they were in January.

The Big Fort

by Mary Kegley © 1978

Louis Philippe, destined to become king of France, spent more than three years traveling in America in the 1790's. One of the places he visited was Fort Chiswell, in present Wythe County, Virginia. On April 22, 1797 he recorded the following in his diary: "We halted at Fort Chiswel to have a horse shod. To the left of the road there was a big fort torn down since the peace. Before and beyond the fort you cross Read Creek."[1] With the recent publication of the translation of this diary, the existence of this colonial fort is certain. Its demolition between 1795 and 1797 ended a vigorous military period in Southwest Virginia begun about 35 years before.

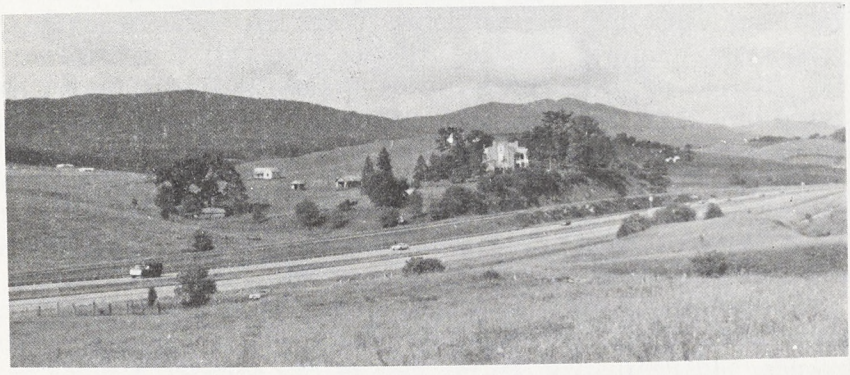
Fort Chiswell—the colonial fort which housed the army of Colonel William Byrd III, the fort which was the center of great activity during the Revolutionary War, the fort which gave its name to an important crossroads in Wythe County—was located on the south side of Reed Creek on a high barren knoll east of Mill Branch and on the main road which, from the earliest times, passed through Southwest Virginia. Because of recent highway construction of Interstate 77 and its service roads, the name will probably continue as that of a major intersection of Interstate 77 and Interstate 81. Much of the history of the early fort now lies permanently buried under tons of gravel, rock, and sleek new highway, in spite of some salvage archeology done in the summers of 1975 and 1976.[2]

Following the archeological work in 1976, the site of the colonial fort was included in the Virginia Landmarks Register and was nominated to the National Register.[3] A few years earlier, the brick McGavock home constructed about 1839, which stands south and west of the colonial fort site, was recognized as an outstanding architectural landmark in Wythe County and the nation, with its inclusion in the state and national landmarks registers.[4]

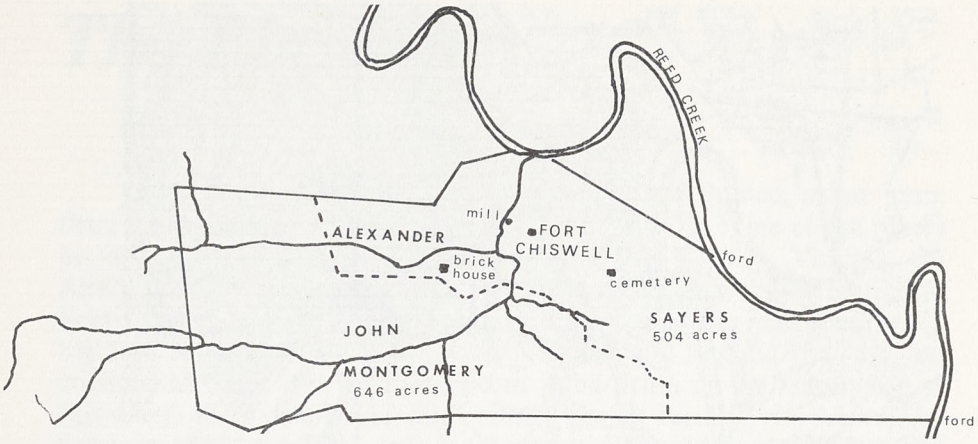
The land on which the house stands and the colonial fort stood was first surveyed in 1747 for Thomas Walker who chose 1,150 acres, "The Great Buffalo Lick" tract, under the terms of the Woods River Company.[5] This company had received a grant to take up as much as 100,000 acres on the "Western Waters," not in a single tract, but in small ones in locations the early settlers and entrepreneurs chose.[6] Walker received the patent for the land in 1752 and transferred 504

Mary Kegley, who lives in Richmond, has been researching, writing and teaching Southwest Virginia history and genealogy since the early 1960s. She formerly lived in Wytheville and Dublin. A graduate of Virginia Tech, she holds a master's degree from Radford College.

Map showing the new road and site of colonial fort (circled).



View to the west from the site of the colonial fort. The brick mansion house built about 1839 is in the center of the photo. By Mary Kegley



Thomas Walker's Great Buffalo Lick tract, 1150 acres, showing divisions and points of interest. By Mary Kegley

acres, part of the 1,150 acres, to Alexander Sayers in 1758,[7] although the bargain had been made four years before. Also included in the purchase were millstones and irons.[8] In tracing the story of Fort Chiswell, it was learned that there were primarily two families associated with the site during the period 1754-1797: those of Alexander Sayers and James McGavock, Sr.

The mill of Alexander Sayers was first mentioned in March 1754 when a road was established from that place to the Holston River.[9] It appears to have been built about this time, although Henry Grubb, the millwright, testified that the mill at Fort Chiswell was not finished at the time the inhabitants "were drove from their plantations by Indians."[10] Grubb gave no evidence when or if the mill was completed, but when the Indians came, Grubb left the community for several years, returning after the troubles were over to a location on Tates Run in present Wythe County which Alexander Sayers had claimed in 1746.[11] Shawnee Indians invaded the settlements on the Holston and New rivers as early as the fall of 1754, and a later blow came to the families at Draper's Meadows in July 1755.[12] These attacks caused the settlers who lived on the Holston and New River to leave their homes and retreat to safer locations east of the Blue Ridge in Virginia and the settled areas in North and South Carolina.[13]

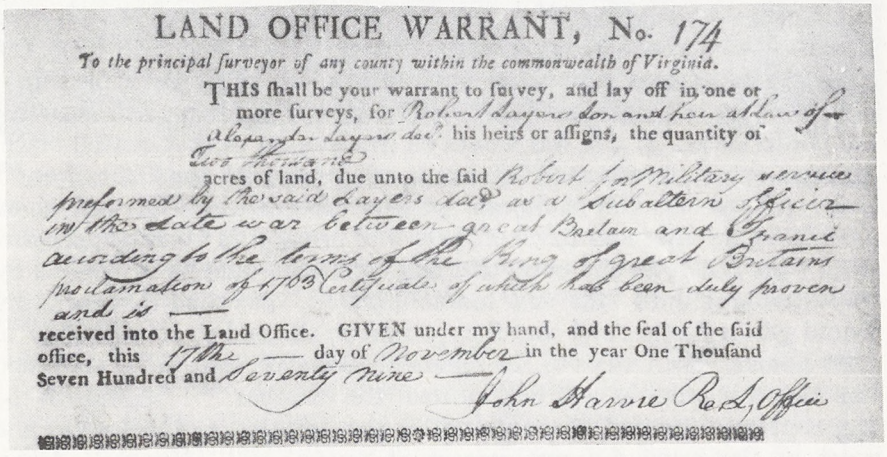
In an effort to track the enemy, William Preston and 340 men including some friendly Indians, set out to pursue and destroy the Shawnee. In February 1756 the men of this so-called Sandy Creek expedition were camped at Alexander Sawyers' [Sayers'].[14] In 1752 Sayers qualified as a captain of a troop of horse and was active in the militia during the early part of the French and Indian War. Perhaps this

may explain why his home was used as a stopping place, although it is not known whether Sayers was present with the men of this particular expedition.[15]

During the French and Indian War period Sayers purchased land in the town of New London in Bedford County, where his wife and two children probably remained during the war and where his son was later known to have been in school.[16] Sayers himself was mentioned in the Bedford County records in 1757 and 1759.[17] He was on the frontier in 1758 and acting as a wagonmaster at Dunkard Bottom in present Pulaski County in 1760, where he purchased land in 1762.[18] It is unknown if his wife and children or even Sayers returned to live at the site of the mill during this period. In 1761 he was a resident of Bedford County where he was buying and selling land.[19] The place on Reed Creek, however, kept its identity as Sayers' Mill or Sayers' Camp in the 1760's.

In March 1760, 300 men of the Virginia regiment were to remain on duty for the protection of the frontiers.[20] On May 8 the Governor and Council received a request for the immediate relief for the garrison at Fort Loudoun in the Cherokee Country, and seven additional companies were to be raised and the sum of £32,000 appropriated for the same purpose.[21]

Although Colonel William Byrd requested permission to be excused from taking command of the regiment, the government found him to be indispensable and he was ordered to take charge.[22] On July 8 the Council was notified that the recruits for the Cherokee expedition were complete but they needed arms. At the same session Colonel John Chiswell reported that many stands of arms had been imported for the militia of King and Queen, Gloucester, and James City Counties, and it was suggested that these be purchased and collected for



LAND OFFICE WARRANT, No. 174

To the principal surveyor of any county within the commonwealth of Virginia.

THIS shall be your warrant to survey, and lay off in one or more surveys, for Robert Sayers Son and heir at Law of Alexr. Sayers dec'd his heirs or assigns, the quantity of Two thousand acres of land, due unto the said Robert for Military services performed by the said Sayers dec'd as a Subaltern Officer in the late war between great Britain and France according to the terms of the King of great Britains proclamation of 1763 Certificate of which has been duly proven and is received into the Land Office. GIVEN under my hand, and the seal of the said office, this 17th day of November in the year One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy nine

John Harvie R.L. Office

Alexander Sayers' warrant which entitled his son Robert to 2,000 acres of land as a result of his father's service in the French and Indian War.

Colonel Byrd's army. It was Byrd's plan to have small posts en route to Big Island on the Holston River (Kingsport, Tennessee) where "a respectable fort should be built."[23] Byrd was ordered to proceed with all possible "expedition" to the relief of Fort Loudoun, but to erect no more forts except the one at Big Island, which was to be stockaded to secure the provisions, although they conceded that it was possible that a small post might be necessary at Stalnaker's on the Holston River.[24]

Reports were received in September from Colonel Byrd from a camp at Campbell's, but last from Sayers' Mill describing the efforts he had made toward the relief of Fort Loudoun. Although the letter itself is missing, the Virginia Council minutes note its receipt.[25] He also sent word that the men at Fort Loudoun were unable to wait any longer and had decided to surrender themselves to the Cherokees. Because of this event, Colonel Byrd was ordered to "continue where he is" or proceed to take a more advanced post if it could be done safely, and "to construct a Fort on the most commodious spot thereabouts."[26] As a result of this order the "most commodious spot" for a "big fort" turned out to be Sayers' Mill.

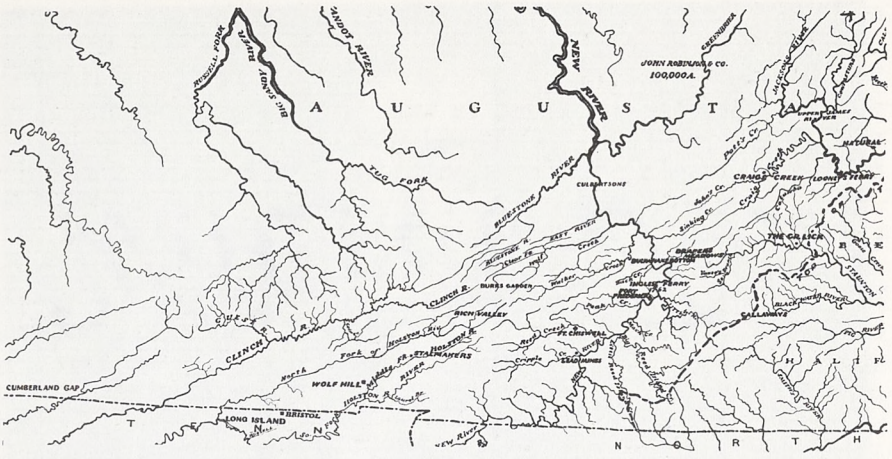
On September 10, still at Sayers' Mill, Byrd enclosed a report from Major Andrew Lewis with the tragic news of Fort Loudoun. All of the officers (except Captain Stewart) and about 25 privates were slaughtered and the others were imprisoned by the Cherokees. On September 19 Colonel Byrd reported that Andrew Lewis had returned and brought Little Carpenter, a Cherokee Chief, and three more Indians, Captain Stewart, three more prisoners, and two squaws to the Camp at Sayers'. A peace proposal was sent to the warriors in the Cherokee nation.[27]

On September 29, Captain Ourrey, in writing to Colonel Henry Bouquet, describes the details of the disaster at Fort Loudoun which he had received in an express written September 15 at Sayers' Mill, "frontiers of Virginia" where Colonel Byrd was encamped awaiting orders from Williamsburg.[28] The orders were conveyed to Byrd by the Governor with the approval of the Council on October 16, 1760. The letter containing the orders has not been found, but it seems clear that once the fort was constructed, provisions, arms, and items necessary for the continuation of the war would be transported to that central place. Strategy would be planned for future meetings with the Cherokees.[29] Colonel Byrd was still at Sayers' on November 3 where he was joined by Little Carpenter and 32 Cherokees who brought in 10 more prisoners from Fort Loudoun and news that all hostilities would be suspended by the Cherokees until "the new moon in March," provided that the army would go no further and that they would be allowed to return safely to their homes. The troops of the regiment, however, were to be stationed "in such a manner as will best protect the Frontier."[30] Although the regiment was ordered to continue on the frontier, Colonel Byrd and most of the army did not remain at Sayers' Mill. However, Major

Colonel William Byrd III, Courtesy of Virginia State Library.

Cherokee Indians brought to London in 1730 by Sir Alexander Cuming were (from left) Onacona, Catergusta, Caulunna, Oukah Olah, Tathtowe, Clogoitta and Ukwaneequa, who became the great chief, Attakullakulla or Little Carpenter. From an engraving in the British Museum by Isaac Basire, after a painting by Markham. (Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution.)

Andrew Lewis, Captain Thomas Bullit, Lieutenant William Fleming, Lieutenant Walter Cunningham, Lieutenant Reuban Vass, Ensign [Burton] Lucas, and Ensign [George] McKnight remained at the site and were provided with extraordinary rations from November 20, 1760 until May 1, 1761.[32]



Map showing Fort Chiswell, Stalnakers, and Big Island (also called Long Island) of Holston. From Kegley's *Frontier.*

It is evident that these officers were in charge of a group of men who constructed the "big fort" in that fall and winter of 1760-1761, probably according to the specifications conveyed to Colonel Byrd before his departure. Major Andrew Lewis, senior officer in charge, had four years earlier built a fort for the Cherokee Indians one mile above Chota (in present Tennessee), in exchange for assistance from that nation. At that time 60 Virginia men assisted him, and the governor of Virginia provided money to purchase 100 beeves, horses, provisions, and tools.[33] William Fleming, third in command on the frontier in 1760, is known to have had among his more than 324 books, the authoritative manual on fortifications by Vauban.[34]

The expertise was present, the men were there over the winter, and the name Fort Chiswell emerged on February 7, 1761 when a letter written by William Fleming on that date used that address. Fleming was requesting instructions regarding an expected visit from the Cherokees who were coming to the fort with prisoners. A few weeks later the letter was mentioned in the Council minutes, but the actual letter has not been found among the colonial papers at the Virginia State Library, or at any other place, although inquiries have been made.[35]

In March 1761 there were further statutes passed for continuing the regiment, and plans were underway for Colonel Byrd's return to the frontier. Arrangements were being made for the provisions for the army, as well as for the purchase of prisoners who were still in the custody of the Cherokees. The governor was persuaded that the plan for attacking the Cherokee Towns should be carried out and that as a result they would be reduced to "the greatest Extremity's."[36] The army

was to rid itself of the invalids, and recruiting was expected to obtain 1,000 effective men for duty who would be ready to march as soon as wagons and tents and other necessities arrived from Pennsylvania. They were then to proceed as far as the Great Island of Holston and garrison with militia the forts left by the regiment on the frontier. The Council agreed that the Virginia forces were "quite unequal to so arduous and Perilous an undertaking" and were relying heavily on the support of Colonel Grant and his South Carolina troops.[37]

In April the Governor of Virginia gave detailed instructions to the Commissioners who were appointed to purchase the prisoners brought in by the Cherokee Indians. They were to go to Fort Chiswell to meet them, redeem the prisoners and pay them in goods (except arms or ammunition) and inform them that peace could only be made with them in conjunction with the colonies of North and South Carolina. They were to be assured that no trade would be resumed until a general peace was guaranteed.[38] Thomas Walker, one of the commissioners appointed to meet with the Cherokees at Fort Chiswell in April, spent more time than expected at the fort due to "frequent and heavy rains," arriving home in Albemarle County on May 2, about the same time Plumstead and Franks of Philadelphia reported that orders had been given for 40,000 or 50,000 [pounds] of flour to be sent to Fort Chiswell and 10 or 11 at each of the other forts in anticipation of the movement of the army. The plan was to store the "chief part of the Provisions" at Fort Chiswell.[39] The report of the commissioners, Thomas Walker and John Chiswell, was received at the Council on June 10.[40]

In June the Council received a letter indicating that Colonel Byrd anticipated arriving at Fort Chiswell in July. Byrd reported on the strength of his Regiment of Foot, and although the major portion of the army was then camped at Staunton, there were 138 men stationed at Fort Chiswell. It seems that these men were probably the same ones who had spent the winter at the site constructing the fort and preparing for the army's return. It is known that Major Andrew Lewis was there in May when an attack was made on 200 Cherokees camped within one-quarter mile of Fort Chiswell. Six were killed (presumably by northern Indians), many wounded, and 50 women and children were brought to Lewis for protection.[41]

By the end of June there were 651 men at Fort Chiswell where Colonel Byrd was encamped en route to Stalnaker's where he was going to build a magazine. By July 15 he had arrived there and on August 1, reported 670 men fit for duty at Stalnaker's where they had built a block house and entrenchments for the security of themselves and their provisions, as directed by Governor Francis Fauquier on April 28.[42] Since there is no mention of such activity at Fort Chiswell at this time, it must be assumed that the entrenchments, blockhouses, magazine, etc. had already been completed there.

In September Colonel Adam Stephen, who had replaced Byrd, was writing from Fort Chiswell and on October 8 wrote the Council a letter stating that Colonel Waddell, commander of the North Carolina troops, had arrived at Fort Chiswell with about 300 men and some Tuscarora Indians.[43] Although the army was ordered to be continued in November, peace negotiations were under way as early as January 1762, and in the spring the Indian traders agreed to go as far as Fort Chiswell as agreed upon in an audience of Skiagusta with the Governor of Virginia.[44]

It seems appropriate to discuss the naming and probable design for Fort Chiswell. Colonel William Byrd chose to name the fort for his good friend, John Chiswell, who had discovered valuable ore deposits at the lead mines, eight miles to the south. There Chiswell's tract of 1,000 acres was surveyed by Andrew Lewis, assistant surveyor of Augusta County, on October 31, 1760 about the same time he and his men were settling in for the winter at Sayers' Mill. Chiswell had petitioned the Council on May 6 for permission to have the survey made.[45] Although it has often been stated that Fort Chiswell was built to protect the lead mines, this is unacceptable in view of the distance between the two places. In addition, a blockhouse was erected at the mines on the east side of the New River, about the same time work was being done at Fort Chiswell.[46] In 1776 a new fort was erected for the protection of the mines, but the structure was not mentioned again and apparently was given no specific name.[47]

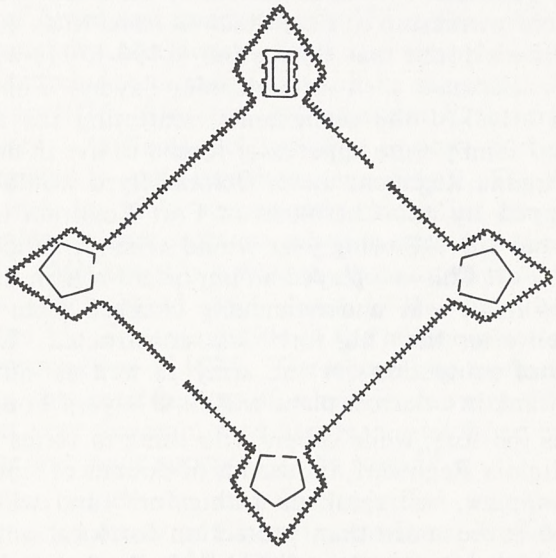
Extraordinary Rations for the Officers at Fort Chiswell from Nov. 20th 1760 to the May 1st 1761

	Days	Rate	Total of Rations
Major Andrew Lewis	161	3	483
Capt. Tho.s Ballet	161	2	322
Lt. Wm Fleming	161	1	161
Lt. Walter Cunningham	200	1	200
Lt. Reuben Vass	161	1	161
Ensign Lucas	161	1	161
Ensign M.cKnight	161	1	161
			1649
Lt. Cunningham omitted in the Settlement 1760 39 Rations	~~39~~	+	~~39~~

Document shows officers at Fort Chiswell from November 20, 1760 until May 1, 1971 received extraordinary rations. Tracing excerpted from Document Z-12-1, William Fleming Papers, Cyrus Hall McCormick Library, Washington and Lee University.

