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Editor of the JOURNAL

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Clifton A. Woodrum, Congressman With A Flair

by James E. Sargent

"My campaign is inspired by no class, sex, ring or machine," stated congressional candidate Clifton A. Woodrum of Roanoke during the 1922 Democratic primary contest, "and I am making my appeal to every voter in the district who on those conditions can conscientiously support me."¹

Such independence often characterized Woodrum's early life and political career, from his first job at age 12 through his service as judge of Roanoke's Corporation (Circuit) Court. Indeed, later he became so influential as the Sixth District's congressman that a *Life* magazine poll in 1939 ranked him as the fifth "ablest" representative in the House.² But after his retirement from Congress in December 1945 and his death in October 1950, he slipped into historical obscurity. While he was well known, personally popular, and held in high esteem in Virginia and in Washington, D.C., from the 1920s through the 1940s, to date there has been no scholarly examination of his life and career. Most Roanokers of later generations know his name only because it identifies the city's airport, Woodrum Field.³ But his achievements deserve to be better known.

Historical sources on "Cliff" Woodrum's early years are incomplete, but they are adequate for his adult life. Born in Roanoke on April 27, 1887, he was raised in a family of considerable social prestige. His father, Robert H. Woodrum, became a prominent attorney and public-spirited citizen in early Roanoke. After being raised in nearby Salem, he graduated from Roanoke College in 1876. He associated in a Roanoke law firm with James W. Palmer of Salem by 1883. The partners advertised (a common practice of the times) in the *Roanoke Leader* that they specialized in claims of mechanics and laborers. Robert Woodrum became so widely respected that he was chosen as Roanoke's first commonwealth's attorney, a position he held from June 5, 1884, to June 30, 1888. Shortly after leaving office, he gave up his law practice. An ingenious man, he had invented the Comas cigarette

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Cliff Woodrum and friend, about 1888 when he was one.



Col. R. H. Woodrum, father of Clifton Woodrum, stood with his dogs and a string of quail after a day's hunting.

machine and acquired a patent for it. He traveled to London, England, where he sold the patent for a handsome profit to the Bonsack Cigarette Co. Returning to Roanoke, he plunged into various real estate and building operations. For example, he was one of the principal investors in the company that built the Academy of Music, which opened in October 1892.

The Woodrum family resided at 741 Thirteenth St., Southwest, across from the Fishburn home, "Mountain View" (now owned by the city).⁴ Expanding his interests, Robert Woodrum also became a gentleman farmer who specialized in raising apples and peaches. He supervised the cultivation of orchards near Bent Mountain and in Franklin County. Following years of mixed success with investments and orchards, he died suddenly of a heart attack on April 30, 1912.

The *Roanoke Times* reported: "No man in Roanoke city and county was more widely known than Colonel Woodrum, and his sudden

death was a great shock to the entire community.” Later that year the R.H. Woodrum Orchard Corp. with 10 acres of fruit-bearing trees was offered for sale at \$2,500. It was estimated that the Woodrum orchards would produce enough fruit to equal the agricultural yield of a \$15,000 farm. Woodrum’s widow, the former Anna T. Musgrove, who had been born and raised in Albemarle County, outlived her husband by 27 years. She continued to live a quiet life dedicated to her family and home until her death on May 7, 1939, long after her son had become famous.⁵

Roanoke was a lively and growing industrial center by the turn of the century. The city had 22,007 people, including 5,834 Negroes and 539 foreign-born. The county had 15,837 residents, with 3,845 Negroes and 48 foreign-born. Originally called Big Lick, the town officially became known as Roanoke in 1882. Town officials changed the name when the Norfolk and Western Railway decided to locate its headquarters and shops here.

Roanoke’s population in 1883 was about 5,000, so the city and the railroad had grown enormously by 1900. The growing industries, notably the railroad, needed more laborers and mechanics, which attracted young men and families to the area. In 1900 many boiler makers temporarily walked off their jobs at the N&W, partly over wage protests. The railroad paid from 26 to 32 cents per hour, reportedly higher than competitors like the Baltimore and Ohio. Having a surplus of local labor as well as other railways and their workers to draw from,



The old R. H. Woodrum home on 13th Street, Southwest, across from and west of Mountain View, the J. B. Fishburn Home. Among the young ladies seated on the lawn are Rosalind Rankin (left) and probably Virginia Buford (right).

the N&W generally resisted pressure from strikers.⁶

The city had a number of churches, especially Baptist and Methodist, and a public school system. But the high school class of 1900 had only three graduates (the number reached 20 in 1910). The small number seeking diplomas resulted because fathers who farmed in the county usually withdrew their sons before graduation, making them full-fledged farmers in their teens. In the city most mechanics wanted their sons to learn a trade. No apprentices received consideration in the local railroad shops unless their father or a close relative worked there. Therefore, public education stagnated. Wealthier families often sent sons to private schools like Alleghany Institute and daughters to prep schools like Virginia College.

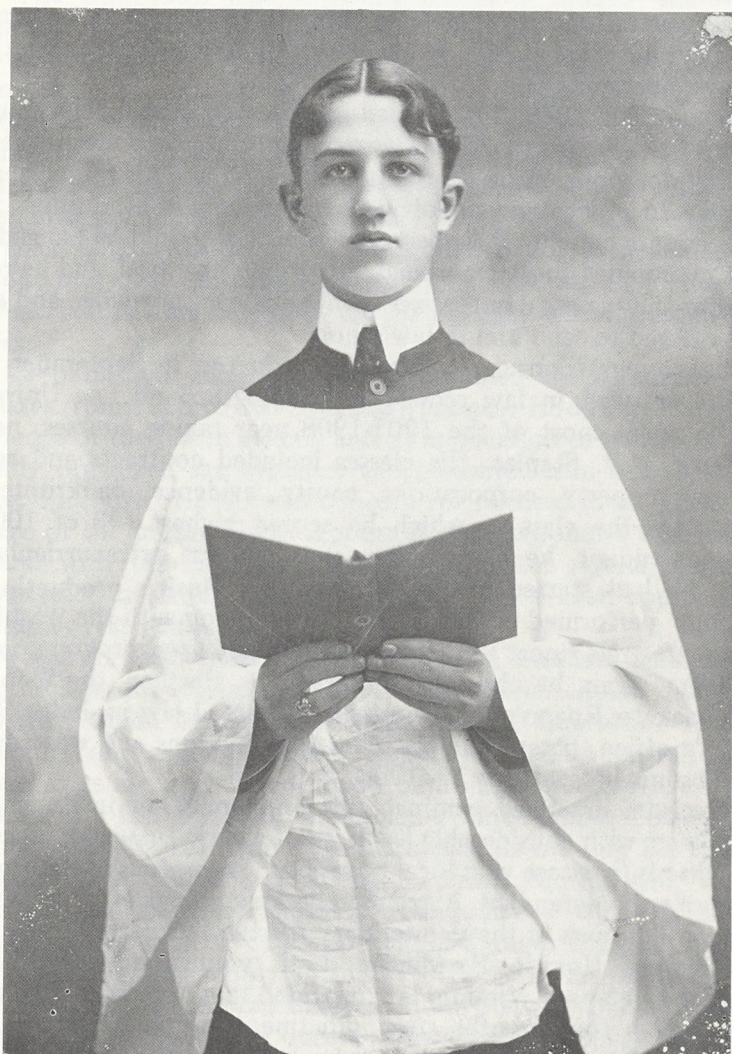
Other aspects of city life reflected growth and prosperity following the national despression of 1893-1897. Many people with cultural interests, the Woodrums included, attended the Academy of Music. There patrons viewed operas like *Faust* and plays such as *The Bohemia Girl*. Carnivals occurred frequently. A major carnival to celebrate the turn of the century was held during late June and early July of 1900. Described as a rare beauty, Claudine Woodrum (Cliff's sister) received the unanimous choice as pageant queen. The fair featured parades, booths, contests, exhibitions and the usual rowdiness. Also, team sports, notably baseball and football, were becoming more popular. The annual Thanksgiving Day game between Virginia Polytechnic Institute and Virginia Military Institute was already considered a major event (VMI won that year).

Major political issues capturing attention in Roanoke included the national election between Republican President William McKinley and famous Democrat William Jennings Bryan, who had lost to McKinley in the 1896 "free silver" campaign. Bryan polled 1,761 votes in Roanoke and carried the city, while McKinley won 1,115 votes—but retained the presidency by polling substantial majorities nationally. On the state level, considerable local interest focused on the new constitution being proposed (it was written and approved in 1901-1902). A major purpose of Democratic leaders who advocated the constitutional convention was to disenfranchise most blacks and poor whites—who often voted Republican—through poll taxes and literacy tests. On the local level, fraternal organizations like the Elks and the Masons flourished. A custom of the times, belonging to a fraternal order carried considerable social status for professional and educated men. But membership also provided good fellowship and opportunities for public service—a goal which attracted some, like Woodrum, who later entered politics.⁷

Within that family and city environment, Cliff Woodrum learned the value of hard work, personal achievement and community responsibility. He attended Roanoke's public schools but never graduated. At one point he worked as a "soda jerk" in the Keyser Drug Store, probably while he was in high school. Later recalling his first job, Congressman Woodrum said he worked for his father at age 12.

The young man delivered bottled mineral water to 25-30 Roanoke customers from the Aetna Lithia Springs Co. of Vinton. He received \$1 a week for driving wagons over the one-hour trip. Aspiring for more, he decided to "railroad." In March 1900 he applied to the N&W for a position in the telegraph office, which he failed to get. According to the September 1926 issue of the *Norfolk and Western Magazine*, Cliff later obtained a job as a messenger boy for several months in the Auditor's Department (but a recent search of the N&W records failed to confirm that). However, there is no doubt that the young man was ambitious.⁸

Perhaps because of working for "Doc" Keyser, Cliff settled on pharmacy as a career. He moved to Richmond for most of the 1903-



Sixteen-year-old Cliff Woodrum, hymnal in hand

1904 academic year. There he studied the first-year "junior pharmacy" curriculum at the University College of Medicine (now part of Virginia Commonwealth University). Evidently he performed well in his classes. In January 1904 he applied to take the state pharmacy examinations, and later that year he passed them and became a registered pharmacist. He worked at this profession for over two years in Roanoke, mostly as proprietor of the Belmont Pharmacy.

Meanwhile, his romantic interest also grew. He courted Martha Lena Hancock, originally from Bedford County. Lena, as she preferred to be known, was a pretty and popular belle who also came from a distinguished family. Her father was a direct descendant of John Hancock, signer of the Declaration of Independence. On December 26, 1905, Cliff and Lena were married in a quiet ceremony at the Methodist parsonage, attended by a few close friends. Following a honeymoon trip to Palm Beach, Fla., the couple moved in to live (temporarily) with the groom's parents.⁹

Sometime in 1906 Cliff decided to go to law school. His daughter, Martha Ann (Woodrum) Zillhardt, remembers a story her father told about that decision. In an after-dinner talk Cliff and his father heatedly discussed a local legal case involving a Negro accused of murder. Newspaper accounts convinced Robert that the man should be hanged. But his son maintained the accused had a right to a jury trial, and he recited facts from the papers. Impressed with his son's knowledge and ethics, Robert offered to send him to law school.¹⁰

The young Woodrums moved to Lexington in September 1907, and Cliff enrolled in law school at Washington and Lee University. There he spent most of the 1907-1908 year taking courses, notably under Prof. A.P. Staples. His classes included contracts and agency, torts, real property, corporations, equity, evidence, bankruptcy and criminal law—the class in which he scored highest (93 of 100). A motivated student, he also took part in campus extracurricular life. Already he had starred in the Academy of Music's production *The Iron King*, performed in May 1906. Now he sang with the Washington and Lee minstrels (most notably in a well-publicized program on April 30, 1908). Again he chose not to graduate. Instead, the Woodrums moved back to Roanoke that spring. Cliff read law in Judge Samuel Hairston's office, passed the state bar examinations and was admitted to the Virginia bar on June 19, 1908.¹¹

Woodrum practiced criminal and commercial law in Roanoke for over 15 years with considerable legal, if not always financial, success. In July 1908 his first case won local notoriety. According to the *Roanoke Evening World*, defendant Alexander Perkins was given a compromise verdict of 10 years in the penitentiary for the murder of Rosa Lucas. Woodrum and Horatio F. Minton, both young and inexperienced, handled the defense. Virginia law provided that the accused be given a hearing within four months after indictment, or be acquitted. Each month the clerk of the court had to make a record of the case stating why it was continued. Perkins escaped from jail (later he was captured),

and the clerk failed to make the required records. Woodrum and Minton raised that technicality. However, to avoid an appeal to the state Supreme Court, both attorneys recognized that Perkins was guilty and stipulated that a compromise verdict would be fair to the defendant and the commonwealth. The *Evening World* observed that Perkins' counsel "handled it in a manner that would have done credit to more experienced lawyers."

Also, in a murder case tried in November 1908, one newspaper credited Woodrum with handling the defense of accused killer Harry Grant in a masterly manner. While the defendant was convicted, Woodrum secured a reduced sentence of only one year. The point is that newspaper accounts indicate that in most cases Woodrum tried to be fair to both his client and the state.¹²

"The ambitious, capable young lawyer of today," the *Roanoke Times*' editors wrote on July 31, 1913, "is to a very large and increasing extent the hope for the future of the country. They are the men to whom we must look for guidance in the framing of laws, and from whose ranks must be selected the men who will have the construing of the laws, after they are enacted." The *Times* concluded that Clifton A. Woodrum was the kind of American who succeeded in a most emphatic and enduring manner. Describing his background, the editors stated that since 1908 Woodrum had been recognized as a leader of the Roanoke bar. The editorial hinted at what Woodrum's friends already believed: before long he would use his reputation and prestige to enter politics.¹³

All published accounts of cases handled by Woodrum and his associates from 1908 to 1917 suggest a pattern. He displayed a thorough knowledge of the law in general and its application to specific cases. He carefully organized the evidence and presented it in a straightforward manner in court. He showed concern for fairness to his client and to the case of the prosecution. Woodrum became popular with his associates and with the Roanoke Bar Association for several reasons. He demonstrated a strong sense of integrity and a keen appreciation of community responsibility.¹⁴

Woodrum also built a reputation as an excellent baritone singer. Often he sang for recitals, theatricals and church choirs. One notable group with which he performed was the Lyric Quartette. It included Mrs. John Trout as soprano, Mrs. Robert Hatcher as contralto, Charles E. Pless as tenor, and Woodrum as baritone. The quartet's statewide appearances included, for example, a nine-number concert at the Virginia State Normal School in Charlottesville on July 13, 1914. The *Roanoke Times* called it a splendid concert, noting that Woodrum "with his rich baritone captured the audience with his humorous selection, 'Peter Peck.'" He also sang in a duet, "Passage Birds' Farewell," and in a trio, "Holy Angels."¹⁵ Some of his other singing engagements in 1914 included a Salem Choral Society concert on Feb. 10; soloing for the Glee Club Concert at Sweet Briar College on March 28; performing "The Elijah" for the Salem Choral Society on June 2; and



The Lyric Quartette, about to burst forth in song in 1914, was composed of (from left) Charles E. Pless, tenor; Mrs. John Trout, soprano; Mrs. Robert Hatcher, contralto, and Clifton A. Woodrum, baritone. Bessie Rust was the accompanist. In 1913, the same singers were known as the quartette of First Baptist Church.

singing with the Lyric Quartette at Roanoke's First Baptist Church on March 6 and Nov. 5.¹⁶ After performing with the quartet in Martinsville on July 18, 1913, one critic praised Woodrum's voice because "it has not only the qualities of a powerful deep bass, but the sweetness and smooth richness of the baritone, with a complete absence of harshness on the higher notes." In such fashion did the young attorney's musical talent help him acquire stature as a cultured gentleman.¹⁷

In addition, Woodrum joined service organizations. He became an avid Mason, a lifelong interest (later he was awarded the honorary 33rd degree). His memberships also included the Eagles and the Moose lodges and the Fraternal Order of Elks. His education and his splendid voice often won him speaking engagements at fraternal meetings. For instance, on Oct. 30, 1915, at the annual memorial service for the Roanoke Eagles, he delivered the main oration (usually he spoke extemporaneously with few notes). A Roanoke newspaper called it "one of the most tasteful, eloquent and impressive deliverances of its kind that has ever been heard in this city." His keynote was fraternity and service. "To merit the greatest benefit of the fraternity," he argued, "man must not only be a good father, a good brother, and a good husband, but he must be a good citizen." He said the purpose of fraternal orders was to

cure selfish tendencies, a theme he sounded often in such speeches. In 1915, 1916 and 1917 he spoke more frequently at holiday, civic and church functions in the Roanoke Valley. His broadening interests are illustrated by his speech on "Clean Politics" at the Belmont Methodist Church on Dec. 8, 1916.¹⁸

By 1917 at age 30, Woodrum aspired to a political career. His strong defense in the May 1914 murder trial of Elias Bousliman led C. D. Hewlett of the *Roanoke World News* to suggest that Woodrum stand for commonwealth's attorney. Evidently Woodrum decided by late 1916 to run for the prosecutor's position, but he made no announcement. Instead, he consulted with some close friends and associates, who formed a campaign organization to get out the vote. Most of his backers were younger men, including several professional people. Woodrum thus established a pattern which he later repeated. He ran successfully against an older and more experienced incumbent. He left no stone unturned in having his organization canvass the electorate on his behalf. And he campaigned on the theme of a new personality and a basic fairness, not on the issues. In August 1917 he defeated incumbent Everett Perkins (who had served since 1899) in the Democratic primary by the surprisingly large majority of 2,301 to 811.¹⁹

Woodrum stood at the threshold of a promising political career. Raymond P. Barnes, who published *A History of Roanoke* (1968), wrote about 1918: "July fourth was celebrated very quietly. The young Commonwealth's Attorney, C.A. Woodrum[,] was speaking in the different counties of the sixth district [sic]. An able orator with an affable personality and a rich baritone voice, Woodrum knew what he wanted." Barnes added: "He later admitted that he intended to go to Congress and on these county trips he laid a good foundation." Shortly before taking up his new duties on January 1, 1918, Woodrum withdrew from his recent law firm of Hairston and Woodrum. But he planned to continue his practice of law, as was then standard, combined with his public position.²⁰

Woodrum coupled his brief term as commonwealth's attorney with his increasing appearances as a speaker and as a singer. The *Roanoke Times* soon reported that Commonwealth's Attorney Woodrum was dealing rigidly with illegal sellers of liquor. In one week during late January 1918 he compelled seven persons to face a grand jury on charges of violating the Mapp Prohibition Act (passed in 1916). He also helped the state collect inheritance taxes of over \$41,000 from legal heirs of the late Alfred M. Fuller. In late February Woodrum prosecuted Miss Elsie Stanley, who "borrowed" a coat and went for a walk (then left town), while working at the Virginia House. After cross-questioning witnesses, Woodrum warned the hotel's proprietor that while his girls claimed to be maids, he would prosecute to the fullest if he found it was a "house of ill fame." Evidently dealing in illegal liquor and women were commonplace rackets of those times in Roanoke.²¹

The new commonwealth's attorney's efforts at strict law enforcement won him public respect. For example, Woodrum tried to crack

down on perjury by witnesses. He took sworn pretrial testimony, and would threaten to prosecute for perjury if the witness altered that testimony in court. That happened, for example, with William Martin, a Negro witness in the murder trial of Byrd Wade. After testifying to it beforehand, Martin denied in court that he had seen a pistol in the defendant's hand during a fight in which Wade killed another man. Woodrum responded by threatening to prosecute for perjury (to no avail in that instance). However, one Roanoke newspaper praised his conscientious work: "The conviction of the accused [one Karnes], which came somewhat in the nature of a surprise to the public, was due in large degree to the clever and forceful way in which the facts were marshalled and presented by the Commonwealth's Attorney." Also, the *Roanoke Daily Press* praised his singing, which the editors had previously described as undignified. If the commonwealth's attorney had sung in the past as he did at the Knights of Columbus anniversary, commented the *Daily Press* on April 22, 1918, "the first time we ever heard him sing, instead of being undignified his singing closely approaches art, because Cliff was in splendid voice and the selections were a treat."²²

Woodrum continued to enlarge the scope of his community activities in 1918 and 1919. For instance, in February 1919 he won election as the Illustrious Potentate of the Kazim Temple of Roanoke. He took part in the Shriners' parade and other ceremonial activities. In May 1919 he played a leading role in organizing a campaign to raise \$15,000 for juvenile work. His speech for the Citizen's Juvenile Committee before the Rotary Club led to donations of \$600 that same night. In the meantime, his public and civic reputation made him available for the judicial opportunity that opened when Judge A.E. King resigned in mid-1919 from Roanoke's Corporation Court. Speculation about potential candidates naturally included Woodrum.²³

The campaign on Woodrum's behalf was secret and complex. At first he actively supported Horace M. Fox. Then he learned that several of his own friends had circulated a petition on his behalf, immediately after Fox withdrew. Woodrum explained his position at a meeting of the Roanoke Bar Association on August 14, 1919. "I would not have the judgeship of this court without the consent of the members of this bar," he concluded. On the following night at a second meeting, backers of six candidates made a lively fight of it. Four men withdrew as the evening progressed, narrowing the choice to Woodrum or S. Hamilton Graves, the city's solicitor. Seconding his nomination, Whitwell W. Coxe declared that Woodrum had compiled an excellent record and would make an honest, able and intelligent judge. At the end of the evening, Woodrum won the vote, 44-29. Graves moved, amid applause, that the nomination be made unanimous, which was done.

Woodrum's political fortunes then shifted to Richmond. But the outcome was never in doubt after he won the bar association's endorsement. The state Democratic caucus routinely approved his and several other judicial nominations on August 20, and the legislature ratified

those approvals.²⁴

For almost three years, until April 10, 1922, Woodrum presided over the Corporation Court. Finding less time for singing (often he prepared two to four special numbers per week, requiring several rehearsals), in February 1920 he asked to be dropped from the Lyric Quartette. Also, his developing political views can be seen in an address he delivered on Jan. 14, 1920, before the Roanoke Kiwanis Club. After reviewing the progress in America since the World War began in 1914, he stressed "true Americanism," values which he said were reflected by the work of the Rotary and Kiwanis clubs. He stated that major U.S. problems involved current social, industrial and political unrest. Such problems were caused by people whom he divided into those opposing any form of constituted authority and those professing to be true Americans, but who were misguided. He listed the misguided as, first, the capitalist who only wanted to work his laborers unmercifully and secure every cent of profit. Second, he described as misguided the thoughtless citizens who had good intentions at heart, who continually tore down the government and its elected representatives. Third, he called misguided the laborer who kept striving to cause trouble with his employer. In response, Woodrum could only advocate a general educational campaign to teach young men and women more about the fellowship of man, the Holy Bible and the U.S. Constitution.²⁵

The year 1920 also saw women able to vote nationally for the first time, and in Roanoke Lena Woodrum led a delegation of 20 women to pay their \$1.50 poll tax and register. For President and Vice President the Democrats nominated James M. Cox and Franklin D. Roosevelt, respectively, to run against Republicans Warren G. Harding and Calvin Coolidge. The controversy over the postwar Versailles Treaty and the League of Nations had ended with the Senate rejecting the treaty for a second time in March 1920. But Cox and Roosevelt, at the urging of bedridden President Woodrow Wilson (who suffered a stroke in September 1919), made the League and collective security major issues in the campaign.

The Woodrums voted Democratic, but to no avail. After the massive wave of industrial strikes and the numerous race riots of 1919, followed by the "Red Scare" engineered by Wilson's Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, Harding and the Republicans called for a return to "normalcy." They won the election handily. Wartime hysterias would fade away and the Progressive movement of the prewar period would surface with special-interest reforms in the 1920s. Big business would dominate the federal and state governments, as before the war. Historian George B. Tindall has pointed out that "business progressivism" emerged during the 1920s, especially in the South. While Woodrum's evolving political views did not yet characterize him as a progressive, he did support key progressive ideas: improved public services, notably public schools and paved roads; and improved public administration, particularly in the area of reducing waste and inefficiency.²⁶

The progressive impulse in Virginia during the 1920s, historian

Raymond H. Pulley has argued, focused almost solely on the drive for greater government efficiency and economies. Governor Westmoreland Davis, an antiorganization Democrat who served from 1922 to 1926, aided that movement when he initiated the executive budget. Governor Harry F. Byrd, the organization's new leader, served from 1926 to 1930 and introduced a "pay-as-you-go" road building program and various governmental reorganizations. While business progressivism helped by resulting in greater honesty and efficiency in public administration, it also hurt the Old Dominion by causing a declining interest by the traditionalist ruling elite in education and social services. To be anything but an organization Democrat or a business progressive during that era meant to challenge the establishment's leadership. Stability and order were themes most often heard from state-level leaders. However, if Woodrum's Kiwanis speech is an indication, he had not yet articulated any specific views on major state or national issues.²⁷

Judge Woodrum immersed himself in the Corporation Court's business without much sacrifice to other civic and social obligations, although he probably had less time for his devotion to family life than otherwise would have been true.²⁸ The decisions he rendered included, for example, that the city's board of review was not legally empowered to reduce tax assessments 20 percent. Also, he decided that young businessman T. Chester Fleck (a personal friend) be given only a 60-day jail sentence and a fine of \$250, after Fleck pleaded guilty to involuntary slaughter in the automobile death of Mrs. D.L. Davis and agreed to pay the aggrieved husband \$10,000.²⁹

One aspect of Woodrum's judgeship that later became controversial—during the 1922 Democratic primary campaign—was that he appeared lax on enforcing the prohibition law. In an editorial on July 29, 1922, the *Roanoke Times* asserted that his record for 1920 alone showed Judge Woodrum had given suspended sentences in 69 of 78 cases dealing with selling or possessing liquor. Considering the powerful Anti-Saloon League and the Democratic organization collaborated on prohibition (enacted nationally in 1919), it is not surprising that political opponents tried to smear Woodrum in that fashion. On the other hand, the judge had stated at Bedford City on July 24th that his policy was to temper justice with mercy.