Traditionally, Fort Chiswell was believed to have had a palisade or stockade built around a group of buildings for their protection. Forts of the colonial period were usually square, though sometimes pentagonal, with sides ranging from 60 to 500 feet in length, and pointed bastions at each corner. The palisade stakes were set into the ground to a depth of 4-5 feet and were on the average 12 inches in diameter, and 12 to 16 feet in height. In one of the bastions the bomb-proof magazine was usually built of stone or brick and lead, flints, and gunpowder stored there. The other bastions often included blockhouses where mounted guns could be placed.[48] Just how well the military engineers of the frontier followed the traditional design or just how completely they constructed Fort Chiswell by the standard pattern is not known. Often modifications were made due to terrain, soil conditions and the time allotted for construction.

During the recent archeological excavations at the site of Fort Chiswell, the presence of a palisade was not confirmed, but cannot be ruled out because less than one acre of the 10-acre site was sampled and/or excavated in 1975/76. However, during the last few days of excavation, a diamond-shaped structure five to six feet in the ground approximately 17 to 20 feet in length was uncovered. Evidence of tim-



Typical fort of the 18th century was a stockaded square with four bastions; three usually contained blockhouses, the fourth was reserved for the bomb-proof magazine. Within the stockade there was ample room for quarters, hospital, guard house, food stores, and kitchen. Drawing by Mary B. Kegley from numerous sources of the 18th century.

bers, stairs, bricks, as well as lead, 50 flints, and gunpowder have led archeologists to believe the powder magazine for the fort had been discovered.[49] The resulting report on the work done at the site in 1976 is not yet available.

About the time the army was disbanded and the peace negotiations were taking place, Alexander Sayers purchased land from John Smith at Dunkard Bottom, the location where Sayers had served previously as a wagonmaster.[50] In addition he entered two tracts of land on Reed Creek for which no survey or patent has been found in his name.[51] Early in 1764 Sayers was at the Lead Mines, "damning over the loss of Dunkard Bottom."[52] It was about this time that Fort Chiswell and the Dunkard Bottom lands were mortgaged, and before Sayers could extricate himself from his financial difficulties he drowned in crossing the New River in the spring of 1765.[53]

Under a judgment of Augusta County Court in August 1769, to satisfy the mortgage of Walter Buchanan, proceedings were undertaken to foreclose unless Robert Sayers, the young son, was able to pay the sum of £158.18.1½ with interest at five percent.[54] Apparently neither Robert nor his mother, Mary, nor his sister, Catherine, were financially able to comply.[55] In settling the estate James McGavock purchased Fort Chiswell and on September 24, 1771 paid the sum of £100 towards the purchase.[56] Thus the era of the French and Indian War and the Sayers' ownership of Fort Chiswell came to an end.

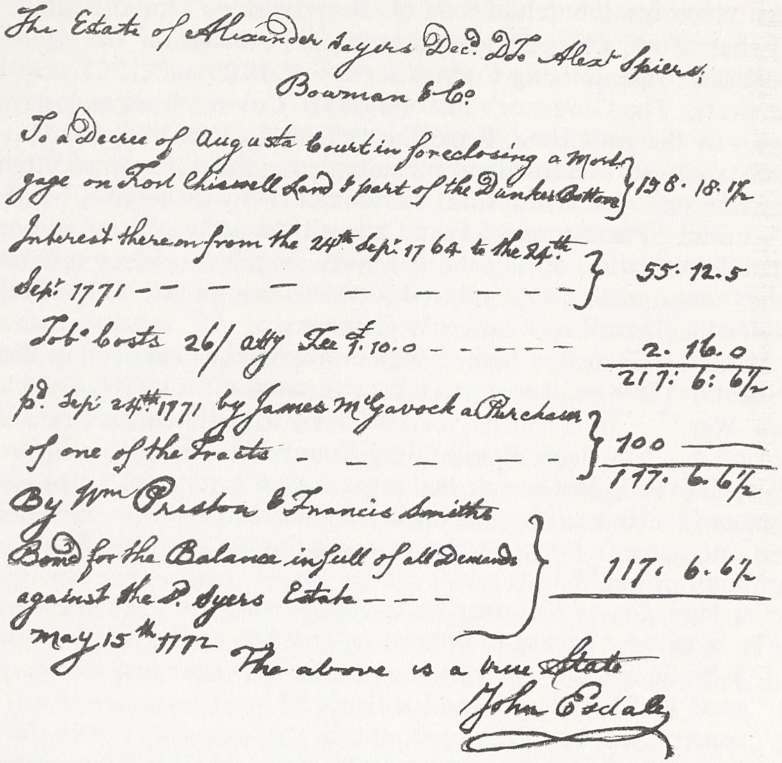
There is no doubt that this period (1754-1771) was one of difficulty for frontiersmen such as Alexander Sayers. First, the Shawnee Indians had attacked the settlements, scattering the inhabitants; his own wife and family were apparently forced to live in Bedford County. Later the Virginia Regiment under Colonel Byrd would attempt to aid soldiers trapped by the Cherokees at Fort Loudoun in what is now Tennessee, and the following year would attempt an all-out attack on that nation. Fort Chiswell played an important role in the drama of the 1760's. The name was understandably changed from Sayers' Mill to Fort Chiswell after the "big fort" was constructed. Logically, a fort was a place of protection for the army as well as individual settlers. Those who think in a narrow plane will state Sayers' house was fortified and this was the fort; while others who think in terms of 650 men of the First Virginia Regiment, thousands of pounds of flour, ammunition and other supplies, will think of a "big fort" and will see that Fort Chiswell had to be more than protection for local inhabitants; there were no local inhabitants—they all had fled. Byrd recorded the building of entrenchments and a block house as well as a magazine at Stalnaker's. The lack of a written record cannot rule out construction of a similar nature at Fort Chiswell. In fact, with the discovery of the structure of the magazine, and Louis Philippe's comment regarding a "big fort" recently torn down, as well as the reference to Fort Chiswell as the

storage place for the "chief part of the provisions" for the army, it is clear that Fort Chiswell was a military installation of significant proportions. The missing Council letters of 1760 and 1761 may have the answers. The Governor's instructions to Colonel Byrd may have the answer. In the meantime, Fort Chiswell of the French and Indian War period stands out as a fortification suitable for the 650 men of Virginia's army, not just for a few local militiamen who gathered around one man's house. Furthermore, Fort Chiswell would remain an important frontier fortification during the Revolutionary War, a place suitable for supplies, ammunition, soldiers, and settlers alike, a place which flourished under the direction of James McGavock.

James McGavock, a Scotch-Irish entrepreneur, had been in Virginia since about 1754 and spent some time in service during the French and Indian War.[57] In 1760 he married Mary Cloyd, daughter of David Cloyd of Augusta (later Rockbridge) County.[58] Prior to his purchase of Fort Chiswell, McGavock had served as a justice of the peace and undersheriff. He was also responsible for building the Botetourt County prison and gaoler's house in the town of Fincastle, where he operated an ordinary or inn.[59]

On May 14, 1772, after he became owner of the Fort Chiswell lands he received a license to operate an ordinary at this new location.[60] In 1775 William Calk, en route to Kentucky, described it as a place with "good loaf bread and good whiskey."[61] The ordinary was probably constructed by McGavock about the time he moved to Fort Chiswell, and its foundation may be one of the structures discovered by the excavators in 1975. Structure #3 measured 23 feet by 31 feet and had one chimney. Artifacts such as ladles, spoons, forks, knives, and pot hooks suggested it could have been an ordinary. The archeologists' report completed in 1976 erroneously identifies the structure as McGavock's residence and ordinary, when in actuality it could only be the ordinary.[62] McGavock's residence was a separate structure with two chimneys which stood until about 1901 when the house was destroyed by fire.[63] The foundation of the residence was not uncovered during the excavations of 1975. The second improvement McGavock undertook was the construction of a mill in January 1773. By the summer of that year the main road had been established by way of the mill dam and he was made surveyor of the road.[64]

The date on which the mill was approved was the first court session for the new County of Fincastle, and James McGavock was one of the seven justices present.[65] The court sessions continued regularly until November 1775, but only two sessions were held in 1776.[66] Following the successful engagement at the Battle of Point Pleasant in October 1774, the leaders of the community organized a Committee of Safety as other counties had done. Their sentiments and resolutions concerning their rights and liberties were presented on January 20,


The Estate of Alexander Sayers Decd. Dr. To Alexr. Spiers, Bowman & Co.

To a Decree of Augusta Court in foreclosing a Mortgage on Fort Chiswell Land & part of the Dunkers Bottom } 158. 18. 1½

Interest thereon from the 24th Sept. 1764 to the 24th Sept. 1771 } 55. 12. 5

Tob. costs 26/ atty Fee £1. 10. 0 — 2. 16. 0

217: 6: 6½

Pd. Sept. 24th 1771 by James McGavock a Purchaser of one of the Tracts } 100 —

117. 6. 6½

By Wm. Preston & Francis Smiths Bond for the Balance in full of all Demands against the D. Syers Estate } 117. 6. 6½

May 15th 1772 The above is a true State

John Esdale

Document showing that McGavock made first payment of £100 on Fort Chiswell lands on September 24, 1771. From Joseph Gordon Kent collection, courtesy of Arthur M. Kent.

1775. James McGavock was one of the original 15 members of this distinguished committee.[67] The unhappy disputes between England and her colonies worsened, and regular meetings of the committee were held (some of them at Fort Chiswell) to deal with appointments to the local militia, delivery of lead to Williamsburg (the lead mines being one of the few operating in the colonies at that time), and bring salt from Hampton. Two loads of salt were to be stored at Fort Chiswell, others at Colonel William Ingles' on New River, William Davis' on Holston, and at the Town House near Chilhowie. McGavock and others were to settle on a price for the salt and were to receive the money and distribute what had been left at Fort Chiswell.[68]

Although the leaders of the community were concerned with the problems of England and her colonies, the Cherokees, closer to home, were their major concern in 1776. These Indians, somewhat subdued after the peace of 1762 were again hostile, and consequently two battalions were sent out on the so-called Cherokee Expedition under the leadership of Colonel William Christian.[69]

There is no necessity of describing this expedition in detail, but it may be stated that Fort Chiswell once again was the base of operations for activities on the frontier. Provisions such as corn and flour, as well as powder and ammunition, were stored there. In June 1776, the 500 W. (pounds) of powder intended for a magazine in Fincastle County was deposited at Fort Chiswell. Smaller amounts of powder (200, 100 and 50 W) were deposited at depots on Holston and Clinch Rivers. The remainder of 1000 W was ordered kept at Fort Chiswell and was considered of such value to the frontiersmen that the Committee ordered a sergeant and 12 men to guard the supply until further notice. In addition 250 pounds of powder and 2,000 flints were sent from Richmond for several frontier counties.[70]

It is known that John Barron (Barrow) was stationed at Fort Chiswell in June 1776 to guard "the public property deposited there." In addition, Anderson Armstead stated that in August he marched to Fort Chiswell where several companies met before marching to Long Island of Holston (now Kingsport, Tennessee) and the Cherokee Towns.[71]

In 1774 James Brown met with other militia men at Fort Chiswell en route to Point Pleasant against the Shawnees. In 1779 he was serving under Lieutenant Samuel Newell and the meeting place again was Fort Chiswell. In 1781, while serving under Captain James Findley and Colonel Jehu Stephens, James Brown and the troops again assembled at Fort Chiswell before marching to Shallow Ford on the Yadkin River in North Carolina.[72]

It is clear that the "big fort" was an active military installation during the Revolutionary War period. Lead, powder, and flints were stored in the magazine and militia men mustered for duty at this central base of operations. From here they left for duty—some going southwest toward the Holston, others into what is now West Virginia, and still others to points in North Carolina.

Although frontiersmen generally were willing to fight a war with the Indians to protect their families and their plantations, not everyone was so inclined to join the army against the mother country. Many remained "friends of the King" and in a community where the leadership was not Tory in sentiment, there were the inevitable trials. For example, on June 22, 1776 Jacob Kettering, the miller, was summoned to appear at James McGavock's to answer the complaint that "he had often declared himself a friend to the King and his measures, That he endustriously propagates many false reports that have strong Tendency to prejudice the American Cause in General." Witnesses were to appear and, perhaps fearing expressions of public discontent, Captains Jehu Stephens and Jeremiah Pierce were to bring 10 well-armed men and Lieutenant James Montgomery the same.[73] There is no account which records the events of that particular day, but in September 1777

Kettering appeared on a similar charge and the jury levied a fine of £250 and a sentence of a year in prison.[74] Because there was no suitable prison in the county, Kettering was sent to Staunton to the Augusta County prison on January 7, 1778 where he remained a year.[75]

Louis Philippe, who described Fort Chiswell in his diary, also learned of the arrest and imprisonment of Kattenring (Kettering, now Catron) when he spent the night at his home west of Wytheville. He also records in his diary that the stone mill which he operated not far from his home had been confiscated, so that he only had 200 acres of land left.[76] The mill site is now known as Browning's Mill.

Numerous other citizens of the area "maintained the authority of the King." In fact, Southwest Virginia's two counties—Montgomery and Washington—were hotbeds of Toryism, and at one point in August 1780 Colonel Walter Crockett had assembled 250 men at Fort Chiswell ready to march against the Tories on the New River.[77] Those who were brought to court are mentioned throughout the court orders of Montgomery County and their trials are well documented in the Draper Manuscripts.[78] Although some, like Duncan Gullion, managed to escape from the sheriff en route to Williamsburg where he was ordered to go for further trial, others such as Joseph McDonald, who was found guilty of treason, were excused. The reasons given were his age (he was 58) and the fact that he had a large family, but the ultimate guarantee for his good behaviour came as a result of the enlistment of his two sons, Joseph and Edward, into the Continental Army. George Walters, Jacob and John Shull (Shell), and Jeremiah Patrick volunteered to enlist themselves. Gasper Reid, age 60, was sent to the lead mines to serve as a soldier for two and one-half months and his son offered to enlist.[79]

Fort Chiswell added a new dimension to its military character beginning in January 1777 when Montgomery County court held its first session at the fort. The Fincastle County courthouse at the lead mines was somewhat inaccessible for travelers, being several miles from the main road, an inconvenience resolved by meeting at Fort Chiswell.[80] After more than a year of meeting at the fort the justices accepted proposals from John Montgomery, Walter Crockett, and James McGavock (all of whom were justices) for a place for a courthouse.[81] The majority selected McGavock's offer of 20 acres of land on the hill above the house on the north side of the road and within 10 poles of the mill. The spring was to be shared and the offer also included 20 acres of woodland and the use of the quarries for building purposes. The conveyance was to be made in fee simple without consideration other than the advantage McGavock would have by having the courthouse on his land a reservation of one-half acre after the ground for the public buildings was laid off.[82]

On April 8, 1778, at the same session of court, it was ordered that John Montgomery, James McGavock, Walter Crockett, Andrew Boyd,

James Newell, or any three were to agree with workmen to build a log courthouse "20 feet square in the clear with a 10-foot shed at the end for a jury room." They were also to help overcome the "insufficiency of the prison" expressed by Sheriff James McCorkle and build a log prison, not less than 20 by 18 feet in the clear.[83] The 20 acres given by McGavock were to be laid off in one-half acre lots with proper streets. In order to cover the cost of these improvements a sum of six shillings was to be collected from every tithable.[84]

In January 1779, John Floyd was paid £25 and two chain carriers were paid 48 shillings per day for surveying 40 acres [total] at two different places and laying off the town at Fort Chiswell.[85] In February the sheriff paid James McGavock £150 toward the building of the courthouse and on August 5 an additional sum of £75 for timber to build it. In September McGavock received £50 over and above his agreement for building the courthouse, and the building of the prison was delayed. On October 6 the balance of the money due was paid to McGavock. In the meantime on May 5 he was paid £40 for the use of his house in which courts were held.[86] The personal account book of James McGavock shows that Paul Rezzor (Razor) was paid £22.10 for actually constructing the courthouse and an additional sum of £6 for repairing McGavock's mill.[87]

Although the courthouse was now completed and paid for, and the town had been laid off in lots, it became clear that the location chosen for a courthouse and town was "an improper one." The justices of the court were of the unanimous opinion that it was in "no wise calculated for the purpose for which it was intended." The reasons given were that the land was on a "high barren hill" which was "difficult of access every way" and was inconvenient to wood and water. The justices added that "it can never be expected People would settle here or that Lotts would sell at any price." They decided then that no more public buildings would be built as it would be a great and unnecessary expense.[88] Thus the Town of Fort Chiswell, begun with great hopes for development as a courthouse center, consisted of the remains of the "big fort" built in 1760-61, the courthouse built in 1779, and McGavock's residence and ordinary.

It was McGavock's community and he was in command. Perhaps his dream was shattered when the town did not develop, or was this in the back of his mind from the beginning? By offering the land he obtained the courthouse on his property and in addition was paid a handsome sum over and above the cost of its construction. Furthermore, he had a guaranteed clientele for his ordinary every time the court met. Not only justices and officers of the county, but persons doing business with the court were almost always overnight guests. At the very least "good loaf bread and good whiskey" were obtainable. In addition, during the Revolutionary War period, McGavock was paid for corn,

Log home of James McGavock burned in 1901. Courtesy of Arthur M. Kent.

oats, hay, and fodder for horses and cattle; for whiskey to wash the wounds of the wounded men; for biscuits, flour, and additional whiskey; and for as many as 80 diets or meals.[89]

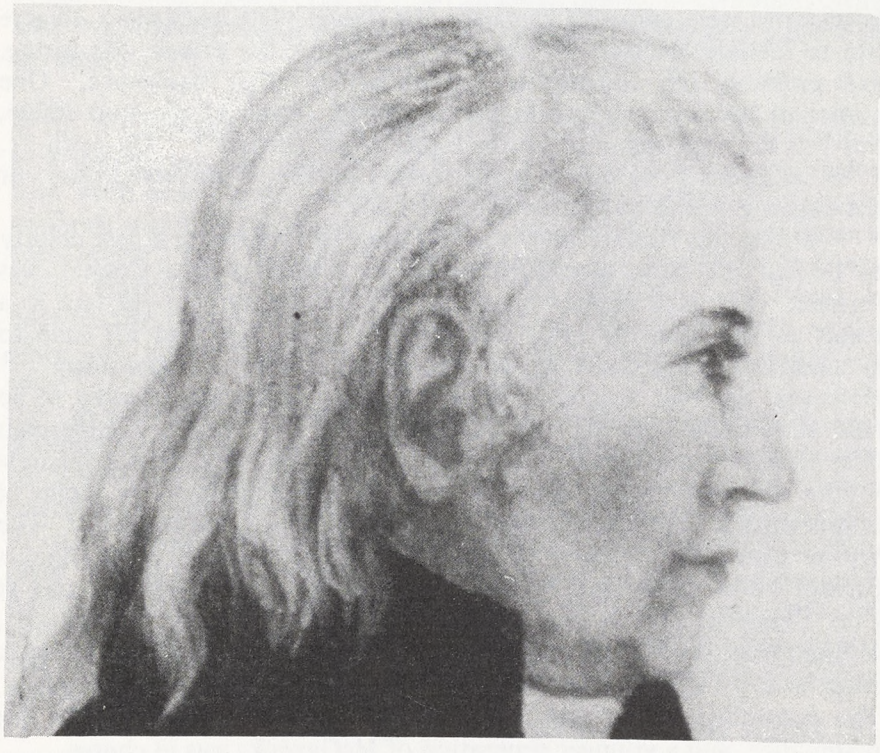
Because of his ordinary and its location on the main road to the West, McGavock often catered to migratory patrons en route to Kentucky. For several years he had the only ordinary in what is now Wythe County and for additional years the only accommodation of consequence west of the ferry at William Ingles on the New River. Since there were two main routes to Kentucky from eastern Pennsylvania—over the road to Pittsburgh and then a tedious trip by river to their destination and a more expeditious route through the Valley of Virginia to Fort Chiswell and then across the Cumberland Mountain and the mountains of eastern Kentucky—McGavock had a ready-made business on the preferred route.[90] The itineraries through Virginia recorded by John Filson, William Brown, Thomas Speed, and no doubt numerous others, list Fort Chiswell (Chissel) as a stopping place.[91]

In 1781 the Rev. Lewis Craig and his congregation of the Upper Spotsylvania Baptist in Spotsylvania County, Virginia, stopped en route to Kentucky. Kincaid states there were 500 people encamped and that they found a militia company stationed there, a store, a tavern, and other conveniences. This group exchanged wagons and goods for packhorses and items suitable for the rest of the journey over poor roads, mountainous terrain, and muddy trails.[92] Similarly, James Knox and

his party probably visited Fort Chiswell in the fall of 1784.[93]

These are specific examples, representative of a time of unparalleled migration. In 1783 the population of Kentucky was 12,000. The following spring it had jumped to 20,000 but 1784, according to one authority, was a year to be remembered when 30,000 pioneers moved from North Carolina and Virginia across the mountains into Kentucky—and this accomplished in single file on a road which had not yet become suitable for wagons.[94] If only half of these travelers—a conservative estimate—came by way of Fort Chiswell, McGavock could have played host to more than 20,000 Kentucky-bound visitors in a few short years.

In the 1780s matters of the courthouse and prison were still requiring attention by the justices. In 1782 the clerk was to hire persons to chink and daub the courthouse and make necessary "alterations about the barr."[95] Five years later the prison was still not a reality, and on April 6, 1787 orders were issued to Colonel Ward, Major Love, Captain Newell, and William Davis to let out the building of a log prison 16 feet square.[96] On September 5, 1787 the court recognized the great necessity for a prison and noted the failure of the previously appointed



James McGavock, Sr. (1728-1812), courtesy of Arthur M. Kent.

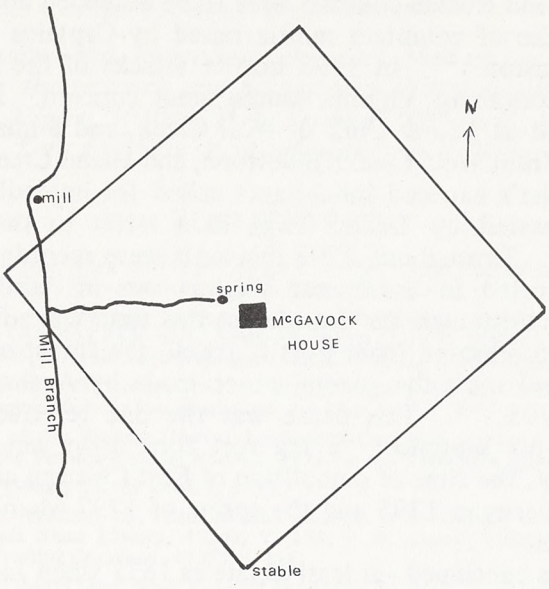
gentlemen to act. Immediate action was ordered and a prison 15 feet square with a wall a foot thick was to be built. It was to be made out of hewed timber a foot thick with a pitch of seven feet between the floors, and was to be covered with clapboards. There was to be an iron window, and two doors, an outside one of wood with a strong lock and an inside one of iron.[97] Two days later, it was decided that a house belonging to James McGavock and known by the name of the "magazine" should be appropriated until a prison could be built, and David McGavock was ordered to lay off 10 acres of land around the courthouse and McGavock's ordinary as bounds for the prisoners.[98]

The following spring on March 5, 1788 Robert Grimes and Captain Kincannon reported that the prison was "sufficient, agreeable to the first contract or rather better." In spite of this the sheriff protested against the new prison on the same day. Duncan Gullion, Tory and scallawag of the frontier, had the dubious honor of being the first to try out the new prison—the sentence was two hours for "insulting the court."[99]

On April 4 David McGavock, son of James, the entrepreneur, was paid £45 for building the prison according to the terms set forth by Henry Patton and John Adams[100] and three days later the prison boundaries were surveyed by David McGavock. The tract was a 10-acre site to include McGavock's ordinary, his house, the prison, the spring, and probably the courthouse and numerous other structures. One corner of the survey began at the northwest corner of the stud stable, but this building was outside the limits of the survey.[101] On April 11, 1789 Manassas Friel was to make further repairs to the courthouse but the expense was to be limited to 10 pounds.[102]

About this time residents of the area petitioned for a new county to be cut off from Montgomery and as a result Wythe County was formed. The new county called for a new county seat—in fact as a result of its formation two new county seats were laid off—one to become Evansham (later Wytheville) and the other Christiansburg.[103] However, the first session of Wythe County Court was ordered to be held at James McGavock's on May 25, 1790.[104] Stophel Zimmerman (Christopher Simmerman) and John Davis donated acreage for the new Wythe County center and the following sessions were held at Simmerman's pending the construction of the new courthouse.[105] The Wythe County of today has the distinction of having had within its present boundaries three county seats—one at the Lead Mines, one at Fort Chiswell, and one in Wytheville for the counties of Fincastle, Montgomery, and Wythe respectively. Once these county changes took place in 1790 the vigorous days of McGavock's ownership began to fade. The courthouse and prison were no longer necessary, a town did not materialize, and a younger generation of McGavocks was in charge.

The older James now in his 60's, having earlier purchased one-half



Prison boundaries surveyed in 1788 included prison, courthouse, spring, and James McGavock's ordinary. The mill and stable were outside the perimeter.

of the Anchor and Hope plantation at Max Meadows, established himself in a log house which still stands in that town. The house was said to have been constructed for his son, David, in the 1780's but it became available when David moved to what is now Nashville on a permanent basis about 1795. Another brother, Randall, also moved to Nashville, while Hugh and Joseph remained in Max Meadows, and James Jr. became the owner of the Fort Chiswell site. The elder James died in 1812 and was buried on a high hill which overlooks the colonial fort site.[106]

In the elder McGavock's time Fort Chiswell was a military base and storehouse for salt, corn, and valuable powder and lead, during the days of Indian wars and revolution. Then, under his leadership, it became a courthouse center without a town, where the local milita would gather to chase Tories or Indians and where sentences were meted out to those loyal to the King. Here too thousands of travelers en route to Kentucky were served by McGavock and his business enterprises—a store, ordinary, mill, and blacksmith shop. But the aging McGavock saw the courthouse era end and his son James Jr. assume leadership in the business enterprises begun years earlier.

Although Southwest Virginia was becoming more settled, the years following the Revolutionary War were not entirely free of Indian raids and murders on the frontier. In 1791 and 1792 Montgomery,

Washington, and Russell counties were to be defended and protected by two companies of volunteer militia raised by Captains Andrew Lewis and John Preston.[107] In 1793 hostile attacks of the Indians on the southwest frontier of Virginia caused great concern. John Davidson was murdered at Laurel Fork of Wolf Creek, and a number of horses were stolen from Wolf Creek, Bluestone, and Island Creek. The danger to the frontier's exposed inhabitants called for immediate action and was so requested by Daniel Trigg in a letter to the Governor of Virginia.[108] Throughout 1793 incidents were recorded, and the last invasion reported in Southwest Virginia was in April 1794 in Lee County.[109] Although the frontier at this time was somewhat to the westward and removed from Fort Chiswell, the threat of Indian attack had not ended until the general peace made by Anthony Wayne was signed in 1795.[110] This peace was the one referred to by Louis Philippe in his sentence: "a big fort torn down since the peace." Consequently, the time of demolition of Fort Chiswell can be established as being between 1795 and the spring of 1797 when Louis Philippe stopped there.

Business continued—at least as late as 1831 when James McGavock obtained a license for a house of private entertainment (May 10, 1831).[111] The last log building standing at the site was the home of James McGavock Sr. and Jr. which was destroyed by fire in 1901. Several years later a small frame house was built on the site and stood until about 1968 when preliminary work for the highway construction was undertaken. The hillside now has lost its identity, and the opportunity to discover underground evidence by archeological survey of the entire area—instead of limited acreage—has been lost forever. New roads to the West will keep the fort's secrets preserved and few of the travelers on it will ever realize that Fort Chiswell was once a "big fort"

The Davis house sits on the approximate location of the McGavock log house which was burned about 1901. This recent house was removed about 1968 to make room for the highway construction. Photo courtesy of L. Edgar and Mary Foley.

which served the frontier for more than 30 years.

(I recognize and appreciate the fact that many people have contributed to the research and preparation of this article. I especially thank George Kegley, William H.B. Thomas, William T. Buchanan, Jr., and Arthur M. Kent for their encouragement and assistance.)

FOOTNOTES

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3 SOUTHWEST VIRGINIA ENTERPRISE, January 25, 1977, "Fort Chiswell Site Named Official Virginia Historic Landmark." pp. A-1, B-6.

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20 William Waller Hening, STATUTES AT LARGE. (Philadelphia, 1823), VII,347.

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22 Hillman, EXECUTIVE JOURNALS, VI, 161.

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28. Letter from Captain Ourrey to Colonel Henry Bouquet, September 29, 1760, Boquet Papers, Reel 696, Folio 138, SR 7509/3 Ms21642, PRO, Virginia State Library.

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30 Ibid., 174.

31 Hening, STATUTES, VII, 370.

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35 Hillman, EXECUTIVE JOURNALS, VI, 182.

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37 Hillman, EXECUTIVE JORNALS, VI, 184.

38 Ibid., 184, 185.

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Cures From Mountain Herbs

by Earl Palmer

The custom of gathering plants for their medicinal value dates back to earliest times. Ancient and medieval books make many references to roots, leaves, and barks to help out the "feelin' poorlys" of mankind. The American Indians used herbs in compounding cures for their ails and hurts, and believed that when worn on the person, they had a magical charm for such diverse purposes as warding off disease, ending disappointment in love, or even ensuring long life. These beliefs, part and parcel, still live in many of the remote parts of our Southern Appalachian Mountains.

As one mountaineer herb gatherer told me one fine spring-filled morning, "There ain't nothin' what grows that ain't good for somethin'." His "larnin' " had been passed down through the centuries from mountain family to mountain family along the ridges and in the coves of the beautiful hill country.

Aunt Lucy Dehart sums up the essence of all larnin' in one or two cryptic remarks: "Menfolks, generally, are born with a dropsical condition, are lazy by nature. They naturally hibernate in the winter like bears. They awake from hibernation lazier than ever, feeling poorly, just tollable, fat as Thanksgiving turkeys, shaggy as mountain goats. To git these old bucks ready for spring plowing, I biles down a round of

Earl Palmer of Christiansburg, a photographer for more than 50 years, has taken pictures of mountain people and mountain scenes for many publications, such as Dodge News, Plymouth Traveler and Metropolitan Newspapers, a Sunday supplement. His talk about mountain herbs to the Society in August 1977 was based on information in this article he wrote for Popular Gardening magazine in August 1960. Palmer provided information for a National Geographic Society book, "Nature's Healing Arts."

Newt Hylton washed sassafras roots in a stream. After they have dried, he stewed them into a tea which he sweetened with wild honey during the winter. "Fetches out the sweat on a feller," he said, and it "cures a cold in a hurry."

cherry bark bitter, thins their blood down to normal, jacks them up a notch or three." She went on to add, "Now, in the spring after a long hard winter, I need perking up myself. Tain't nothin' better'n a round of bitters to wake one up."

Although it's been generations since the Indians roamed the mountains, their imprint on pioneer medicine remains, as witnessed by dozens of names, like Indian pipe, Indian sage, Indian wash weed, Indian balm, and many, many others ascribed to herbaceous plants.

A bee hunter is "smoking down" the swarm into a home-made hive to carry home to a permanent location. When the queen is safely hived, the worker bees are smoked in to join her. Honey taken from bee trees after they're cut down is used to sweeten home-concocted remedies.

The ancient Indian medicine men taught skills in primitive treatment of various ills to the early colonists—the Indians sometimes effected cures with their forest-concocted remedials. As recently as six years ago, the Office of Indian affairs sent a delegation of specialists to the Navajo Indian Reservation to try to prove to the Indians the superiority of modern medicine. Well, this "larned" group reported some of the primitive cures as effective as modern ones. Just goes to show us, I guess, that we are not so far advanced as we might think.

Mention has been made of remedies based upon superstitions. No people believed in superstitions more than the Indians, and they told the early settlers about the supposed magic powers of certain herbs to cure everything from knobby knees to rheumatism. So, I was not surprised when Newt Hylton of the Laurel Fork Community said, "Always carry a buckeye in yore left hip pocket. Shore cure for rheumatism."

"Look for an herb of the shape of the organ you want to cure," says Bushrod Picklesimer, who does not know he believes in the doctrine of signatures. Because of the heart-shape of the perennial coltsfoot leaves, a tea made by boiling its roots in milk is believed to alleviate heart diseases. The ginseng root often takes the form of a man; hence the age-old belief that ginseng worn about the body will cure whatever ails you.

"When is the best time to gather herbs?" I asked the mountain folk, and Rosebud Crockram, of Turkey Cock Creek said, "I digs the roots afore the sap rises, picks the leaves when they're about the size of squirrels' ears, and peels the bark in the dark of the moon after sap rises."

Other herb gatherers follow pretty much the same rule of thumb, so Rosebud's ridge-top information may be taken verbatim. I'm sure she was out early to collect Trillium grandiflorum, known variously as wake-robin, Jewsharp, snakebite, Indian balm, and groundlily. According to her, its roots have astringent qualities and when boiled in milk, are beneficial in treating "certain" stomach complaints. The roots she also uses for insect stings.

Bloodroot is a true bitter, known also as Indian plant, red puccoon, and tetterwort. As everyone who's ever downed a swig of tea made from its roots will testify, "Hit shor' am good and bitter." Many mountaineers also call bloodroot yaller root. A round of yaller root tea is guaranteed to "jack up a feller who's feelin' poorly and fit him for the storms of life, winds and rains, heat and cold."

Coltsfoot, which looks somewhat like the heart-shaped shuttleworth ginger, is also a signature herb and is supposed to cure heart troubles, real or romantic, say folks in the mountains who know about such things.

Sassafras tea is, perhaps, the most popular homemade remedy concocted by the mountain people. In the words of Aunt Lucy Dehart, who lived across the mountain at Hell's Creek: "Tain't nothing better'n a round of hot sassafras tea in the spring. Thins out a feller's blood and gits him ready for plowin'."

What They Owned in the 1840s

by Helen Beall Lewis

Book I of the *Inventory, Appraisements and Sales* record in the Roanoke County Courthouse, Salem, Virginia, contains the estate inventories of county residents who died between 1838 and 1849. The contents of Roanoke County homes during this period may be discovered through examination of these estate appraisals. The number of rooms in houses, the size of families, the standard of living in the area, and county residents' tastes and aesthetic sensibilities may be partially ascertained from the number and assortment of goods recorded on the inventories. Careful analysis of the data compiled from these inventories of material goods provides clear insight into mid-19th century life in Roanoke County, Virginia.

Taking an inventory of the deceased's possessions was the responsibility of the executor of an estate, according to mid-19th century Virginia law and the English statute from which it was derived. In his *Commentaries on the Laws of England,* published in 1765, Sir William Blackstone enumerates the duties of the executor, or the administrator in cases when no will was left by the deceased. His responsibilities included: burying the deceased, administering the will, making an inventory of the estate, collecting the goods and chattels, paying debts and legacies, and distributing any undevised surplus.[1] All goods collected by the executor which were "of a salable nature and [could] be converted into ready money, [were] called assets."[2] The purpose of making estate inventories was to have a legal record of the deceased's assets; the executor was to sell these assets, to pay any outstanding debts of the deceased. The state of Virginia's estate laws are based on the same premise as the English law outlined by Blackstone. The 1849 *Code of Virginia,* the statutes of which regulated the Roanoke County inventories of this study, states that "every personal representative . . . shall, within four months after the date of the order conferring his

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The daughter of Mr. and Mrs. G. H. Lewis III, Amherst, Va., she was an American studies major, a member of Phi Beta Kappa and a 1978 honors graduate at Hollins. Miss Lewis is a masters degree candidate in the history department at the University of Virginia.

authority," return to the clerk of the court an inventory of all the personal and real estate "which has come to his possession of knowledge, or which is under his management or subject to his authority, in his fiduciary character."[3] The Code also prescribes the manner in which estate appraisals were to be taken. The Court was to appoint three or more appraisers who, "after taking an oath for the purpose . . . shall appraise such goods or chattels as may be produced to them."[4] The appraisers each received one dollar per day for their services and their appraisement was considered "prima facie evidence of the value of the estate."[5] The portions of the Virginia Code which deal with estates, contain ambiguities which could have allowed inaccurate inventories to have been taken in Virginia during the mid-19th century. The clause stating that the appraisers are to evaluate "such goods or chattels as may be produced to them" raises the question of what items may not have been produced for the appraisers. Since the law allowed four months to elapse between the appointment of the executor and the date of his inventory, the family of the deceased had plenty of time to remove certain items from the estate, if they so desired. Because of these loopholes in the 1849 Virginia laws, estate inventories taken at the time may not have always been accurate records. Despite the possibility of incomplete appraisals, much can be learned from the items which are recorded.

Problems encountered during study of the inventories include apparently incomplete entries, vague descriptions, misspelled words and 19th century terms no longer in current usage. Several inventories listed no heating devices or kitchen utensils; the omission of such essential articles surely indicates an incomplete record. Frequently, words were misspelled by the estate appraisers, but these were usually decipherable because phonetic spelling was used, and after 1844, misspelled words were underlined.[6] Imprecise references such as "one lot books" and "one cupboard and contents" are frustrating as they preclude a thorough, accurate study of a house's contents.

This study of mid-19th century households in Roanoke County is limited to those whose estates are itemized in Book I of the *Inventory, Appraisements and Sales* record; therefore, it is not a complete survey of the county. The inventories studied are only of those residents who died between 1838 and 1849. Deductions made about the wealth and size of families and the probable number of rooms in their houses are based solely upon information gathered from Book I.[7] The purpose of this research is to determine as much as possible about mid-19th century Roanoke County residents from the household articles listed in Book I's estate inventories.

Fifty inventories were made between 1838 and 1849, and recorded in Book I. Forty of these appraisals were selected for research, after the elimination of those which listed mainly farming equipment and one bed or chair as the only furniture. This study is concerned only

with household articles; no slaves, farming equipment, tools, or animals inventoried are included in the data.

For purposes of comparison, the inventories were divided into three groups—an upper, middle, and lower group. Classification was based upon the quantity and type of goods owned. The inventories of group three, the upper group, all contained silver, ceramics (usually of a certain type such as Queen's ware of Liverpool china), books, clocks, and looking glasses. Most of these inventories included linen, bed furnishings, carpeting and window curtains. The chairs owned by this group were designated as "Windsor" or "split-bottom" rather than just "chairs," as is often the case in the lower groups. Inventories in group three all listed pieces of furniture with a specific purpose such as a sideboard, press, secretary, or wardrobe. Another distinguishing feature of this upper group is that the wood of their pieces of furniture was usually mentioned, which was a rare occurrence in the other groups. Most of the inventories in the middle group listed bed furnishings, linens, books, clocks, and looking glasses.

Group two rarely entered any silver, pewter, or ceramics. The lowest group, group one, recorded only essential pieces of furniture such as, beds, chairs, tables and chests; inferior quality of this furniture was indicated by the fact that the type of their chairs or the wood of their other pieces are never distinguished. Group one inventories occasionally listed books, bed furnishings, looking glasses, and clocks, but never recorded any silver, pewter, or ceramics. On the basis of these differences, three groups were distinguished for comparative purposes.

As a method of research, the contents of each estate appraisal were recorded on individual surveys. These surveys separate the items into the following categories: furniture, bed furnishings, window hangings and miscellaneous linen, floor coverings, books, lighting devices, heating devices, ornaments, ceramics and glass, silver, pewter, tinware, cooking utensils, and miscellaneous articles. Each of the 40 estate inventories was recorded on such an individual survey which lists the appraised value of each item. These individual catalogues were then transcribed onto a master survey for each of the categories mentioned above. These master surveys reveal the distribution of goods in the estates as a whole and they coalesce individual statistics so that overall conclusions may be made.

Introduction

Roanoke County was established in 1838 from a portion of adjoining Botetourt County. Salem, the seat of Roanoke County, was founded in 1802. Among the first purchasers of land in Salem were Henry Snider and James Godwin, the estate inventories of whom are included in this study.[8] The community's main throughfare, Roanoke Street, followed a former Indian trail, the Valley Pike. Salem began to

grow and prosper after 1815 when "the Roanoke Navigation Company was chartered . . . to connect the Roanoke River with Weldon, North Carolina." [9]

In 1827, *Martin's Gazetter* recorded that Salem contained " '70 houses . . . 6 mercantile stores, 3 taverns, 3 houses of public worship (1 Methodist, 1 Presbyterian, 1 Baptist) and 2 female and 1 male school.' " [10] Industries included:

> 1 manufacturing flour mill, with a saw mill and wool carding machine annexed . . . 1 tan yard, 1 cabinet maker, 2 saddlers, 5 blacksmith shops, 1 boot and shoe factory, 2 tailors, 1 extensive wheat fan manufactory, several carpenters, 1 house painter, and 1 hat manufactory. [11]

In 1829, the General Assembly voted to incorporate Salem into a town. Both the Fincastle-Lewisburg and the Christiansburg-Natural Bridge stage lines passed through Salem. This advantageous position allowed taverns to flourish. In the portion of Botetourt County which became Roanoke County in 1838, there were 23 licensed tavern keepers.

Few men in Roanoke County prior to 1850 could be classified as wealthy, and most of those did not own more than 10 slaves. [12] There were, however, numerous large landholders who lived in the county during its early years; among them are nine men whose estate inventories are included in this study. [13] Poverty must have been a concern of the county at this time because in 1840, the justices ordered that a poorhouse be built at Mason's Cove. [14]

Roanoke County showed evidence of progress during the twelve years with which this research is concerned. In 1849, a circulating library was organized; in 1846, the Roanoke Savings Bank was incorporated, later to be called the Bank of Roanoke; and the *Roanoke Gazette* began monthly publication in 1849 with subscriptions costing 20 cents per year. The population of the county grew during the decade from 5,499 in 1840 to 8,477 in 1850. Population growth was further stimulated by the arrival of the Virginia-Tennessee Railroad in 1852.