In conjunction with Commonwealth's Attorney Samuel R. Price, Woodrum formulated a plan to suspend sentence after some of it had been served, holding the remainder over the person to secure good behavior. In that way he believed the law would be enforced and the city's moral tone elevated. He repeated that defense of suspended sentences on July 29 in his only major speech of the campaign in Roanoke. In any event, the dispute suggests the power of the so-called dry forces against "demon rum" during the prohibition era.³⁰

In addition, Judge Woodrum carried on with civic activities. He continued performing as a baritone singer, either as soloist or with groups like the new Billy Sunday Club and its quartet. The 1920s witnessed a national revival of fundamentalist religion, and the South,

Virginia and Roanoke were no exceptions. Evangelist William A. (Billy) Sunday arrived with his group and preached in Roanoke for several days during October 1920. Woodrum endorsed Sunday's religious fervor, if not his fundamentalism. Himself tolerant, he ignored the minister's intolerance. While he played a well publicized part in the singing and other evangelical ceremonies, Woodrum considered himself a devout Methodist.³¹

In various ways Woodrum's name kept appearing before the public. Recognizing his civic activities, Roanoke College conferred an honorary Master's degree upon the judge on July 26, 1921. Also, his speaking engagements for 1921 and early 1922 suggest that he had thoughts of higher office. The *Roanoke World News* (probably in late 1921) reflected such sentiments in an editorial about "The Young Man in Politics." Quoting from his single term in Congress during 1847-1848, the editors observed that Abraham Lincoln urged young men back home to form a "Rough and Ready Club." The club should hold regular meetings and discuss issues—"some speak, some sing, and all 'holler.'" Public-spirited young men, the *World News* argued, should unite on a platform of service to rescue America from "old abuses, old policies of narrow self-interest, and cynical old leadership that begins and ends in selfishness and spoils." That thinking paralleled Woodrum's ideas. He preserved the editorial.³²

Woodrum expressed his developing but general political views in a major address delivered on Dec. 29, 1921, at a Roanoke Kiwanis banquet honoring Governor's Day. Five regional men who had been or were governors attended, including current Governor Westmoreland Davis and Governor-elect E. Lee Trinkle, an organization Democrat from Roanoke. Judge Woodrum spoke to an audience of over 400 on the topic "Kiwanis." He said the organization stood for service to its fellow man; it tried to build a brighter day when the business world would follow the Golden Rule; and abiding happiness in personal or business life came from unselfish service to others. The Kiwanians sought to influence the character of people in positive ways, with the help and guidance of divine will, he said. He referred to the recent war and praised America for its effort on behalf of worldwide democracy. But he said nothing about the specific political, social or economic issues of the day. As usual he made an excellent impression with his rich voice, his handsome stature and his charming personality. There is no evidence that his mixture of political and religious beliefs as expressed in such public speeches was anything but sincere.³³

On March 21, 1922, Woodrum announced he had resigned from the bench effective April 10 to campaign for Congress in the Sixth district. He would enter the Democratic primary that August against the incumbent congressman, Colonel James P. Woods. There had been rumors for months that Woodrum would run. Three weeks earlier during a talk at a meeting of the Roanoke Bar Association, the judge had said he would make an important announcement that night. But he changed his mind during the talk and did not make an announcement.

At least one friend, P.A. Dixon, had written in January and urged Woodrum to follow his religious convictions and enter the ministry, as opposed to his rumored political intentions. However, by then Judge Woodrum had decided that politics could best serve his interest in public service.³⁴

The campaign promised to be controversial. The major Roanoke dailies, the morning *Times* and the evening *World News*, both conservative, immediately endorsed Congressman Woods and pledged to work for his reelection. "The House of Representatives would not stand so low in the public esteem," the *Times* said, "if it possessed more members of the character, equipment, experience and all-around ability of James P. Woods." A successful local attorney and businessman with interests which included a coal mine, Woods had succeeded Congressman Carter Glass in 1919 when President Wilson appointed Glass as Treasury Secretary. Without specifying details, the *Times* declared that Woods deserved renomination on his "excellent" record alone. In its editorial, the *World News* stated that Woods should be renominated because of his deserved Washington reputation as "a hard-worker, a clear-thinker, and as a man of more than ordinary ability." The newspapers argued that it would be folly to replace a proven legislator with an inexperienced newcomer, merely to send a popular local candidate to Congress.³⁵

But editors do not necessarily account for many votes. Raymond P. Barnes later observed:

Cliff Woodrum was an astute politician and just as he sensed a change was needed when he successfully ran against Everett [sic] Perkins, he now knew the people had a different outlook on life and perhaps would entertain views of a fresh candidate. Woodrum had long ago built the ground work to get himself before the public and now aimed at holding a seat in Congress. He was so prominent in Church choirs, amateur theatricals and lodge membership, this elicited a comment from the sharp-tongued Judge R.C. Jackson that tinged with acerbity. He said to Col. Woods' backers: 'Boys, we might beat him but before we do we will have to lick the Owls, the Elks, the Snakes and the Baboons.'

In his sarcastic comment, Jackson only ridiculed what the Woods people and the newspapers disliked: regardless of his political philosophy or political positions, Woodrum would win many votes simply because of his popular personality and his long-standing reputation in the Roanoke Valley.³⁶

To boost these assets, Woodrum launched his own organization. Unlike the Woods Clubs, his Woodrum for Congress Clubs had separate women's divisions. That was one way in which Woodrum showed his astuteness. Also, his Woodrum Clubs organized volunteer workers, who canvassed city and county voting units and official registration lists to locate and personally inform every potential supporter. The clubs

handled political "detail" work, including printing brochures, sending letters, answering telephones at headquarters, and transporting Woodrum voters to the polls on election day. Leaders of the Roanoke Woodrum Club included well-known citizens like Dr. G.M. Maxwell, president; businessman S.R. Mason, secretary; and attorney John W. Wright (whom Woodrum nominated as postmaster in 1938), treasurer. Woodrum himself supervised the work of the clubs and personally stumped the district. At first he gave general speeches on principles of good government, taking vague positions on national issues. As the campaign progressed, he became more specific in defending his record as judge and on current issues. However, famous New York columnist Mark Sullivan complained that across the nation leaders of both parties and the public were unclear about key issues in 1922.³⁷

Judge Woodrum opened his campaign on March 28 by singing before the Salem Woman's Club and addressing about the Constitution and its background. In a nativist reference, he called unrestricted immigration a grave menace to American democracy. He also asked for voter support of the Towner Education bill currently before Congress. An indication of his interest in improving education, the bill would provide for a Bureau of Education with a cabinet-level secretary and much heavier appropriations for rural schools. In a humorous aside, he said he had been accused of trying to sing his way into office. He called singing his hobby, and "if some could buy their way into office and others could 'lie' their way into office, he didn't see why one shouldn't 'sing' his way into office if he could." That witty touch revealed Woodrum's well-rounded personality. It also appealed to many voters, while upsetting the establishment.³⁸

Regarding his later political career, Woodrum's first campaign for Congress is revealing. Following years of speaking and singing around the Sixth District, his extemporaneous style was well known. Aside from his personality, he also made issues of his youth, his independence and his political record. In a widely distributed statement, he told Roanoke's Central Labor Council that his campaign was not based on any class, sex, ring or machine. "I believe in the principles of democracy that teach me that a public official should represent every citizen of his district, equally, without favor, and without regard to their occupation, financial worth or religious creed." In other words, Woodrum would represent more than big business and the establishment if he won election. Union and nonunion labor could scarcely misunderstand that promise.³⁹

As part owner of the Borderland Coal Company in West Virginia, Colonel Woods was identified with "capital" by many voters. Further, he had the support of Virginia's Democratic organization, popularly known as the "machine," locally known as the "establishment." The organization had passed from the control of Senator Thomas S. Martin when he died in November 1919. Still in transition, by 1922 it was coming under the leadership of state Democratic Chairman Harry F. Byrd. However, most of the working class people in Roanoke did not identify either with business interests or the Democratic organization.⁴⁰

The two candidates campaigned differently. Woods, a laissez-faire Democrat and an unemotional public speaker, stressed the organization's priority of fiscal solvency. While campaigning (at first by letters printed in the papers explaining why he could not leave Washington) on his presumably excellent House record, Woods seemed to take renomination for granted. Some of the colonel's law partners later believed that Woods and his supporters thought Woodrum could not beat the establishment. On the other hand, the judge campaigned actively, making speeches and shaking hands. He asserted that his opponent spoke as a friend of the farmer when stumping the counties, and spoke as a friend of the worker when speaking in the cities. He accepted Woods' congressional record as above debate. He also conceded the colonel was a fine gentleman. But Woodrum repeatedly argued that the people were not obligated to re-elect a candidate merely on the basis of past experience. In addition, Woods, 54, probably won many votes from the older generations, while Woodrum, 35, by all accounts won more votes from younger people and from newly-enfranchised women.⁴¹

Woodrum presented himself not only as an independent, but also as a progressive Democrat. His campaign brochure recorded that in recent speeches he stood for principles such as deploring the tendency of individuals or parties to allow partisan political interests or political expediency to overshadow their concern for the general welfare; for safeguarding the American birthright by adding immigration restrictions to exclude "undesirable aliens"; for giving the youth an aggressive state and federal education policy; for protecting delinquent youth from being treated as criminals, to give them an opportunity to become useful and law-abiding citizens; for enforcing all laws to punish and deter crime, remembering that the higher aim of law was to reclaim the offender as a self-sufficient citizen; for handling the nation's revenues in a fair and businesslike manner, giving the taxpayer value received for money paid; and for passing legislation to insure the farmer "larger yields, fair compensation for his product, and a more direct and economical distribution to the consumer." While he sometimes spoke more specifically in public, his thinking about national issues had not yet gone much beyond such general principles.⁴²

The *Roanoke Times* kept criticizing Woodrum for failing to be specific on issues like railroad reform. The editors argued that Woodrum only appealed to the emotions and prejudices of the electorate. Near the campaign's end the *Times* used a rhetorical question to make a telling criticism:

Judge Woodrum is pictured by his supporters as a struggling young man of ability who is being mercilessly throttled by Colonel Woods and his powerful and influential friends. He has spoken glibly though indefinitely about the brotherhood of man and has lauded the golden rule as a panacea for all troubles, domestic as well as international. All of which is very nice, but

why send him to Congress if, as he contends, the ills of the body politic cannot be cured by legislation?

Also, during the final week the Roanoke Woods Club filled the local newspapers with paid political advertisements which attempted to discredit, if not smear, Woodrum's record as judge.⁴³

The 1922 Democratic primary provoked enough controversy to merit a historical study itself. Some of Woodrum's contemporaries later recalled that it was one of the most bitterly contested elections in modern Virginia history. Reckless charges of a personal nature came from the candidates' backers on both sides. Stating that Woodrum could hardly criticize the "splendid" congressional record of Woods, the conservative Raymond P. Barnes later commented:

The charges and counter-charges made awakened the electorate for the first time in years from the apathy into which it had fallen. As a matter of fact, had Col. Woods not permitted his backers to raise certain issues, he would have been returned to Congress.

Certain Woods campaigners, Barnes added, "vitriolic tongued and dealing in personalities, gave Woodrum a limb on which to climb. By adroit political maneuvering he enlisted the support of many as the 'underdog.' " The *Times* also indicated that some of Woods' backers were slinging mud. "Because a man wants to go to Congress," the editors stated on April 28, 1922, "is not sufficient reason for saying all manner of evil things about him, some of which are quite possibly libelous." In the end, however, such attempts to discredit Woodrum probably gained him more votes than they lost.⁴⁴

What got into the newspapers concerned Woodrum's alleged incompetence as judge. The charge stemmed from his failure to sign, before leaving office, the court order books for over 800 decisions dating from December 1921 to April 10, 1922. The omission was accidentally discovered by Judge R.C. Jackson, an ardent Woods campaigner then serving as attorney for W.M. Truax—who was convicted just before Woodrum left office. Informed of the situation, Woodrum returned and signed the order books on May 2. Truax then filed suit to have his and all other convictions with previously unsigned orders overturned and the prisoners freed. The *Roanoke Times* and other pro-Woods papers called it a dereliction of Woodrum's duty, making him unfit for public office. "Most assuredly it will occur to more than one voter," the *Times* observed, "that a man who would neglect the public's affairs as judge would be apt to neglect them as Congressman."⁴⁵

The controversy had its ironic aspects, but it proved a tempest in a teapot. Apparently leaving court orders unsigned at the end of a term had been a common, if delinquent, practice. Woodrum's campaigners soon charged that former Judge John W. Woods, brother of Colonel Woods, never did sign over 600 days of court orders. Woodrum's

successor on the Corporation Court, Judge John M. Hart (later a strong anti-organization leader), issued his decision on June 17, 1922, and upheld Woodrum's late signings. Hart stated that the question was moot. It resolved itself into "shall the signature of C. A. Woodrum, Judge, be allowed to remain on the orders of that day, or shall it be erased and that of the present judge be inserted in its stead." That decision probably boosted public confidence in Woodrum. He considered it important enough to make no speeches between May 18, when the controversy got into print, and June 17, when Hart announced his decision.⁴⁶

Woodrum wrapped up the campaign with his only appearance in Roanoke on Saturday evening, July 29, before a large and enthusiastic audience at City Auditorium. Everett Perkins spoke first on Woodrum's behalf. He charged that the Woods people had appealed only to the voters' passions and prejudices, not to their reasoning. In his address, Woodrum conceded the main issue was personality, since he subscribed to similar Democratic party principles as did his opponent. Therefore, the voters should choose the best man for the job, but not merely based upon a man's past experience. He said that he had not criticized Woods for his stands on the soldiers' "bonus" bill and the Plumb railroad bill, since neither was current in the House. He evaded his critics by promising to express his views on any "live" issue pending before the House and he expected his opponent would do likewise. He stated that on prohibition his duty had been to enforce the law, not to question it, but he had followed a judicial policy of justice tempered with mercy. On questions of capital and labor, he repeated his belief that no candidate could represent the district who was vitally interested in one side or the other. He reiterated his views on improving education and restricting immigration. For the peroration he expressed his basic outlook on government: if elected, he would judge every measure on its merits, and he would try to represent all of the people equally. He urged all citizens to do their best and build up the nation, because "when you are called before the great tribunal above it will not be asked whether you won or lost but how you played the game." While such sentiments sounded naive and unrealistic to partisans of Woods, those nevertheless formed an important part of Woodrum's personal and political credo.⁴⁷

With only two precincts from Bedford County missing (estimated to be 25 votes), Woodrum won the August 2nd primary by 369 votes out of 18,925 cast. Unofficial returns showed these totals:

	WOODS	WOODRUM
Montgomery County	976	265
Floyd County	395	104
Bedford County	1,222	1,265
Campbell County	888	754
Roanoke County	1,159	678
Radford (City)	231	160

Lynchburg (City)	1,330	1,447
Roanoke (City)	3,077	4,974
	9,278	9,647

Despite his razor-thin margin, Woodrum ran well in all eight voting units, topped by his crucial majority of 1,897 in Roanoke City.

His campaign strategy shows his political wisdom. He put his major speaking emphasis in rural counties in order to close the gap where Woods was favored, allowing his Woodrum Clubs to concentrate on Roanoke and Lynchburg where he expected to run well with the middle and working classes. On the other hand, Woods put his major speechmaking efforts into the counties and small towns where he already had strength, while neglecting Roanoke—where he lost so decisively that it cost him the election. Woodrum's broadly based appeal left him in a good position to represent both rural and urban voters. In November he won by a landslide over Lynchburg businessman Fred W. McWane, a Republican political newcomer. Woodrum posted a 9,505 to 2,688 margin, an amazing 78 percent majority.⁴⁸

Woodrum won and Woods lost for several reasons. First, Woodrum's social and political prominence helped his majorities everywhere, especially in his home city. But his independent stance probably helped most of all, even though the Democratic establishment was not as strong in Roanoke as in the counties. He conducted a gentlemanly campaign in the Virginia tradition, which obscured the careful neighborhood canvassing by his well organized Woodrum Clubs. His progressive support for state and national educational programs held a wide appeal. In summary, Woodrum's dynamic personality and his gift for public speaking along with his progressive approach and his campaign organization combined to win the election.

In comparison, James P. Woods had too many disadvantages offsetting his and his campaigners' overconfidence. The colonel was known as a machine man who represented the establishment and big corporations. If he had been an energetic campaigner whose speeches carried emotional as well as intellectual appeal, he might have won more votes. Instead, he was an uninspiring speaker who relied too heavily upon his record. Also, his reputation for being hard-nosed against striking workers hurt him in Roanoke. In a short autobiography dictated in 1943, he passed over his defeat by saying it resulted from "labor troubles" and a strike at the Borderland coal mine. That was a masterful understatement. A national railroad strike occurred in 1922, and on July 1st about 4,000 (roughly 85 percent) of the Norfolk and Western's workers walked out. Supported by Woods and the establishment, the N&W brought in new workers to replace strikers, refused to meet wage and other demands, and "won" the strike—which caused strong antibusiness feeling. All together, such factors made it an auspicious year for a personable, independent, progressive Democrat to run for Congress. The result cost Woods his office.⁴⁹



Congressman Clifton A. Woodrum, about 1940

In summary, Cliff Woodrum's early years reflect the growth to maturity of a Virginia gentleman who concerned himself with service to his community. A handsome and polished man of many talents, he displayed unusual musical ability in singing numbers which ranged from the classics to "Carry Me Back to Old Virginia." He joined the Masons and several fraternal orders, adopting and publicly articulating their goals of good fellowship and community service. He spoke eloquently before civic, church, and political groups about the fundamental values of traditionalist America, emphasizing a Jeffersonian approach to public life and good government. Available evidence shows he was a person of intelligence and integrity who worked hard to achieve a profitable private profession and a useful public career. He was a dedicated husband and father who enjoyed spending spare time with his family. Finally, his political beliefs were not yet specific enough to determine the degree of his Democratic progressivism. But he was not a laissez-faire conservative. During the period following enactment of the 1902 constitution through the 1920s, the major theme in Virginia remained the dominance of economic and political conservatism as expressed by the Democratic organization, statewide by Thomas Martin and later by Harry Byrd and locally by James Woods.⁵⁰

Following his victories in the primary and the general election of 1922, Judge Woodrum's record as important citizen, private attorney, and public servant suggested that—as the 1939 *Life* poll later showed—his future in Washington was promising. In retrospect, the only surprising point about Clifton A. Woodrum's achievements is that his famous public career became obscure after his death in 1950. If it was not for Roanoke's airport being named Woodrum Field (because of Woodrum's major efforts on its behalf during 1939-1941), few Roanokers or Virginians would have any knowledge of an influential congressman who became an outspoken advocate during the 1930s of President Franklin D. Roosevelt and much of the New Deal.⁵¹

FOOTNOTES

1. Woodrum campaign statement, n.d. [1922], Clifton A. Woodrum Scrapbooks #1 (hereafter cited as WSB, with number). Woodrum did not keep a collection of papers after his retirement from Congress on December 31, 1945. But he did preserve over a dozen scrapbooks, which contain mainly newspaper clippings with some documents and memorabilia. The Woodrum Scrapbooks are in the possession of his daughter, Mrs. J.C. (Martha Anne Woodrum) Zillhardt, Fincastle, Va.

2. *Life*, March 20, 1939, pp. 14-17.

3. *Roanoke Times & World-News*, Aug. 30, 1974. The *Times* of Oct. 12, 1941, dedicated a 40-page section to the airport and the ceremonies as well as to Woodrum, the day before the facility was renamed Woodrum Field.

4. Robert and Anna Woodrum had five children, but only Clifton enjoyed good health through his adult years. The oldest son, Robert J. (1877-1945), was thrown from a horse at about age 16 and had to be hospitalized and given institutional care for the rest of his life, which Clifton paid for after his father died in 1912. The oldest daughter, Claudine (1880-1903), died of pneumonia at age 23. Lillian (1893-1898) lived only five years, and an infant son survived only six days in September 1892.

5. *Roanoke Times*, May 1, 2, 1912, May 7, 8, 1939; *Roanoke Leader*, Nov. 22, 1883; "The R.H. Woodrum Orchard Corporation, Roanoke Virginia," n.d. [1912], WSB #1; interview with Mrs. J.C. Zillhardt, Fincastle, Va., Aug. 1979; Raymond P. Barnes, *A History of Roanoke* (Radford, Va., 1968), pp. 257, 492.

6. For general background, see Works Progress Administration, *Roanoke, Story of City and County* (Roanoke, Va., 1942), esp. pp. 121-154.

7. Barnes, *History of Roanoke*, pp. 336-371.

- 8 Clipping, Dec. 7, 1927, and E.J. Davis, "From N&W Messenger to Congress," *Norfolk & Western Magazine*, Sept. 1927, p. 775, WSB #2; letter from Lewis M. Phelps, N&W Public Relations, and memorandum, both dated Aug. 14, 1979; interview with Mrs. J. C. Zillhardt, Fincastle, Va., Feb. 1978.
- 9 Board receipt, Nov. 9, 1903, and "Application for Examination as Registered Pharmacist," Jan. 16, 1904, WSB #1; *Roanoke Times*, Dec. 28, 1905; interviews with Mrs. J.C. Zillhardt, Fincastle, Va., Feb. 1978, Aug. 1979; Barnes, *History of Roanoke*, p. 421; letter from Nancy G. Summers, VCU Library archivist, with memorandum on "Junior pharmacy" courses, both dated Aug. 2, 1979.
- 10 Interview with Mrs. J.C. Zillhardt, Fincastle, Va. Sept. 1978.
- 11 Letter from Harold S. Head, W&L registrar, July 25, 1979; clippings, n.d. [1908], and program, "Washington & Lee Minstrels," April 30, 1908, and *Roanoke Evening News*, May 19, 1906, WSB #1; *Roanoke Times*, Aug. 19, 1917.
- 12 *Roanoke Evening World*, July 15, 1908, WSB #1. Also see *Roanoke Times*, June 16, 1914, and clippings, July 15, Nov. 6, 1908, April 7, 1909, Dec. 22, 19[09], *ibid*.
- 13 *Roanoke Times*, July 31, 1913, *ibid*.
- 14 *Roanoke Times*, Feb. 7, 1914, Jan. 30, 1916, and clippings for 1917, *ibid*.
- 15 Program, "CONCERT, The Lyric Quartet," July 13, 1914, *ibid*; *Roanoke Times*, July 16, 1914.
- 16 Programs, "Concert, Salem Choral Society," Feb. 10, 1914, "Sweet Briar College, Glee Club Concert," March 28, 1914, "The Elijah," June 2, 1914, "CONCERT, the Lyric Quartette," March 6, Nov. 5, 1914, and *Roanoke Times*, May 30, 1911, June 1, July 15, Nov. 30, 1913, and *Roanoke World News*, June 3, July 25, 1913, and *Roanoke Evening World*, Sept. 7, 1909, and *Salem Sentinel*, Feb. 12, 1914, in WSB #1.
- 17 Program, "An Evening of Song," n.d. [1913], with reprint of critic's comments, *ibid*.
- 18 Clipping, Oct. 31, 1915, *ibid*; *Roanoke Times*, Nov. 2, 1915, Dec. 8, 1916.
- 19 Clippings, Aug. 8, Dec. 26, 1917, WSB #1; *Roanoke Times* Aug. 9, 1917, Jan. 1, 1918.
- 20 Barnes, *History of Roanoke*, p. 543; clipping, Dec. 26, 1917, WSB #1.
- 21 *Roanoke Times*, Jan. 26, 1918; Barnes, *History of Roanoke*, pp. 547-557. On state prohibition being enacted by 1916, see Allen W. Moger, *Virginia: Bourbonism to Byrd, 1870-1925* (Charlottesville, Va., 1968), pp. 297-319.
- 22 Clipping, Feb. 26, 1918, and others, n.d. [1918], WSB #1; *Roanoke Times*, May 5, 1919.
- 23 Clippings, n.d. [1919], WSB #1; *Roanoke Times*, May 9, 1919.
- 24 *ibid*, Aug. 15, 16, 17, 21, 1919; clippings, Aug. 15, 16, 1919, WSB #1.
- 25 Woodrum to Mrs. Beverly Wortham, Feb. 21, 1920, *ibid*; *Roanoke Times*, Jan. 15, 1920.
- 26 *Roanoke World News*, Aug. 27, 1920, WSB #1; George B. Tindall, *The Emergence of the New South, 1913-1945* (Baton Rouge, La., 1967), pp. 219-253.
- 27 Raymond H. Pulley, *Old Virginia Restored: An Interpretation of the Progressive Impulse, 1870-1930* (Charlottesville, Va., 1968), pp. 171-188.
- 28 Clifton and Lena Woodrum had two children, Clifton A., Jr. (1910-1960), and Martha Anne (1916-).
- 29 Clipping, Jan. 27, 1921, and others, n.d. [1922], WSB #1.
- 30 *Roanoke Times*, July 25, 28, 29, 1922.
- 31 Clippings, Feb. 15, May 1, 1921, and others, n.d. [1921], WSB #1. Also see clippings on William A. Sunday's sermons, n.d. [Oct. 1920], WSB #4; Sunday to Woodrum, two letters, n.d. [Feb. 1921], WSB #2; Barnes *History of Roanoke*, pp. 582, 593.
- 32 *Roanoke Times*, June 16, 1921; Woodrum to Charles J. Smith, president of Roanoke College, May 17, 1921, and *Roanoke World News*, n.d. [1921], WSB #1.
- 33 Clippings, Dec. 29, 30, 1921, *ibid*; *Roanoke Times*, Dec. 29, 1921.
- 34 Clippings, March 21, 22, 1922, and P.A. Dixon to Woodrum, Jan. 10, 1922, WSB #1.
- 35 *Roanoke World News*, March 21, 1922, *ibid*; *Roanoke Times*, March 22, 1922.
- 36 Barnes, *History of Roanoke*, p. 605.
- 37 Clipping, April 10, 1922, WSB #1; *Roanoke Times*, July 23, 1922; interview with Mrs. Virginia Wright, Roanoke, Va., July 1979.
- 38 Clipping, March 28, 1922, WSB #1.
- 39 Woodrum campaign statement, n.d. [1922], *ibid*.
- 40 *Roanoke Times*, July 29, 30, 1922; Barnes, *History of Roanoke*, pp. 558, 611-612; interview with Leonard G. Muse, Roanoke, Va., Aug. 1978. On the Democratic organization, see V.O. Key, Jr., *Southern Politics in State and Nation* (New York, 1949), pp. 19-35.
- 41 Clippings, n.d. [1922], WSB #1; *Roanoke Times*, July 16, 29, 1922; interview with Leonard G. Muse, Roanoke, Va., Aug. 1979; interview with Frank W. Rogers, Sr., Roanoke, Va. Aug. 1979.
- 42 Campaign booklet, "Judge Clifton A. Woodrum," n.d. [1922], WSB #1; *Roanoke Times*, July 25, 30, 1922.
- 43 *ibid*, June 21, July 17, 29, 30, 1922; clippings, n.d. [1922], WSB #1.
- 44 Barnes, *History of Roanoke*, pp. 611-612; *Roanoke Times*, April 28, 1922; interview with Melville Carico, Roanoke, Va., Aug. 1979; interview with Frank W. Rogers, Sr., Roanoke, Va., Aug. 1979.
- 45 "Commonwealth of Virginia vs. C.M. Truax," File No. 10606 [1922], Municipal Court Building, Roanoke, Va.; *Roanoke Times*, May 18, 1922; *Bedford Bulletin*, July 28, 1922; clippings, n.d. [1922], WSB #1.
- 46 *Roanoke Times*, June 18, 1922; *Salem Sentinel*, June 19, 1922.
- 47 *Roanoke Times*, July 30, 1922.
- 48 Clippings, n.d. [Aug. 1922], WSB #1; *Roanoke Times*, Aug. 3, Nov. 8, 1922.
- 49 James P. Woods, "Personal Biographical Sketches and Reminiscences of James Pleasants Woods" (typescript, Aug. 1943), in possession of James P. Woods, Jr., Salem, Va.; Barnes, *History of Roanoke*, pp. 603-618; *Roanoke Times*, July 2, 1922.
- 50 Moger, *Virginia: Bourbonism to Byrd*, pp. 345-370.
- 51 For tributes by colleagues on Woodrum's 23 years of service, see U.S. Congress, House, *Congressional Record*, Vol. 91, No. 224 (unbound edition), pp. 12370-80.