Inventoried Articles

Furniture

The most common pieces of furniture in the estates studied were chairs. All but two of the 40 inventories contained at least a few chairs; sets of six or 12 were the most customary. Excepting one rocking, two arm, one writing chair, and those merely listed as "chairs," Windsor and split-bottom chairs comprised the overwhelming majority. The average appraised value of a split-bottom chair was 25 cents, and that of a Windsor ranged from 50 cents to one dollar. Even the wealthiest group owned no chairs more elaborate than Windsors of the split-bottom variety; as the wealth of the groups increased, the number of these two

types of chairs increased.

The average number of chairs owned by the average family in each group may be learned by dividing the total number of inventories contained in each group into their total number of chairs. Following these calculations, households in group one possessed seven chairs, those in group two had 10, and those in the third group owned 25 chairs. Considering the size of their houses, the quantity of chairs recorded on the upper group's inventories is astounding. [15] Only one estate in this group contained fewer than 20 chairs and most entries were sets of 12. Chairs must have lined the walls of their houses and been used in every room in order for this large a quantity to have been used. Since this "wealthy" group owned only Windsors and split-bottom chairs, these types appear to have been used for all purposes, in every room from the parlour to the kitchen. In each group, the number of chairs recorded far surpasses the quantity of other furniture forms.

Tables were found on all of the inventories and were described as being small, large, long, round, half-round, or as having falling leaves. Table forms included side tables, center tables, toilet tables, dressing tables and dining tables. Woods were not usually mentioned, but when they were, walnut, cherry, and pine were the most common. Falling-leaf tables were the most numerous in each of the groups. Households in both the lower and middle groups owned an average of two tables, and those in the upper group had six.

Candlestands were also found in each of the groups, though many households were without them. Inventories in groups one and two recorded merely "one candlestand," but those in the third group mentioned the wood of which they were made. This distinction of woods suggests higher quality pieces of furniture in the upper group. Both mahogany and walnut candlestands were listed. The appraised values of candlestands ranged from 50 cents to two dollars each.

Only four inventories out of the 40 examined did not include some type of chest. References were made to bureaus, chests, chests of drawers, dressers, cupboards, and corner cupboards. When the type of wood was mentioned, it was either pine or walnut. No further descriptions were given other than the few entries of "one fine bureau," "one fancy bureau," and "one old-fashioned bureau." Corner cupboards were numerous in the middle and upper groups, but inventories in group one usually listed simply "one cupboard." Households in group one usually owned three chests, those in group two had three to four, and those in group three, only two. Members of the upper group probably owned fewer chests because they had more pieces of furniture designed for a specific purpose, such as sideboards, presses and secretaries. Those in the lower groups used chests for the purposes these more sophisticated pieces of furniture served.

Desks were owned by families in each of the three groups, but only 14 desks were recorded on the 40 inventories. They are referred

to as fall desks, writing desks, secretaries and secretary-bookcases. Only two inventories mentioned desk woods; these noted one pine desk and one cherry secretary and bookcase.

Other furniture forms inventoried were settees, wash stands, workstands, wardrobes, bookcases, presses and sideboards. The majority of these specialized pieces were owned by households in groups two and three. Inventories in group one recorded only one workstand and one settee. Families in this lower group owned mainly essential, practical, plain pieces of furniture such as chairs, tables, chests, and beds.

Beds, bedsteads, and bedding were entered on all 40 inventories. In the 19th century, the word "bed" did not refer to the bed frame and mattress as it does today; it meant simply the tick or sack filled with straw or feathers upon which one slept. The "bedstead" is the wooden frame of a bed and the "bedding" or "furniture" refers to the bed clothes. Most inventories recorded the bed, bedstead, and bedding together and several listed additional beds and bedding. Types of beds mentioned were chaff ticks, straw beds, feather beds and mattresses, the material of which was not described. A wide variety of bedding was listed in the inventories.

Counterpanes owned by each of the groups were defined as woolen, cotton, yarn, knotted or fringed. They were appraised for between 50 cents and five dollars apiece. Coverlets, frequently spelled "cover lids," ranged in value from one dollar and a half to three dollars and a half. "Comforts" and quilts were also common bedding items. Only one bedspread was inventoried and that belonged to a family in the wealthier group. None of the inventories in the lowest group listed any sheets or pillow slips, other than those which may have been included in the lot of "bedding." Those in groups two and three do specifically mention both cotton and linen sheets, in addition to their entries of "bedding." Only one bolster was inventoried and no pillows were recorded in any of the 40 inventories.

The bedsteads were usually not described in the inventories with the exception of "one curtain bedstead" and four "acorn" bedsteads which probably referred to the shape of the bed post finials. Several trundle beds, cradles, and cribs for children were recorded. The number of beds owned by households in each group was about the same; the average quantity was four or five. The appraised value of one bed, bedstead, and furniture, varied from 35 dollars to one dollar and a half; the average value was about eight and a half dollars. When bedsteads were listed alone, without bedding, their average value was two dollars and 25 cents. Comparing the average appraised value of a bedstead, with that of a bedstead, bed, and furniture, proves that the bedding was worth much more than the bed frame.

Window Hangings

Curtains were scarce in the inventories of this study. None of the

windows of group one's houses were curtained and only three families in the second group owned window hangings. Three inventories in the third group included curtains; one listed three window curtains, another six and that of Aaron Barnes, a tavern-keeper, recorded 10 window curtains. The rarity of window hangings in this mid-19th century inventory study is surprising, because most households appear to have produced their own cloth. Thirty-one inventories listed looms or spinning wheels of some sort.[16] Apparently, the cloth which was produced was used for clothing rather than window curtains. Most Roanoke County residents probably did not have the time or money to spend on non-essential window hangings.

Miscellaneous Linen

Inventories in the lowest group listed only "one lot of table cloths" and no towels. Less than half of the households in the middle group owned towels or table linen. Three of the five inventories in the upper group listed towels and table cloths. As with window curtains, the small amount of linen indicates the frugality with which fabric was used at the time.

Floor Coverings

Very little carpeting was recorded in the inventories examined. Group one owned no rugs, some were found in the middle group, but even most of the "wealthy" households contained no carpeting. Types of floor coverings mentioned in the inventories were rag carpet, linen carpet, and Worstead carpet.

Books

Members of the lower group do not appear to have had the time, money, or education required for literary indulgence. Only four of their inventories include any books, three of which state only "one lot books." One inventory in the group lists a Bible and a Testament, valued together at one dollar.

Most families in the middle group owned at least "one lot" of books. Most inventories did not specify book titles; however, some more meticulous appraisers listed the following titles: three Bibles, one "James Bible," one volume *Memoirs of the War,* one *Christian Martyr,* and one *Life of Christ.* Untitled "lots" of books included those written by English, Dutch, and German authors.

All but one inventory in group three listed some books. Titles were given in three appraisals. Aaron Barnes, a tavern-keeper, owned four books of the *Census of the United States* and one *Hening's Justice,* a work dealing with Virginia justice.[17] Barnes probably kept

copies of the latest census report for his customers to browse through while in the tavern. Most of the books in group three were owned by Thomas Micau, who was probably a minister, judging by his selection of reading material. They included: one *Scott's Bible* in three volumes, one *Josephus* in two volumes (Flavius Josephus was a learned Jewish historian and celebrated warrior), [18] one *Davis Sermons,* one *Pagson's Sermons,* one *Philosophy of Religion,* one *Book of Martyrs,* and one *Theological Dictionary.* Other works owned by Micau were: one *Napoleon* in two volumes, one *Byron* in two volumes, one *Brown Dictionary,* one *Signers of Independence,* one *Lady of the Manor,* one *Spectator* in eight volumes, one *Miss Lesslie's,* one *Virginia Magazine* in three volumes, and one *Tatter and Guardian.* This enumeration of book titles is very revealing of Thomas Micau's occupation and literary tastes.

Lighting Devices

In each of the three groups there were some inventories which listed no lighting devices. This omission raises the question of the appraisals' accuracy; however, on the basis of what was recorded, it appears that lighting devices were not so numerous as one might expect. Group one owned a total of nine candlesticks, no candle snuffers, and no lamps. Eight inventories in this group recorded no sort of lighting devices. Twelve inventories in the middle group omitted lighting devices; but the group has a total of 29 candlesticks, seven pair of snuffers, and one lantern. Lighting devices were found on all but one of the inventories in group three. They included 19 candlesticks, three pair of candle snuffers, one glass lamp, and one kitchen lamp. As the groups' wealth increases, so does the number of lighting devices. When the material of candlesticks was mentioned, it was always brass. Judging from the number of lighting devices recorded in these inventories, mid-19th century homes in Roanoke County were rather dimly lit.

Heating Devices

The accuracy of these inventories may again be questioned in considering the records of heating devices. Some inventories of groups one and two listed no andirons, fire dogs, or stoves. Living conditions without heat would have been impossible in the mid-19th century. Overlooking these omissions, one may conclude that stoves were very rare and that fireplaces were still the main source of heat in Roanoke County at this time. Only six stoves were recorded in all 40 inventories. Two of these were listed among the kitchen items and were described as "one cooking stove" and "one stove." Other stoves inventoried were "one tin plate stove with pipes," "one sheet iron stove and piping," "one sheet iron stove," and "one large stove and pipe." Most inven-

tories recorded at least one pair of andirons or fire dogs. Usually the material of andirons was not given, but there are records of one pair of brass and one pair of wrought iron andirons. The number of pairs of shovels and tongs corresponds to the number of pairs of andirons in most cases. The only other heating equipment contained in the inventories was one fire fender. The number of rooms a house had may be surmised from the number of pair of andirons in the estate. Most of the inventories in the first group list only one pair of andirons which suggest that these "poorest" families lived in one-room homes. Inventories in group two list between one and three pair of andirons, one the average. Their houses probably contained one to four rooms. Households of the third group contained as many as five pair of andirons and the average size of their houses was probably from four to six rooms.

Ornaments

This category includes paintings, prints, maps, and miscellaneous pictures. From the inventories studied, it appears that works of art were not abundant in Roanoke County at this time. The "wealthy" group owned four framed pictures; group two had one map and one "portrait of a lady," owned by George H. Sarver, and the lowest group possessed no pictures of any sort.

Ceramics and Glass

The quantity of ceramics and glassware owned is a good indicator of the comparative wealth of the three groups. Estates in the lowest group included neither of these items. Most households in the middle group did not own any ceramics or glass; however, some of their inventories did list a few odd dishes, one "lot" of earthenware or crockery, stone pitchers, and assorted glassware. A total of eight waiters, stands or trays on which china was stored, were inventoried. One appraisal in this group mentions china ware and "Gable" (Gabel) ware. Gabel pottery was so named because it was first produced by a factory in Gabel, Bohemia. Its forms included jugs, round and octagonal plates, and cups and saucers which were made of red or white earthenware. The pottery was often decorated with molded reliefs of flowers and Oriental or European figures, or sometimes by cold enamel painting.[19]

The quantity of ceramics and glassware was much greater in the estates of group three. Every inventory in the group listed some items in this category. Their glassware consisted of tumblers, both "plain" and those of "moulded glass," wine glasses, cut glass "salts," and decanters. Their ceramic entries included some miscellaneous bowls, pitchers, plates, and dishes. But inventories in the third group frequently recorded specific types of china. Liverpool dishes, willow plates, "stake" dishes, Queen's ware, and one Lustre pitcher were mentioned.

Eight waiters were listed on which the china could be stored.

Liverpool plates, dishes, and pitchers appeared on two appraisals. Liverpool pottery was first produced in England in 1710 and was manufactured until 1840. It was made in various forms, including rough earthenwares, refractories, salt-glazed stonewares, delftwares, porcelain, pearlwares, and creamwares. Transfer-printing was used extensively on Liverpool ceramics after 1750. This was a process by which a "design printed from an engraving on to thin paper could be pressed on to a piece of ware and transferred to it. The designs were printed from copper plates, in one color, and reproduced the linear effect of a copper-plate engraving." [21] During the 1770's and 1780's, Liverpool held exhibitions of such artists as Joshua Reynolds and Thomas Gainsborough. The works of these artists were portrayed on Liverpool pottery; the "farmyard" pattern is taken from a Gainsborough painting. [22] This quality of late 18th century Liverpool pottery separates it from the cruder, more naive styles found in much of Staffordshire printing. [23] American exports played an important part in Liverpool's pottery industry. In 1807, the pottery was being shipped to New York, Philadelphia, Wilmington, Boston, Virginia, New Providence, New Orleans, Charleston, and Savannah. The volume of exports to America was so great that English potters "in the interests of trade, produced designs which were politically almost treasonable." [24] An example of such a design is one which pictures an American soldier standing with his foot on the head of the British lion, with the following statement above: " 'By Virtue and Valour we have freed our country, extended our commerce and laid the foundation of a great Empire.' " [25] Other Liverpool transfer prints designed for the American market include: at least eight prints dedicated to Washington, several portraits of other American Presidents and heroes, maps of Newburyport Harbour and Lafayette's plan for the new capital of Washington, and subjects symbolizing "Liberty" in the new republic. [26]

Three dozen Willow plates were recorded on Lewis Harvey's inventory. "The term 'willow pattern' has been used so indiscriminately by ceramic historians that it is now virtually impossible to be sure what they were, or are, describing." [27] The true willow pattern depicts a legend of two young lovers who are fleeing across a bridge, being pursued by the girl's father who is holding a whip; the lovers are eventually transformed into doves. The standard willow pattern must contain the bridge, a cottage or pagoda at the far end of it, three figures, a boat, and two birds, for "without these elements there is no story." [28] The willow pattern was produced by transfer-printing on pearlware with a blue underglaze. The pattern dominated the useful wares in the 1820's and its "place in American life throughout the nineteenth century . . . established the ware as one of the landmarks of European civilization." [29]

Another type of china recorded on group three's inventories was

"stake" dishes. A discussion of "stake" dishes has not yet been found; but since these dishes appeared on four different inventories spelled the same on each, the term was apparently in common use at the time. All "stake" dishes appear on inventories in the upper group and the word is never capitalized, so it is probable that they were simply dishes used for meat or fish as their name suggests. Because these dishes were listed among ceramic items such as Willow plates and Liverpool pitchers, it is assumed that "stake" dishes were also made of fired clay.

The inventory of Henry Snider's estate was the only one which recorded Queen's ware. Queen's ware was cream-colored pottery being produced in great quantities in England by the mid-1700's.[30] The introduction of the factory system in England in 1740 and their adoption of the French slip-casting method revolutionized the English pottery industry at this time.[31] The process of slip-casting involved the use of plaster of paris molds and required only semi-skilled labor, which was readily available in England.[32]

Josiah Wedgwood is responsible for improving the common "cream colored" ware, a white earthenware covered with a cream colored lead glaze, and giving it the name "Queen's ware."[33] The name was chosen by him in honor of Queen Charlotte who admired the pottery and gave Wedgwood the appointment of Potter to the Queen.[34] Although most of the surviving Queen's ware has been traced to the Wedgwood and Leads design books, there were many contemporary factories also making the pottery.[35] In 1775, Wedgwood spoke of " 'one hundred manufactories of Queen's ware.' "[36]

Early creamware may be distinguished by its thinness; after 1775, the addition of Cornish china-clay and china-stone made the body of the china stronger.[37] A deep yellow color is also characteristic of early creamware; however, color is not always a reliable dating means.[38] The object's placement in the kiln causes color variations and a single piece of creamware may be darker in some spots where the glaze has run down and pooled.[39]

English pottery factories shipped much of their Queen's ware to America. In a letter to Sir William Meredith, Josiah Wedgwood commented on his export market: " 'The bulk of our particular manufactures are, you know, exported to foreign markets, for our home consumption is very trifling in comparison, to what is sent abroad.' "[40] Although Queen's ware was very popular in America, the lowest priced items seem to have sold best. A 1784 letter from Jonathan Jackson in London to the shipping firm of Thompson and Gordon, regarding a cargo of goods to be traded in Boston, described the American market at that time. He wrote:

> In the American Trade can give you sufficient Information I suppose—the most Saleable is the Queen's Ware—Tea cups and Saucers Tea pots and Cream Jugs and Table plates Mugs

and Bowls are most in Demand—have few Dishes Tureens or any fancy Articles for they are heavy and order chiefly the lowest priced. [41]

Queen's ware was manufactured in several different designs; but, America preferred the plainest patterns such as the Trencher or Royal pattern, just as they bought the simplest, most practical pieces. [42] Although Wedgwood pottery was exported to the American colonies, most Americans probably did not discriminate from which factory they purchased their Queen's ware. Ivor Hume believes that "to the average general storekeeper and to his average customer, Queen's ware was Queen's ware, and cauliflower ware was cauliflower ware, no matter who made it." [43]

The fact that only one inventory in this study listed any Queen's ware reveals much about mid-19th century Roanoke County. Queen's ware was exported to America at a tremendous volume and there are records of its shipment to Virginia; but apparently, very little was owned in Roanoke County. The general poverty of the area and its rural setting may account for the scarcity of Queen's ware and ceramics common to other areas of the country at the time.

Silver

Silver appears to have been a luxury item in mid-19th century Roanoke County. Only seven inventories recorded silver and these appraisals all belong to groups two and three. The middle group listed a total of six tea spoons, three "sets" silver tea spoons, twelve "large silver spoons," and one "set" table spoons. Silver recorded on inventories in the upper group included 27 tea spoons and twelve table spoons. The average value of a silver tea spoon was 55 cents and that of a silver table spoon was $1.95. Except for one pair of sugar tongs, the only silver articles listed were spoons. Two of the inventories recorded only a half-dozen "table spoons" and no other pieces of flatware, which suggests that they were used as serving spoons. The large majority of county residents apparently used knives, forks, and spoons of materials other than silver.

Pewter and Miscellaneous Metals

Only four inventories mentioned pewter in their appraisals. All pewter was found in the second group and included one set pewter plates, two pewter dishes, pewter basins, and one "parcel of pewter ware." The less expensive, lightweight Britannia metal and tinware must have replaced pewter in Roanoke County at this time.

Britannia metal was an alloy of tin, antimony, and copper which resembled pewter, but was lighter in weight and whiter in tone. [44] Inventories list one Britannia tea pot and three Britannia castors. The

metal became a popular substitute for pewter because it was less expensive. [45] Production costs of Britannia metal were lower than those of pewter because it could be rolled in sheets and then spun into thin-walled vessels over inexpensive wooden molds. Neither bronze molds nor hand finishing was necessary. Britannia metal was developed in England during the mid-19th century when pewter manufacturers began to suffer from Sheffield plate competition. [46] Beginning in 1816, large quantities of Britannia wares were shipped to America and in 1824, W. Crossman established a factory in Taunton, Massachusetts.[47]

German silver forks and table spoons were recorded on two inventories. German silver or "nickel silver" was not silver at all, but an alloy of 50 percent copper, 25 percent zinc, and 25 percent nickel. [48] The wares resembled silver in appearance, though they were slightly more gray in color. [49] German silver was developed between 1840 and 1847.

Tinware

Items made of tin were found on inventories in all three groups. Tin cups, knives, forks, spoons, and wash basins were listed, in addition to several "lots" of tinware. Tinware was inexpensive, as compared to other metal goods, and could be easily purchased from peddlers' wagons in rural areas such as Roanoke County. Practicality also contributed to tinware's popularity. It was lightweight, easy to mend, and could be used for cooking or eating utensils.

Cooking Utensils

There was little disparity between the upper, middle, and lower groups' inventories in the category of cooking utensils. Every household, regardless of their income, had to possess some kitchen utensils in order to survive. Three appraisals did not include any cooking implements; however, the omission of such essential articles may have been the result of appraisers' oversights or an intentional removal of goods by the deceased's family.

The frequent occurrence of pot racks, pot hooks, fire dogs and sets of shovels and tongs among the kitchen items in the appraisals indicates that most Roanoke County households were still cooking in fireplaces in the mid-19th century. Only two stoves were recorded among the cooking devices in all 40 inventories. These were described as one "cooking stove" and one "stove." Cooking implements used in fireplaces such as bake ovens, reflecting bakers, and biscuit bakers appeared on most inventories. Estate appraisals in every group recorded some basic cooking utensils such as pots, pans, skillets, and kettles. These items were made of iron, copper brass, and "bell mettle" (metal). Specific types of pots mentioned were coffee pots, tea kettles and

"kettles for ash hoppers." Inventories listed an assortment of kitchen containers including crocks, jugs, bottles, barrels, kegs, baskets, and sacks. In addition to these basic kitchen items, most inventories listed a few specialized cooking implements. Among these were coffee mills, coffee toasters, corn meal sieves, sifters, waffle irons, sausage stuffers, sausage cutters, churns, lard stands, ladles, flesh forks, dough trays, and scales and weights. Washing and cleaning equipment listed in the inventories included washing tubs, one "washing machine," flat irons, and one "kettle and bob." A "bob" was an apparatus used for polishing metal. It consisted of leather or cloth-covered disks which revolved rapidly on a spindle, and was sometimes used with sand for a high polish. [51]

The number of kitchen implements owned by households, particularly those in groups one and two, greatly exceeds the amount of silver, pewter, ceramics, linen, curtains, rugs, or lighting devices possessed. The predominance of cooking utensils and furniture in the inventories indicates a generally simple, practical, frugal way of life in Roanoke County during this time.