Col. James P. Woods, Lawyer, Congressman

by Roy H. Hippert Jr.

James Pleasants Woods was a traditionalist in thought and action. He possessed the attributes of a conservative statesman which, in the words of famous English conservative Edmund Burke, included "a disposition to preserve and an ability to improve."¹

Growing to manhood in the late 19th century and serving in Congress from 1919 to 1923, Woods developed a laissez-faire political philosophy. He believed steadfastly in the American work ethic, the Methodist religion, the Democratic party, the free enterprise system and the fundamental principles of individual initiative and personal responsibility.

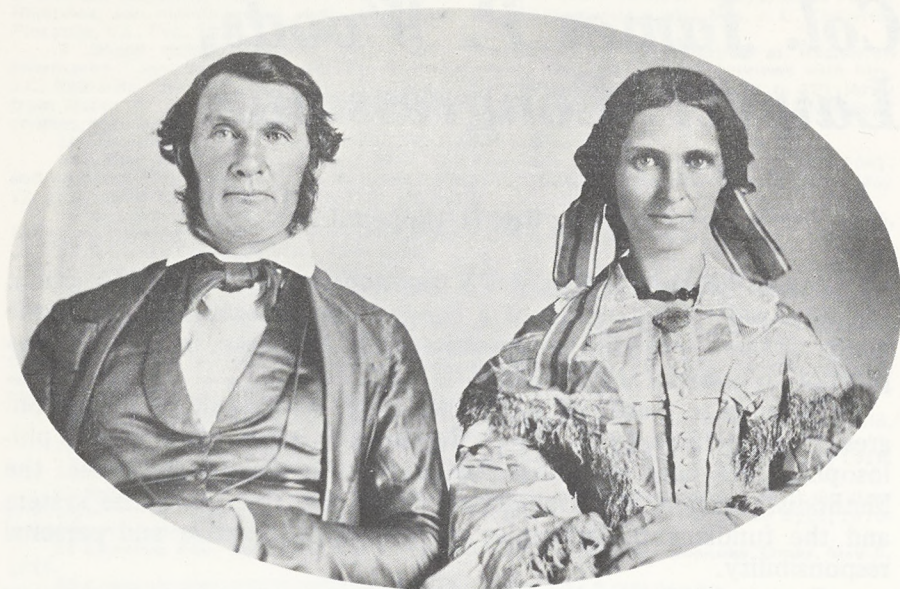
Born in 1868, Woods grew up in rural circumstances in a prosperous Catawba Valley farming family. His childhood environment helped young James develop many of his lifelong attitudes. From farm experiences he came to believe in the value of hard work in shaping character. Furthermore, he later subscribed to the then common belief in the innate goodness and superiority of rural life. For example, in 1923 he remarked that it was "on the farm where the purest patriotism and the hardest manhood is produced."²

During the 1870s Woods learned to view federal government intervention and unrestricted Negro suffrage with suspicion. He later described Reconstruction as "a travail of misrule" and Negro suffrage as having been "enacted that the Southern states might drink to its dregs the bitter cup of their humiliation."³ The adult Woods felt that federal government measures on behalf of the black citizen stifled individual initiative.

From the pro-business climate of the times as well as from his father's prosperity, he learned to respect the sanctity of property and to espouse the self-made man theory. He came to believe that success in life was "never an accident" but always the product of hard work.⁴ His belief in hard work was instilled in him very early in life by his father.

His father, William Woods, had Irish antecedents and his mother, Jane Eddington Woods, came from English parentage. William Woods had served as a lieutenant in the Confederate Army during the Civil War. The bitterness of Reconstruction influenced William deeply, and he

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William and Sara Jane Edington Woods, parents of James P. Woods, photographed probably at their marriage in 1856 or shortly afterward.



The old Woods home at Indian Camp Farm in the Catawba Valley burned in 1976 and the remains were razed by R. D. Morehead, the owner, in 1977.

passed that bitterness on to his children. Many of his father's attitudes and teachings are reflected in an autobiography which James Woods dictated late in life, when he wanted his own family to appreciate their heritage. Completed in August 1943, the "Personal Biographical Sketches and Reminiscences of James Pleasants Woods" cover 17 legal-sized pages in single-spaced typewritten form.

An edited and reorganized version of Woods' reminiscences sheds considerable light on his early life and experiences and provides a major source for this article. The following portion covers the Woods family through 1892, when James finished college:

I was born Feb. 4, 1868 at "Indian Camp" on Catawba. It was, in my time, not known as "Indian Camp", but "Valley Echo." From old deeds in Botetourt and Augusta, however, it is referred to as a "Place called Indian Camp," and most assuredly it was an Indian camp so many old arrow heads and Indians relics are found there. Besides, my father, who was born in 1817, said when he was young, frequently friendly Indians passing through on their way to Washington, stopped and camped there, and frequently came to the house for food.

I have traced the title to "Indian Camp" through the records of Botetourt and Augusta, but have not found the original crown grant. It is a very old place. James McAfee was the first or second settler in what is now Roanoke County. (See McCauley's History of Roanoke County)

Our place and the McConkey farm on the east were deeded to Archibald Woods of Albemarle Co., by the McAfees about 1770 or 1771. It was deeded to the McAfees by Robert Poage and to Poage by James McCown in Augusta Co. records.

Archibald Woods had several children, among them John, my grandfather who owned "Indian Camp." My grandfather John evidently bought the interest of the other heirs in "Indian Camp"—some of who lived in Kentucky—and died there leaving several children. My father, William, bought the interests of the other heirs of his father and his brother, Absalom. My father's mother was Elizabeth Smith of Mason's Cove.

My father, William, the youngest of his family, was born in 1817, and married first, Harriet Painter, before he was 21 and in 1856 married my mother, Jane Eddington. There were five children by the first wife.

The second wife's children were: Judge John W., born 1858 and died childless in December 1912; Amine Eldora, born about 1860 and died unmarried January 1884. She was a beautiful girl of a most happy and amiable disposition and very popular. Joseph Robert, born about 1863 and died in Salem or Lewis-Gale Hospital in 1916. He had the entire confidence of his fellow countymen. Anna Louise, born about 1866 and still lives unmarried in Roanoke. Next came myself. The youngest was Oscar Wiley who graduated in medicine at

the University of Virginia and took a post-graduate course at John's Hopkins. He became a surgeon in the United States Army and for some time was stationed in the Philippines where he became ill and died in Roanoke about 1910 unmarried. (For the early lineage see "Woods McAfee Memorial")

My father owned a number of slaves, most of the children or relatives of Aunt Lucy, who was bought when she was 10 years old, and was sold in the settlement of one of the Smith estates in Mason's Cove. My father's mother was a Smith, and slaves were usually, when they had to be sold, purchased by some relative of the former owners. In fact, when slaveholders, for financial reasons, had to sell slaves they usually told the slave to select for himself a good master to whom the slaveholder would sell at a lower price than could be obtained from a "slave trader" to take them south. Two classes of men, the "slave trader" and the "paper shaver" were, before the war, held in execration in the south, this to the credit of our humane standards and sentimental consideration of the slaves by most people.

My father never sold a slave, but kept himself poor buying relatives of Aunt Lucy, upon her importunities when some had to be sold to settle estates. He paid \$1,500 for John, Aunt Lucy's half brother, just a short while before the war. Occasionally he had to threaten to sell one obstreperous slave, Griffin, in order to make him behave.

My father lacked one year of being too old for service in the Confederate army when the Civil War broke out, but he volunteered and was made first lieutenant in his Roanoke County company in the 54th Virginia Regiment. His command was assigned to guarding the salt works at Saltville, the chief source of salt supply of the Confederates. His command was also sent to West Virginia on the Ohio River to combat the Union military activities there, but the federal gunboats came up the river and drove them back. In his second year of service he contracted measles and pneumonia and was desperately ill at Saltville where he was serving one year after he had reached the age limit which exempted him. My mother rode horseback from Catawba to Saltville to see him while he was sick. He was never strong afterwards but was assigned to "home guard duty" till the end of the war.

He was on that duty when Hunter's Army was driven by Early from Lynchburg to Salem where Hunter left the valley and struck through Hanging Rock Gap across Catawba and the various mountains to West Virginia. Hunter had abandoned his wagon trains and had to subsist his army on the country. He sent out his raiding squads and gathered in all livestock, grain and supplies he could find. At home Charles Blanney, Aunt Lucy's son, took the horses to Montgomery and hid them in the mountains until all danger from Hunter's raiders was past, when he faithfully brought them back. Charles was then 16 years old. His conduct is a typical example of the loyalty and devotion of the slaves to their masters and their families.

When Hunter's army came through they took everything in sight.

They gave Griffin whiskey to make him drunk and he continued to show the Yankees where things were hidden, flour, meat, etc. My mother saw him doing this during the day till she went to him and told him the Yankees had found all the food that had been hidden except one barrel of flour hid in the leaves up the branch hollow, and that if he showed them where that was he (Grif) would just have to starve. He didn't show it to them. They took all the bacon except one ham which she sat on in her rocking chair, and this saved it with the barrel of flour.

She hid her silver when she heard the Yankees were coming, and in her excitement forgot where she hid it. She never found it. Presumably the Yankees found it. One soldier took up a beehive and mounted his horse with it on his shoulder. He rode off with it, his horse kicking from the stinging bees. All the horses had been taken away by Charles except one three-year-old unbroken colt which I afterwards knew as "Old Ned", a fine Morgan horse. The Yankees chased him in a three-acre lot all day, but never could catch him. They ransacked the house taking blankets.

Times were very hard just after the Civil War. The slaves were all freed but the problem was what to do with them. The whole economic structure of the South had been wrecked. And under the 'Reconstruction' that followed the Confederate soldier was deprived of the right to vote and had few legal rights. The "scalawags," "carpetbaggers" and the former slaves were in control. Gen. Grant, however, showed chivalrous consideration for the Confederate soldiers and by his influence saved Virginia from many of the hardships of Reconstruction.

Father had his own leather tanned and got an Irish cobbler to come each fall to make our shoes. The sole leather had to be bought. Likewise, our clothes till we were about grown were made at home—hickory shirts and Kentucky jeans. After we were larger, the tailor at Salem, Z. Boone, would cut out our Sunday suits of good cloth and my mother would make them. I never had a tailor-made suit till I was at college.

I plowed corn the first day when I was 11 years old. They wanted me to hoe, but I wanted to do a man's job. They said if nothing else would do me I could get old Beck, a fractious saddle mare, whom nobody else would plow, and "split middle." The plow was as tall as I. I couldn't keep it from chugging under the underlying slate rocks, which would break the trace chains, and cause the plow to "kick" me. Old Beck and I fought all day, and broke down about as much corn as we plowed. When night came I was so tired and mad I refused any supper and went straight to bed. The next morning father called me saying, "Jim, get up, old Beck's down". I said, "I'm glad to hear it, I knew one of us had to go", but I didn't know which one of us would hit the pearly gates first, I or old Beck.

The wheat was thrashed by horses hitched to a turntable walking around in a circle and operating the thrasher. As a boy it was my job

to hold sacks as the thrashed wheat was poured into them. It required numerous hands to get the wheat to the machine and stack the straw. As a rule Father never sold his wheat, but had it ground into flour at Painters' Mill and sold the surplus to poor people, many of whom could not pay.

I always on the farm would do the heaviest work that men did. I never learned to bind wheat as the strongest men cradled. I cut wheat with a cradle when I was 15. There were no binders then and harvesting was done by hand except mowing machines for hay. In the winter when the branch was up we ran the sawmill and sold the lumber, and used the slabs for wood. Every spring each of us usually had a three-year-old colt to break, and he was then ours to ride. We always stabled the calves which were bought in the fall and the next year ran them in the "range" in Mason's Cove for two or three months, and would go over to salt them once a week.

In the winter time it was our job to haul saw logs and to operate the sawmill, first an "up and down" sawmill, later about 1880 circular sawmill with cornchoppers. My father kept a large force of hands and always found something for us to do. It was rather rare that we got a half-day holiday Saturday afternoon to go fishing or squirrel hunting. We were taught that life is work. We had no time to get into mischief. When we looked out in the morning the first thing that greeted our eyes was a hill to climb. It made men of us.

In the early days we had no pleasure vehicles, but rode horseback, the women on side saddles. When I was small my father bought the first family "Jersey" paying \$120 for it. It had been made in a blacksmith and wagon maker's shop, the only source of supply in those days. Later we bought a neat trap, made by Kefauver & Son of Big Lick. I rode horseback behind my sister Amine to visit our Aunt, Mrs. Griggs. I had never seen a train, but saw two boxcars on a switch, and went back to tell my younger brother of the wonderful sight I had seen. Big Lick then had 400 people, and the only business street was Commerce, with four or five stores and some tobacco factories. To me it was a wonderful trip. I never rode on a train till after I was 18. [My youngest brother] Oscar rode the train from Christiansburg to Salem and told me of his experience. He said it ran so fast you could hardly count the telegraph poles.

As boys we had learned a number of short poems, each knew them all, and we would "speak" them whenever a stranger came to spend the night. The first one to speak selected for recital the best poem. Father would bet on me and the stranger on Oscar. . . . Our sponsors would give us at the conclusion about five cents each, which we put in our tin banks. I accumulated about \$4 that way, which made me richer than my school mates. At school we played "Town Ball," and I became the best batter in school of the solid rubber ball.

We all attended the country schools in the neighborhood; a part of the time at the school house [which was taught by private tutors] on the farm, and part of the time two miles away at the school house

near the present Catawba Church. Our various teachers were my brother, John, who had three years at Roanoke College; L. W. Wise, a nephew of Gov. Wise; Frank B. Caldwell who taught me to write; Chas. K. Peck; Miss Fannie Spessard, the mother of Gov. Holland of Florida; Col. James Brent, a relative of President Madison, who taught me to love Bobby Burns, and Arch Wiley, son of Dr. Wiley. My last public school teachers were Edgar Barnett and J. T. S. Wade. I learned enough to stand the examination to teach a school myself at \$25 a month and paid \$6 for board at Shiloh.

While going to the Brand school I, then eleven years old, met my first sweetheart, Lee Goolsby. I wanted to marry that girl, but thought it useless to say anything to my mother about it as she would think me too young to marry. Lee moved back to New Castle and later married before I had a chance to court her. My next sweetheart I met when I was 15, Annie Robinson of lower Catawba. She was visiting my niece, Gertie Lewis. They proposed that we take a walk a half-mile up to the Roanoke Red. I was escorting Annie, but was walking on the wrong side. Annie switched around and got on the right side. Gertie and my brother teased me for not knowing the right side. At the Roanoke Red office the Manager asked if we would like to talk to the Lake Spring Hotel at Salem, likewise owned by F. J. Chapman. The telephone line connecting the two resorts was the first one in Roanoke County. I talked over it.

On that trip I made an engagement with Annie to come to see her the next Sunday, as I had my own colt to ride but I didn't own a saddle. I thought I could borrow Joe's, but when I asked Joe for his saddle he had an engagement to go to see some girl and couldn't lend it to me. I was then in a pickle with an important engagement and no saddle. I solved it by writing Annie a postal card telling her I couldn't come because "I ain't got no saddle," a frank excuse and a truthful one, though crude. Oh, we don't appreciate the things that trouble a boy or his sufferings. Always sympathize with a boy when he stumps his toe or has his troubles, serious to him, as every time the old hall clock ticks it brings that boy nearer manhood. After that I cut out girls except in a casual way till I was through college and for several years after.

After my father's death in June 1882, mother with six children insisted upon my brother, John W., staying with us on the farm and handling the livestock, the chief money income. Calves were not vealed then but were sold as stockers at about five dollars cash when three months old. He bought many from single cow owners at Vinton and near Roanoke and it was frequently my job to drive these young calves, 10 or 15 at a time from Vinton to Catawba, a long and tiresome drive for one day. He bought a flock of sheep on the north side of Bedford County, and upon his return asked if I wished to take the trip to drive them home — a three days drive — otherwise he would let the colored man, Mose, go. Boy-like, 15 years old, I wanted the trip and made it. What 15-year-old boy could you find now to

do that five-day trip among strangers?

After teaching a country school at Shiloh on Catawba one five months term at \$25 per month, I went the next summer to Dr. D. Surface's private summer school at Childress Store in Montgomery Co. about ten weeks. The tuition was \$2 a month and I paid Mrs. Thomas Hall \$6 a month board. I had to walk a mile to school. Dr. Surface was an alumnus of Randolph-Macon, a fine teacher, who drilled us thoroughly in arithmetic, algebra, English and Latin grammar. After five months with him I could write a grammar.

The next fall I taught at the Narrows School for \$30 per month and paid \$4 a month board. At the end of my school term I went to Salem as clerk in Brown Bros. "Red Striped Front" gent's furnishing store at \$25 per month, sleeping at the store to guard it. I paid \$10 a month table board at Lake Spring Hotel, F. J. Chapman, the proprietor, saying he would charge me only the same he was charging his brother-in-law. I never forgot his kindness either, and in later years, when I was mayor of Roanoke I was glad to get his son, William, a job with the Norfolk and Western shops. I paid my board by selling him for \$10 a little mare with four white feet, called "Silk Stockings," the first horse I ever owned. I cannot recall now how long I remained in the store, but all the while I kept constant in mind that I would get a college education.

I had my trunk packed to go to Randolph-Macon, but on Friday night before I was to leave for college on Monday, Frank Chalmers, cashier of the Farmers National Bank, came into the store [where I was working] and told me his bank would pay me \$6 a month to sleep in the bank at night, make the fires and sweep out the bank each morning. This would save me room rent, lights, etc., and I could go to Roanoke College. The college was kind to me and after the first year charged me only half tuition, \$25 a year. Frank Day ran a "mess" and I boarded with him, until he went "broke," at \$7 a month. Financially, I was sailing smoothly.

After Joe had bought out several of the heirs and after I had spent one year at Roanoke College and hardly had money to go further, he proposed to sell me a half interest in "Indian Camp" at what he paid for it. I verbally agreed to buy it. One morning after college had opened we were tying up corn shocks, he on one side of the shock and I on the other. I wrapped the two stalks around the shock to tie. That frosty morning the two stalks broke. I pulled them together and they again broke. I walked around the shock to Joe's side and said: "Joe, will you let me out of that trade for one-half of this farm?" Joe said, "Yes, if you want out. What are you going to do?" I said, "I'm going back to college." Joe said, "When?" I said, "Right now." I walked out of the field, got my little grip and walked cross the mountain to Salem, in September 1889. I have never regretted that decision, nor have I ever seen a man or woman who regretted the time spent in college, regardless of whether they improved with the college opportunities.

The college president had that summer met me on the street in Salem as I was driving the farm wagon and asked me if I would return to college. I told him "no," as I didn't have the money without borrowing it; that I thought I would work a year or so and later complete my college course. He said, "You are mistaken. Get your education first and then work. What is a thousand-dollar debt to a man with a college education? If you need the money for the next year I will see the college treasurer and get him to lend you \$200. We will not let the best man in the freshman class stay out of college for lack of money." I had this in mind when I left Joe and the farm. I repaid the college this amount after I began practicing law, and have since repaid it many times gladly. The college charged me only \$25 for tuition.

Before that year was out the county treasurer, W. W. Brand, voluntarily offered me the job of deputy treasurer to collect the taxes in the Salem District, which I could do in the summer months and on Saturdays and court days, and which paid me \$150. He was a Republican while I was a Democrat, and I have never ceased to be grateful for his kindness to me, a struggling boy. I know his action was criticized by some of his Republican supporters for giving the place to a Democrat. He also loaned me a colt to ride over the district from Hollins to Elliston.

The tax job enabled me to stay in college until my graduation as president of my class in 1892. I always made "First Distinction" which meant a grade of above 95. In my sophomore year I made an average grade of 98, the highest in college, but my junior and senior years I went to room with Ernest McCauley at his home. He was always in love, and, while brilliant, was never a close student, and I never studied as closely myself after I roomed with him. He was the only man in the senior class who failed to get his diploma, but it was later given to him and he has honored it.

I joined the Phi Gamma Delta Fraternity my freshman year, 1888-89. We had a club of fine boys, neary half of them ministerial students. There was never any drinking in the club room. That little chapter, with never at one time more than 10 members, turned out three college presidents and numerous college professors. In later years, however, its membership became somewhat dissipated. I took the records and sent them in to the Grand Chapter. I saw the way the boys were going, and I preferred the chapter's death to dishonor.

In my senior year I was unanimously elected president of the class, which, all things considered, I think the greatest honor that ever came to me. College students usually pass an unerring judgment upon their fellows, though in my case it may have been an all too partial one, but "Big Woods" appreciated it highly. [James Woods, "Big Woods," stood 6'3" and weighed in excess of 240 pounds.]

Upon completing his undergraduate education at Roanoke College, Woods moved to Charlottesville and began studying law at the University of Virginia. After a year and a half of law school, he returned to

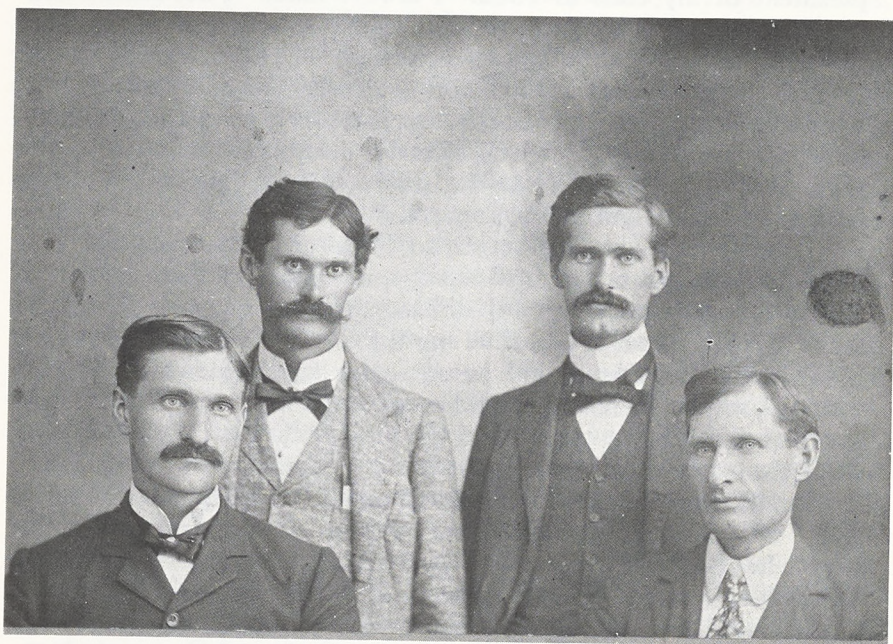
Roanoke to launch his career. Later he recalled his return to the city:

Roanoke had collapsed from the 1890-91 boom when I came here in June 1893. There was very little business of any kind; four of the seven banks broke, but within five years I represented at least for a while, three of the seven banks, and our law business continued to grow till I went into partnership with Edward Robertson and Harvey Hall in 1904, both of whom were older at the bar than I, when it grew rapidly, and last year my present firm's business was over \$70,000, of which approximately 25% was office expense.

Over the years James Woods practiced law with a succession of partnerships. For 10 years he worked with his brother's firm, headed by C.B. Moomaw and John W. Woods. In 1903 he became a junior partner in the firm of Robertson, Hall and Woods. He continued with those associates until 1910, when Robertson was elected to a judgeship. By then Hall and Woods had become prosperous, attracting many prominent companies and individuals as clients. Over the years businesses they represented included the Roanoke Street Railway Company, the Tidewater Railroad and the Appalachian Power Company.