Miscellaneous Items

Some articles inventoried did not fit into a specific category. Clocks were one such item. Most every appraisal in each of the three groups listed some type of clock. Types mentioned were 30-hour and eight-day clocks, brass and wooden clocks, corner clocks and "Yankee clocks." The term "Yankee" clock probably refers to an American-made clock, or simply to one manufactured in a northern city which a Virginia appraiser considered "Yankee."

Looking glasses were recorded on inventories in each group, but they were scarce in the lower group. Most appraisals in the upper and middle groups listed at least one looking glass. The only specific types of mirrors mentioned were two gilt frame looking glasses, one "dressing glass," and one "oval looking glass." This "oval looking glass," which was appraised at $5, probably referred to a Federal style mirror.

Miscellaneous household goods were recorded on inventories in each group. Those in the upper group included inkstands, knife boxes, trays, a "tea board," a castor, and a "tribbet" (trivit). Inventories in the middle group listed picture frames, inkstands, knife boxes, and trunks. The lower group's appraisals also listed several trunks, two safes, and two knife boxes. Two inventories in this study list simply "one lot trumpery" which must have been the appraisers' polite expression for a collection of junk.

Miscellaneous dishes, knives, forks, and spoons of unspecified materials were recorded on inventories in each group. Dishes included pitchers, wash bowls, sugar bowls, plates, preserve dishes, and cups and saucers. The inventory appraising the estate of Aaron Barnes recorded

one "broken set of ivory handled knives and forks." Other than this reference, and those mentioned previously about German silver, inventories did not specify the material of which knives and forks were made. The "lots" and "sets" of knives, forks, and spoons were probably made of tin since their material was not significant enough to have been mentioned by the appraisers.

Looms and wheels of all sorts were numerous in households of each group. Looms were usually recorded as "one loom and tackings" or "one loom with gear stays." Wheels included those for cotton, wool, flax, quill, and those simply termed "spinning wheels." Flax wheels were frequently listed with hackels, which were comb-like instruments used for splitting and smoothing the fibres of flax or hemp. [52] Only nine households in this study were without looms and spinning wheels. Their predominance indicates that home-made cloth was still the norm in Roanoke County in the 1840's.

Conclusion

The 40 estate appraisals in this study indicate that Roanoke County was not a wealthy area in the mid-19th century. The fact that 11 inventories comprise the lower group; 24 the middle group; and only five inventories, the upper group, is indicative of the general standard of living in the county at this time. Few striking differences appear between groups one and two. The only distinctions are a few entries of silver or ceramics on the middle group's inventories, and an occasional mention of a piece of furniture's wood on appraisals in this group.

Great disparities do exist between the inventories in groups one and three. The lower group's appraisals record no silver or ceramics, and very few table linens or specialized pieces of furniture, all of which are very common to the upper group's inventories. This upper group is comprised of only five estate appraisals; this fact indicates that the majority of county residents at this time were, either out of practicality or necessity, very frugal people.

Because Roanoke County was predominantly rural in the 1840's, the majority of its residents were farmers who were not exposed to the popular tastes and modern innovations of more urban areas and who, for the most part, could not afford non-essential household items. The recording of only Windsor and split-bottom chairs, even on inventories in the "wealthy" group, reveals the lack of aesthetic concerns in the county. The very small number of stoves listed on these inventories indicates that Roanoke County residents could not afford, or were not widely aware of, heating devices other than fireplaces.

The quantity of farming equipment and livestock recorded on estate appraisals in this research suggests that most of the Roanoke County residents were farmers. Items listed on a few inventories did indicate that their owners were of non-agricultural occupations. John

Hartman appears to have been a carpenter from some of the items in his estate. These articles include: saws, chisels, planes, tongue and groove planes, sash planes, window sashes, floor plank, walnut plank, maple plank, varnish, and paint. Also recorded on Hartman's estate appraisal were three notebooks and numerous untitled books. These notebooks could have contained his drawings for buildings, measurements, construction techniques, or his customers' accounts. These notebooks, added to the assortment of building supplies and tools inventoried, strongly suggest that John Hartman was a carpenter in Roanoke County. An article on Gustavus Sedon in the 1977 *Journal of the Roanoke Valley Historical Society,* gives further indication that John N. Hartman was a local carpenter. [53] This article mentions a George M. Hartman as having served an apprenticeship with Sedon, a carpenter and architect in the Roanoke Valley during the mid-19th century. Sedon's journal states that George Hartman worked for him from November, 1867 until May, 1868. Since George Hartman was apprenticed to Sedon in the 1860's, it is probable that he was the son of John Hartman, who died in the 1840's; the younger Hartman probably followed his father's example to become a carpenter.

The appraisal of Thomas Micau's estate itemized an extensive collection of books. The titles of these books indicate that Micau was a clergyman. Theological volumes included: *Davis Sermons, Pagson's Sermons, Philosophy of Religion, Book of Martyrs, Scotts Bible,* and *Theological Dictionary.* It is unlikely that anyone but a minister would have owned a theological dictionary and such a large number of books having religious subjects.

Another inventory in this study indicates that Roanoke County had a cabinetmaker. Samuel Coon, whose estate was appraised in 1838, possessed numerous cabinetmaking tools. Among these were: molding planes, beading planes, dove-tail planes, hand saws, files, chisels, a lathe, scantling, [54] compasses, "nob" locks, chest locks, screws, paints, mortising, walnut plank, maple plank and cherry plank. Coon must have been a cabinetmaker rather than just a carpenter, because he owned such items as dove-tail planes, "nob" locks, and chest locks. Coon's possession of both a lathe and dove-tail planes proves that as late as 1838, there was no distinction between turners and joiners in this area.

The estate inventory of Aaron Barnes is obviously that of a tavern-keeper. Indications that this was Barnes' occupation are the entries of one tavern bell, four bar room towels and the great quantities of beds, chairs, tables, candlesticks, flatware, dishes, and glassware. The inventory recorded 14 beds, one crib, 12 tables, 43 chairs and 12 candlesticks. Only a tavern could require so many of these items. Twenty-four of the chairs were Windsors, 18 were split-bottom and one was a writing chair. The inventory listed six falling leaf tables, two pine tables, one

walnut table and three of no particular description. The material of which the candlesticks were made was not specified. The establishment must have had at least seven rooms because seven pairs of andirons were recorded. Every room may have had window curtains as there were eight entries of curtains. Barnes seems to have run a well-equipped, high quality tavern: his customers ate from Liverpool plates; drank from glass tumblers and used German silver forks and spoons, silver sugar tongs, and cut glass salt cellars. The tavern must have offered lodging because of the large number of beds recorded. These included four "acorn" bedsteads, one "curtain" bedstead, one trundle bed, one crib, and eight bedsteads which were not described. Besides offering them a bed, Barnes must have contented weary travelers with plenty of food and drink. His inventory lists 35 gallons of apple brandy, 35 gallons of whiskey, 10 gallons of French brandy and 27 gallons of sweet wine. Oddly, no beer was inventoried. Perhaps the beverage's perishable nature accounts for its absence on the appraisal. The large quantities of cooking utensils listed indicate a well-stocked kitchen that prepared a great deal of food. Among the appraised cooking utensils were a waffle iron, a sausage cutter, a churn, biscuit bakers, and soup ladles. This selection of implements indicates that waffles, sausage, biscuits, butter, and soup were among the items served at the tavern. Checking the *Common Law Orders* record after examining this inventory confirmed the evidence that Aaron Barnes was a tavern-keeper. The record of the February 17, 1845 court session, held in Salem, reads:

> On the motion of Sarah Barnes, it is ordered that the License granted by the Court to Aaron Barnes for keeping a house of Entertainment, be transferred to the said Sarah Barnes, from the time of death of said Aaron until May first next. [55]

From the number of andirons and fire dogs recorded on the inventories in this study, the number of rooms in houses has been ascertained. Following these calculations, the average houses in groups one and two appear to have had only one room. Inventories in the third group list many more pairs of andirons than those in the lower groups. Houses in the upper group appear to have had an average of four rooms. These estimates based on the number of heating devices inventoried, show that the majority of Roanoke County families were living in one-room dwellings, probably log cabins, in the 1840's. Even the homes of those in the "wealthy" group were not overly large. The sharp difference between the size of houses of those in groups one and two, and of those in group three, reinforces the earlier conclusion that the general standard of living in the county was low at this time.

This research has shown that Roanoke County was in a state of flux during the mid-19th century. The transition from traditional means of heating, lighting, and cooking to more modern methods may be seen in the inventories studied. The majority of the heating devices listed

were those used with fireplaces such as andirons, fire dogs, shovels, pokers and tongs; but a few inventories listed both fireplace implements and tin plate or sheet iron stoves. The use of both fireplaces and stoves for sources of heat is indicative of the changing trends during the period. Two inventories recorded stoves with the kitchen items; however, most households still relied upon fireplaces for cooking. The predominance of fireplace cookery is evident from the large number of pot racks, pot hooks, reflecting bakers and biscuit bakers recorded. These implements could only be used in a fireplace. Lighting devices recorded were also a mixture of the traditional and the modern. Candlesticks were the norm, but a lantern and two lamps were also listed. The amalgamation of implements recorded in these 40 Roanoke County estate inventories reveals the transitional state of the mid-19th century. The predominance of traditional household implements over more modern ones in the estates, indicates that all Roanoke County residents were not able to take advantage of the technological advances of the age. The general poverty and rural character of Roanoke County during the 1840's may explain its households' limited furnishings and its people's simple lives.

Names of Those Whose Estate Inventories Are Included in This Study

Group 1

1.	Samuel T. Barnes	1838
2.	James Godwin	1842
3.	William Henry	1841
4.	Thomas Robinson	1849
5.	Andrew Shartzer	1844
6.	Henry Showalter	1841
7.	Jacob Smith	1847
8.	Henry Snider	1843
9.	Lawrence Speagle	1843
10.	Paul Thrasher	1849
11.	Jane Tilson	1848

Group 2

1.	Benjamin Barnhart	1841
2.	Soloman Brown	1843
3.	Samuel Coon	1845
4.	Charles Dillard	1841
5.	William M. Evans	1839
6.	William Farley	1846
7.	Henry M. Frantz	1844
8.	David Gish	1849
9.	Jane Gosh	1841
10.	George Grounds	1842
11.	John N. Hartman	1844
12.	John Hartz	1847
13.	Philip Moomaw	1844
14.	James Murry	1840
15.	John Poage	1840
16.	Green Richardson	1848
17.	George H. Sarver	1845
18.	Michael Stover	1841
19.	David Willet	1844
20.	Joseph Winger	1841
21.	Joseph Wood	1848
22.	John Woods	1842
23.	Joseph Woods	1849
24.	John E. Wright	1844

Group 3

1.	Aaron Barnes	1845
2.	Lewis Harvey	1842
3.	Thomas W. Micau	1846
4.	Henry Snider	1843
5.	William Walton	1845

NOTES

1 Sir William Blackstone, COMMENTARIES ON THE LAWS OF ENGLAND (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1893), pp. 508-520.

2 Blackstone, p. 509.

3 THE CODE OF VIRGINIA (Richmond: William F. Ritchie, Public Printer, 1849), p. 547.

4 CODE OF VIRGINIA, p. 542

5 CODE OF VIRGINIA, p. 543.

6 Most of the obscure items, slang references, and obsolete terms were defined in the OXFORD ENGLISH DICTIONARY or in Fleming and Honour's DICTIONARY OF THE DECORATIVE ARTS.

7 More definite conclusions could be reached by examining wills, judgements, and land conveyances which might reveal children's names, descriptions of houses and their locations, amounts of land owned, and legal and financial transactions of various county residents.

8 Workers of the Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration in the State of Virginia, ROANOKE: STORY OF CITY AND COUNTY (Roanoke: Stone Printing and Manufacturing Company, 1942), p. 79.

9 WPA, p. 80.

10 Ibid.

11 Ibid.

12 WPA, p. 85.

13 WPA, p. 86.

14 WPA, p. 87.

15 The probable number of rooms in each house, as indicated by the number of fireplaces, has been deduced from the quantity of andirons recorded on each inventory. These conclusions are discussed in the section of this paper entitled "Heating Devices."

16 For a more detailed description of looms and spinning wheels inventoried, see section entitled "Miscellaneous Items."

17 Lynda E. Jones, THE AMERICAN CATALOGUE: AUTHOR AND TITLE ENTRIES OF BOOKS IN PRINT AND FOR SALE, JULY 1, 1876 (New York: Peter Smith, 1941), p. 334.

18 NATIONAL UNION CATALOGUE, 1974 ed., Vol. 8 (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1975), p. 931.

19 John Fleming and Hugh Honour, DICTIONARY OF THE DECORATIVE ARTS (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1977), p. 313.

20 Alan Smith, THE ILLUSTRATED GUIDE TO LIVERPOOL HERCULANEUM POTTERY (New York: Praeger Publishers, Inc., 1970), p.2.

21 Alison Kelly, WEDGEWOOD WARE (London: Ward Lock Limited, 1970), p.12.

22 Smith, p. 33.

23 Ibid.

24 Smith, p. 58.

25 Ibid.

26 Smith, p. 61.

27 Ivor Noel Hume, "Creamware to Pearlware: A Williamsburg Perspective," in CERAMICS IN AMERICA, Winterthur Conference Report, 1972, ed. Ian M. G. Quimby (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1973), p. 247.

28 Hume, p. 249.

29 Hume, p. 247.

30 Harold Guilland, EARLY AMERICAN FOLK POTTERY (Philadelphia: Chilton Book Company, 1971), p. 31.

31 Ibid.

32 Ibid.

33 Ibid.

34 Kelly, p. 8.

35 Hume, p. 239.

36 Ibid.

37 Kelly, p. 8.

38 Hume, p. 239.

39 Ibid.

[40] Guilland, p. 32.

[41] Hume, p. 224.

[42] Hume, p. 238.

[43] Hume, p. 224.

[44] Fleming and Honour, p. 119.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Fleming and Honour, p. 559

[49] Ibid

[50] Ibid.

[51] James A. H. Murray, ed. A NEW ENGLISH DICTIONARY ON HISTORIC PRINCIPLES, Vol. B (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1888), p. 958.

[52] Oxford English Dictionary, Vol. H, p. 11.

[53] William L. Whitwell and Lee W. Winborne, "The Sedon Journal," JOURNAL OF THE ROANOKE VALLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Vol. 10, No. 1 (1977), p. 7.

[54] A "scantling" is defined in the Oxford English Dictionary as "a builder's or carpenter's measuring-rod."

[55] COMMON LAW ORDERS, Book C, August 1843-June 1848, Roanoke County Courthouse.

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1. The Alexander-Withrow House, 1789. Photo by Sally Munger Mann.

Lexington Architecture

by Pamela H. Simpson

There are several things that are significant about the architecture of Lexington, Virginia. One is that so much survives from the late 18th and 19th centuries. Lexington is and always has been a small town, largely untouched by the industrial expansion that altered the appearance of so many communities. So many of its early buildings survive that it is possible to see a panoramic view of most of the major stylistic developments in American architecture from the late 18th to the early 20th century.

Another important factor in Lexington's architecture is the presence of work by three nationally known architects. Few small Virginia towns can boast as much. One reason for this unusual archi-

This paper is based on a talk given to the Society on October 26, 1977, by Dr. Pamela Simpson, an assistant professor at Washington and Lee University. She is the co-author, with Royster Lyle of Lexington, of "The Architecture of Historic Lexington," published in 1977 by the University of Virginia Press. A graduate of Gettysburg College, she earned a master's at the University of Missouri and a doctorate at the University of Delaware. Both degrees are in art history.

tectural heritage lies in the unique character of Lexington's population. Because it is the home of two colleges and the county seat, it has had more than its share of educated, sophisticated people who were aware of current architectural thinking. Their mark is clearly left in the architecture of the community.

Lexington and Rockbridge County were created by an act of the Virginia legislature in 1778. The southern part of Augusta County and the northern part of Botetourt were taken to create the new county and its seat was named in honor of the Battle of Lexington, Massachusetts that had taken place only a few years before.

Lexington was laid out in a simple grid pattern with three east-west streets (Henry, Washington and Nelson) intersecting three north-south ones (Jefferson, Main, and Randolph). All but one of the streets were named for men prominent in the revolution. The simple grid that looked so nice on paper had little to do with the actual topography of the town. The corner of Washington and Main was about 10 feet higher than it is today and Washington Street descended steeply on either side. Main Street itself sloped steeply to the north and even skirted a spring on its way. The difficulties of getting a horse and wagon up these hills were such that in 1851 Lexington undertook the project of regrading its streets – lowering Main at the top and raising Washington on either side. The result of this project can still be seen in the altered windows and doors of the houses in the historic district.

The early buildings in Lexington were predominately log and frame, but there were also some substantial stone and brick structures. The "Castle" on Randolph Street, built c. 1790 by Andrew Reid, clerk of the County Court, served as his law office. Its random coursed fieldstone originally was covered with plaster on the exterior, in contrast to the even ashlar masonry of a building like Liberty Hall (1793) which left its stone exposed. The presence of 18th century stone structures in Lexington and the county (there are a number of large stone houses in this period) may owe something to the German influence of settlements in Augusta and Rockingham. Indeed, William Cravens, the mason for Liberty Hall, was from Rockingham County.

Besides wood and stone, there was also at least one impressive brick building in Lexington in the 18th century. William Alexander built his house at the corner of Washington and Main in 1789 (Fig. 1). The Alexander-Whithrow House (as it is called today) is unusual because of its four corner fireplaces. Very few houses in the county have either feature. Its appearance today reflects the 1851 street lowering which gave it a whole story at the basement level. The former street doors were bricked over on the south and made to open onto a balcony on the east. Its present low Italianate roof line was also added in the mid 19th century.

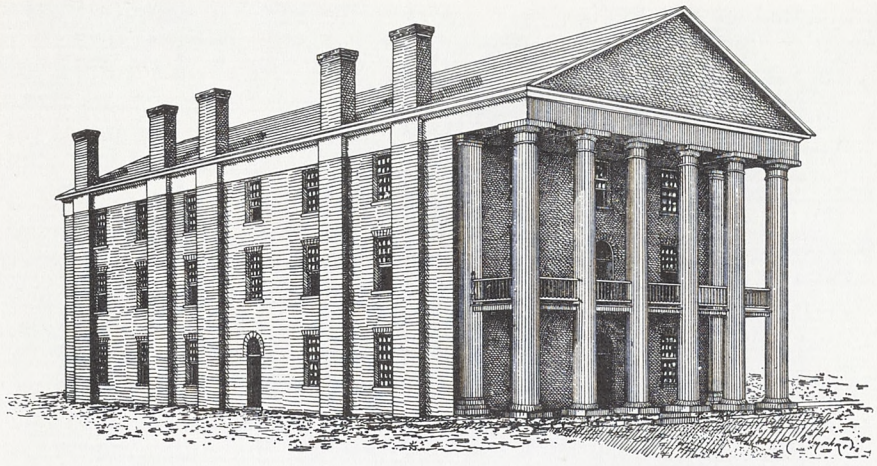
In 1796, Lexington was a substantial town with good buildings

but in that year a conflagration occurred that is still called the "Great fire." It apparently began in a livery stable above Nelson Street, but its flames got out of control and eventually destroyed most of the town. The "Castle" survived (as did the County Court records that were housed in it) and so did William Alexander's house, though it was damaged.

When Lexington began to rebuild in the early 19th century, its residents had learned the danger of building in wood. The red-brick Lexington that we know today is largely a result of this post-fire knowledge.

Several common town-house plan types appeared in the early 19th century buildings in the community. The four rooms over four with a central hall was used in the Jacob Reid House (1811) and the two rooms in depth with a hall beside them appeared in the oldest part of the Central Hotel (1805). But by far the most common type was the I house: two rooms divided by a central hall. (The tall, skinny appearance of the house with only one room in depth makes it look something like a capitol I.) This house type appeared all over the Valley in the 19th century and usually represented an achievement of economic security in an agrarian community. Examples in Lexington include the original section of the Stonewall Jackson House (1801), the Sloan House (1844-45) and the Campbell House (1844-45).

Most of the buildings put up in the early 19th century were basically vernacular in style, that is, they were built according to traditions. But in the second decade of the century a consciousness of more sophisticated architectural styles began to appear in the community. A good example of this is the center building at Washington College (1822-24) built by the firm of Jordan and Darst (Fig. 2). It has tall columns, a pediment and the general appearance of a Roman temple. The style it represents is Neoclassicism and the popularity of the form in Virginia is probably due to Thomas Jefferson who was its greatest exponent. He had designed the Virginia State Capitol in this form in 1789 and the University of Virginia in 1817-26. Jordan and Darst had done work for Jefferson at Monticello and bid on the work for the University of Virginia so they were certainly aware of the new style. But undoubtedly, so were the educated men on the Board of Trustees at the College. The neoclassical style represented a new romantic ideal in architecture, the idea of association. Buildings were appreciated not so much for their extrinsic aesthetic values, but instead for the ideas they stirred up in the imagination of the beholder. Certain styles stirred certain associations. Thus the classical buildings for a college gave rise to thoughts of classical learning, philosophy and culture. This principle of association – that certain styles from the past were appropriate for certain kinds of buildings dominated architectural thinking for the rest of the century.