By 1916 his successful practice encouraged Woods to organize a new partnership, Woods, Chitwood and Coxe. As senior partner he headed that firm until his death on July 7, 1948.

Woods still leads the name of Woods, Rogers, Muse, Walker & Thornton, the largest law firm in Roanoke, more than 30 years after his



Four Woods brothers—James Pleasants (left), Dr. Oscar Wiley, Joseph Robert and Judge John William—were pictured in Salem late in the 19th century.

death.

He coupled his legal pursuits with a successful and varied career in business and investments. He served on the boards or as president of several companies. He and some associates organized and operated the Exchange Lumber Company (beginning in 1899), planted the Hanging Rock Orchard (1902) and formed the Roanoke Marketing Company (1906).⁵ Woods served for a time as president of the Salem Glass Company, later reorganized as the Cooper Silica Glass Company. In retrospect, his most controversial association—because of the 1922 Democratic primary—proved to be serving as president of the Borderland Coal Company of West Virginia.⁶ According to former associates, Woods always displayed sound judgment in financial and real estate investments.⁷

Having achieved success as an attorney and a businessman, Woods became public-spirited in the noblesse oblige tradition. He began his long local political career by serving for several terms on the Roanoke City Council. His civic reputation led him to campaign for mayor in 1898. He defeated Republican George W. Ramsey, the candidate of the railroad interests, by a slim margin. According to James P. Woods Jr., this was the most satisfying political victory of his father's career.⁸ The older Woods later told of those experiences:

In the early days we partners worked at the office at least four nights a week, to the apparent neglect of our wives and families, but we were building a law business, which has been our mainstay. Within three or four years I was elected to council from the first, now Highland Ward, and in 1898, five years after I came to the bar, I was nominated for mayor in the Democratic primary over two opponents, Van Taliaferro and James Neal, both Confederate soldiers, receiving more votes than both of them. But nomination by no means then meant election as before the new constitution the negroes were all voting and voting the Republican ticket. The Republicans ran Geo. W. Ramsey, a very popular man and formerly chief clerk to the N & W president, and member of several lodges. It was a nip-and-tuck race, but I beat him by 27 votes. After serving my term and soon after going into my new law firm, I was never again a candidate until I was elected to Congress.

The Woods mayoralty was characterized by conservative fiscal policies and a business-like approach to city government. Serving from January 1899 to January 1901, he restored Roanoke's credit, which had been strained by the "panic" and depression beginning in 1893. Raymond P. Barnes, in *A History of Roanoke* (1968), commented that Mayor Woods "had divorced himself from political alliances and was running the city on his own judgment and 'backbone.' "

Woods advocated a sound money policy of spending as little as possible. He also threatened to veto any excessive expenditures approved by city council. His successful economies soon led to a surplus of city funds and to a conflict with city council over proposed civic improvements. The conflict caused one anonymous councilman to

declare that "if proper appropriations were made there would be no surplus."⁹ However, the *Roanoke World* said of Col. Woods, since he was "always ready to do his duty without fear, favor or affection, it was natural that his acts should sometimes be counter to the wishes of others." (*Roanoke Times*, July 8, 1948). By the end of his term, the *Roanoke World* called Woods a model mayor.¹⁰

Returning to his legal and business activities in 1901, Woods remained involved in state politics. For example, in 1905 he became a member of Governor Claude Swanson's staff and received the honorary title of colonel. Swanson was then an important member of the Virginia Democratic organization, begun in 1893 by U.S. Senator Thomas S. Martin.¹¹ Woods had served as chairman of the State Democratic Central Committee before he became mayor. In such fashion he gradually built his stature with the Democratic "machine."¹²

Woods married Susie K. Moon of Chatham in 1904. They had three children, James P., Jr., Elizabeth and Kathryn. A dedicated father, Woods was later described by close associate Leonard G. Muse as "a man of ability, integrity, honesty and good character." During the 1922 campaign Clifton A. Woodrum stated: "I regard him [Woods] as a gentleman of the highest character."¹³

Col. Woods' fine reputation as an attorney and a civic leader as well as his affiliation with the Democratic organization led to his selection in 1918 as Sixth District congressman. The seat was vacated when President Woodrow Wilson appointed incumbent Carter Glass of Lynchburg as Treasury Secretary on Dec. 5, 1918. Woods began his congressional career on March 4, 1919, with the opening of the third session of the Sixty-Fifth Congress.¹⁴

Woods worked so diligently throughout his five years in Congress that he won the respect of both his Republican and Democratic colleagues.¹⁵ His assignments in 1919 began with the committees on the District of Columbia, on Claims, and on Expenditures in the Post Office Department. As a result of painstaking work on those assignments, he was elevated to ranking minority member of the District of Columbia Committee at the beginning of the Sixty-Seventh Congress in 1922. In this capacity he was mainly responsible for a bill to encourage the merger of the two street railway companies then operating in Washington.¹⁶ Woods drew upon his business experience and his earlier work for the Roanoke Street Railway Company in this endeavor. Also, it is a positive reflection on his abilities that the Republican-dominated committee chose him to draft the bill.

Woods resigned from the District Committee on April 8, 1922, when the Democratic leadership appointed him to the more important Post Offices and Post Roads Committee. Since this new committee handled the location and construction of many federal roads and buildings, it put the Roanoker in a position to help his district directly.¹⁷

Congressman Woods' conservative political philosophy is best exemplified by his voting record. For example, he voted against Shoals nitrate project and various measures to promote the building of state

roads with federal funds.²²

Therefore Colonel Woods' voting record reflects his conservative principles although he also supported progressive legislation on a few occasions.

Woods tended toward progressivism when questions of morality were raised. He seemingly explained this tendency at the 1924 Norfolk Democratic convention by saying "the great principles of honesty, truth and justice in government are eternal Progressivism is but another term for the application of these fundamental principles to modern conditions and the ever growing needs of society."²³

An example of his progressivism came when Woods backed the District of Columbia Rents Act. Usually he sought to keep government out of business, in the laissez-faire tradition. But in this instance he stated that the government had the right to control and regulate—but not to take over—property. He also supported a bill which would use federal powers to prevent District landlords from price-gouging on rents, while saying he had preferred a bill which would not be of "such a socialistic tendency."²⁴

Regarding agricultural policy, Woods put aside his traditionalist views. For example, he stated in one House debate that "I would go as far as these gentlemen [his colleagues] to keep the federal government out of business. It is a sound principle, but in looking at agriculture we must have a broader vision."²⁵

The colonel took a similar view concerning reform of Washington's tax laws, evidently a haven for tax dodgers. "I have no disposition to indulge in the demagogic rallery against wealth," he said in debate, "which has been legitimately earned, but no class of taxpayers is better able to pay than the holders, particularly the large holders, of intangibles."²⁶ Such statements illustrate an enlightened conservatism on his part. However, none of those issues—except for agriculture—had a direct bearing on the Sixth district.

Considered altogether, Colonel Wood's statements and actions in Congress were characterized by a laissez-faire conservatism. On several occasions he stated his firm conviction that government intervention in the economy should be reduced. Also, he usually expressed concern for maintaining such principles as individual initiative, states' rights, and poll taxes.²⁷

Woods viewed Virginia poll tax as a positive response to difficult social circumstances. Responding to a House colleague who criticized the Old Dominion's poll tax, the colonel called it "a very helpful thing. It gives us a better electorate."²⁸ As enacted by the 1902 Virginia Constitution, the major purpose of the tax was to disenfranchise blacks and poor whites—most of whom normally voted Republican.²⁹

The poll tax and literacy test were major devices by which the Democratic organization's elitist leadership kept itself in political power in Virginia. Organization leaders on the state level included Thomas Martin (until his death in 1919) and later Harry F. Byrd, who assumed Martin's leadership by 1922. In the Roanoke Valley, Woods

best represented the "machine." Political scientist V.O. Key, Jr., has described the Democratic organization as a group of like-minded conservatives who took a narrow view of the public interest.³⁰

In the 1922 Democratic primary, Woods lost by only 369 votes to "Cliff" Woodrum for several reasons. Not the least of those was his organization ties over the years. Woods represented the successful businessman and the establishment in his attitudes, his congressional service, his law firm, and his campaign speeches. The *Roanoke Times* and the *Roanoke World News*, both conservative papers, backed Woods editorially. Such backing confirmed his "machine man" image in the minds of most middle and working class voters.³¹

Woods' alienation of labor and the scurrilous attacks by the Woods re-election committee upon Woodrum and his record as judge were two of the main reasons for Colonel Woods' defeat. Woodrum's use of the modern 20th century campaign tactics of mass appeal and reluctance to take a stand on any issue, combined with his popularity among young voters and newly-enfranchised women, sealed the fate of the incumbent.³²

Following his defeat in 1922, Col. Woods remained involved in Roanoke and Virginia politics. His law partner, Joseph H. Chitwood, became a confidante of Harry F. Byrd, who won the governorship in 1925. Woods and Chitwood kept Byrd informed about Roanoke politics throughout the late 1920s and in the 1930s.³³ Those connections caused Byrd to ask Woods personally in 1929 to announce for governor. Shunning a statewide campaign with speechmaking and handshaking, the colonel, reserved and private in nature, declined. Instead, John G. Pollard announced for the Democratic nomination, won organization endorsement, and easily defeated his Republican opponent.³⁵

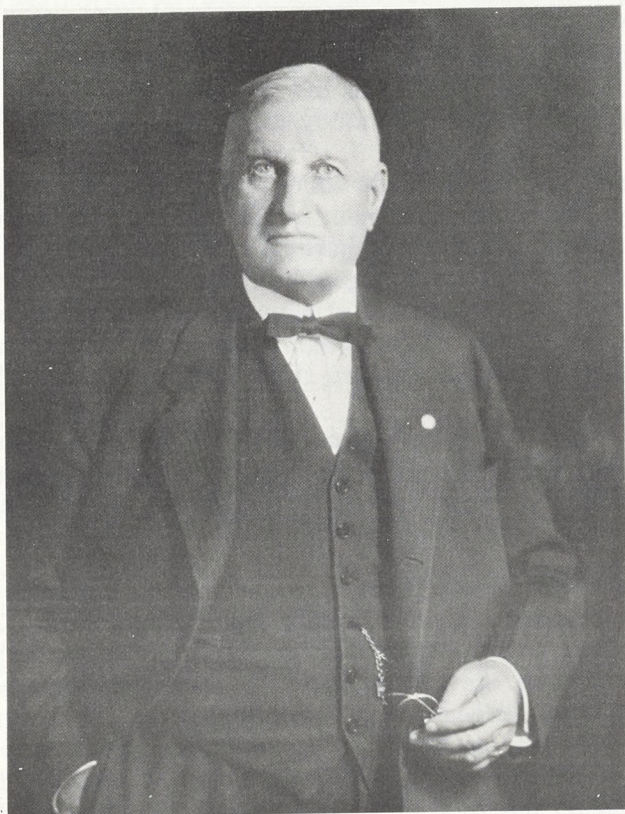
Woods later recalled his political experiences:

I never really enjoyed Congress as the Republicans were in control and there was little that we Democrats could do. Rorer James, the state chairman and Congressman, while he never told me personally was laying plans to run me for governor succeeding E. Lee Trinkle, but he suddenly died. But for his death I think I would have been governor. I had in the state no more loyal friend.

Notwithstanding my defeat because of labor troubles and strike in our coal mine, at the conclusion of Byrd's term, he and the organization forces offered to nominate me for governor, and had I accepted I would have been elected, but just at that time when we had a meeting of leaders in Richmond I was very nervous, which I afterwards learned was due to gall bladder infection, as a result of my sedentary life in Washington. After having Swanson consulted, who while entirely friendly to me, strongly advised against my nomination (he was deathly afraid of labor, which he thought would fight me) I declined to run as I did not feel equal to a speaking campaign over the state. Just the year previous Al Smith had lost the state, and it looked like a hard fight. I talked confidentially to Trinkle after Harry Byrd had urged me to announce, and Trinkle, as a friend

advised me even though I could be elected, not to undertake the strenuous distasteful campaign, telling me also that Mapp would run and would raise the issue that Tidewater was then entitled to it. In my innocence I did not realize that Trinkle, while personally friendly, did not want an organization or Byrd man as governor, as it might thwart his ambition to be U. S. senator.

When I declined, the Byrd crowd brought out Pollard who easily defeated Mapp. Later when I saw Mapp during the campaign, he asked me why I didn't run. I told him because Trinkle had told me he, Mapp, would run whether or no, and would raise the issue of Tidewater against the western part of the state, which had recently had two governors. He said "Didn't you get my message to run yourself, and I would not be a candidate?" But the messenger never delivered Mapp's message to me and hence I was never governor. I felt a serious factional fight might endanger the election, which had recently gone Republican. I do not regret my career, however. I have spoken the truth, paid my debts and some of the debts of others, and dealt justly with my neighbors, just so-called homely virtues, but



Col. James Pleasants Woods, dean of the Roanoke bar, about 1943

without them we cannot build a life or a nation. I wish, however, the family could have had four years in Richmond, though it would have been a financial sacrifice. By not taking office my law and other business prospered. My terms in Congress were a great financial loss, though I do not regret having gone to Congress.

Notwithstanding my defeat I was selected by the State Central Committee as temporary chairman of the Norfolk Convention, and to make the keynote speech. It was one of the few I had ever written and memorized, and the best one I ever made. Many of the state papers published it in full, but my home papers did not. Several governors have appointed me to the V.P.I. board and I have enjoyed the work. I am now the rector and the oldest member in length of service on the board. I have also enjoyed my work on the boards of Roanoke and Randolph-Macon colleges, where constructive work is being done. In these capacities I have been glad to render service to the people who have always exercised a kind judgment toward me. I have always felt a deep sympathetic interest in students struggling to get an education.

James P. Woods consistently demonstrated the attitudes of a conservative citizen, businessman and statesman. He showed the disposition to preserve and the ability to improve, as articulated by Edmund Burke. In politics, Woods used his abilities to bring more efficiency and economy into government. His low profile approach was less easily appreciated than the more flamboyant style of progressives like Cliff Woodrum.

Nevertheless, Woods made solid and lasting contributions to his community and to the government on the city and federal levels. Probably his political career would have lasted longer if he had been more favorable to the interests of organized labor, the expansion of federal powers and the enfranchisement of women and blacks, and less involved with the elitist politics of the Virginia Democratic organization. Yet he effectively represented the pre-1922 views of the majority of his constituents.

Taken overall, the life and career of Colonel Woods made a substantial mark on his city and state. He understood what many people never learn, "that, after all, serving is the highest form of living."^{3 5}

(Editor's note: Woods has been the only man to serve as head of the boards of both Roanoke College and Virginia Tech. Mrs. Anne McNulty Stone, who worked for the Woods, Chitwood, Coxe and Rogers law firm in the 1930s, added these recollections. For lunch, Col. Woods often walked across to the drugstore for a "vegetable sandwich," known today as "BLT" or bacon, lettuce and tomato. "He had his lighter moments and he was utterly charming. He couldn't carry a tune in a bucket but that didn't keep him from singing loud and clear, his eyes twinkling and his great shoulders shaking with glee. Sometimes, among close friends and after a bit of coaxing, he would "render" his

masterpiece. With his head thrown back and mischief in his eyes, he would begin, emphasizing every other syllable with a flump of his shoulders, Th' PURtiest GURL I EVer THAW was THIPping CI-i-ider THROUGH a STHRAW. . . I'll never forget the look on his face as he sang, a mixture of Saint Nick, Puck and perhaps Emmett Kelly.")

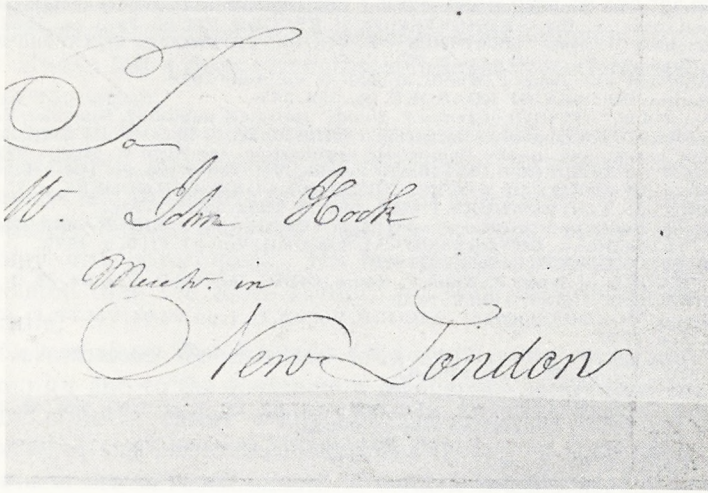
FOOTNOTES

- 1 Quoted in J.H. Randall, Jr., *THE MAKING OF THE MODERN MIND* (Boston, 1940), p. 433.
- 2 U.S. Congress, House, *CONGRESSIONAL RECORD*, Vol. 64, Part 5, p. 4937.
- 3 *IBID.*, Vol. 60, Pt. 3, pp. 3105-06, and Vol. 62, Pt. 2, p. 1362.
- 4 *IBID.*, Vol. 60, Pt. 3, pp. 3105-06.
- 5 Raymond P. Barnes, *A HISTORY OF ROANOKE* (Radford, Va., 1968), pp. 330, 374, 424.
- 6 Interview with James P. Woods, Jr., Salem, Va., June 1979. Congressman Woods cited wages and other benefits of miners at the Borderland Coal Corporation during debate of the 1922 coal strike; see House *CONGRESSIONAL RECORD*, Vol. 58, Pt. 8, pp. 7588-89.
- 7 Leonard G. Muse, *MEMORIES OF WOODS, CHITWOOD, COXE, and ROGERS* (typescript, Roanoke, Va., 1977), pp. 2, 15.
- 8 Interview with James P. Woods, Jr., Salem, Va., June 1979.
- 9 Barnes, *HISTORY OF ROANOKE*, pp. 332, 347.
- 10 Quoted in "RECORD of James P. Woods" (privately published, Roanoke, Va., 1922), a campaign pamphlet distributed to the public, copy in library of Times-World Corporation.
- 11 For background on the Democratic organization, see Allen W. Moger, *VIRGINIA: BOURBONISM TO BYRD, 1870-1925* (Charlottesville, Va., 1968), esp. pp. 166-230.
- 12 Muse, *MEMORIES OF WOODS, CHITWOOD, COXE, AND ROGERS*, p. 7.
- 13 *IBID.*, pp. 1-24; *ROANOKE TIMES*, July 29, 1922, July 8, 1948.
- 14 Rixey Smith and Norman Beasley, *CARTER GLASS: A BIOGRAPHY* (New York, 1939), pp. 154-168; House, *CONGRESSIONAL RECORD*, Vol. 57, Pt. 5, p. 4772.
- 15 *ROANOKE TIMES*, March 22, 1922.
- 16 "RECORD of James P. Woods"; House, *CONG. RECORD*, Vol. 61, Pt. 6, p. 6189.
- 17 *ROANOKE TIMES*, April 9, 1922.
- 18 House, *CONGRESSIONAL RECORD*, Vol. 58, Pt. 1, pp. 93-94, Vol. 62, Pt. 5, p. 4433, Vol. 58, Pt. 2, p. 1777.
- 19 *IBID.*, Vol. 59, Pt. 8, pp. 7602-03, Vol. 58, Pt. 8, p. 7821, Vol. 58, Pt. 3, p. 3006.
- 20 *IBID.*, Vol. 62, Pt. 2, pp. 1362-65.
- 21 *ROANOKE TIMES*, June 17, 1922.
- 22 House, *CONGRESSIONAL RECORD*, Vol. 62, Pt. 3, p. 2455, Vol. 58, Pt. 6, pp. 6163-64, Pt. 4, p. 3982; "RECORD of James P. Woods."
- 23 Woods' speech at the Norfolk Democratic Convention, June 11, 1924, copy in possession of James P. Woods, Jr.
- 24 House, *CONGRESSIONAL RECORD*, Vol. 61, Pt. 6, p. 5581, Vol. 62, Pt. 7, p. 7414.
- 25 *IBID.*, Vol. 62, Pt. 5, p. 4937.
- 26 *IBID.*, Vol. 59, Pt. 9, p. 9209.
- 27 See *IBID.*, Vol. 62, Pt. 2, pp. 1362-65, Pt. 5, p. 4937.
- 28 *IBID.*, Vol. 59, Pt. 2, p. 1455.
- 29 Moger, *VIRGINIA: BOURBONISM TO BYRD*, pp. 181-202.
- 30 V.O. Key, Jr., *SOUTHERN POLITICS IN STATE AND NATION* (New York, 1949), pp. 19-35.
- 31 Barnes, *HISTORY OF ROANOKE*; *ROANOKE TIMES*, March 22, July 22, 26, 29, Aug. 4, 5, 1922; *ROANOKE WORLD NEWS*, March 21, 1922, clipping in Clifton A. Woodrum Scrapbooks, in possession of Mrs. J.C. Zillhardt, Fincastle, Va.
- 32 Barnes, *HISTORY OF ROANOKE*, p. 612; *ROANOKE TIMES*, April 28, July 29, 1922.
- 33 See Joseph B. Chitwood to Harry F. Byrd, August 2, 1933, May 23, 1936, Box 132, James P. Woods and Chitwood to Byrd, August 5, 1937, Chitwood to Byrd, November 10, 1938, Box 157, Byrd Mss, University of Virginia.
- 34 Interview with James P. Woods, Jr., Salem, Va., June 1969; Muse, *MEMORIES OF WOODS, CHITWOOD, COXE, AND ROGERS*, pp. 20-21.
- 35 House, *CONGRESSIONAL RECORD*, Vol. 60, Pt. 3, p. 3105-06, a speech in which Woods eulogized Thomas S. Martin.

John Hook, New London Merchant

by Warren L. Moorman, M.D.

In an age grown accustomed to addressing mail using city quadrant, street, apartment, postal zone and zip code numbers, to learn that letters arrived safely 200 years ago addressed simply, "John Hook, Merchant, New London" seems incredible.



John Hook's address

But arrive they did, in large numbers from Williamsburg, Richmond, Hanover Courthouse, Petersburg, Philadelphia, Jamaica, B.W.I., White Haven, England, Glasgow, Scotland and many other places. After 1784 they arrived addressed, "John Hook, Hailsford".

Widely known in his day but now forgotten except for the often told tale of the "New London Beef Trial", John Hook is worthy of note because of the role he played in the formative years of Bedford, Campbell and Franklin Counties. It is surprising that so little has been written about this unique personality who amassed much wealth in Virginia and in the Revolution became a reluctant Virginian. It is even more surprising that his senior business partner in the 1770s, David

Dr. Warren Moorman, owner of John Hook's store near Hale's Ford, has been studying the thrifty Scotsman's life for years. A student and writer of history, he is a plastic surgeon at Lewis-Gale Clinic.

Ross, has also been neglected by historians.

John Hook was born in 1745, one year after Thomas Jefferson. He was the fourth son of Henry Hook an ambitious but not particularly successful manufacturer of Glasgow, Scotland. The Hook family did not attain clan status. There is no Hook tartan and the telephone directories of Glasgow and its environs currently list not a single person by the name of Hook. Grinding poverty so near the Hook family caused five of Henry Hook's children to leave Scotland in search of a better life overseas. The older brothers settled in Jamaica; the baby sister married a Captain Frazier and went out to India.

John was only 14 years old when his ambition, mathematical ability and legible handwriting enabled him to come to Virginia as an indentured apprentice clerk and storekeeper for a Glasgow export-import firm. He arrived at Richmond in 1758 when it was little more than a few tobacco warehouses clustered around the point where Shockoe Creek enters the James River. Scattered higher up Church Hill were the frame houses where Scottish factors, their clerks and apprentices lived plus shacks needed to keep their slaves. Thirty-six years later when the Capitol was moved from Williamsburg, Richmond was described as a place that "will afford scarce one comfort of life".

Early in his career in Virginia, Hook learned to keep detailed records of business transactions and copies of his correspondence. Today, 103 boxes of John Hook's letters and other business documents are preserved in the Perkins Archives, Duke University. Two of his letter copy books were saved from probable oblivion by the discerning collector's instinct of Felix Hargrett of Roanoke who discovered them while spending a summer at the old Mons Hotel at the Peaks of Otter. A descendant of John Hook, Judge Malcolm Griffin of Salem, gave a large number of loose papers to the collection. As a young boy I was privileged to go with my father to Judge Griffin's home and read many of these papers before he presented them to Duke University. This vast collection sheds considerable light on the years between 1763 and 1808, a period equal to that covered by the counting house papers of "John Norton and Sons, Merchants of London and Virginia" (1750-1795).

Hook commenced keeping copies of his letters in a copy book some time prior to 1763. Someone has very carefully cut out the first six pages from the first copy book, leaving a letter to his brother, Duncan, in Jamaica, dated Warwick, August 1, 1763 as the earliest item.

By whom and when these were removed will probably never be known. It is unlikely they had any bearing on Hook's later legal difficulties with his business partner, David Ross. These books were certainly in Hook's possession throughout his lifetime. Evidence strongly supports the view that John Hook never threw any scrap of paper away which might at some future time have value. It may be that among these letters were comments which he did not wish his family to read. There may be a clue in a phrase which appeared in a letter to his father, March 1, 1764 in which he said, "As I have been disappointed in

my expectations with several of my former employers . . . ". Indenture was for a period of five to seven years. This would suggest that he had satisfied his indenture or was terminated early and had worked for employers other than the one to whom he had been indentured. The answer to this may lie hidden somewhere in now lost or forgotten documents.

From that earliest letter to his brother, Duncan, in Jamaica, John Hook was intent upon establishing himself as an independent merchant. On June 1, he left Richmond and went to Petersburg to work for the James and Robert Donald Company of Greenock and Glasgow for "40 pounds sterling a year, bed, board and with the liberty of trade as much as I please so as I do not interfere with their trade. As this place is very advantageous for trade, I beg your endeavors all you can to get me some consignments of rum and sugar as I am convinced of the great advantage, a thing of that kind would be to me and I make no doubt but it would be advantageous to you or any other person that inclined employing their money or by any other method, provide the rum and sugar was on as good terms as it comes from Barbados and Antigua." After spending June and July in Petersburg, the Donald Company moved him to Warwick (near the site of Richmond's present deep-water James River terminal), which place he noted "is very advantageous for trade" being well below the falls and accessible to larger ships.

Hook's dour nature caused frequent bouts of homesickness in his first decade in Virginia. His burning desire to attain financial security by becoming an independent merchant carried him through many periods of near despair. In one letter to his brother, Duncan, in 1763 he asked for 20 pounds so that he might leave Virginia while at the same time he was writing brother Thomas "the encouragement that I have now which I gave you a full account in that of August date with the prospect of getting consignments from you and Duncan fixes my mind entirely on staying in this colony." Throughout his career, Hook expected to build his fortune using other people's money, "O.P.M.", as financial genius Bernard Baruch delicately called it.

Contractual agreements with Scottish masters routinely prohibited apprentices from having side business enterprises, their full devotion being to serve the company. These agreements were apparently fairly often broken in ways thought too small, too non-competitive to be a cause for discharge from the job. For example, while still an indentured clerk, Hook purchased 100 deerskins, shipped them to his father for sale to a competing firm, that of his father's friend, Andrew Ramsey. A year later in 1762, Hook joined with another young Scottish factor, Hector McAllister, in importing a small amount of goods on their own. A small profit was realized but a dispute immediately arose over the distribution of the profit. This was finally settled by arbiters, Alex McCane and Patrick Coutts, who simply on August 3, 1764 divided the 28 pounds, 7 shillings equally between Hook and McAllister.

This was the first in a series of incidents in Hook's career in which he tended to see more of a joint enterprise's profits as his than his

partners.

Another of John Hook's personality traits, revealed in a letter to his father, was an ill-disguised pessimism. He wrote his father from Warwick March 1, 1764, saying, "I am convinced that a young man without a fortune or good friends will be all his lifetime at it before he can make any more money than he can just live on." Repeatedly he pleaded with his father to borrow money on his behalf from a well-to-do relative, Major Charles Campbell, who had retired to the Scottish Highlands after a prosperous tour in India. In 1766 he wrote to his father's prosperous friend, importer Andrew Ramsey in Glasgow, "no person could have been more frugal in his station than I" and he went on to say that after eight years of toiling in Virginia he still had no money.

The years 1764-65, were a period of commercial retrenchment. Debts of extravagant planters were becoming more difficult to collect. Hook displayed a zest for seeking payment of delinquent debts by suing the debtors and bringing down "the full weight of the law" upon them. From 1767 until his death, court dockets of Campbell, Bedford and Franklin Counties contained innumerable references to Hook vs Names of those against whom he filed suit reads like a partial catalog of FFV's.

In spite of being alert and well informed John Hook's letters suggest that he was so intent upon gaining control of his own destiny, of becoming wealthy enough to feel secure, that he paid little heed to the gathering political storm building between the Royal Governor and men like Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, Thomas Jefferson and other Virginia patriots.

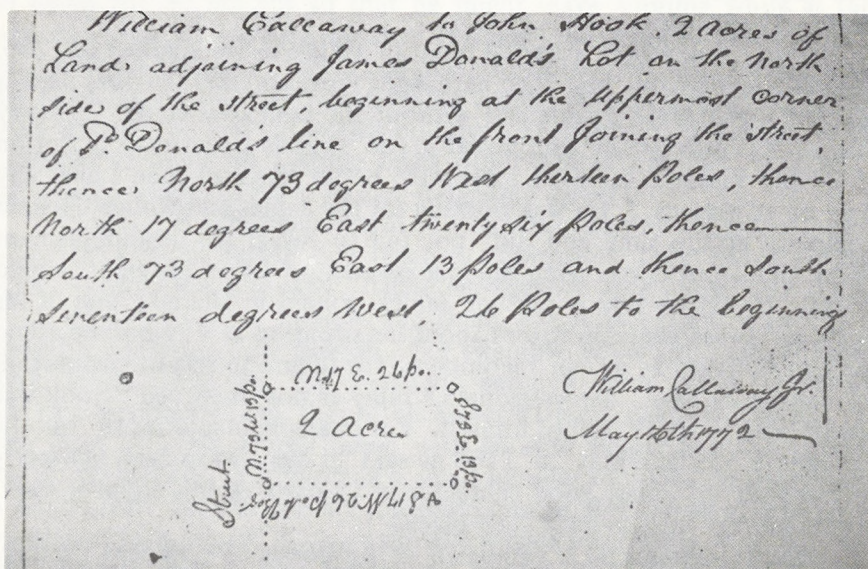
John Hook was at a pivotal point in his life in the summer of 1766. He was 21 years old, had been here eight years and still felt that he was without dependable friends and without the next best thing, "a heavy purse." On July 10, he announced in the Virginia Gazette his intention of leaving Virginia "unless I meet with better business than I have any view of at present". He was working for the James and Robert Donald Company at the time and did not fail to reveal his disappointment when Alex Donald was given the management of one of the eight Donald stores. He wrote senior partner James Donald in Glasgow one of his early and more gentle diatribes about his situation in Virginia: he asked for higher wages as proper recompense for failure to receive promotion to managerial level. James Donald's reply is not preserved. Hook was always able to speak well of himself. For example in a letter to Andrew Ramsey in Scotland May 25, 1766 he said "it has always been my study to establish an honest good character in all parts of this country wherever it was my luck to have been placed."

Hook commenced a campaign of proposals to potential partners for the establishment of an import-export business in which he would be one of the partners. In a master's degree thesis written by Dr. Willard Pierson Jr., at Duke University in 1962, Pierson makes a determined effort to estimate the amount of money Hook could have

accumulated which might have been applied toward capitalization of a new business. No matter what the actual sum accumulated, Hook's usual proposal was that he borrow 500 pounds from Scotland on credit of one of the other partners toward a minimal total capitalization of at least 2,000 pounds, which he saw as the necessary capital for a new import-export firm. He argued that payment of interest on the loan and assuming the responsibility for repayment in five to seven years should be considered the same as 500 pounds ready cash and should be considered a sufficient investment on his part.

Hook proved himself a master of understatement: "perhaps you will be alarmed at first thought of my being an equal sharer when my part of the stock is borrowed on your credit". He then goes on to argue the value of his services in such an enterprise. Appearing frequently in negotiations toward a new company was a ploy John Hook often used when he wished to plead poverty to relatives and business associates. He had loaned money to one Jeffrey Gresly which had not been paid when Gresly died in prison, apparently the victim of an insatiable thirst for alcohol. Hook had himself appointed administrator of Gresly's affairs and recurrently over more than a decade attempted to gain some payment or better still all of the legacy reported to have been due Jeffrey upon his mother's death. Lady Gertrude Gresly sent Hook courteous and business-like replies to his letters, but I have found no documentation that he was repaid any of the alleged debt and accumulated interest.

Hook finally pushed through a copartnery with William and James Donald in which he would have his own store in the developing up-



William Callaway's conveyance of two acres of land in New London to John Hook on May 16, 1772. The tract was on the north side of the Salem-Richmond Turnpike and east of the courthouse corner.

country at New London at the time it was becoming the thriving county seat of 12-year-old Bedford County.

Hook arrived in New London September 1766 with an ambitious plan for a chain of stores to serve the back country. One or two other stores were already in existence in New London. One of these was operated by pioneer planter, William Callaway, who had given 100 acres of land astride the Salem-Richmond Turnpike to establish the court for the new county of Bedford. Three years after Hook's arrival, French traveler Chastellux passed through New London and described it as "already a pretty considerable town, at least 70 or 80 houses." Thomas Jefferson, in his "Notes on the Present State of Virginia," written in 1781, named New London along with Richmond and Manchester as principal towns in the James River basin.

Hook initially rented a building and set about urging William and James Donald to hurry goods to him for sale at harvest time. His first consignment, valued at 967 pounds, arrived by wagon train on October 18, 1766. Hook complained that the lateness of the arrival would mean poor business since the planters would have already bartered away much of that year's crops. He proposed allowing the planters 15 months' credit so that should one crop fail they would be able to pay with the next year's tobacco crop. His letters alternated between pessimism about the present and optimism about the future. As a newcomer and a Scot, Hook experienced difficulties ingratiating himself to potential customers but this was mitigated by the fact that most of the other merchants were also Scots. Two years after his arrival in New London, Hook found it necessary to explain to his partner, William Donald, why he was slow in remitting payments to their Glasgow headquarters. He described the problem as due to the planters' crop failures. He stated that by April 1768 he thought he could have 1000 pounds sterling on hand for transmittal to Donald's Glasgow office. At this time he was again urging his father to borrow 500 pounds from wealthy cousin, Charles Campbell, so that he could pay off his capitalization debt to the Donald Company. By April 1769, John Hook was accepting deeds of trust and mortgages in lieu of tobacco payment or scarce currency and almost non-existent species. In what suggests a Scrooge-like mood he set Dec. 25 as the deadline for payment of a debt owed by John Perrin on penalty of sale of Perrin's 400-acre farm for a 42-pound debt.

Year by year John Hook was able to acquire in his own name fairly extensive tracts of land around and west of New London.

By the early 1770s what Hook described as the "unhappy dispute with Great Britain" was seriously interfering with trade. The Donald partnership ended in 1771 and Hook's letters took on a mood of despair. He aggressively sought other partnerships and at the same time booked passage back to Scotland with a ship sailing from Petersburg. He was never timid about asking favors and wrote instructions to a friend in Petersburg clearly more intent upon finding a new partner with "a purse heavier than mine own" than upon finding a ship departing for

Scotland. On Aug. 3, before leaving New London he signed an agreement with Samuel Morris to rent his plantation store house for a period of one year commencing Sept. 15. Of the many business proposals John Hook made, one dated Aug. 18, 1771 to David Ross brought about an interview. Ross was the Virginia-based partner in the very successful firm of Ilbeck, Ross and Company. Only six years older than Hook, Ross had prospered much faster than Hook and was already considered one of the leading Richmond-Petersburg exporter-importers. So successful was David Ross that by 1782 James Madison wrote that "Mr. Ross has unlimited credit in Philadelphia" and others alleged that Ross could ride from his home on the James River to the Mississippi River without ever having to spend a night off his own property.

David Ross had already acquired land along the Staunton River. He clearly realized the value of water as power for grist mills and as the route along which canals could be constructed. In addition he was interested in reports of rich iron and other mineral deposits in the mountains of Southwest Virginia. Ross probably knew something of Hook from the latter's days as a clerk in the Richmond-Petersburg network of Scottish factors. Ross was described by contemporaries as possessing a "remarkable, unerring gift for judging the talents of men." The partnership between Ross and Hook was dated Sept. 1, 1771 with the company capitalized at 4,500 pounds. Ross invested 75% and Hook 25%. True to Hook's past methods he was able to get Ross to agree to permit him an initial contribution of only 300 pounds, the remaining 700 pounds to be paid by Hook in several sums at intervals until October 1772. Seeds of later discord lay not only in Hook's payment schedule of the sum of 700 pounds but in the fact that the agreement made Hook a 25% partner when his aggregate contribution to the company by October 1773 amounted to only 22%. He also boldly negotiated an annual salary of 60 pounds the first two years and 75 pounds annually thereafter, somewhat more than usual at the time. The agreement included the usual "no side businesses of any kind" provision, largely unenforceable because of the great distance between Ross's base of operation in Richmond from New London. The partnership agreement was signed for a period of seven years. At this point no one could have imagined that their affairs would become so tangled as to result in a court battle lasting half of the next century.

The store leased from Samuel Morris was not adequate to Hook's ambition and a new store was constructed along lines suggested by Ross. Hook also set about constructing a dwelling house suitable to his new status and to another ambition which had not surfaced in his letters. Colonel John Smith had moved up from the worn-out soil of Goochland County with his daughter, Elizabeth, and had purchased Lot #11 in New London next door to the courthouse. Just when Elizabeth Smith and John Hook became acquainted is not revealed in extant material—Hook was not given to expressions of tender sentiments, he wrote very little not directly related to his passion for business. However, on June 8, 1770, John Hook wrote William Donald regarding business affairs

and in a postscript mentioned that he was thinking of a marriage which "might augment my fortunes considerably." As work on the store and home progressed, Ross found it prudent to caution Hook not to build structures more costly than absolutely necessary, since both buildings were being constructed at company expense. Walnut furniture was ordered from an eastern cabinet maker and hauled by wagon to New London. Hook rented quarters from his arch rival, William Callaway, while the dwelling was under construction. After a few months Callaway increased the rent to 2 shillings a day and Hook moved out and into the incomplete store building. By the end of the year the house was completed and on Feb. 29, 1772 John Hook married Elizabeth Smith. Could it be he selected this date so that a wedding present would be expected only every fourth year? Her father, Colonel Smith, well-to-do in land and slaves, was illiterate and signed his consent with an X. Hook had severed his ties with Scotland more completely than he realized. He hired a young Scottish clerk, John White Holt, and opened a new store at Falling River in the southeastern part of Campbell County near Brookneal, "the town born in a tobacco warehouse."

As the momentous events leading up to the Declaration of Independence occurred, the only political interest John Hook revealed in his correspondence was anxiety and uncertainty over trade with Britain.

David Ross, possibly because of his proximity to the events in Tidewater, possibly because of his greater breadth of interest, wrote Hook on several occasions of events in and around Williamsburg urging Hook to make every effort to get the tobacco crop of 1775 to Petersburg as early as possible before a threatened British blockade became effective. Many British loyalists were departing Virginia, leaving debts as well as plantations and the accumulated property of a lifetime. Money was not available to exchange for these assets. Merchants were having an extremely difficult time since almost no goods from Britain was left on their shelves and none was arriving and there was no way to export their only cash crop, tobacco.

On Dec. 18, 1776, the Virginia General Assembly ordered all foreign merchants with British connections to leave the colony, excepting only those closely supportive of the patriot cause or those with well-established Virginia family connections. In Richmond, David Ross was shifting his interest to securing arms, ammunition and other supplies for the colony of Virginia. He constructed mills and ships, found ways to transship through the East Indies and ways to evade the British blockade of the rivers by operating out of Norfolk.

Hook remained in New London collecting bills owed the company, trading in whatever items he could find and expanding his role as a plantation operator. Hook's discontent was thinly veiled. He was prone to bluntly speak his mind. The swiftness with which the Bedford Committee of Safety moved against John Hook on the very day of its formation, May 23, 1775, can be taken as a measure of local hostility toward Hook. That day they served a summons on Hook to answer charges that he had made treasonable comments against the new Virginia

government. Charles Lynch had apparently argued independence with Hook in a chance encounter a few weeks earlier. Hook was not intimidated by the summons, replying that the charges were ambiguous and that until specific statements and witnesses were presented to him he would not honor the summons. Among his papers are several pages of notes which he set down for use in his own defense. These reveal a sharp mind, well informed in legal matters with the ability and courage to boldly articulate his own defense. If the British won as he at that time expected he did not wish to be in a traitor's relationship to them. On June 26 the committee met and sent another note to Hook detailing the conversation that occurred at Samuel Crockett's between Hook and Charles Lynch about an independent company in Botetourt going out of Virginia to attack British troops. Lynch said that Hook "expressed himself warmly and swore by God there never will be peace until the Americans get well flogged."

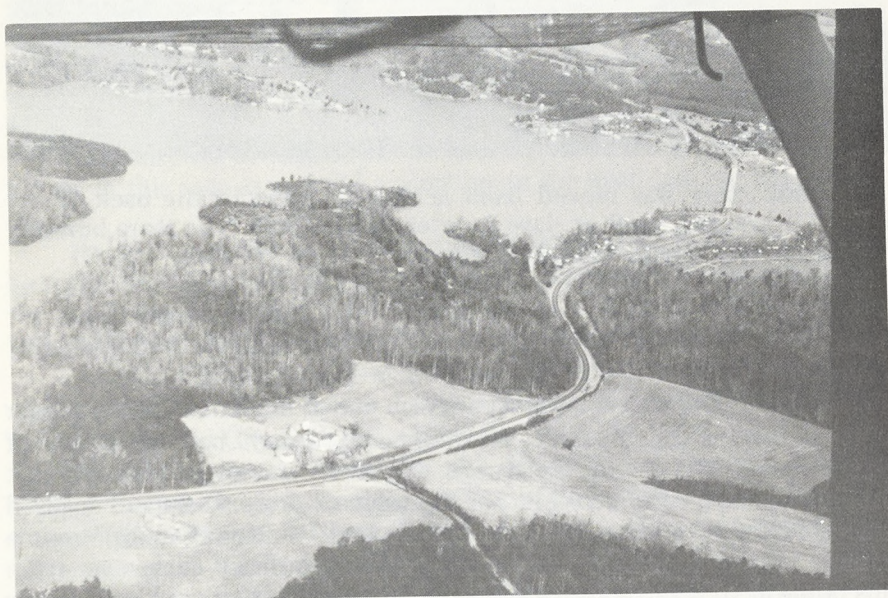
It is not clear whether Hook appeared in person or sent a written reply, but Hook's notes indicate his explanation and defense were that he should have said, Bostonians, not Americans, "for it had always been my opinion since the beginning of this unhappy dispute that the Bostonians did not behave well in destroying the tea and it is wrong to take a brother's part under those circumstances." He was also charged with distribution of Loyalist pamphlets. He replied that he obtained those for his own information so that he could fairly judge both sides of the issue and that he had only shown them to two or three people and that for the most part at their request.

Hook's stubbornness finally landed him in the Bedford jail. He was released on Jan. 19, 1777 after Robert Irvine entered into bond on his behalf. Hook clearly was attempting to be prudent by being impartial until he could clearly see where his own best interest lay. Impartiality is not something zealots can tolerate easily. On June 18, 1777 a mob gathered outside the Hook home in New London howling for him to come out and threatening to tar and feather him. He resisted until they threatened to set his house on fire at which point he allowed himself to be taken prisoner to the home of John Bates where a hearing or trial of sorts occurred.

It is now hard to picture the high drama that must have been this confrontation between John Hook and the mob led by Nicholas Meade. In his strong Scottish brogue, Hook answered the charges against him, defended himself against those he had brought into court for the collection of debts they could find no money to pay. Meade is reported to have said later "Law or no law, we was determined to proceed against him as we did." Hook proved equal to the task for he was released shaken but unharmed with instructions to cease all trade until he signed an oath of allegiance to Virginia; yet he delayed a little longer. It didn't seem possible to Hook that the colonies could unite enough to overcome a British blockade and defeat British armies converging from both North and South. Finally on Oct. 10, 1777 he came forward to the Committee of Safety and signed an oath of allegiance to Virginia.

Governor Jefferson's policy of leniency in offering pardons for Tories who came over to the Virginia cause most certainly influenced Hook. Like it or not this reluctant patriot had done what was best for his pocketbook and passed the point of no return. He was no longer a Scot, he was a Virginian.

His behavior was prudent to an extent that allowed him to avoid being rounded up on suspicion of treasonable activities in the Summer of 1780 when 75 suspected Tories were imprisoned in the old Indian prison near the site of the present New London Academy. Hook was appointed to take his turn standing guard over these prisoners. He refused and was found in contempt of court. The court determined that depriving him of some of his funds by a fine was the most uncomfortable sentence they could give him.



Aerial view shows Hook's Halesford plantation on Rt. 122 on the Franklin County side of the Staunton River, now Smith Mountain Lake. It was later the home of Llewellyn Powell, Franklin County treasurer.

With the American Revolution over Hook began buying land in the triangle between the Staunton River and Gill's Creek in what is now Franklin County. He placed slaves on the land, cleared it and began raising tobacco. He now saw the value of a good river as an artery of commerce. In 1783-84 Hook drew rough sketches of a house to be built on the highest promontory west of the Staunton River, along the wagon road that passed the river at Hale's Ford. One mile above the ford he built a store and a home across the road from the store. He moved there in the summer of 1784 and all letters received by him were thereafter postmarked Hailsford, Hale's Ford or Haleford. Correspondence with Scotland all but ceased. Just as well for this was the winter



The Hook store was moved from across the road to the back of the Powell house and used as slave quarters until 1865. The store building was the home of tenants until 1940.

that the Clyde River was frozen so solidly that no vessel moved for five months and 24 days.

During the military campaign which ended in Cornwallis' surrender at Yorktown a Mr. Venable, an army commissary, had taken two of Hook's steers for use by the troops. With the war over Hook felt that Virginia should reimburse him for the value of those steers and engaged William Cowan to bring action against Venable and the State of Virginia in the District Court of New London. Patrick Henry came over from his home at Red Hill to appear for the defendant. Henry in his singularly persuasive way soon gained complete control over the judge, jury and audience in the court by describing the painful distress of the patriots in the American army, their pain and suffering and loss of life.

He concluded by asking "where was the man who had an American heart in his bosom, who would have not thrown open his fields, his barns, his cellars, the doors of his house, the portals of his breast, to receive with open arms the meanest soldier in that little band of famished patriots? Where is the man? There he stands! But whether the heart of an American beats in his bosom, you gentlemen, are to judge." Henry then painted the picture of the magnificent triumph of Virginia troops at Yorktown and the joy and quiet relief of victory. But, said Henry, "what notes of discord are those which disturb the general joy in the acclamation of victory? They are the notes of John Hook, hoarsely brawling through the American camp, 'Beef, beef, beef!'"

Violent paroxysms of laughter rocked the little New London Courthouse. Clerk of Court Jimmy Steptoe was so convulsed that Hook, according to William Wirt's biography of Patrick Henry, said to Steptoe, "What the devil ails ya, mon?" The jury had no trouble in returning a verdict awarding John Hook one penny for each of the beef cattle. Murmurs of "tar and feather him" were heard. Wirt reports that "nothing saved him but a precipitate flight and the speed of his horse." Another more contemporary observer reported that John Hook was so incensed that Jimmy Steptoe, fearing Hook's unruly Scottish tongue would get him in trouble, took him over to the Steptoe home, Federal Hill, to spend the night.

Because Hook was constantly dealing in frontier land by trading, acquiring by warrant or in payment and then selling "at an advantage" it is impossible to state more than approximately the peak acreage in his control. From 30 to 40,000 acres would not seem an unreasonable estimate since he had large holdings not only in Virginia but in North Carolina, what became West Virginia, Kentucky and Georgia. In the late 1780s he wrote Patrick Henry asking Henry to represent him in a boundary dispute at Muscle Shoals, adding "if you will do half as much for me in this case as you did against me in the beef case, we shall win it easily."

Hook was active in seeking civic improvements in the years after he took the oath of allegiance to Virginia. His name appears on petitions for road improvements, the formation of a private school in New London and in support of improvements at Lynch's ferry.

To David Ross the urgent need of a physician in the Bedford area was mentioned, "there is not a physician of any skill between Fleming in Botetourt and Goochland Court house."

The seven-year existence of the Hook-Ross Company ended in 1779. During the last several years of this partnership matters grew increasingly strained between Ross and Hook. Ross was much more circumspect in his business affairs than brusque John Hook. Words from Ross' pen carried tones of kindness and concern. Hook's letters when not strictly matters of business fact swung widely from cajolery to vituperation. Hook and Ross continued doing some business as opportunities developed which appeared mutually advantageous.

Particularly did they deal in slaves for several years immediately after the Revolution. Ross would bring in a shipment from the British West Indies where they had had a season or two for climatization and Hook would transport them to the interior for sale, frequently filling orders placed earlier. From time to time some of Hook's slaves would run away. One such slave "took up" on Andrew Lewis' plantation. Hook wrote a strongly worded letter to General Lewis demanding the slave's immediate return.

From 1779 to 1791 Hook and Ross attempted by correspondence to settle their joint business venture. Letters were exchanged in which Ross would make "statements of fact," while Hook would reply with a "scurrilous attack," Ross would "make demands" and Hook would

"make every effort possible." Finally in 1791 David Ross took the matter to court submitting the case for "breach of partnership to the high court of chancery in Richmond," Judge George Wythe presiding. Again, Hook proved himself a master of delay and indirection. The court required all books of the Ross-Hook Company be brought forth. Hook delayed, giving among several reasons his relocation to Hailsford in Franklin County, heavy rain damage enroute to Richmond and multiple errors made by some of his clerks and storekeepers. Later in 1791 the court issued an order that John Hook's possessions be sequestrated and all portable goods be moved 18 miles from Hailsford to Rocky Mount for public auction. His store, blacksmith shop and distillery were locked up by the sheriff of Franklin County.

When Hook heard the Sheriff was coming he hid the store ledgers from the sequestrators, George Turnbull, Shelton Tailor, and John Hale. Hook made many trips to Richmond, hiring such lawyers as James Innes, Edmund Randolph, Philip Norbonne Nicholas, William R. Davie and John Marshall. By now Hook was a well-known figure in Virginia legal circles. In Richmond Hook testified that some of the records that he had turned over to the Ross agents and attorneys had pages removed and that alterations had been made on entries. Court proceedings showed that Hook kept records meticulously with many in duplicates and some in revised duplicates of duplicates. Hook prepared a long list of questions to ask the attorneys and witnesses at the Richmond hearings, often cleverly to cast a shadow of doubt on Ross and always portraying himself as the badly used and abused underdog. He could plead poverty one moment and later in the same letter boast of "plenty of land warrants."