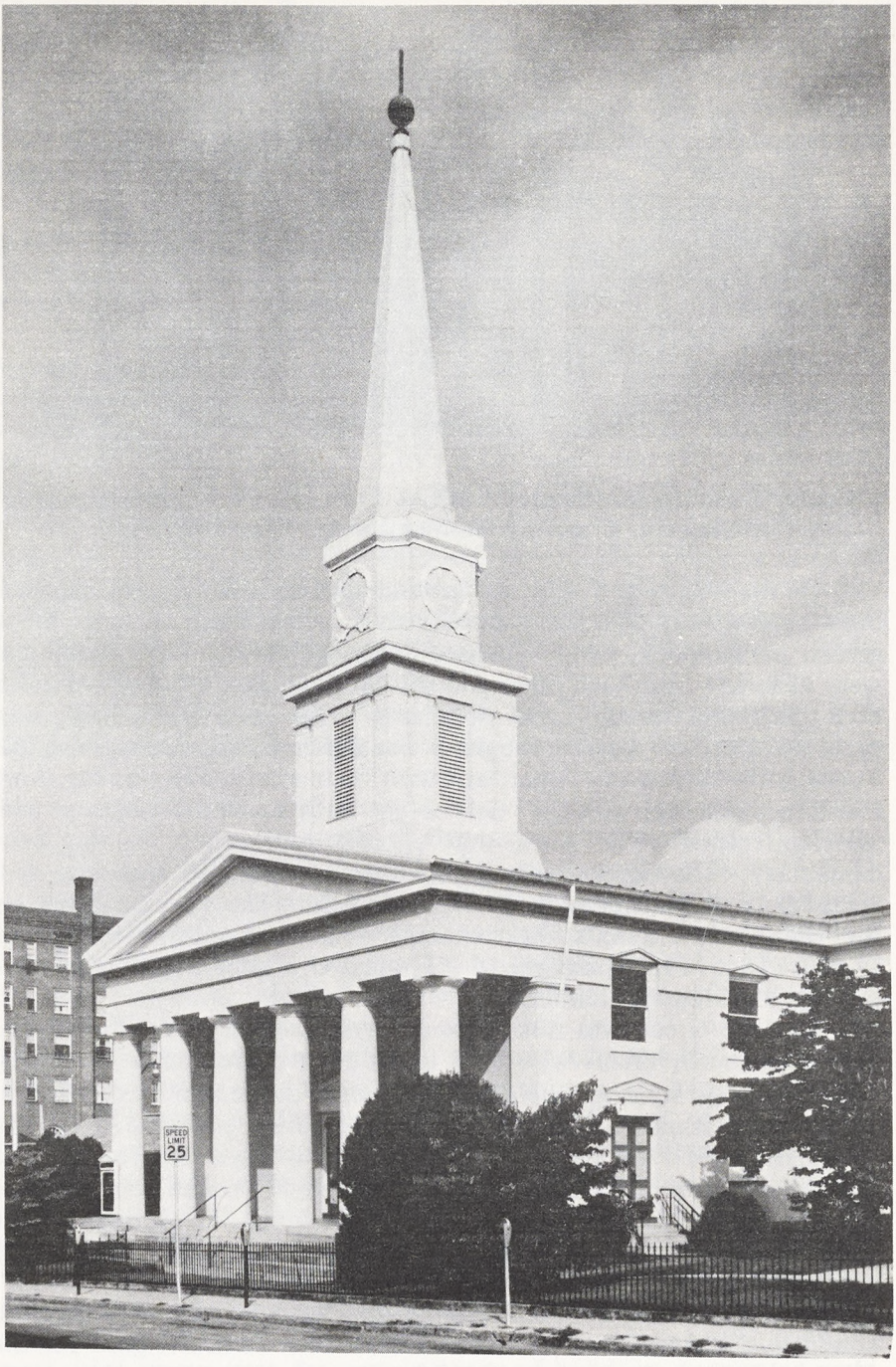


2. Center Building, Washington College, 1824. D. C. Humphreys reconstruction drawing. Courtesy Washington and Lee University.

In the 1830s and 40s, the general Roman character of classical building gave way to a more specific style – the Greek Revival. With greater archaeology, people realized that Roman and Greek buildings were different from each other and the Greek became appreciated in its own right. One reason for its popularity in the early 19th century was again association. Greece fought a war for independence against the Turks in the 1820s and Americans with their own newly won freedom identified with their struggle. Greece, the birthplace of democracy, had an architectural style, then, that seemed appropriate for this new democracy. The Greek Revival, popularized by famous architects and spread by architectural books, became something like a national style in the 1840s. Lexington's finest example is the Lexington Presbyterian Church (1845, Fig. 3) designed by Thomas U. Walter, a nationally prominent Philadelphia architect.

But the Greek was not the only style used in the mid century. The same Presbyterians who used it for their church, chose the rural Gothic cottage style for their manse. Again, the reason was its appropriate associations. On the outskirts of town, surrounded by the irregularities of rural nature, a less formal and more picturesque style was seen as appropriate. The source for this style was the house pattern books popularized by Andrew Jackson Downing. Downing's books were present in Lexington and widely read. They undoubtedly did much to form the taste of the mid-century country gentleman.

Another example of the Gothic style, and a purer one, could be found in the Barracks that Alexander Jackson Davis designed for the Virginia Military Institute in 1850 (Fig. 4). Davis, a New York architect, is Lexington's second example of a nationally prominent



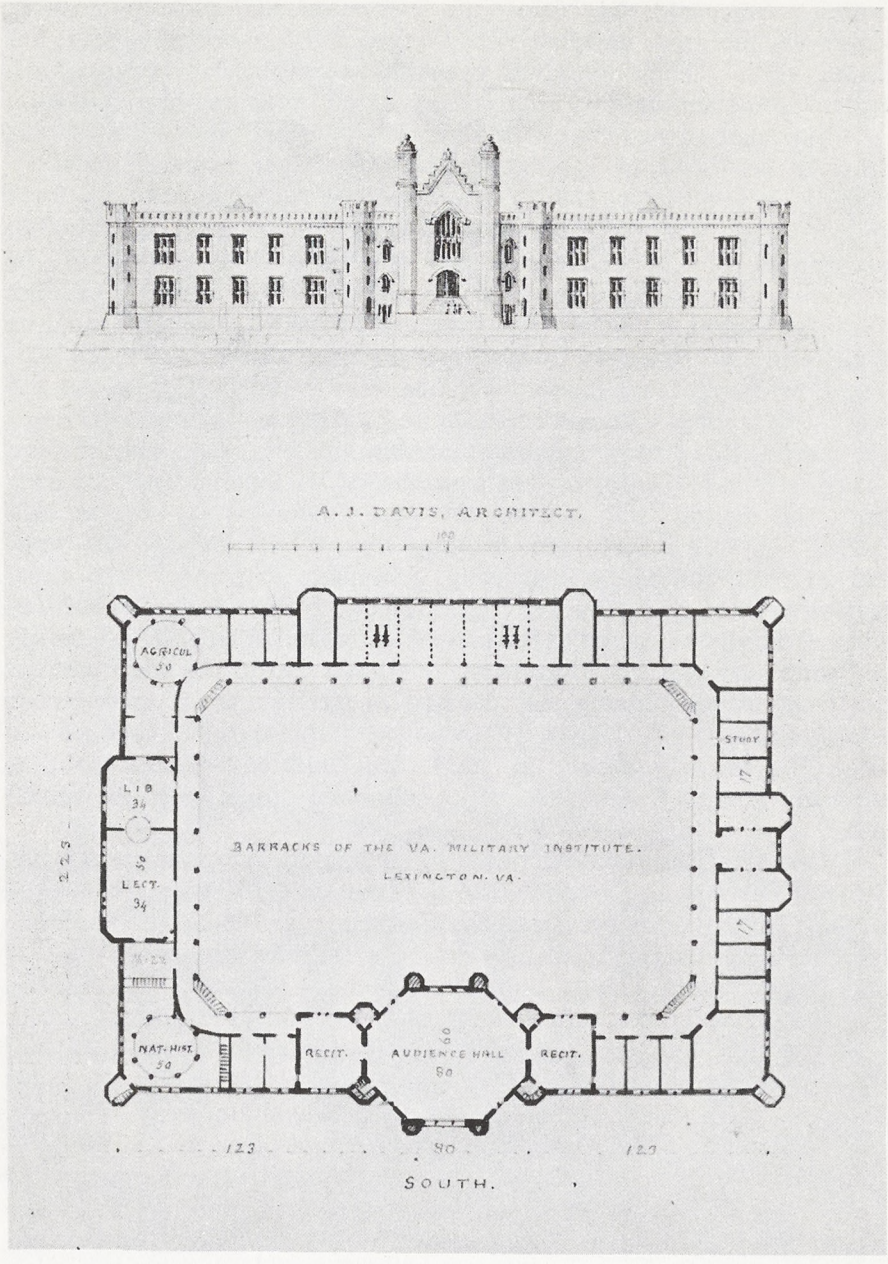
3. Lexington Presbyterian Church, Thomas V. Walker, 1845. Photo by Sally Munger Mann.

person at work in the community. The use of the Gothic style for a military college was again due to association. The battlements and Gothic forms made one think of medieval castles and military defenses. Moreover, the great universities of Oxford and Cambridge were in the Gothic style. Thus one could combine the thought of English Collegiate Gothic and military associations for a Virginia military college.

The associational character of the 19th century architectural styles can also be found in Lexington's buildings after the Civil War, for example in Lee Chapel (1867). Here the style is Romanesque, a form known largely from ecclesiastical buildings in the past, so therefore appropriate for a new college chapel. But the pure association of one style begins to break down in the later 19th century. The high Victorian period is marked by a synthetic character in which a building might combine elements from several different styles. A French roof may cover English half-timbering and be next to Italianate windows and bracketed porches. The chief aesthetic principle of the period was not association, but strong, aggressive combination of colors, textures and changing forms. Lexington has a number of Victorian houses surviving from this period, but one of the best examples was Tucker Hall (1898, Fig. 4) a Romanesque building topped with English iron work and entered through a classically columned doorway. The most aggressive thing about Tucker Hall, though, was not its combination of styles, but where it stood at the end of the red-brick classical colonnade of Washington and Lee University. Victorian confidence was such that the huge stone building was deemed beautiful and its incongruous setting was ignored. By the 1930s however, this view had changed and when the building burned in 1934, the University wasted no time replacing it with a red-brick, white-columned duplicate of Newcomb Hall.

One final architectural phase in Lexington is represented by the work of Bertram G. Goodhue, the third nationally known architect to work in the community. In 1914, Goodhue was called on to redesign the Virginia Military Institute post. He returned the post to Davis' plan, added several faculty houses and Jackson Memorial Hall (Fig. 6). The Hall is in a style called creative eclecticism. It tastefully recalls Davis' Gothic, but does not imitate the earlier style. Instead, he uses the Gothic as a springboard to create a wholly new style, one that in its geometric clarity and austere grandeur is thoroughly modern.

The work of Goodhue represents the final phase of the romantic architectural forms that shaped Lexington's architecture for more than a century. It is a unique architectural heritage, one that offers a survey of fine revival forms and of the work of a number of outstanding architects. As Lexington celebrates its bicentennial, it should be justly proud of this unusual architectural achievement.



4. Virginia Military Institute Barracks. Drawing by A. J. Davis, c. 1850. Photo from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City.

5. Washington and Lee Colonnade with Tucker Hall at the end. Photo courtesy of W&L.

6. Jackson Memorial Hall, 1915-16. Photo courtesy of W&L.

Washington Iron Works

by John S. Salmon

[The following article is adapted from an address delivered by the author to the Roanoke Valley Historical Society on May 18, 1977. Salmon is preparing a history of the Washington Iron Works for publication in book form.]

While it is well known that Virginia primarily was an agricultural society in the 19th century, not everyone is aware that there was an important iron manufacturing industry here in the antebellum period. Many of the ironworks of that era were located in the western part of the state, and one of the earliest, the Washington Iron Works was built in Franklin County before the Revolutionary War.

The first ironworks in America was built in Virginia between 1619 and 1622 on Falling Creek near the James River below Richmond, and consisted of a charcoal blast furnace and forge. On March 22, 1622, just as the furnace was about to begin operation, the Indians attacked, slaughtered the workers, and destroyed the ironworks. No iron manufacturing took place in Virginia for almost a century, although a number of works were built in the Northern colonies.

It was the former Virginia governor, Alexander Spotswood, who, about 1716, reestablished the colony's iron industry by constructing a blast furnace at Germanna. There were four furnaces, but no forges, in Virginia in 1732 when Colonel William Byrd II of Westover visited three of the furnaces and recorded his impressions. What Byrd described was the model for the Virginia iron plantation, which would remain virtually unchanged until the Civil War. "Besides the founder, the collier, and miner," Byrd wrote,

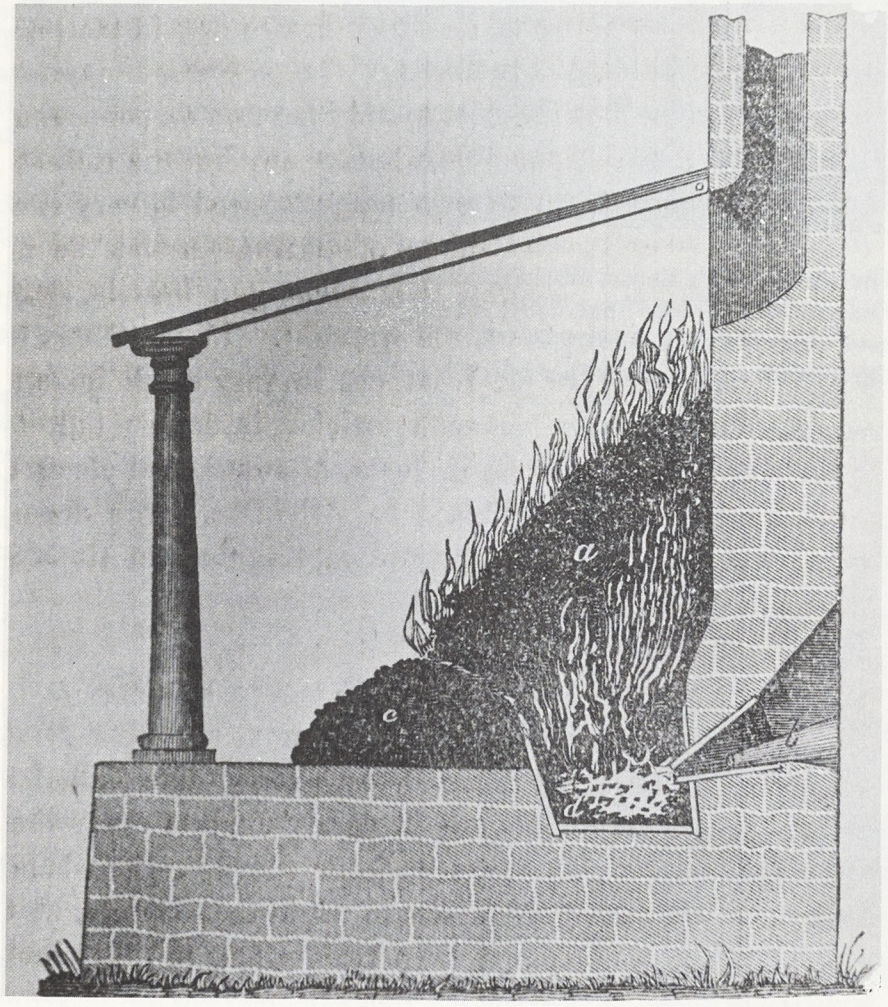
> who are paid in proportion to their work, the company have several other officers upon wages: a stocktaker, who weighs and measures everything, a clerk, who keeps an account of all receipts and disbursements; a smith to shoe their cattle and keep all their ironwork in repair; a wheelwright, cartwright, carpenter, and several carters.[1]

In addition, Byrd found, Spotswood needed 120 slaves to chop and haul wood and to tend the crops, as well as to mine the ore banks

John S. Salmon, an archivist at the Virginia State Library since 1972, is a graduate of the University of Virginia and he holds a master's degree in colonial history from the College of William and Mary. The photos are by the author and the drawings are from Frederick Overman's The Manufacture of Iron (Philadelphia: 1850).

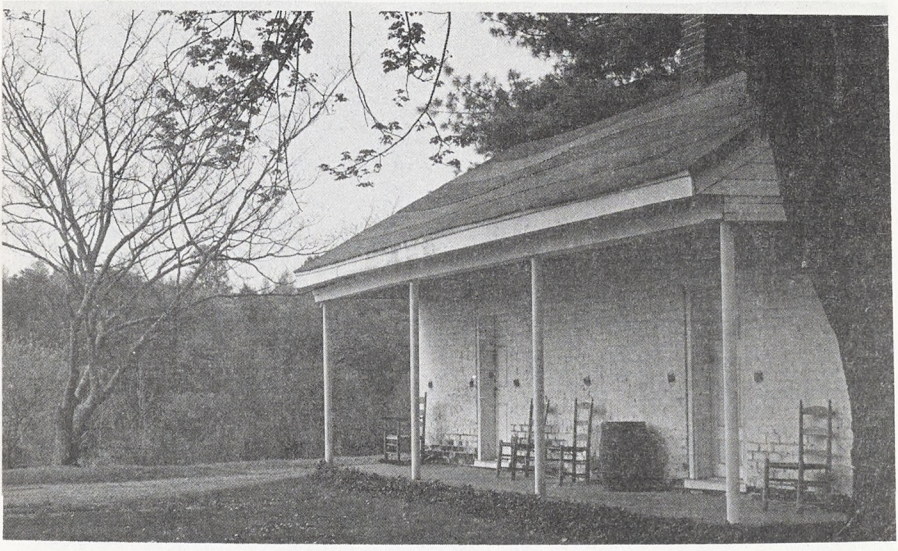
which were scattered over Spotswood's 45,000-acre estate.

The iron industry followed the frontier westward, and by the 1750s iron ore had been discovered in what is now Franklin County. On May 3, 1753, John Wilcox entered a survey of 400 acres "on Iron Mine Branch of Pigg River,"[2] and on April 26, 1754, he had an adjoining tract of 403 acres surveyed. Wilcox also purchased the right to 400 acres on both sides of Pigg River that had been surveyed for Robert Hill in 1750. By 1764 Wilcox had obtained patents for all three tracts of



Section of a bloomery similar to Donelson's showing (a) charcoal and iron ore burning; (b) the tuyere; (c) a charge of charcoal; (d) the pit in which the molten iron collected.

The ironmaster's house, Washington Iron Works, now owned by Dr. J. Francis Amos. The first court meeting of Franklin County is said to have been held on January 2, 1786, in the room behind the window on the bottom right. The upper porch is a 20th century addition.



The slave cabin and kitchen behind the ironmaster's house. The ice-house was in the circular drive on the left. Scuffling Hill is visible in the background.

land.

Soon after he had been issued the patents, Wilcox was approached by John Donelson, the surveyor of Halifax County, with an offer to buy the land. Donelson, a leading frontiersman of his day, is perhaps best known as the father of Rachel Donelson, the wife of President Andrew Jackson. Wilcox and Donelson failed to reach an agreement about the land, and in 1768 Wilcox moved to North Carolina.

Colonial patents contained a clause designed to discourage land speculation and encourage actual settlement. A certain percentage of the land had to be under cultivation within a specified period of time, and a small fee called a quitrent had to be paid to the governor annually. The quitrent was a holdover from feudal times as a form of obeisance and served, in a legal sense, to keep the title to the land alive. If the fees were not paid the title would be forfeited and someone else could claim the land. This is what happened to John Wilcox.

In 1769 a man named John Cox filed suit in the General Court to claim the land under the quitrent clause, and a trial was held to decide the issue. Wilcox, who was in North Carolina, relied on the testimony of John Donelson to save his land for him, since before Wilcox had left the colony he had given Donelson the money with which to pay the quitrent. Cox, of course, claimed that the money had never been paid.

It was not until 1772 that the case was finally heard by the court, and John Donelson took the stand as the only witness in Wilcox's behalf, stating that he had paid the quitrent. His testimony was thrown out, however, when it was discovered that he had bought Cox's right to the land, should the case be decided in his favor, in 1769. In other words, Donelson had acquired an interest in the outcome of the case, so his testimony as an impartial witness could not be allowed. Since he was the only witness for Wilcox the land was forfeited to Cox; since Cox had sold his interest to him, Donelson got the land instead. In 1774 new patents for the land were issued to John Donelson.

Even before he got the patents, Donelson had built an ironworks on the property. The Pittsylvania County tithable list for 1773 notes four white men and six slaves "at the Iron works."[3] What Donelson had constructed in 1773 was a relatively simple device for smelting iron known as a bloomery forge. It consisted of two parts; the bloomery, which looked like a large chimney and fireplace with a pit dug into the bottom; and the forge, where the iron was hammered into bars. The bloomery was not difficult to operate.

Charcoal was piled against the back wall of the fireplace and ignited, and when the heat was great enough the iron ore was shoveled on top of the charcoal. The heat was increased by means of a cold-air blast introduced through a hole, called a tuyere, in the back wall of the fireplace. A leather bellows, like an oversized blacksmith's bellows, was rigged to a water wheel to provide the blast. As the iron melted it ran

down into the pit at the bottom of the fireplace and cooled slightly, enough to form a pasty mass. Workers used an iron rod to stir and lift this mass until they had collected a ball of iron weighing a hundred or more pounds on the end of the rod. The ball or "bloom" as it was called, was then carried to the forge and hammered into a bar.