Proceedings dragged on. There is no record of the number of trips Hook made to Richmond. He was returning to his plantation at Hailsford the last week of March 1808 when he grew ill and stopped at Abbott's Ordinary in Buckingham. Realizing his strength was ebbing he wrote his last will and testament and had it witnessed by Calob Tate, Sally Abbot, who could not write so made her mark, and Elisa Falwell. Shortly thereafter he died at Abbott's and slaves were sent to return his body to Hailsford. The grave is unmarked but tradition has it that it was near a very large boxwood east of the site of his store and home. When his will was probated in Rocky Mount on Dec. 5, 1808, the executors who were named by Hook in the will immediately went on record as refusing executorship. The court then granted permission for Christopher Clark and Booker Preston under penalty of \$100,000 bond to obtain letters of administration as directed by law in such situations.

An inventory of Hook's estate required 23 legal pad pages to list his plantation property, items in the Hailsford Store, his slaves and marketable whiskey, rum and brandy. Since the latter items amounted to an aggregate of hundreds of gallons, one might correctly say that he kept a lot of his assets liquid. On 26 additional pages were listed individuals owing Hook for purchases at his various stores. Proneness to seek court relief continued in the Hook line for another generation.

His daughter, Katherine, married Booker Preston, who operated the plantation and store after Hook's death. Another daughter, Margaret, married Thomas West, who died a few years later in Louisa. Margaret then married Smithson Hobson Davis and had several children by him. These children sued for a portion of Hook's estate as revealed by deposition dated April 18, 1842. Another daughter became the wife of Peter Holland who had a farm three or four miles west of the Hook plantation. A considerable amount of material in the Duke Archives came through two very unusual maiden ladies, Maggie and Rosetta Holland, who were great-great granddaughters of John Hook.

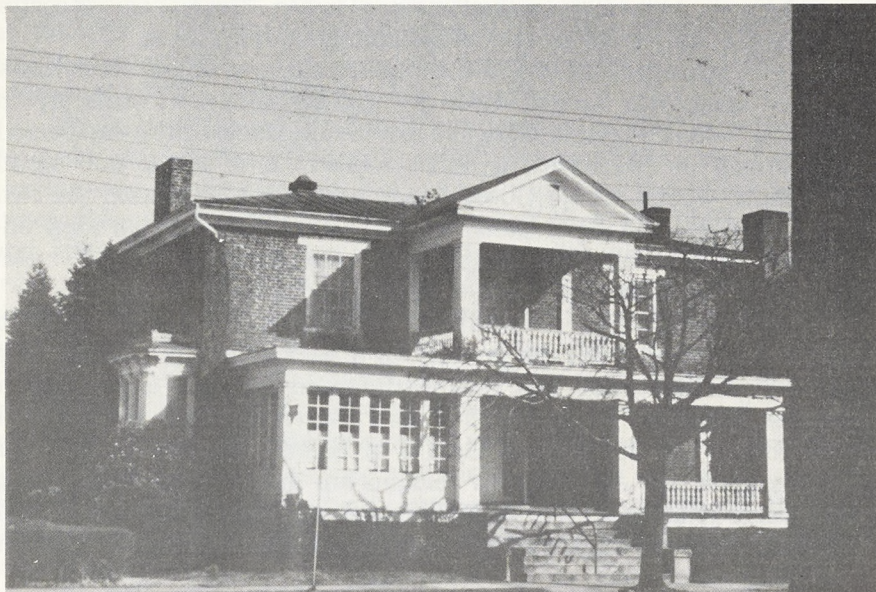
It was not until 1850 that the final settlement of the Ross-Hook Company assets was handed down by the high court of chancery in Richmond. Hook's former clerk and son-in-law, Booker Preston, formed a partnership in 1812 with a miller named Davis whose mill stood where Stony Creek enters Goose Creek and Rt. 122 crosses the two streams. In the financial panic of 1819 the Davis-Preston firm encountered difficulties which culminated in bankruptcy in 1830. An inventory of their assets is included in the Duke papers.

John Hook lived an eventful life during an heroic era of American history. He moved from the poverty of a back street in Glasgow to a large Virginia plantation and title to thousands of acres extending far down the Tennessee River. He had six children but with the death of his grandson, Dr. John Hook Griffin of Salem, Virginia in 1878 his name disappeared. All that now remains are the 103 boxes containing 7,387 items relating to his business career in Virginia and a few brief references scattered through historic writings, an unpublished Master's



Dentils on the front cornice of John Hook's store at Halesford

thesis by Dr. Willard Pierson Jr. at Duke University, a Virginia State Historic Highway marker in New London and what is probably the remains of his store house at Hales Ford. The character and capability, the determination to work his way out of poverty, the keen business and legal mind displayed in his letters and notes, his unshakeable courage in the face of threats all reveal a singular man struggling through troubled times.



The home of Judge Samuel Griffin and later his son, Judge Malcolm Griffin at the corner of Main and Union streets in Salem. Samuel Griffin's mother was Sarah Jane McClanahan and his maternal grandmother was John Hook's daughter, Charlotte. Thomas D. Griffin, son of the second Judge Griffin, has remodeled the servants' house for a small home adjacent to this house. North Cross School was started in the Griffin home.

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John Hook, Frontier Bookseller

by Felix Hargrett

One of the earliest booksellers if not the first on the Virginia frontier was John Hook, prominent Scotch merchant at New London in old Bedford County. His career as a merchant extended from 1766 to 1784 at New London and thereafter in Franklin County until his death in 1808.

As a bookseller, he exerted an influence upon the pre-Revolutionary cultural life of the region that should not be overlooked in our attention to his better-known political and mercantile activities.

Felix Hargrett, ardent bibliophile, discovered John Hook's letter copy books and gave them to Duke University. A native of Georgia and a retired insurance executive, he lives in Roanoke in retirement.



Felix Hargrett (left), a Hook scholar, chats with Thomas D. Griffin of Salem, a Hook descendant.

Preserved among his papers at Duke University is a lengthy list or inventory of a stock of books that Hook imported from Glasgow, Scotland in 1772 for sale in his store at New London. This document is significant because of the light it sheds on the interests of the back-country people, not only in religion and other matters of the spirit but as well in literature and philosophy and the practical affairs of life—all as revealed by the books they bought and read.

There were good reasons why this frontier merchant imported his stock of books from across the Atlantic rather than obtaining them elsewhere in the American colonies. By 1772 there were many printers of books in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Williamsburg and Charleston, S.C., who might well have supplied Hook's needs along this line. He looked, however, to his factors in Scotland and England instead because he was conducting essentially an export and import trade between Virginia and the British Isles and found it more expedient and doubtless more profitable to obtain his goods for retail sales through the regular channels of his other trade.

Hook exported to England and Scotland tobacco in hogsheads, obtaining money for it in the form of exchange or, more often, goods with which he stocked the shelves of his store. For the tobacco, ginseng, deer hides and other produce which he gathered up here and there and shipped across the water, he received in return manufactured articles of many kinds which were needed by the frontier people who traded at his New London store. Discharged from vessels at one or another of the several James and York River ports in eastern Virginia, these goods were hauled overland in wagons to Bedford County. This was the general pattern of the retail mercantile trade on the Virginia frontier before the Revolution. There was little coastwise commerce between Virginia and the other colonies and provinces to the north and south.

The books which Hook imported to sell at retail to his customers at his New London store covered a wide range of subjects. As might be expected, many of them were of a religious character: quantities of Bibles in a variety of sizes and prices—"five Quarto Bibles gilt," "common Bibles," "little Bibles," as they were described in the list; dozens of New Testaments, prayerbooks by the dozen and scores of catechisms. In the consignment were many volumes of sermons, meditations and commentaries on the scriptures, written by leading 17th and 18th century clergymen of the Established Church in England and by eminent divines of the Scottish church—among them James Hervey and William Sherlock of London and John Flavel, Thomas Boston and Ebenezer Erskine, leading Presbyterians of Edinburgh. The writings of these religious leaders were among the most popular and widely read theological works of the time not only in the British Isles but in the American colonies as well, especially in the frontier regions.

In the back-country, more so than in the earlier settled eastern parts of Virginia, Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists and other dissenters were rapidly growing in number, and they required Bibles and other religious books as food for the soul. John Hook met this need, just as

he supplied all the other more mundane, workaday necessities of the people. We may be sure that he knew exactly what he was doing along that line; he was certainly not one to burden his shelves with slow-moving or dead merchandise; he was too canny a Scot to lay in a stock of books that he could not readily sell.

In addition to these religious books, he offered for sale philosophical works which were then popular in England and Scotland. Among these were *The Economy of Life* (by an unnamed author); the *Golden Verses of Pythagoras*, a Greek classic in translation; the *Meditations* of John Harvey, an English statesman of note in the early 18th century; and Anthony Shaftesbury's *Characteristics*, a heavy, three-volume dissertation on moral philosophy which, despite its forbidding subject and title, seems to have been a best-seller in the years just prior to the American Revolution. On his shelf also was Cicero's *Cato Major*, a Latin classic (again in translation), which even to this day makes delightful reading for those whose tastes lead them along its pleasant paths. It was a book that Thomas Jefferson loved, and Benjamin Franklin admired it so ardently that he issued from his own printing press in Philadelphia an edition of the work which is one of the most beautiful books ever printed in America.

But more engaging and more revealing of the intellectual interests of the people on the Virginia frontier is the record of the books which Hook imported to meet the demands of his customers for the best English literature of the time. The inventory exhibits clearly the reading tastes and preferences of what must have been a respectable number of people in this remote, rural area of the up-country in the shadows of the Blue Ridge Mountains and the Peaks of Otter, on the eve of the Revolution. The list is worth examining briefly and thoughtfully. It included among other titles the following ones:

Milton's *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*

Thompson's *Seasons*, a noted poem

The Spectator, of Addison and Steele; an edition in eight volumes (no fewer!) of these delightful and timeless essays

The Tatler, also of Addison and Steele; in four volumes

Roderick Random, a novel of sea-faring life by Tobias Smollett

Tom Jones, *Joseph Andrews* and *Amelia*. These three influential novels of English character and country life by Henry Fielding, the first of the great English novelists, still give keen enjoyment to readers of discriminating tastes. Two of the novels, as we all know, have in recent years been made into movies of some merit.

A Sentimental Journey, by Laurence Sterne, English novelist and essayist, and a canon of York Minister; a book widely read then and now on both sides of the Atlantic.

A Dictionary of the English Language, by Dr. Samuel Johnson; an important work in two large volumes

The Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, recounting in a sprightly style her travels and experiences in England and on the Continent in the early decades of the eighteenth century

The History of the Discovery and English Settlements in America
Hudibras, by Samuel Butler, a lengthy, mock-heroic poem of 1663
satirizing the Presbyterians and other Independents

On John Hook's shelves were to be found collections of songs and variety of practical works on agriculture, farriery, carpentry, dyeing, weaving, tanning and other workaday concerns. Along with these were self-help books on medical and health care—"family companions," as they were often termed—which were of vital importance in days when doctors were few, travel was slow and when people in the back-country, far from cities and towns, often had to rely chiefly, if not entirely, upon home remedies when illness or injury befell them.

But among the most interesting books were those for children, which included the following; 12 *Dyche's Spelling Book*, 24 primers, 3 dozen "small histories," 6 dozen *Ambrose's Looking Glass*, 2 dozen *Fisher's Arithmetic*, 3 dozen *Mother's Catechism*, 8 dozen *Common Catechism*, 8 dozen Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* and finally 12 horn-books.

A horn-book, strictly speaking was not a book at all, but the first so-called book made for children themselves. It was composed of a small piece of wood cut in the shape of a little paddle, in a size convenient for a child to handle, generally about two inches by three inches. On one side was pasted a lesson-sheet over which was laid a thin piece of transparent horn which was held in place by narrow brass strips tacked through the horn into the wood. Sometimes a hole was bored in the handle so that a cord or leather thong could be strung through it to permit the horn-book to be hung about the neck of a child or suspended from its girdle or waist.

The lesson-sheet, originally written by hand on parchment or vellum until about 1500, was from that time forward of paper upon which the text was printed from type. First, at the top, appeared a cross, called Christ-cross, but more commonly cris-cross. Next came the alphabet, first in small letters, then in capital letters; the vowels next appeared, followed by the vowels in combination with consonants; the digits ensued; and, finally, and always, the Lord's Prayer. (It is sad to contemplate that, containing the Lord's Prayer, as it invariably did, this little form of a child's primer would hardly be allowed in our public primary schools in this present-day more or less enlightened age.)

The horn-book was peculiar to English-speaking people. Used extensively, perhaps universally, in England from the 14th century forward, it was never, so far as I have been able to discover, adopted in any country other than England and its colonies. The horn-book is mentioned by Shakespeare in *Love's Labour's Lost*; Ben Johnson, a London playwright contemporary with Shakespeare, described it in 1609 in these words:

The letters may be read, through the horn,
That makes the story perfect.

Colonists brought horn-books with them when they came to our shores from England in the 1600s, and soon colonial craftsmen were

turning out the little objects; nevertheless, horn-books were still being imported into the American colonies up until the time of the Revolution. Frequent references were made to them by New England writers in the 17th and 18th centuries. Nathaniel Hawthorne, in *The Scarlet Letter*, a story set in Boston in its early decades, has Hester Prynne using the horn-book to teach letters and numbers to her little daughter. In the early public records of New England and of the Middle and Southern colonies, horn-books were listed in some estate inventories but rather infrequently because they were of such slight monetary value, worth at most no more than a few pence.

In time the horn-book fulfilled its mission of teaching children the rudiments of learning; developments in paper-making and printing ultimately brought about the manufacture of alphabet or ABC books, primers and little pocket-books into which much more instruction could be put and which were therefore more useful. It seems that by the early years of the 19th century the horn-book had fallen finally into disuse.

Naturally the horn-book received rough usage at the hands of children who gnawed them, sucked them, licked them, hit each other with them, and (in the case of boys) whittled them. As a consequence, few of them have survived, and nowadays they are among the rarest objects which were in common household use by our ancestors 200 or 300 years ago. The few that were spared are quite valuable now, perhaps more valuable even than the prized illuminated manuscript books of hours, breviaries and other devotional manuals which, before the invention of printing, were prepared at considerable cost by monks, scribes and artists for their wealthy patrons.

Where are the horn-books that were once so common, once to be found in almost every household? Where are the ones that John Hook imported in quantity from England and Scotland before the Revolution and sold to his customers in Bedford County? Gone with the wind, of course; gone with all the other perishable household articles used in the daily, domestic life of the people. In my own book-collecting over more than a half-century I have never managed to find and add to my library an original horn-book. Only once did I come even close to doing so: about 30 years ago I was notified that a horn-book, dated from about 1660, was coming up at auction in London; but my bid proved not to be the high one and I failed to obtain the treasure. Shortly afterwards, however, I was fortunate enough to acquire from a rare book dealer in Boston a horn-book in replica, made in England about 1885, which in itself is now quite rare, and with this I have had to be content.

To me, the role of John Hook as the first bookseller in our region of Virginia is by no means the least interesting of the many and varied activities he carried on during his long and busy career. That he contributed materially to the intellectual life of the people on the frontier of Virginia in the years immediately preceding the Revolution is clearly evidenced by the record of the books which he supplied to them.

How We Began

by Edmund P. Goodwin

It came into being on Aug. 23, 1957. Dr. D.E. McQuilkin, chairman of the Roanoke Diamond Jubilee Historical Committee asked the following people to a meeting: Raymond P. Barnes, Blair J. Fishburn, Edmund P. Goodwin, Shields Johnson, Edward H. Ould, D.W. Persinger, Claude L. Settlemire, Tayloe Rogers and Robert Thomas.

The following actions were approved:

1. A Roanoke Historical Society should be formed. Its purpose would be to collect, preserve and exhibit writings and objects of local historic interest and value.
2. A request be made to the Diamond Jubilee Executive Committee for a portion of any funds that might remain in its hands upon dissolution.
3. That the Roanoke Library Board be requested to provide space as a repository for items owned by the Society.
4. That a president, a vice president and secretary be elected.
5. That a charter be secured.

Pursuant to the action, these officers were elected:

Edmund P. Goodwin, president
Blair J. Fishburn, vice president
Raymond P. Barnes, secretary

A meeting of the founders was held on Dec. 3, 1957 and it was reported the actions set forth in the previous meeting had been accomplished. The following were approved:

1. Robert W. Woody was elected treasurer.
2. Charter memberships were offered to the public at \$5.

When the Society had a real membership, a meeting was called for March 6, 1958. The proposed bylaws were read and approved. They provided for the election of 24 directors, who would in turn elect their officers. The following were named to the board:

Raymond P. Barnes, Mrs. H. Powell Chapman, C. Francis Cocke, Whitwell W. Coxe, Arthur Ellett, B. N. Eubank, Blair J. Fishburn, Miss Louise Fowlkes, Edmund P. Goodwin, J. R. Hildebrand, James J. Izard, E.R. Johnson, Shields Johnson, Mrs. J.G. McConkey, D. E. McQuilkin, S. H. McVitty, Leonard G. Muse, E. H. Ould, J. M. Richardson, Claude L. Settlemire, Robert H. Smith, Mrs.

Edmund P. Goodwin was one of the founders of the Society and twice its president. He and his wife, Louise, were presented life memberships in the Society in February 1980. They were cited for more than 20 years of dedicated service. Both serve on the Executive Committee. Mrs. Goodwin is chairman of the Acquisitions Committee and he also has been treasurer.

English Showalter, Clifton A. Woodrum Jr., Robert W. Woody.

It was reported there were 120 charter members and the directors were to determine when such memberships should be discontinued.

The treasurer stated \$3,820.65 had been received from the Diamond Jubilee Corporation, \$570 from memberships and \$13 from sales, making a total of \$4,403.65 in the treasury.

The president announced research and acquisition committees would be formed and described their function.

Dr. Earl G. Swem, longtime librarian of the College of William and Mary and eminent Virginia historian, addressed the directors and committee members on Nov. 10, 1958. Among the many interesting and instructive things he said was that eastern Virginia had been thoroughly researched, but the western part of the State was still a veritable gold mine for historical information and artifacts.

Dr. Swem's suggestion for a motto was adopted. The motto is "Amor montium nos movet," translated "The love of the mountain inspires us."

It has been said acorns grow into mighty oaks. Unfortunately, this is not true of our Society at this time. On the other hand, the following list of accomplishments and activities would indicate it may have reached the sapling stage.

Acquisitions

In the beginning, the Society's material fit loosely into one small locked steel cabinet. Today, thousands of items of historical significance are crowded into two rooms of a fireproof building which Roanoke College permits us to use. The word "crowded" might indicate a jumbled mess. This is far from true. Each item is numbered, showing the year in which acquired, then listed on cards with descriptive material then filed under subject matter and donor.

The following items, selected at random, will give some idea of the type of material in the Society's collection.

1. A string of Indian beads, "Rawrenoke"
2. Many pieces of Virginia paper money (18th century)
3. A desk, books and surgical instruments owned by Col. William Fleming
4. Hundreds of Breckenridge letters (19th century)
5. Beyer's lithograph of the Peaks of Otter, with Thomas Jefferson's letter describing his scientific observations on a trip to the Peaks
6. Indian artifacts found in this area (up to 10,000 years old)
7. Receipts for sale of land in Col. James Patton's grant (circa 1750)
8. Money order book of the Big Lick Post Office (1869-1880)
9. Census books showing Roanoke had a population of 5,000 (1883)
10. Photograph collection of early Roanoke

Obviously, it is impractical to describe everything, but many fall into these categories. Kentucky rifles and other firearms, bullet

molds and powder flasks, uniforms, clothes, shawls, hats, gloves, shawls and bedspreads. Deeds, manuscripts, surveys, maps, farm-books, ledger and minute books. Postcards, letters, newspaper, pictures and portraits. Furniture, spinning wheels, glasses, china and pottery. Tools and other artifacts used by our forefathers. Coins, buttons, medals and badges. Minerals and an illustrated book on local iron furnaces. A collection of books pertinent to the history of Virginia.

Exhibitions

In the early days of the Society, some of its acquisitions were displayed in showcases and store windows. By 1963, the collection had grown to such an extent, larger quarters were necessary. Roanoke College provided us with two rooms on the ground floor of the rear of its fireproof library. At first, everything was on display, except the most valuable items, which were kept in an iron safe. When the acquisitions became too large to be shown at all times, special exhibitions were arranged on such themes as tools, toys, the Pennsylvania Dutch, clothing, maps, plans and pictures of Roanoke.

As time went by, Roanoke College needed this room, but fortunately for us, they made space available in their fireproof science complex. Acquisitions continued growing, and a decision was made to use the space as dead storage.

In order to continue exhibitions, a small portion of the second story of Cherry Hill, the Roanoke Fine Arts Center headquarters, was secured. One exhibit was a frontier cabin made of simulated logs. It was equipped properly with guns, powderhorns, bullet molds, pots, trivets, pans, tools, molds for hand-made candles and other items indicative of the period. Another exhibit was a country store. One could see medicine and candy bottles, barrels, thread, cloth, clothes, lamps, tobacco and even a pill-making machine.

Later, the Society opened its gallery on East Kirk Avenue in downtown Roanoke. When the building was sold, the gallery moved to its present location, 10 Franklin Road.

One of the many outstanding exhibits was a collection from the Abbey Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art collection at Williamsburg. Some of the other displays at the downtown galleries have been Roanoke equipment and material, toys that run, dresses, hats, woven bedspreads, tin, old tools, a country store and an account book and pictures of buildings on which a mid-18th century joiner, Gustav Sedon, worked in Roanoke County.

Special exhibits have been presented in various places from time to time, such as the Fall Color and Fashion for Living, Allstate Insurance Co., Kiwanis Antique Show, Heironimus, Festival in the Park and Miller and Rhoads. The Heritage Trunk moved from school to school, showing children the types of clothes, tools, toys and material their counterparts used during the Revolutionary period.

Publications

The Society's first attempt at publication was duplication of out-of-print pamphlets, such as the burning of Mt. Joy near Buchanan and the history of Co. A, 37th Battalion C.S.A. a cavalry unit from Franklin County.

In the early 1960s, the Society assisted in the preparation, publication and distribution of "A Seed-Bed of the Republic" by Robert D. Stoner. It has been associated with the second edition and the third printing. Dr. Swem read the manuscripts, making suggestions and corrections. He wrote in the foreword, "The Roanoke Historical Society is to be highly commended for beginning its program of publications with this worthy publication."

Through the years since 1964, its Journal has made a significant contribution to the development of the history of western Virginia. The initial issue contained a statement about a New England historical society in the 1700s which is still applicable to the Society: "We intend to be an active, not passive body; not to lie waiting like a bed of oysters, for the tide to flow in on us, but to seek and find, to preserve and communicate literary intelligence, especially in the historical way."

Articles have described the early days of the Roanoke Valley, such as the Batts and Fallam expedition of 1671, the settlement of Tasker and Thomas Tosh, circa 1742, travels of the Moravians in 1753, and the French and Indian War, 1755 to 1763.

Accounts have appeared about many prominent men, including Gen. Andrew Lewis, Col. William Fleming, William Preston, George Hancock and James Breckenridge.

Old homes of the area described are Bellmont, Hawthorne Hall, Smithfield, Lone Oak, Locust Level, Fotheringay, and Huntingdon. One article told of Benjamin Deyerle, master builder of many fine buildings prior to 1860.

Some articles, but far from all, have told of the Southwest Turnpike, Fincastle Springs, Cherry Bottom, Appalachian dialect, Mountain Lake, the bells of Fincastle, recollections of Bent Mountain, cigar manufacturing in Roanoke, No. 1 Fire Station and Franklin folk tales.

The Society has for sale many copies of the Journal and these books: "A Seed-Bed of the Republic," "The Town of Fincastle," "Colonel William Fleming of Botetourt, 1728-1795," "Young John Tyler" and "Historic Tours of Roanoke," for children. Adults also enjoy the tour book.

Some of the most popular items the Society has for sale are historic maps drawn by J. R. Hildebrand. They are the Borden Grant, the Beverly Grant, the Counties of Augusta, Bedford, Botetourt, Fincastle, Franklin, Montgomery, Roanoke, Rockbridge and Wythe. Also, there are copies of a photograph-like map of Roanoke City made in 1891.

Speakers

For some years, the Society has had talks at meetings to which the public is invited. Among the many speakers have been Dr. Edward P. Alexander, at that time vice president of Colonial Williamsburg, whose topic was "Historic Preservation in Virginia"; Dr. Marshall Fishwick, professor of history at Lincoln University, whose subject was "Virginia: Old, New and Contemporary"; Dr. James Robertson, Jr., professor of History at V.P.I., spoke on "G.I's of the 1860's, Common Soldier of the Civil War" and Ivor Noel Hume, director of Archeology, Colonial Williamsburg, whose subject was "Digging for America."

These are listed merely to show the caliber of our speakers. Other subjects covered at some of the scores of meetings: Architecture in the Roanoke Valley; Dunmore's War and the Battle of Point Pleasant; Booker T. Washington, Negro educator; Thomas Jefferson, social scientist; the Scotch-Irish; the Revolution in Pittsylvania County; early Fire Fighting in Roanoke; Virginia landmarks; German influence in the Roanoke Valley; Old Salem and the Moravians; Battle of Kings Mountain; early medicine in Roanoke Valley; preserving old Lexington; the Colonial Church in Virginia; the Dividing Line and Green Springs.

A different type of program was of great interest. A group from Ferrum College pantomimed one of the "Jack" tales and gave a musical program using the types of instruments that were common in the mountains years ago.

Historic Tours

The first tour was in 1963. Charter buses were used, as has been the case on all other pilgrimages. Each bus has a guide, who points out places of historical interest along the way. But even more important the guide has the responsibility of getting the members and visitors back on the bus in order to meet the schedule. Each passenger is supplied with a map showing the route, the places to be visited and information giving the importance of each stop. Arrangements are made with a church or club to serve lunch along the way.

The destination of the initial tour was Botetourt County. The places visited were Stonelea, site of the Cloyd massacre in 1764; Kyle House, noted for its beautiful carved woodwork; Hawthorne Hall, a Harvey house; Prospect, a Federal style house, and Santillane, originally the home of Col. George Hancock.

The following year the trip was to Bedford County where the buses stopped at Fancy Farm, Three Otters, Lockwood Hall and Poplar Forest.

In 1968, in order to celebrate the 10th anniversary of the first meeting of the Society's members, it was decided to explore Roanoke Valley. The places visited were Hunter's Rest, Winsmere, Walnut Grove, Monterey and the Salem Presbyterian Church. Along the way, other old homes pointed out were Huntingdon, Homewood, Bellmont, Speedwell and the Garst Log House.

The annual or semiannual tours, from their inception, have been exceedingly popular with members and non-members. Usually there is a waiting list no matter how many buses the route can accommodate. Other tours have gone to the counties of Augusta, Bedford, Botetourt, Rockbridge, Floyd, Franklin, Henry, Montgomery, Patrick, Pittsylvania, Pulaski, Wythe, as well as Green Springs in Louisa County, Old Salem in North Carolina, Lynchburg and Lewisburg, W. Va.

The Society arranged a walking tour of downtown Roanoke by preparing a map showing 20 places of interest and copy describing it. It also has cooperated with the Junior League's bus tour of historical places in Roanoke.

Cemetery Research

The Cemetery Committee has done outstanding work for posterity in locating more than 250 private and public cemeteries in Salem, Vinton, Roanoke City and County. In the early days many people had a burial ground on their farms and some churches had graveyards, primarily for deceased members. As metropolitan areas grew, public cemeteries came into being and some have maintained lists of burials by plot number. In the others, the committee has listed the people buried, whenever the inscription on the stone is legible, and the location of the grave.

Old Buildings

The Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission requested the Society to bring up to date the survey of old buildings done by W.P.A. during the 1930s, to make additions and furnish photographs. A house file had been started. However this project should be much more complete.

Fincastle Museum

In 1965, the idea of such a museum, to be an adjunct of our Society, was developed. With the wealth of historical material in Botetourt, it was felt as much of it as possible should be collected and displayed there. A letter was sent to many Botetourt residents calling a meeting for the purpose of forming a Society. In cooperation with that group, negotiations were initiated with the Board of Supervisors for the use of a very old brick building directly in the rear of the Court House. After a lease was negotiated, our Society appropriated sufficient money to remodel the structure. Their Society proceeded to collect, arrange and label the material without assistance. The Museum was opened in the Fall of 1966.

No. 1 Fire House

When plans were being made for Downtown East, a Roanoke re-

development project, it was contemplated the Roanoke Redevelopment and Housing Authority would purchase this building and tear it down. Another landmark would disappear. After long negotiations, the Society entered into a verbal contract to purchase the property for \$90,000 if the Authority would spend up to that amount for remodeling. At that time, it was our intention to make it a permanent home, which we needed and still need so badly. The portion we did not use would be rented to provide additional income. An architect from the Landmarks Commission was secured to determine the repairs that should be made and the alterations that should not be done. Later we were able to get the Fire House declared a State and National Landmark. But the City continues to use the building, insuring its preservation.

Miscellaneous

In a number of varied projects, the Society has been associated with restoration of the pump and house at Crystal Spring; we were able to get the City to refurbish Buena Vista, the Col. George Tayloe home, and a study of restoration of the Garst log house was conducted but it had deteriorated to such an extent this was not considered feasible.

Name Change

In 1964 upon advice of counsel, the charter was amended to assure the tax exempt status of the Society. This action was taken again six years later because it was decided our name was too restrictive, therefore we became the Roanoke Valley Historical Society.

Until 1977, all directors were elected annually and any or all were eligible to serve for life. With the total membership approaching 900, it was decided a rotating board would increase the interest of members and bring new ideas into the management of the Society. In order to accomplish this change in the bylaws it was necessary to amend the charter again. At the 1978 annual meeting, 30 directors were elected. It was determined by lot which 10 would serve one, two or three years. In the future, 10 directors will be named annually, but no person can be nominated for more than two successive elected three-year terms.

After the charter membership was closed in 1958, the minimum dues were set at \$7.50 for a single person and \$10.00 for a man and wife. Notwithstanding inflation and the tremendous increased activity of the Society, the dues remained the same for 20 years, when the two categories were changed to \$10 and \$12.50.

In 1972, a corporate membership was created which made a downtown Gallery possible.

The Society should expand and extend its operations in many fields. With the employment of an executive director, the next move will be to join the Southwest Virginia Center for the Arts and Sciences in the McGuire Building on the City Market.

The presidents of the Society and the years served follow:

Edmund P. Goodwin, 1957-63; George Kegley, 1963-66; Mrs. English Showalter, 1966-69; J. Thomas Engleby III, 1969-71; Edmund P. Goodwin, 1971-73; Mrs. Harold P. Kyle, 1973-76; J. Randolph West, 1976-79; Richard Meagher 1979-80; J. Randolph West, 1980, and Jack Goodykoontz, 1980-.

The heads of committees for 1979-80 are:

Acquisitions, Mrs. Edmund P. Goodwin; Cemetery, Mrs. English Showalter; Exhibitions, Mrs. Roger Winborne; Buildings, Edmund P. Goodwin; Finance, S. S. Edmunds; Journal, George Kegley; Landmarks, Miss Anna Louise Haley; Programs and Tours, George Kegley.

The executive secretaries have been:

Henry A. Davenport, W. B. Kerr, Anna Lawson, Susan Burks Williams, Pauline Carter, Joel Richert, Anne Dibble, Donna Ware, Sallie Brown and Susan Simpson.

Betty Ayers was gallery hostess. Nomeka Sours became executive director in June 1980.

The foregoing has been a record of what the Roanoke Valley Historical Society has done and is doing through the eyes of some of its members. It would be inappropriate to end without quoting a portion of a certificate received from the American Association for State and Local History. The Society was recognized for its "achievements in the field of historic preservation, for gathering and compiling photographs and material on historic landmarks, for maintaining and guarding historic records and for creating an awareness and appreciation of history."

Historic Pump Registered

The Crystal Spring Steam Pumping Station has been placed on the Virginia Landmarks Register and entered in the National Register of Historic Places. Restoration of the 1905 pump was co-sponsored by the Society and the Roanoke Valley Bicentennial Commission in 1976. Many visitors have seen the old pump, open to the public by the City Department of Parks and Recreation from Spring through Autumn, since the work was completed in August 1976.

The pump provided water for the City of Roanoke from the nearby Crystal Spring from 1905 until 1957.

What We Collect

From attics, closets, shelves and other storage places have come a wide variety of articles donated to the Society. Some have been displayed in the Gallery at 10 Franklin Road, S.W. but for lack of space many have been stored by the Acquisitions Committee in an unused area of the Roanoke College Science Building. These acquisitions are important links with the past.

When the Society joins other organizations in the Southwest Virginia Center for Arts and Science in the McGuire Building at the City Market, extensive area will be available for exhibits and other activities.

A sampling of the items contributed in recent years:

Wheat cradle from Showalter (Stewart) farm just north of Hersherberger Road, wood, painted red; Shenandoah Club of Roanoke, constitution and general rules, 1893; Hepplewhite chair (1800) scale drawing, chair from "Grove Hill," home of Gen. James Breckenridge; shucking pin c. 1870; silver spoon from Carlton Layman house.

"Smilage Book," tickets for entertainment of soldiers of World War I at Camp Meigs (engineers) Washington D.C., July 1, 1918 - Feb. 14, 1919; John Phillip Sousa poster, Academy of Music for Sousa's tremendous operatic success, "El Capitan"; Spanish-American War, flag, eagle finial, gold fringe, gold cords, two leather fly carriers and flag cover; "A Selected Bibliography of Virginia", book, 1607-1699; James Alexander Land Grant, Aug. 3, 1771 for 150 acres in Botetourt County on Roanoke River signed by Gov. William Nelson; powder flask, engraved with hunting scene; Journal of the House of Delegates of the Commonwealth of Virginia, 1832; letter to Mrs. Sara M. Lee, Fotheringay, Montgomery County, from her "affectionate child," N.E. Wills, Lebanon, Aug. 6, 1837; tuition statement, Abraham Vinyard to Achilles Womack, 1840-1841.

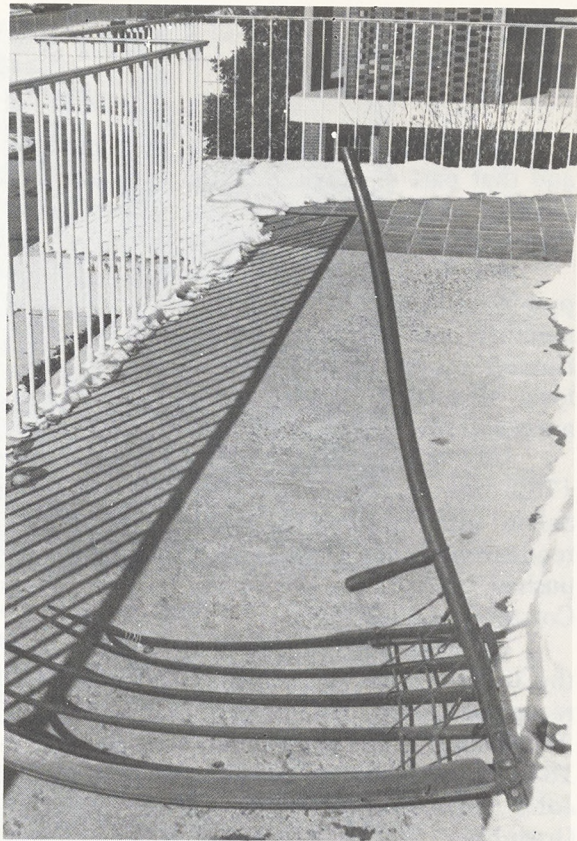
Whiskey recipe from Roanoke County, 1840; sketch book by George P. Tayloe for superintendent of Brick Church Sunday School (Big Lick Episcopal) 1842-43; map of Salem, S. W. Turnpike Road, 1848; surveyors level with tripod, c. 1880; Big Lick Weekly News, April 23, 1818; deed, McClanahan and Roanoke Land and Improvement Company to sell McClanahan property for \$35,000, July 1882; cachet from first Roanoke Post Office 1884-1934; fire helmet worn by Christopher Markley, Roanoke, 1884; glass bottle for smelling salts, Crown Perfumers Company, N. Y. Pat. 1888; gas mask from World War I in canvas bag, owned by Vernon Bandy Gish; butter mold, round wooden with fern design.

Hitching post, found at old barn when Virginia College was torn down. "In memory of Martin, who toled mail, flowers, and candy to

some upstarts at Virginia College during 1903-04-05; balance for weighing meat, up to 24 pounds, Peterson Rutledge Farm, 1850; book, "Youatt on the Structure and Diseases of the Horse," 1851; pool book, Big Lick, election of the overseer of the poor, May 27, 1852; photograph of the U. S. Steam Frigate, Roanoke; land grant, bounty, to John S. Scott signed by James Buchanan, President, August 1859.

Broad sword, United States Cavalry, 1859; clothing, female, dress top, brown and cream taffeta with flowered ribbon frogs and medallions, worn by Elizabeth Crenshaw, 1860; receipt from Lee's headquarters to 2nd Virginia Cavalry for contribution to the suffering of Fredericksburg.

Letter to Miss Ewing from W. Ayers in Richmond, March 15, 1867, discusses condition of roads from her house to Bonsack to Lynchburg and Richmond; nail, hand-forged from Lee Chapel, Lexington, 1867; clothing, male, wedding, Prince Albert wedding coat, 1869; work basket, woven from honeysuckle vine, 1870; bee hive smoker; fluting iron; pill molding machine used by H. C. Barnes in his drug store 1 S. Jefferson St., 1891; bear trap; calf weaning collar; boot jack, hand made wooden; spindle of railing from Carroll County Court House with bullet hole, relic of Allen family shooting, March 14, 1912; corn-shucking pin, made of wood, found in chimney at Lone Oak; wooden ten pins and one ball.



Interesting contrast of shadows is made by 19th century grain cradle from the Society's collections with 20th century railing at Roanoke College Science Building.

Historical Tours

In 1978 and 1979, Society bus tours have traveled to Old Staunton and that part of Augusta County just north of the county seat, to the hill city of Lynchburg, to Henry County and to Lewisburg and Greenbrier County in our first historical visit in West Virginia.

Stately old homes, churches, schools, cemeteries and a variety of points of historical interest have attracted the attention of many members and guests on the spring and fall tours. Historical information often was presented by owners of the houses and representatives of local organizations and brochures were prepared on the sites and the areas visited.

On a most interesting trip in October 1979 to Lewisburg, formed in 1782, the tour recalled the historic march of Gen. Andrew Lewis of Salem with his frontier Indian fighters in the fall of 1774. Their rendezvous point was Camp Union, later Lewisburg. From here they pushed through the wilderness to Point Pleasant where they defeated Cornstalk and his Indians.

Detailed descriptions of Lewisburg were given by local guides on the buses. Stops were made at Old Stone Church, built in 1796 and recognized as the earliest church building in continuous use west of the Alleghenies; at the early 1800s Mathews House; at Colonial Inn, built in 1834; the Barracks, a depot for volunteers in the War of 1812, and the John North House and Tavern, the museum and headquarters of the Greenbrier County Historical Society.

In a spring 1979 tour of Henry County, the Society visited the Bassett home dating from about 1818; the Homestead at Spencer, built in the 1780s; Hillcroft started near present Fieldale in 1740; Beaver Creek, the James E. Covington mansion built on the Hairston place in 1837, and Chestnut Creek, an 1840 home near Sydnorsville in Franklin County. This was a return trip to the Piedmont area first visited by the Society in 1970.

These large old homes have survived the manufacturing growth that has changed plantation life to an industrial society. Henry County settlers generally came from the English communities in Eastern Virginia.

In the autumn of 1978, the Society made its first visit to Lynchburg, established in 1786 in Campbell County. Early emphasis was placed on the James River Canal and the tobacco trade.

Lynchburg people gave the background for Point of Honor, a restored 1806 Federal mansion; the rebuilt Quaker Meeting House started in 1757; the 1790 Miller-Claytor House, and Sandusky, the unique home of Charles Johnston, who later lived at Botetourt Springs, now Hollins College. A bonus was the visit to Victorian homes under restoration on Diamond Hill, one of Lynchburg's seven hills.

A second trip to Staunton, seat of Augusta County since 1745,



The D. Woodson Ramsey home at Chestnut Creek Farm near Sydnorsville was built about 1840. Ramsey's ancestors acquired the property by a grant from King George II in 1761.



Near Spencer in Henry County is the spacious Homestead, sometimes called Grassdale, a 13-room home dating from the 1780s. Owned by Mr. and Mrs. Brooks Leavitt, it was built by James Spencer Jr., an ancestor of Mrs. Leavitt.

was made in the spring of 1978. Buses stopped at the fine Stuart House, a 1791 home now occupied by Justice and Mrs. George Cochran; the distinctive 1866 Sears House; Stuart Hall, the school for young ladies started in the 1840s, and Augusta Stone Church, built in 1741-49. The church, on old U.S. 11 north of Staunton, is the oldest Presbyterian church in the state still in continuous use.



The Bassett home near Horsepasture probably was built about 1818. Weatherboarding was placed over what started as a two-room log cabin. Miss Mary Bassett and her sister, Mrs. Reuben Reynolds live there.

New Books on Old Themes

EARLY ADVENTURES ON THE WESTERN WATERS, The New River of Virginia in Pioneer Days 1745-1800, by Mary B. Kegley and F. B. Kegley. Green Publishers; 456 pages. \$27.75. Continuing the work started by the late F. B. Kegley of Wytheville in his *Kegley's Virginia Frontier*, published in 1938, Mary B. Kegley, a distant relative, follows the frontier into the New River country.

GENERAL ANDREW LEWIS OF ROANOKE AND GREENBRIER by Patricia Givens Johnson. Southern Printing Co., Blacksburg, 259 pages. \$14.50.

Patricia Johnson, a busy historical writer, has completed the first full-length biography of Andrew Lewis, the most widely known Indian fighter in this part of the country. Born in Ireland, Lewis came with his family to Staunton and later to Richfield, his last home in Salem.

(Continued on page 104)

Spinning and Weaving In Montgomery County

by Dorothy McCombs

When, in 1777, Montgomery County was formed from a part of Fincastle County, to provide frontier settlers with a courthouse reasonably close to their homes, it included nine future counties to the west and south which were subtracted from the parent over the next 60 years or so.

Its first settlers had arrived in the 1740's. In the beginning there was a rough balance between those of German and British antecedents, but by 1777 the Scotch Irish were a majority. Many of these had been brought as redemptioners by the colonial magnates Colonel James Patton and Colonel William Preston on their and the Loyal Land Company's grants.¹

The first county court was held in Fort Chiswell near the lead mines. After the subtraction of Wythe in 1790, the town of Christiansburg was established in 1792 as the new county seat where sessions of the county court were held the first Tuesday of every month.² The town boasted of only a few hundred persons and four stores, but it was the county's principal market town.³ (The county was about 100 miles in length and 44 miles in breadth with 8,076 free and 968 slave inhabitants.)⁴ It had a post office and was on "the post road from Richmond to Kentucky."⁵

Unfortunately this road sounded better than it was, since the high plateau which it traversed, between the waters which flowed to the Atlantic and those which flowed into the Mississippi, was alternately mountainous, broken and rocky and fertile valleys. Though smaller because of the subtraction of Floyd County to the south, its western boundaries still included Pulaski County. Its population in 1830 was 12,306, of which 975 were slaves. The staple commodities of the county were beef, pork, grain, hemp, flax and butter. In the county by this time were three other towns in addition to Christiansburg (230), Blacksburg (150 persons), La Fayette (103) and Newbern (190).⁶

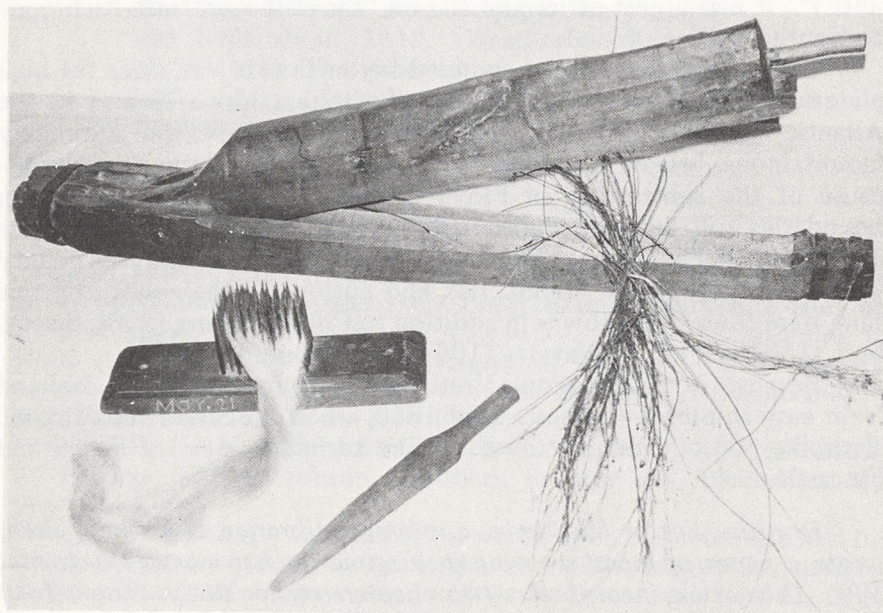
Because of its location, Montgomery County remained isolated from easy shipment of goods until 1850, when the Southwest Virginia Turnpike consolidated all the short-line turnpikes west of Salem and Fincastle.

Dorothy Foster McCombs, a reference librarian at Virginia Tech, wrote a paper on hand weaving in Virginia for her master's degree at VPI. This article incorporates two chapters of her study. The wife of C. L. McCombs, head of the Horticulture Department at VPI, she holds a library degree from the University of North Carolina.

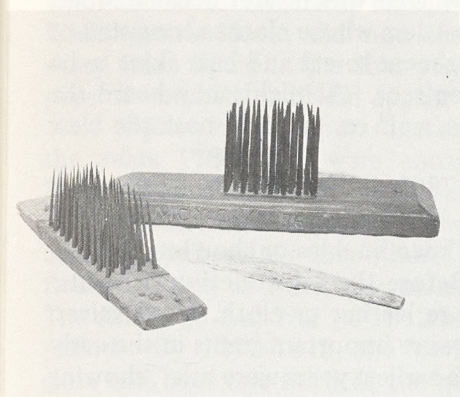
West of Montgomery, shallow rapids and fast currents prevented boats and rafts from using the Kanawha and the New Rivers.⁷ The Roanoke River, to the east, was too small a stream to be useful for water transportation. There were plans to canalize the James River but this was not accomplished as far west as Lynchburg until the 1840's.⁸ Between Salem and Christiansburg was a long incline to the top of the continental divide. By 1831 this incline was crossed by a toll road, the only graded section of the great valley road, but until that time most traffic into the county was by horseback.⁹

The county's staple crops were taken on foot (cattle, pigs) or horseback, and later by wagon, up the valley road to markets in Winchester and on to Baltimore and Alexandria, or as roads were built through the gaps in the Blue Ridge, to Richmond or Fredericksburg.¹⁰ After the canal was complete, hemp was taken to it and floated down to the warehouses in Richmond. Any goods brought into the county came up the steep dirt road by wagon. In 1805 the cost to carry 100 pounds 20 miles was 50 cents.¹¹ With the difficulties in getting their staple crops to the eastern markets and the expense of receiving goods from these markets, Montgomery County inhabitants, like those of the other western Virginia counties, had no choice but to lead self-sufficient lives in their families and, by barter, in their communities, until much later when turnpikes and railroads reached them.

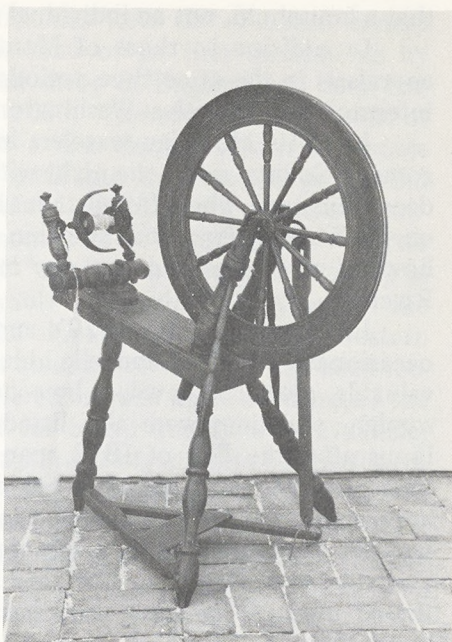
The frontier settlers' basic necessities came from their land. After shelter was built, food had to be grown and clothing supplied. Because clothing supplies from the outside were bulky, scarce and expensive, frontier folk grew the textile raw materials, spun them into yarn, and



Hatchels, scutching knife and flax break



Flax hatchels



Flax or Saxony spinning wheel

wove the yarn into cloth for clothing and household needs. In the western counties, as in eastern Virginia, land was plentiful. Even men who had been weavers in the old country, here devoted their days to clearing their lands—when they were not at war with the Indians or the British. The chores of spinning and weaving were done generally by women and children.

Daily chores of the households were little noted in business or political transactions of the time. There are very few written accounts of textiles manufactured at home, such as the memoirs of Doddridge or Howells.¹² The most important and abundant source concerning the raw materials and tools for making cloth is buried in county records, especially in the inventories of personal property, customarily appended to the last will and testaments of the deceased. The county court appointed three persons to list and appraise the value of these estates. Because the will books of Montgomery County include all appraisals since its formation, plus some early ones dated 1773 when the area was still a part of Fincastle County, the county served as a case study of the kinds and distribution of the raw materials, the means of production and the laborers engaged in the manufacture of textiles. Comparisons with other intermontane counties were made to determine the adherence to or departure from the common experience.

Appraisals between 1773 and 1830 were searched to secure data concerning spinning and weaving equipment, yarn and cloth supplies, and the farm tools or production of the raw materials used in making cloth. Only appraisals at least half a page long were considered to insure

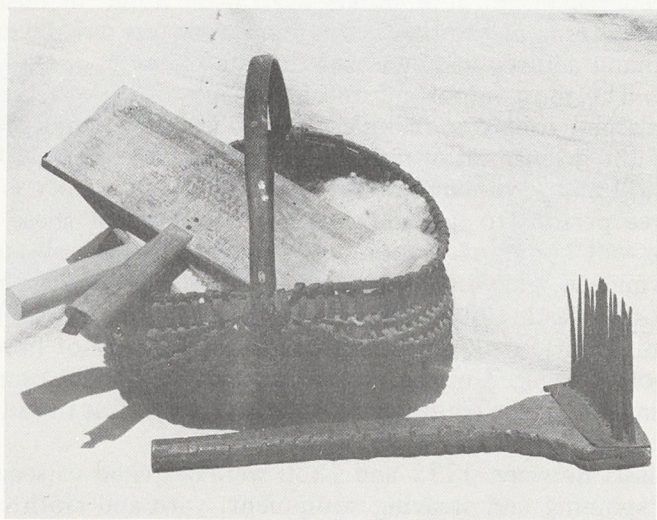
that a household, not an individual without a household, was considered.

In addition to those of Montgomery County, a small number of appraisals in the same time periods were chosen in three other Virginia intermontane counties: Washington, Augusta and Frederick.

In 1749, Moravian travelers in the area which later became Montgomery County spent the night with settlers whose clothes consisted of deer skins, and who offered them bear meat to eat and bear skins to lie on for beds in front of the cabin fireplaces. At night they heard the howling of wolves and one day met a wolf on the trail near the New River.¹³

Inventories of the 1770's and 1780's listed deerskin clothes and occasionally buffalo and elk hides. Because they were unusual and valuable, great coats, velvet breeches, knee buckles or shoe buckles and woolen stockings were also listed. Before the introduction of pantaloons after the War of 1812, men wore leather or cloth, often velvet, breeches, and consequently stockings were important items in the early appraisals.¹⁴ Lists of belongings in the earliest years were brief, showing frontier households with a spinning device to spin yarn of any fiber available, even nettles or buffalo hair.¹⁵ However wool was the usual thread used for knitting stockings to wear with the deerskin breeches and jackets.