Although the bloomery forge was relatively easy to build and operate, it also had several disadvantages. The iron obtained was low both in quantity and in quality. A bloomery could produce only about 40 or 50 tons of iron a year, and the iron was loaded with impurities. Also, the cost of labor was high, since coal was burned inefficiently in the open-air fireplace and the bloom needed a great deal of reheating while it was being hammered. As long as the demand for iron remained low, however, a bloomery forge could be a profitable operation.

For several years Donelson was able to meet the demand from settlers in the area for iron with which to mend or replace cooking utensils, horseshoes, farm tools, and other domestic gear. Although Franklin County was well on its way to being settled by the time of the Revolutionary War, it was still uncrowded and demand was low.

The coming of the war changed the situation. The demand for domestic iron increased as the scarce metal was diverted for military uses, and the bloomery was simply too small to keep up. Before long John Donelson was ready to sell out and move on. He had acquired a great deal of land in the West, and his family was on the verge of moving to the Tennessee country without him. In 1779 Donelson sold his ironworks and led a party of settlers into the Tennessee wilderness.

The two men to whom Donelson sold his bloomery were in a unique position to improve the property. Jeremiah Early was a man of means and influence in Bedford County, his home. Early had at one time been the sheriff of Bedford County, and in 1778 he had been appointed a colonel of the county militia. His son-in-law, James Callaway, was even more prominent than Early. He had begun to acquire vast landholdings, had been a partner in the mercantile firm of Callaway and Trents from 1770 to 1775, was manager of the Lead Mines in Montgomery County in 1776 and 1777, and was appointed County Lieutenant, or commander of all the Bedford County militia, in 1778. Callaway gained even more fame when in 1780 he, along with William Preston, Charles Lynch, and others, used what became known as the Lynch Law to put down a loyalist rebellion.

Callaway's most important qualification as far as the iron works was concerned, however, was as a merchant and as manager of the Lead Mines, where a blast furnace had been used to smelt the lead from the ore. He and Early must have set about replacing the little bloomery with a blast furnace almost immediately. Although it was expensive and complicated to build, the advantages of a furnace far outweighed its cost, given the seller's market in iron. Whereas a bloomery produced

Washington Iron Furnace, looking east, showing the work arch and casting floor on right. Furnace Creek is out of view on the far right.

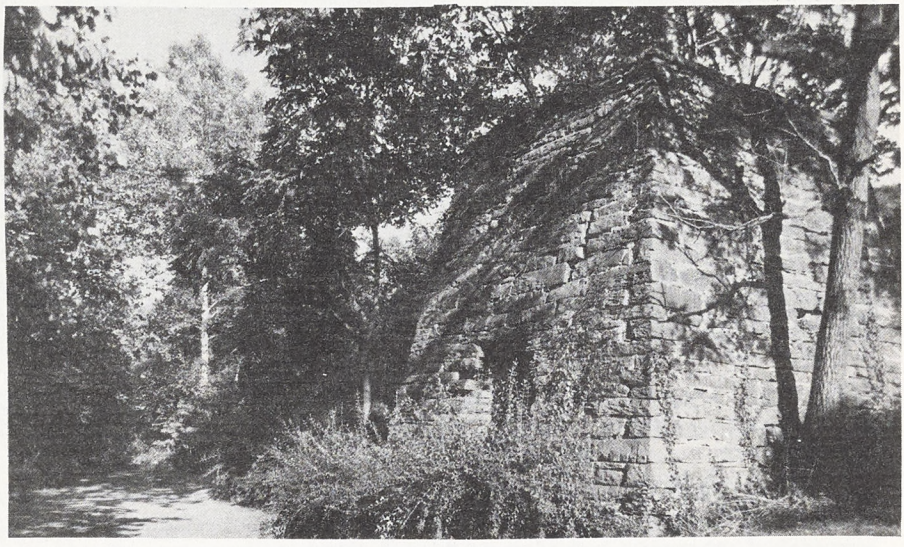
only about 50 tons of iron a year, a blast furnace could easily make three times that amount. Before the new furnace could be finished Jeremiah Early died in the summer of 1779, leaving his share in the business, which had been named the Washington Iron Works, to his three sons, Joseph, John, and Jubal Early (grandfather of Gen. Jubal Early, Civil War commander).

Besides the addition of the blast furnace, the ironworks was increased in size and productive capacity by the construction of a large forge with four fireplaces for heating the pig iron, and two tilt hammers for pounding out bar iron. Callaway also built or enlarged a house for the ironmaster, a sawmill, and a grist mill. The greater size of the operation called for more slave cabins, an office, and a blacksmith shop, as well as barns, stables, storehouses for the iron ore and charcoal, and warehouses for the castings and bar iron. By the time Franklin County was formed in 1786 Callaway had obtained an ordinary license for his house at the iron works, and had added a company store.

As Thomas Jefferson wrote in his Notes on the State of Virginia, by the end of the Revolutionary War Callaway's furnace was producing 600 tons of pig iron annually, while the forge made about 150 tons of bar iron. The pig iron figure may have included the castings, since pots, kettles, skillets, and the like were usually cast at the furnace.

The increase in the size and scope of the Washington Iron Works required a corresponding increase in the complexity of its maintenance

and support systems. The furnace alone could consume as much as an acre of wood per day, and extensive landholdings became necessary to meet this demand. More slaves were needed to act as woodchoppers, colliers, and haulers, and additional cultivated land was required to feed them. From a simple backwoods farm supplying primitive bloomery and forge evolved a complex and largely self-sufficient iron works plantation.



Looking west from the furnace. The hill in the background was at one time a part of the dam across Furnace Creek, Scuffling Hill is beyond the creek on the left.

The center of labor and social life on the iron plantation was the ironmaster's house. From here were issued the day's working orders, in a nearby office the financial affairs of the plantation were conducted, and from the hill on which the house stood the ironmaster could watch many of the necessary chores being done. In 1786 when Franklin County was formed, the house was a story and a half high. In the 1820s the second floor was added, and in 1856 a two-story wing was built in back of the house. The first court meeting of Franklin County was held here in the north room on the first floor, it is believed, on January 2, 1786.

Most of the outbuildings that stood near the house are gone; only a two-room brick kitchen and the office chimney remain. The site of the icehouse is covered by a circular driveway, while the other buildings have vanished without a trace. Lawns, gardens, and modern houses now conceal the locations of the slave cabins, barns, stables, carriage house, smokehouse, and blacksmith shop. The sawmill, the gristmill,

the forge, and the storage sheds for iron ore, charcoal, and finished iron products, have all disappeared.

On Furnace Creek, however, about 300 yards southeast of the house, the old blast furnace still stands, and part of the dam which once spanned the creek upstream is still visible. In front of the furnace, between it and the creek was the casting floor of sand, where molten iron ran through channels and cooled into pig iron. Two large openings in the face and right side of the furnace are, respectively, the work arch, where the laborers tapped the furnace for the iron, and the tuyere arch, through which the blast was applied. The gap between the furnace and the hill behind it was spanned by a wooden bridge, one end of which rested on the notch still visible at the top rear of the furnace. Slaves carried baskets of charcoal, ore, and limestone flux across the bridge to the furnace head, and dumped the contents into its smoking mouth.

When the furnace was in blast it commanded the attention of the ironmaster and slave alike, 24 hours a day, in two 12-hour shifts. As much as an acre of wood a day had to be cut, rendered into charcoal, and hauled to the furnace. While some slaves worked as choppers and

The top rear of the furnace. The bright grassy ledge near the bottom of the picture is where the wooden bridge from the hill once rested. Behind the tree trunk is a foot-high chimney, down which the workers dumped their charges of charcoal and iron ore.

colliers, others mined the ore from open pits dug into the ground from five to 20 feet. The ore was judged for quality and picked by hand, then loaded into carts and taken to the furnace.

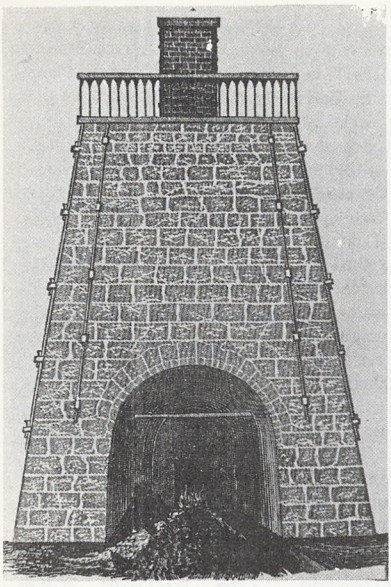
Although the mining of iron ore by the open pit method required little time and few workers, the burning of charcoal took over a week and called for many hands. The wood was cut to specified lengths, then piled into large, carefully laid heaps, so that a narrow chimney was formed in the center. After a fire was started at the bottom of the chimney, the heap of wood was covered with an airtight coating of mud and leaves, and was carefully watched by the collier for a week or more. The wood charred slowly, and if any holes developed in the mud covering they were quickly plugged to prevent the pile from burning. When at last the wood was completely charred it was raked out and prepared for carting to the furnace and forge.

As a matter of necessity the landholdings of the iron works plantation were huge, with most of the land reserved for growing timber. In 1809, the year of James Callaway's death, the Washington Iron Works property consisted of 18,908 acres, in addition to Callaway's personal holdings of 21,571 acres. All of this land, over 40,000 acres, was in Franklin County.

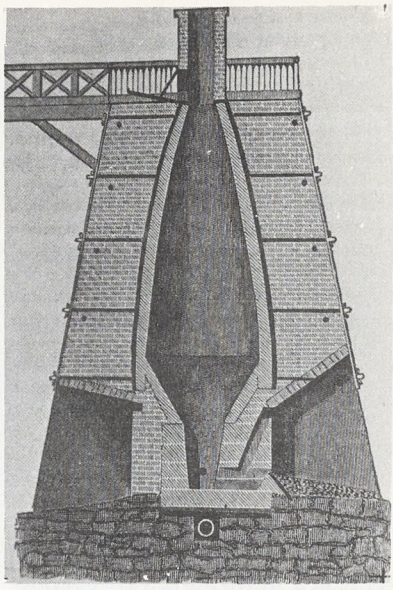
After Callaway's death his executors ran the Washington Iron Works for almost a decade. Callaway had taken a small frontier bloomery forge and had turned it into a major industry for the time and place. What began as a clearing in the wilderness had become a large and thriving iron works plantation, and Callaway's executors were determined that it maintain its position of leadership.

Although the Washington Iron Works was not the only such operation in Franklin County, its competitors had been short-lived. In the 1790s Swinfield Hill and Walter Bernard had built the Carron Furnace on Story Creek near Ferrum, and the Carron Forge on Blackwater River. Callaway bought both properties about 1802, and the Carron Furnace ceased operations by 1810. The forge fell into disuse between 1815 and 1820. Several miles down Pigg River from the Washington Iron Works stood Harvey's Forge, built in 1803 by Robert Harvey of Botetourt County, and abandoned by 1815. Harvey also constructed, around 1792, the Elk Forge on Blackwater River; it was likewise abandoned by 1815.

Callaway's executors had, by 1812, hired a young man named Peter Saunders to work at the Washington Iron Works as an assistant manager. Within a few years he had become a co-manager, and in 1818 he bought a share in the iron works from the descendants of Jeremiah Early. His two brothers, Samuel and Fleming Saunders, joined him to buy out the executors of James Callaway, and by 1822 the three Saunders brothers had complete control of the Washington Iron Works. Peter Saunders continued to act as ironmaster and manager of the



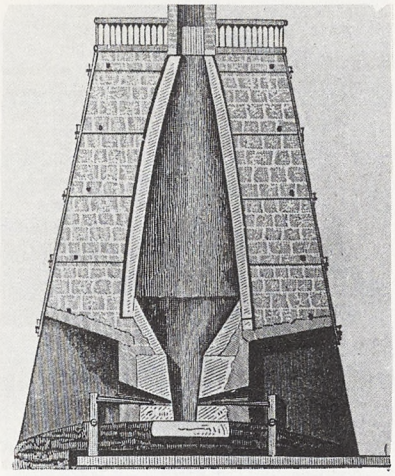
The front of a furnace as seen from the casting floor.



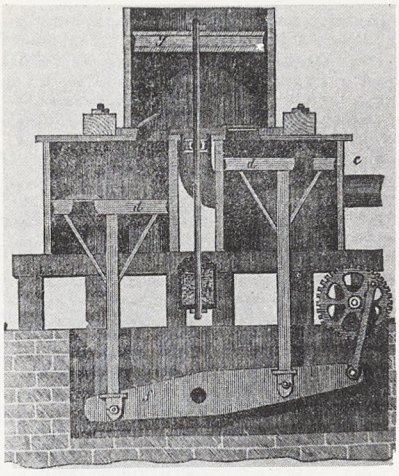
Section of a furnace showing a bridge on the upper left and the work arch at lower right. The interior, or bosh, was filled with charcoal and iron ore up to the chimney, and as the iron melted it flowed into the lower part of the bosh, the crucible. The black dot in the crucible is a tuyere hold.

property for himself and his brothers for a quarter of a century. Fleming Saunders became a noted lawyer and judge, while Samuel Saunders was a prominent planter and justice of the peace for Franklin County.

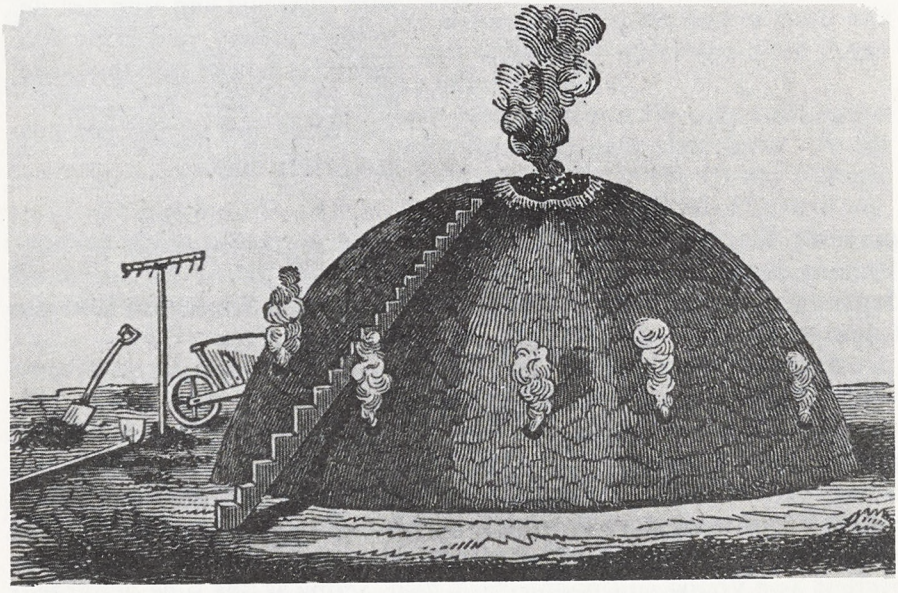
Peter Saunders was in some ways the most interesting of the men who ran the Washington Iron Works. John Donelson was ever the frontiersman, hungry for new land and unwilling to settle down. James Callaway, on the other hand, was the epitome of the Piedmont patrician, a talented dabbler in business and industry. Peter Saunders, born into a wealthy and prominent Southside family, was rebellious, ruthless, and stubborn—an early example of the 19th century industrialist. He was restless as a young and middle-aged man, acting at one time or another as a militia lieutenant, a postmaster, a justice of the peace, a sheriff, and an ironmaster. He always seemed to be in the center of a controversy, and he easily antagonized people. During the War of 1812, according to



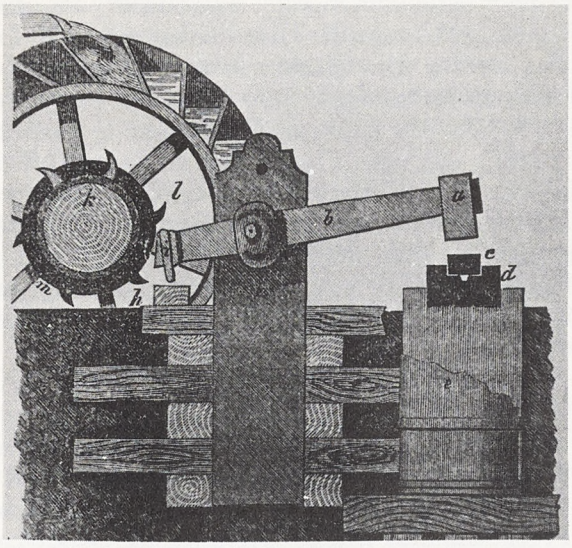
Section through the tuyere arches of a two-tuyere furnace. This is a more elaborate system than at the Washington works, where only a single tuyere was used.



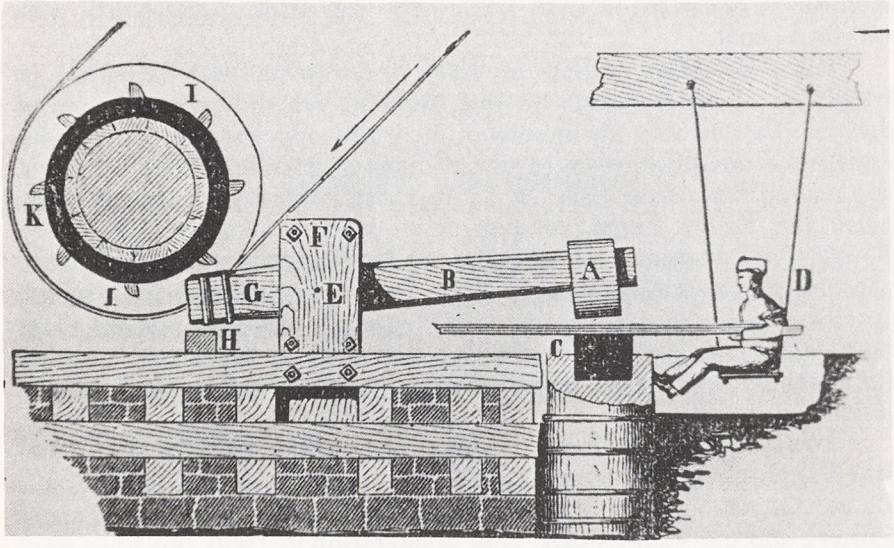
A tub or cylinder bellows like that used at the Washington Furnace. The pistons were driven by a water wheel and forced air into the upper tub, from which it flowed down a pipe to the tuyere.



A charcoal heap smoldering. Nearby are the collier's tools. There were many such heaps burning at once, for great amounts of charcoal were used by the furnace and the forge.



A tilthammer like those used at the Washington Forge. The water-powered wheel (k) struck the hammer-helve (b) at its base, lifting and dropping the hammerhead (s) on the anvil (c).



Forge man hammering out bar iron. Four fireplaces in the forge were used to heat the bars for hammering. The hammerhead may have weighed as much as 500 pounds.

some of his enemies, Saunders used his position as postmaster of Rocky Mount to avoid military service. He was also accused of violating the Constitution by holding a state and a federal office at the same time, of using his family influence to secure a high rank in the county militia, and of attempting to cheat a deserving man out of the office of sheriff of Franklin County.

Although he was a lifelong bachelor, Peter Saunders fathered a child about 1800. He adopted the girl, Jane Jones Saunders, and she lived at the iron works with him and acted as hostess and housekeeper. Known as "Cousin Jane" to the rest of the Saunders family, Jane Saunders inherited most of her father's estate and died a wealthy woman in 1861.

Despite Peter Saunder's best efforts, the Washington Iron Works was afflicted with financial problems during the years he was ironmaster. The competition from cheap Northern iron became intense, and the Panic of 1837 almost bankrupted the iron works. The depression that followed the panic affected the entire iron industry, and in 1842 Peter Saunders had to give up some of his control of the iron works to his brothers. While he maintained control of the land, mines, and iron works, Samuel and Fleming Saunders were granted ownership of the slaves. Conditions in the iron industry improved in the late 1840s, but Southern charcoal iron manufacturing was already doomed by improvements which were being adopted in the North but not in the South. Charcoal iron was becoming simply too expensive to produce in competition with less costly iron made in the North with anthracite coal.

Peter Saunders retired in 1846 and moved with daughter to Pittsylvania County, where he died the next year following a series of strokes. He had sold his interest in the iron works to his brothers, who turned the operation over to one of Samuel Saunder's sons, who was also named Peter Saunders. In 1850 young Peter built a second forge, called the Valley Forge, on Pigg River several miles west of Rocky Mount. In that same year, according to local tradition, the Washington Furnace was severely damaged by a flood caused when the dam on Furnace Creek gave way during a sudden storm, and the rushing water swept away the casting shed and tub bellows. Except for a brief, desperate period during the Civil War, the Washington Furnace was never again in operation.

Young Peter Saunders continued in the iron industry for a brief time despite these problems. In 1857 he and one of his brothers rebuilt the old Carron Furnace on Story Creek near Ferrum. Both the Carron Furnace and the Valley Forge were in operation in 1860, but both were losing money. Then the Civil War dealt the final blow to a weakened industry, and 90 years of iron manufacturing in Franklin County came to an end.

Although the Washington Iron Works ceased production over a century ago, its influence on the history of Franklin County is still apparent. The furnace stands quietly now on the bank of Furnace Creek, a monument to Donelson, Callaway, and the Saunders brothers. A man who lives across Pigg River from the site of the Washington Forge recalls that when he was a boy a large pile of old iron lay rusting near the river. Some time during World War II the iron was hauled away, probably for use in the war effort. Born in the years of our Revolution, the Washinton Iron Works had not lost its usefulness a mere 35 years ago. Such a heritage is surely worth preserving.

FOOTNOTES

[1] William Byrd, THE PROSE WORKS OF WILLIAM BYRD OF WESTOVER, ed. Louis B. Wright (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1966), 354.

[2] Pittsylvania County, Old Surveys 1, 1746-1782, 70.

[3] Pittsylvania County, Tithables, 1767-1785, 58.

Sclater Correction

Hoskins M. Sclater, who has retired as a director and member of the executive committee of the Society, has been incorrectly identified in earlier issues of the Journal. He was listed as R. Hoskins Sclater, his father, who lived from 1884 to 1973. The younger Sclater was chairman of the Society's corporate membership drive in 1975 and 1976.

The National Register of Historic Places

by W. L. Whitwell and Lee W. Winborne

The National Register of Historic Places is a listing. It describes properties which are worth noting for architectural and for historic interest by the people of this country. The Historic Sites Act of 1935 and the Historic Preservation Act of 1966 empowered the Secretary of the Interior to create this list. The National Register is, in the words of the federal government, "the official schedule of the nation's cultural property that is worth saving". Fundamentally, the National Register inventory protects our cultural heritage. Published periodically by the federal government, the National Register is the major source of information for Americans about historic properties throughout the country.

A property of state or local significance is nominated to the Register by a state's Preservation Office; in Virginia the Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission serves this function. The place is then recorded in the Register, following approval of the National Park Service. Nominations are usually made by a state liason officer appointed by the governor to administer the program. The Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission's professional staff, often in conjunction with area representatives appointed by the state commission, conducts surveys and nominates properties for the state commission to review. This Commission is appointed by the governor. If a property meets state criteria in Virginia it is uaually nominated automatically for the National Register.

Criteria for evaluation of property are flexible and they act as guidelines from local through national actions. Evaluating the significance of American architecture is a difficult problem. Some factors considered are the location, design, setting, materials, workmanship and historic and literary associations. Many questions are asked about properties which are being considered. Is the structure associated with events, which have made an important contribution to our history? Is the building associated with the lives of persons important in the past? Does the building have distinctive architectural characteristics? These architectural characteristics may be in terms of the form, period, or type of construction. For instance, a building may represent the work of a craftsman, or it may have high artistic merit. Architectural characteristics are often considered individually, even though an entire structure may not be coherent. Cemeteries are usually not included, but exceptions have been made, as for the significant monument in Roanoke County's Tombstone Cemetery. Many people are not aware

that 20th Century buildings are considered if they have exceptional importance. Recently a 1930s Shell station in Winston-Salem, N.C. was added to the Register.

The National Register of Historic Places is the common factor in federal historic preservation work. The list is consulted for the significance of a historic property. Public recognition, funding and protection are reviewed by an advisory council of the federal government. There is no injunctive power to stop threats to historic properties, but National Register designation does assure that historic values shall be considered by the government in any proposal which might affect the property.

Roanoke City, Roanoke County and Salem properties on the National Register of Historic Places:

PLACE	LOCATION	DATE OF REGISTRY
	Roanoke City	
1. Fire Station #1	13 East Church Ave.	9/19/72
2. St. Andrew' Roman Catholic Church	631 North Jefferson St.	10/17/72
3. Lone Oaks-Winsmere	1402 Grandin Road Extension S.W.	1/16/73
4. Buena Vista	Penmar Ave. and 9th St. S.E.	1/15/74
5. Monterey	Tinker Creek Lane N.E.	4/16/74
6. Belle-Aire	1320 Belle-Aire Circle S.W.	10/21/75
	Roanoke County	
7. Hollins College Quadrangle	Route 11, North	5/21/74
8. Tombstone Cemetery	Plantation Road N.W.	9/19/77
	City of Salem	
9. Williams-Brown House-Store	523 East Main St.	7/6/71
10. Evans House	213 Broad St.	3/21/72
11. Main College Complex	Roanoke College	5/16/72
12. Salem Presbyterian Church	East Main and Market Streets	6/18/74

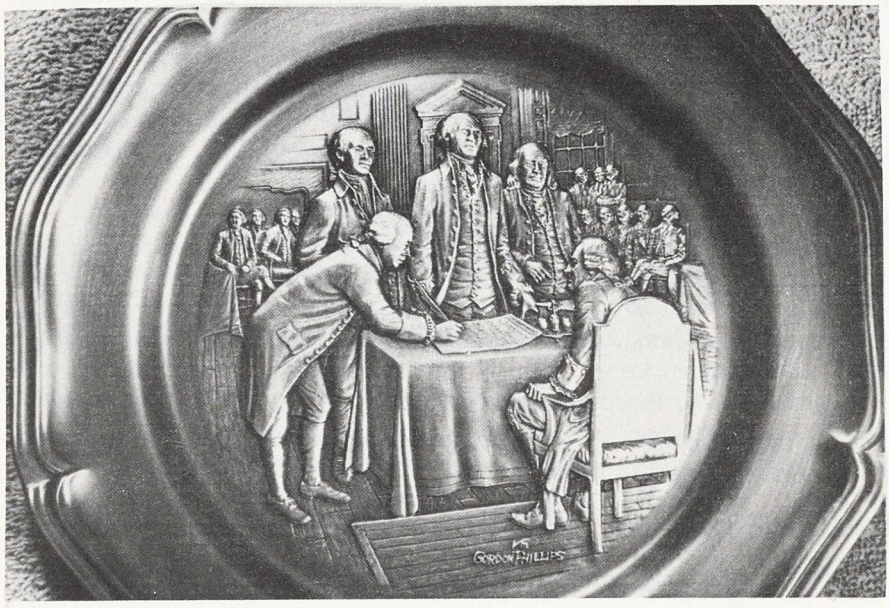
Bicentennial Plates

Thirteen significant events in the American struggle for independence two centuries ago are illustrated in a special plate collection presented to the Roanoke Valley Historical Society by the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration through Congressman M. Caldwell Butler of Roanoke. Butler is a member of the ARBA board.

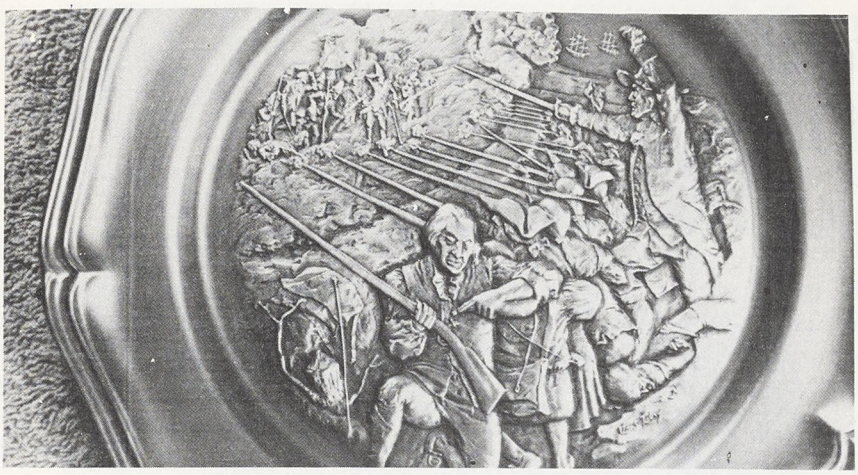
Each of the 13 sculptured, pewter plates was designed by a different artist for the Franklin Mint in Philadelphia which issued the limited edition collection.

The events commemorated are the Boston Tea Party, Battle of Bunker Hill, Patrick Henry urging armed resistance, Paul Revere's ride, the Battle of Concord Bridge, the capture of Fort Ticonderoga, the defeat of the British vessel, Serapis, by the Bonhomme Richard led by Capt. John Paul Jones, winter at Valley Forge, Washington crossing the Delaware, signing of the Declaration of Independence, Burgoyne's defeat at Saratoga, Franklin signing the Alliance with France in 1778 and victory at Yorktown.

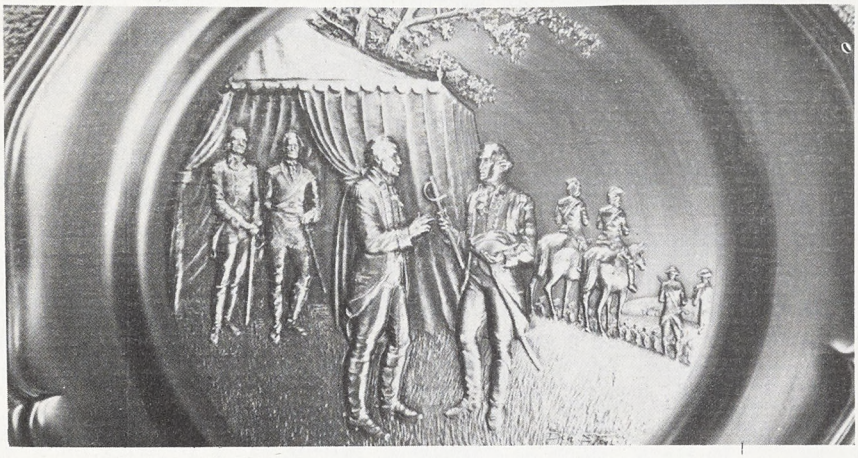
The plates have been on display at the Society's Gallery at 10 Franklin Rd., S.W., Roanoke.



Signing the Declaration of Independence



Battle of Bunker Hill



Burgoyne defeated at Saratoga

Horsley Genealogy Published

A genealogy, Descendants of Mary Cabell Horsley, has been compiled by Mrs. Kathryn Mitchum Osborne, of Pulaski and formerly of Roanoke. Mrs. Horsley was the daughter of Dr. William Cabell, a well-known frontiersman who claimed land in Nelson and Amherst counties in the early 1700s.

She married William Horsley, a tutor in her father's family in 1744, and from this union came such family names as Pendleton, McCulloch, Davies, Shackleford, Waugh, Glasgow and Roberts. The book is available from Mrs. Osborne at 108 Fifth St., N.W., Pulaski, Va. 24301, for $12.50, postage and packaging included.

Bringing an Old Pump to Life

Restoration of a 200-ton, 70-year-old municipal heirloom—Roanoke's Crystal Spring steam pump—was no small task in 1976.

Out of the Bicentennial program came an extensive restoration of the big pump, unused for two decades, by a host of volunteers, supported by the expertise of the Worthington Pump Co. A detailed description of the restoration has been prepared by Worthington, which took over the old Snow Steam Pump Co., maker of the Roanoke pump at its Buffalo, N.Y. works in 1905. The Snow pump supplied much of Roanoke's water needs for 52 years until 1957 when its throb was replaced by electrical, high-speed centrifugal pumps.

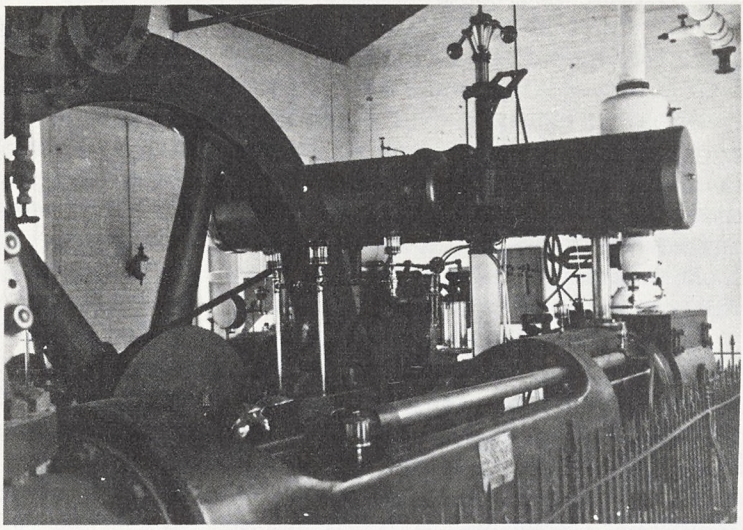
"Since many towns and cities still possess precious examples of industrial arts which are slipping into irrevocable loss because of lack of funds and organized rescue programs," the Worthington people said, the Roanoke restoration experience may be helpful for others.

Former City Attorney James N. Kincanon, a member of Roanoke Valley Bicentennial Commission and a World War II Naval officer, saw the restoration as "one project that would be here for people to enjoy long after the Bicentennial had passed." An anonymous $10,000 donation from a Roanoker who wanted to see the old pumphouse restored to its original grandeur got the project under way.

Nearby Crystal Spring's flow of 5 million gallons a day had been the leading source of Roanoke water since colonial days. Water from the spring once turned a grist mill near Roanoke River and Militia Col. George Washington left a record of his stop there on a frontier fort inspection trip in October 1754.

Water from the spring was first pressurized in the early 1880s for the town water supply by a 1.5-million-gallon-per-day Holly steam pump. A second was added later. In 1905, the giant duplex Snow pump, a mechanical marvel for its day, was installed in its new brick pumphouse. With a capacity of 5 million gallons per day, it served the city's needs for years, almost without disruption of service. The smaller steam pumps in a separate building were placed on backup service.

After 52 years, the throb of the steam Snow pump was silenced when the city built a series of new pumphouses with electrical, high-speed centrifugal pumps. The boiler room which supplied steam for the three pumps and the older pumphouse was torn down and its two Holly steam pumps were scrapped. Fortunately, citizen objections to destruction of the steam pump works reached City Council before plans to demolish the smaller pumphouse and the large Snow pump could be carried out and the Crystal Spring pumphouse and Snow pump were left intact.



Huge wheels and driving pistons are marks of the time-honored steam pump at Crystal Spring.

Although it was saved from scrap, little was done to protect the Snow pump and its house from the ravages of time and weather. But the spectacle of the pump was recalled by a generation of Roanokers, although the big pump sat unused and seldom seen for 20 years.

With its pistons reciprocating, the 11-ton, 13-foot flywheel rotating and the sound of compressed steam escaping, it was a sight that schoolboys would give up their arithmetic lesson to see. It was better than a railway locomotive because it didn't move away and it could be watched for hours at a time.

When enthusiasm for restoration of the pump began to build, Kincanon contacted the manufacturer to determine the feasibility of restoring it and returning it to simulated action. Worthington Pump assigned Edward J. Thornton, a veteran of many years of experience with many types of pumps, to the project.

Thornton studied the pump, researched the Worthington archives for specifications and parts availabilty. He evaluated the kinds of drive that could be used to simulate the steam-powered action and he visited the Smithsonian Institution in Washington in search of recommendations on the best way to activate and display the pump.

Support of the project was voted by the Roanoke Valley Historical Society and the Bicentennial Commission. City Council agreed to incorporate the restoration into the city park system as an historical site open to the public if the work could be done without cost to the city.

For technical expertise and trained manpower necessary for the restoration, the commanding officer of the Naval Reserve Training Center was taken to see the pump. He was interested in steam-driven pumps because he had served as an engineering officer aboard a Naval vessel.

Naval Reserve technicians donated weekends to refurbishing the pump. They spent months breaking loose, disassembling, cleaning, lubricating, reassembling and painting the pump.

Philip Lemon, a lawyer and vice president of the historical society, was responsible for managing expenditures and supervising research for the restoration. He and Kincanon also spent weekends with the reservists in the planning, labor and enlisting of voluntary help for the project. Support also came from businessmen, architects, engineers, contractors and civic leaders.

The anonymous gift was raised to $13,000 by other contributions which helped pay for rebuilding one wall of the pumphouse and providing a flywheel drive—items that volunteers could not supply. Kincanon said the value of labor contributed by Navy and Marine reserves and other Roanokers, as well as the parts and installation service donated by engineering and equipment firms came to many times the $13,000.

With its concealed electric drive, the restored Snow pump was given its first test run on Aug. 10, 1976, and the new historical site was opened at special ceremonies soon afterward. It was shown to the public on Aug. 22. The neat, red brick building is as clean and freshly painted as when it was first opened in 1905, and the Snow pump, painted and its brass and nickel work brightly polished, is again active.

The steam pump, restored through careful color matching to its original red, black and dark green finish put on at the factory, attracts old-time pump buffs, history enthusiasts, tourists and troops of wide-eyed school children. With Worthington's assistance, the restoration group has installed explanatory signs and old photos around the pump and on the white interior walls of the pumphouse. They raised funds for a recorded message on the history of the pump station and Crystal Spring. A lighted inspection hatch was installed over the covered Crystal Spring basin at the foot of Mill Mountain.

The 11-ton flywheel of the pump is driven by a 25 h.p. motor, connected through a fluid coupling and speed reducer to a pneumatic tire. The tire runs against the bottom rim of the flywheel in a service pit, so it is not visible.

While the absence of steam may have taken some of the ferocity out of the old pump, it makes its presence known and kids can still watch its 11-ton flywheel turn, the piston rods stroke back and forth in the 19-inch-diameter cylinders, the plunger push rods go in and out and the governor, accentuated by a spotlight, carrying out its mysterious discipline.

A mechanical counter registers each turn of the flywheel and piston stroke. All who have seen the restored relic of bygone days, when machines seemed to have had their individual personality and a kind of elegance, agree it is rewarding to have the old giant back on public view. It serves, too, as an example of what can be accomplished by concerted individual efforts, if the will and desire of accomplishment are present.

Tours to Botetourt and Chatham

A spring trip to Botetourt County and Fincastle on May 28 and a fall visit to Pittsylvania County to help Chatham celebrate its 200th birthday were the 1977 tours of the Roanoke Valley Historical Society. As in the past 15 years, the bus tours went to a variety of homes and other historic points for educational and entertaining visits into the past.

Highlights of the tour to neighboring Botetourt were two old favorites, Hawthorne Hall and Glebe Mill, as well as first public visits to Glencoe and the Gish-Potter cabin, both built in the 19th century.

Hawthorne Hall, a handsome 1½-story brick home built by Robert Harvey for his daughter, Mary Trigg, in the first years of the 19th century, was seen on the Society's first tour in 1963. Restored by Mr. and Mrs. George Holt, the home once known as Thorn Hill has a wide-arched central hall with large rooms on each side. The Holts have added fine furnishings and antiques.

Mr. and Mrs. Thomas T. Lawson live at Glebe Mill, a comfortable clapboard-over log house on Tinker Creek at the northern foot of Tinker Mountain. The home has stood near the road from Daleville to Haymakertown since the last years of the 1700s. A mill once stood nearby and the property was known as the Glebe because the land was granted to the rector of the Church of England who served the Botetourt Parish. The Rev. Adam Smyth, first rector of the parish, and the Rev. Samuel Gray, his successor, are believed to have lived here. Many original furnishings, such as locks and hinges, are in use.

Glencoe, nicely situated at the edge of a meadow beside Catawba Creek northeast of Fincastle, is a brick home surrounded by a moat constructed to allow light into the first floor rooms. The home of Mr.

Glencoe is northeast of Fincastle.

and Mrs. Michael Haynie, it was built by James Madison Spiller in the 1850s. Slaves placed heavy stones for the base of the house and a large barn nearby. Spiller had been a contractor for the James River and Kanawha Canal. A grandson of the builder said the home was constructed "bull stout."

Dating from 1836, the restored log cabin of Mrs. J. W. Potter was built by George Gish along the road to Haymakertown from Daleville. A $150 building was put up in 1836, according to Botetourt tax records. The property was owned by the Gish family for about a century until 1903.

The colorful rose garden at the J. A. Firebaugh home; Rustic Lodge, the old Nathaniel Burwell home, and the 1840 Methodist church in Fincastle were other points of interest. Filling three buses, Society members and friends visited the new Botetourt County Courthouse, replacement for the building destroyed in the 1970 fire, and then took a walking tour of the county seat. Lunch was served at the Methodist Church.

An autumn rain did not dampen the interest of three busloads who rode to Pittsylvania, the largest county in the state, on October 8. After Pittsylvania was formed in 1767, court was held at Callands until 1977 when a courthouse was located at present Chatham.

For almost a half-century, from 1807 and 1852, the Pittsylvania county seat was known as Competition because of a dispute over the location of the court house. The present Greek Revival courthouse was built in 1853.

With a luncheon stop at the Episcopal Church in Chatham, the Roanokers had a chance to see the 200th birthday festivities and the cutting of a large cake with pageantry on the courthouse steps.

They visited Sharswood, a Swiss Gothic home dated from the 1850s; Woodlawn, built by Patrick Henry's cousin, who paid taxes on 20,000 acres of land in Halifax and Pittsylvania; Elkhorn, a beaded clapboard home owned by the Coles family for 128 years; Oakland, a charming Greek Revival home built in the 1700s; the old White-Hundley home in Chatham; a distinctive country store-post office at Java, and the historic Yates Tavern, described as an "old house" in 1778.

Yates Tavern, located on the main north-south road south of Gretna, has been painstakingly restored to its 18th centry state. Described as a true block house by the Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission, the tavern once was a major stop along the Pigg River for supply wagons. Covered with weatherboarding over logs, the tavern has a large public room with a rock fireplace and a seven-foot mantel, a large stone chimney and basement walls of stone, almost two feet thick.

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