By the 1770's, the decade in which the appraisals of this study begin, the people of the county had the wolves under control so that some settlers raised sheep for food and wool. Of the 18 appraisals of this period, three included sheep, averaging 15 sheep per flock. An act of 1782 allowed Montgomery County and others to pay a reward in tobacco to inhabitants who killed wolves.¹⁶ In the following years a number of persons were awarded certificates in return for wolves' heads turned in to county officials.¹⁷



Wool cards and comb

The sheep grown in the first decades were the common variety introduced to the continent at the time of its first settlements by Europeans. Export of the long-haired sheep of England had been forbidden by the British Parliament in 1660. Therefore improvement of wool fleece in America, except for a few examples such as George Washington's flock, did not occur until the importation of Merino sheep from Spain in the first years of the 1800s. Wool combs and supplies of combed wool did appear in some few 1770 appraisals.¹⁸ After 1783 woolen cloth imports increased¹⁹ and the percentages of sheep in the years 1780-1800 were considerably lower than the years of the Revolution. Despite the fact that the climate and pastures of western Virginia fostered sheep with superior qualities of wool, as had been recognized by Lavallee and others, little effort was made to increase the flocks as long as British woolens of far better quality were available. The Embargo and War of 1812 had again cut off imports by the fourth period. By 1810-1819, the Merino craze had reached Southwest Virginia and over one-third of the households raised sheep. The following letter from a farmer of western Virginia was printed in the *Niles' Register* in 1814:

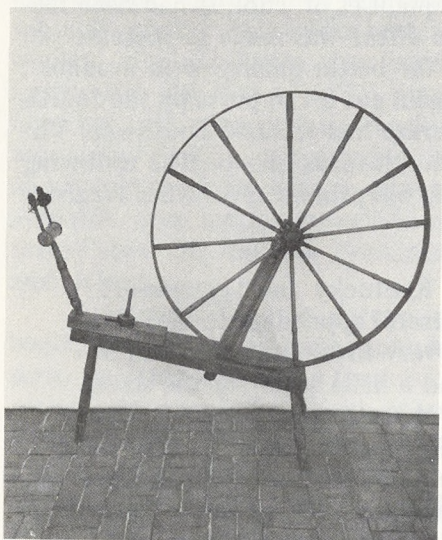
Heretofore throughout Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee. . . sheep were only considered as a useful appendage to the farm, incurring no expense, generally very little attention, and affording supplies for the table and a little wool for the slaves . . . Since the war the raising of sheep has become an object, and very many gentlemen in the western country have increased their flocks to incredible numbers—three, five and six thousand and I have no doubt but some of the flocks to the south and west will in a few years equal those of Spain.²⁰

Of the four counties where records were examined, Washington County had for all periods, by far the largest percentage of households listing sheep, and Montgomery County had the smallest, although Montgomery households had the largest average number of sheep per flock except during the last two periods. It was during this last period that a woolen mill was built in Washington County, the only one in Southwest Virginia, according to the 1810 census. No woolen mills were found in Montgomery County until much later in the century, but the existence of fulling mills and wool carding machines in the censuses, and the continuing average of around 16 sheep per flock throughout the survey indicate a sustained interest in household manufacture of woolens in the county.

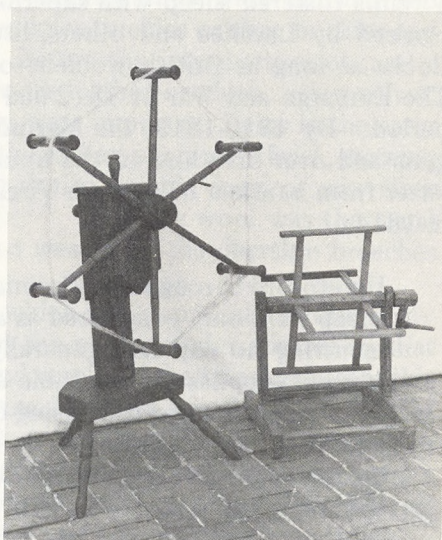
Sheep were shorn in May, and with the shearing a long series of processes was begun. Most members of the household were involved in some way with the washing, drying, picking and carding of the wool, spinning it into yarn, dyeing the yarn and preparing it for the weaving, the weaving of cloth, then fulling and processing it to make it ready to be used for clothing and other necessities for the family. Maria Jane

Gish Frantz remembered her childhood, and told of the children's delight in helping to wash the wool after shearing:

We would all go out in a wagon to the creek, with the baskets, tubs and buckets, and as the water was warm, we would each take a basket, put in half full of wool, and wade into the creek where it was gravel bottom, and get into the baskets with our feet and tramp the wool until the water ran clean. We would walk out, drain the wool, and put it back into the sheets on the grass, fill the baskets and into the water again.²¹



Large wool spinning wheel



Clock reel and primitive winder

Picking burrs and trash out of the wool to prepare it for carding was done during the hot summer months; and was not a favorite job of the children.²²

Supplies of wool were found in from 14 to 17 percent of the households in 1778-1789, but the figure decreased to 0 to 3 percent in 1790-1809. During the years of the Embargo and the War of 1812, wool was found again in 16 percent of the households but decreased immediately after the war and remained around 8 percent.

Hemp was an important crop in western Virginia from its first settlements. The need for rope for the sailing vessels of the merchant and naval vessels made hemp the commodity England wanted above all others from her colonies.²³ In the colonies hemp was also used, in addition to flax, to make linen cloth. On the eve of the Revolution Virginia had been the leading producer in North America but most of the 5,000 tons of hemp produced annually were consumed in the colony.²⁴

In 1767, 1768, hemp certificates were issued in Southwest Virginia to Edward Sharp, Israel Christian, James Montgomery, William

Christian, Margaret Robinson, James Buchanan, Andrew Woods, Andrew Lewis, William Preston, and James Campbell.²⁵ In 1770-1771 bounties were issued to Andrew Woods, James Montgomery, Robert Breckinridge, James Buchanan and 13 more.²⁶ At this time Augusta County grew over 100,000 pounds a year.²⁷ Production continued during the Revolution when the hemp from the valley was sold to a rope walk, where rope was made, established on the James River.²⁸

The State of Virginia continued the British colonial policy of encouraging the growth of hemp. An act passed in 1783, authorized one-half the payment of taxes in hemp, tobacco, flour or deerskins.²⁹ The state authorized hemp "to be received in discharge of debt. . . at 30 shillings and 6 pence, cwt." in 1784.³⁰ An act regulating the inspection of hemp was passed in 1790,³¹ and warehouses for its reception were ordered to be built in Richmond, Alexandria, Fredericksburg, Manchester (Petersburg) and Great Falls in the county of Loudoun. Counties appointed inspectors who issued certificates to the owners of hemp.³² The records of Augusta County for 1795 include a notation "took a load of public hemp to Philadelphia and bring back mill supplies."³³

Montgomery County inventories showed more hemp than other counties, although it appeared in less than 10 percent of the inventories searched. As hemp was collected and certificates were issued by the county inspectors, it is reasonable to assume that supplies were not held long after harvest. A memorandum in the Draper manuscripts gives the following directions for preparing the hemp for market: "To prize hemp make a box 3 feet four inches long to fit a wagon and about 10 inches square and press it hard and bind with four cords—contains about 150 cwt."³⁴ It is assumed that the box described is the cutting box mentioned in many inventories.

Today linen is considered to be a cloth made of flax, however in the 18th century, Postlethwayt's *Encyclopedia* spoke of a variety of sorts of linen "the chief material of which [were] cotton, flax and hemp."³⁵ Jefferson's *Farm Book* refers to linen made of hemp,³⁶ Tench Coxe's 1810 *Digest of Manufactures* listed Virginia textiles only under the headings woolen, cotton, linen and mixed goods (chiefly cotton).³⁷ He listed nothing for Virginia under the heading of hempen cloth or mixed goods (chiefly hempen), although he did for Pennsylvania, Delaware, Massachusetts and Connecticut. In these states, hemp was imported from Russia and manufactured into sailcloth.³⁸ Coxe in his introduction to the *Digest* mentioned the difficulties of processing the tow from the hemp stock.³⁹

A number of inventories of Montgomery County specified both tow linen and flax linen. It is impossible to know whether tow linen might have been cloth or hempen tow or whether the reference is only to the snarled tow left in hackles when flax fibers were hacked. Tow, "colored different colors" was also woven into carpets, according to Maria Frantz and carpeting of hemp was made by the Valley "Dutch" in the early 19th century.⁴⁰ From the evidence of "watered" and "unwatered" hemp and hemp brakes in the inventories and the fact that

when hemp was grown for market it was not "Scotched"⁴¹ it is assumed that hempen cloth was made in Montgomery County. Hemp still appeared in the 1820 appraisals and the 1820 census showed ropewalks in eastern Chesterfield and Dinwiddie counties. By this time, however, the center of hemp production had followed the frontier into Tennessee and Kentucky where hemp was made into bagging for cotton bales.⁴²

Although hemp has been considered the main export crop of the western Virginia counties, the flax grown was perhaps even more important to them. Flax was grown in Montgomery County for three purposes: flaxseed for export, flax fiber for home manufacture of linen, and flaxseed for linseed oil.

Until Pennsylvania and Maryland ports were closed during the Revolutionary War, flaxseed from the Valley of Virginia was carried to Winchester and then on to Alexandria, Baltimore or Philadelphia where it entered the return commerce of ships which had brought linen and indentured servants or other immigrants from Belfast and Londonberry. In October, 1731, "upward of sixty wagon loads of flaxseed came into Baltimore from the country parts for shipment."⁴³ This trade between Northern Ireland and the mid-Atlantic ports of North America had begun early in the 18th century, bringing young men in particular as redemptioners to the Valley of Virginia until the Revolution closed the trade.⁴⁴ During the years 1771-1776 the number of these immigrants increased, due to the declining linen trade at home and the increase of rents for Irish lands. An investigation of the House of Commons in 1774 showed that one-half of all Irish linen weavers had been thrown out of work and that 10,000 had emigrated to America since 1770.⁴⁵

Flax was a difficult crop to grow, requiring experience and good management. In colonial times it was considered hard on the soil and the colonists were reluctant to grow it, for only a few harvests were made over a number of years. However, the Scotch-Irish settlers of western Virginia had the necessary experience to grow the crop. In addition, the new lands were free of the wilt organism now known to cause severe losses in its production.

Flax normally could not be used for both seed and fiber. The stalk must be pulled while still green if it is to be used for fiber for fine linens. If it is to be ripened and the seed exported or saved for sowing, the stalk must be sacrificed.⁴⁶

While export of flaxseed to Ireland resumed to some extent after the war, it never reached its earlier importance as the Irish had, through necessity, learned to preserve their own seed.⁴⁷ However, after 1793, a new market for the seed opened in this country when linseed oil processing began in Pennsylvania.⁴⁸ By 1814 nearly 29,000 gallons of linseed oil were produced in Virginia.⁴⁹

Montgomery County appears to have raised less flax than Augusta but more than Frederick. Seven percent of the inventories in 1790 included flaxseed and nine percent in the 1810's. Though the 1820-1829 appraisals listed no flaxseed, the 1820 census showed that two men in the county were employed in linseed oil mills. Augusta County

listed the largest percentages of flaxseed, and also had the largest number of men (six) employed in its mills. Washington County listed none for 1770-1819, then 34 percent in 1820-1829. No linseed oil mills were shown in the census for the county,⁵⁰ but the flaxseed must have been carried along with other farm produce which every spring was floated downstream on flatboats on the Holston River to markets in Kingsport, Knoxville or New Orleans.⁵¹

All during the time of this study, flax was grown in western Virginia for its fiber. Although cotton soon took its place nationally, in 1810 cloth made of flax still outranked 4 to 3, and wool 2 to 1.⁵²

Traditionally flax was sown on Good Friday. Its blue blossoms appeared in June and it was harvested in July. Maria Jane Frantz said of the growing flax:

When in bloom it waved like a blue sea and was very beautiful. When the bloom dropped it would soon begin to turn brown. And when the seed was ripe it was ready for harvest. We would pull it up, tie it in bundles as large as your arm, and stick it with roots down and seed up, in small stacks to dry.⁵³

Lewis Preston Summers' *History of Southwest Virginia and Washington County* tells that in 1776 lands near Blacks Fort, now Abingdon, were cultivated in flax. In the summer of that year two men and three women were attacked by Indians while pulling flax.⁵⁴

After bundled stalks of flax were dry they were retted in water by exposure to the dew, or in a pond, to rot the outside coverings. After drying again, bundles of stalks were crushed by flax-brakes, then swingled (or scrutched or Scotched) with a wooden blade, to remove the broken pieces of outside covering or husks. These heavy processes were generally performed by men, sometimes to the accompaniment of a "frolic," a party to lighten the hard job.

To separate the fibers in the stalks of flax a hatchel, or a series of hatchels were used. (hachel, hackle, hachel or heckle). The hatchel consisted of a thick board four or five inches across and ten to twelve inches long which held three or four rows of iron spikes. Handfuls of flax stalks were pulled through the spikes to separate the fibers. If several were used, the spikes on the hatchels varied from coarse to fine. Snarls of "tow" left in the hatchels were used for making coarse cloth for bagging or rope. After the first period when only six percent were listed, all periods but one showed that one-third or more of the households listed flax hatchels. The other, 1790-1799, showed one-fourth of the households listing hatchels. Mrs. Frantz described the flax after hatchelling: "It looked like soft and beautiful gray hair as it was made into twists and hung up on the walls of the loom house."⁵⁵

Highest flax supplies in the fifth period were to be expected because of the embargo and war emergencies, but the continued appearance of flax fibers in the last period verifies the statement of Victor Clark that:

. . . in the South there was a territorial and perhaps a racial division between the two crops [flax and cotton]. Flax continued to be grown in the highlands after it was almost entirely supplanted by cotton in the lowlands and coastal country, and linen manufacture still thrived among the Scotch-Irish mountaineers long after it ceased to exist among the valley gentry.⁵⁶

Cotton could not be grown in Montgomery County because of the climate. As might be expected supplies of its fiber were the least of any textile farm produce listed in the county's inventories. A 1779 record listed "some picked cotton,"⁵⁷ another in 1790 listed three pounds of cotton.

Nonetheless the existence of cotton cloth manufacture is indicated by the presence of cotton spinning wheels. Because supplies of cotton were listed during the Revolution and during the War of 1812, it is reasonable to assume that they came from eastern Virginia. However, referring to Jefferson's difficulties in buying "cotton wool" in 1816 in Albemarle and Bedford counties,⁵⁸ a question is raised as to the source of cotton wool which appears in the 1810 inventories. It may have come from South Carolina and Georgia by trade on the branch of the Valley Road which led through North Carolina to those states. However it may be that it came from a nearer source in southwestern Virginia, south of the Blue Ridge.

A history of Roanoke County tells that some southwest Virginians raised a little cotton for domestic purposes and used the surpluses in trade with local storekeepers, who in turn sent the cotton with other farm produce by wagon to wholesale merchants in Baltimore. According to the story, the cotton accumulated there for lack of a buyer until the merchants sent the son of a Scotch-Irish linen draper to London to dispose of it. He was successful and through the venture, Brown Brothers and Company was begun.⁵⁹ Victor Clark stated that the hand-spun cotton could be manufactured in families only by mixing it with wool or flax warp for strength. Only after cotton was spun and twisted by water-powered machinery was it strong enough to be used for warp in weaving.⁶⁰ In 1803 cotton led the list of American exports by value, and by 1810 the price of cotton yarn and cloth, domestic or imported, became low enough that cotton could replace woolen cloth. At that time, factory-produced yarn appeared in the stores in the South.⁶¹ The *Niles Register* of 1816 stated that cotton yarn "is now as regularly found on the memorandums of country storekeepers as any article whatsoever and is entirely a thing of a few years date."⁶² The fact that no cotton cloth supplies and that no spinning wheels were designated cotton spinning wheels until 1800-1809 tends to verify the shift from cotton as filling on woolen warp in the earlier fabrics to an all cotton, or cotton as warp fabric, after the factory-spun yarns became available.

Montgomery County, by virtue of its topography and the background of its inhabitants, was a county of small self-sufficient farm units. Because of its distance from markets and lack of transportation it was not feasible to grow staple crops; therefore its agriculture emphasized the food and fiber crops its inhabitants needed for their own use. Sheep, flax and hemp were grown to supply textile fibers. Each of these served a dual purpose, producing in addition to the textile fibers meat for the families, flax seed for export or oil, and hemp for sale or to be used in place of specie. Montgomery County appears to have produced smaller amounts of these products than its more prosperous neighbors to the east or west, however, the data from its appraisal lists shows a more constant percentage in these products over the time included in the study. The independence of these self-sufficient settlers, in contrast to the debt-ridden gentry of eastern Virginia would be admired by many persons 200 years later. These traits were also acknowledged by a contemporary traveller through Virginia who remarked:

. . . and on my horseback route it was a constant source of surprise. . . for this combination of agriculture and manufacture in the same family appears to me to form a state of society of all others best adapted to produce a happy, independent and virtuous population.⁶³

In such a society all members of the family were needed to produce the necessities. The raw materials for textiles and the equipment to fabricate them were produced from the land and forest of the country. While some clothing and cloth were available in the stores, much of these materials used in Montgomery County until 1830 were made in the homes of the farms where the raw materials were grown. From small children to grandmothers, everyone took part in the numerous processes necessary to make the raw textile fibers into cloth.

After the washing of wool fleeces in a stream and the hatcheling of flax in the barn of a Montgomery farm, the raw materials were moved into the house or loom-house and the women and children of the household continued the series of processes transforming the fibers into cloth.

Just as hatchels were used to complete the preparation of flax for spinning, equipment was necessary to prepare raw cotton or wool into rolls of straight, parallel fibers ready to be spun. A pair of cards was used, each a rectangular piece of wood with handles and rows of wire teeth set in leather which was attached to the wood. By drawing a lock of wool or cotton through the teeth of one card with the other, dirt was combed out of the wool and the fibers were straightened. Removed from the card, the fiber formed a roll nearly an inch thick and ready for spinning.

If necessary, wool could be "teased" by hand without cards. In the 18 inventories of the first period of the study, 1773-1779, appraisers listed only two pairs of cards. Though small and simple, cards were

manufactured articles often unavailable on the frontier because the thin wire used for the teeth could not be fabricated by local ironworkers. Purchase of wool cards for the inhabitants of the colony was one charge to Virginia naval captains early in the war,⁶⁴ and by the 1780's these were imported from New England where they were made by hand.⁶⁵ The *American Museum* reported in 1790 that American manufacturers of cards wholly supplied the country,⁶⁶ and by 1797 a patent was issued to Amos Whittemore for a card-making machine which greatly reduced the labor in their production.⁶⁷

Carding machines were the next step in technological development and the first part of the textile process to be taken out of the home. As early as 1792 a carding machine was available which carded 100 pounds of cotton per day.⁶⁸ By 1810, water-driven carding devices were common at fulling mills. Although 50 of Virginia's 96 carding machines were found in the counties between the mountains, the 1810 census listed none in Montgomery County.⁶⁹ The personal property of John Gardner, who died in 1817 in the county, including a carding machine valued at \$56.25 with other cloth processing equipment, but it is not known where it was used.⁷⁰ By the time of the 1820 census, 12 men were employed in Montgomery County who carded 23,700 pounds of wool that year.⁷¹

An advertisement in the newspaper of a nearby state offered to pick, break, and card sheep wool into rolls for 10 cents per pound, with the additional charge of two cents for mixing wool of different colors. The advertiser advised prospective customers that:

The burrs and sticks must be extracted, and the wool sent in sheets with one pound of grease to eight of wool and the rolls will be so packed as to carry on horseback 50 miles without injury. Country linen, feathers, and wool received in payment, if delivered in hand.⁷²

William Cooper Howells, whose family immigrated from England to Virginia and then to Ohio, told of wool carding there, 1813-1840:

The wool was sometimes carded at home, but usually it was sent off to the carding mill, for the purpose of preparing the wool for spinning by carding and making it into rolls, that were about a yard long and three-fourths of an inch in diameter, light and soft, and from which an even thread was spun . . .⁷³

Although combed wool was found in an inventory of Montgomery County, no wool combs were listed in that county's early appraisals. One pair was listed in the Washington County estate of Thomas Hill, who had probably brought them from England even though sheep-raisers could not import animals for at least 20 years.⁷⁴

The percentage of households listing cards increased from 16 percent in 1770 to 47 percent between 1810 and 1815, down to 20 percent

in the 1820's when carding machines were available in the county. Most cards were unspecified, others specified wool cards, and the fewest specified cotton. Even so, the inventory of John Anderson's Christiansburg store in 1821 showed 45 pairs of cotton cards and 117 pairs of wool cards in its stock.⁷⁵

The number of cards specifying cotton also peaked in 1810-1815. In addition to the carding machines which carded wool or cotton, by 1816 cotton yarn was available in stores. At first this was in the form of a thick "roving" similar to the roll from a carding machine.⁷⁶ Later it was available as yarn or thread in a skein known as "prepared chain."⁷⁷ This factory-spun cotton was strong enough to be used as warp.⁷⁸

In 1817 J. and R. Bronson published a practical handbook, *The Domestic Manufacturers Assistant and Family Directory, in the Arts of Weaving and Dyeing*. In it Bronson includes directions for the spinning of wool, but the fact that he does not mention spinning cotton, instead refers to cotton yarn by numbers, indicates that his audience now was expected to use factory-made cotton yarn.⁷⁹ The book was published in New York, where the factory yarns took the place of homespun earlier but by 1803 yarns were sent to Southern cities and sold to peddlers who took them into the backcountry.⁸⁰

When the fibers were hatchelled or carded, the spinning could begin. To spin is to draw out and twist fibers into yarn. The roughness of short, but unevenly-lengthed, natural fibers causes the twisted fibers to hold together as a strong continuous thread. The oldest spinning devices were hand spindles and these were found among the early settlers of western Virginia. Philip Vickers Fithian, traveling preacher in the western country in 1775-1776, described

... a Scotch matron with her *Rock and Spindle* twisting away at the flax—the rock is a long staff on one end of which is her flax like a distaff; the spindle is a peg about eight inches long, sharp at one end where the thread is twisted and large at the other where it is rolled on. . .⁸¹

Elsewhere the rock, or distaff, is said to have been held under the left arm or perhaps tucked in the girdle or belt of the spinner in order to free the hands. A lock of wool was continuously pulled in a twisting motion from the rock by the right hand and the swinging spindle, and kept whirling by the thicker end or by a heavy stone or weight at the lower end of the spindle. As the yarn was spun, it lengthened until it touched the ground and was then wound onto the spindle and the process repeated.⁸²

An inventory of Washington County in 1782 included a hand spindle. Here it was called an "iron and spindle."⁸³ No doubt the iron part made this an article to include in an appraisal. A simple all-wood spindle would have been too commonplace to mention.

Spinning wheels were more commonly mentioned than any other textile equipment in the appraisals of western Virginia. There were two

types of wheels. The large ones were called "great," "long," or "muckle" (Scotch) wheels. They were turned by hand or by a small wooden "finger," and were ordinarily used to spin wool. The small foot-treadled wheels were used primarily to spin flax, but one could also spin wool or cotton on them. Wheels were listed in the inventories as spinning wheels, large wheels, wool wheels, cotton wheels, small wheels or flax or linen wheels. The specific fiber mentioned may have indicated the usual use of the wheel, or in some situations may have referred to an exception. In this study a determination of the meaning was made and the wheels were listed as unspecified, wool or large, flax, cotton, or small and then a total was listed.

Total numbers of spinning wheels rose with each period examined until 1820, when they fell slightly. For the first period all wheels, which averaged 50 percent of the households, or one in every other household, were unspecified. The numbers of flax and woollen wheels remained approximately equal through all periods. No cotton wheels were so designated until after 1800, and they remained less than half the number of wool or flax wheels. As in most other categories, the numbers of spinning wheels were largest during the years of the War of 1812. During the decade after 1810, the total number of households listing spinning wheels was 174 percent or nearly two wheels per household represented.

Even though Montgomery's figures were less for each type wheel than any of the counties examined, the numbers of all types of wheels for the years 1800-1810 represented a peak in home spinning. There, as elsewhere during this time, Virginia as a state and its intermontane section had access to and use of all types of materials: the dispersion of new breeds of sheep resulted in an increase of available wool of good quality; increased amounts of cotton were available from states to the south and even from some areas of southwest Virginia; and supplies of New England factory-made cotton yarn appeared in the stores. At the same time, the traditional use of flax continued.

Numbers of spinning wheels were needed to furnish a supply of yarn for weaving. It was said that the work of eight spinners was required to supply one weaver at a loom.⁸⁴ From many memoirs, we know that children as well as the older girls were set to spinning. If the spindle of the big wheel was too high for a small child to reach, one author said that "the usual way of adjusting it to the child's height was to cut a hole in the floor and drop the front end of the frame down so that he or she could reach the spindle."⁸⁵ Maria Jane Gish Frantz of adjacent Roanoke County reminisced how her mother and older sisters spun on the little flax wheels by the light of pine knots. On the other hand, spinning wool on large wheels was always done by daylight because it required the spinner's judgment. Usually the youngest children spun only the tow for coarse cloth.⁸⁶

Although spinning was a continuous task, memoirs did not speak of it as a monotonous drudgery. Instead, it was remembered as a pleasant occupation. There were distinct rhythms involved in turning

or treadling wheels or in walking back and forth alongside the large wheel. Singing was often mentioned in connection with spinning in accounts of this period. Philip Fithian, while visiting in a home in Virginia, in 1775, wrote of his inability to resist joining spinners in the house:

Two young misses were singing at their wheels. They sung well. In perfect unison. They sung deliberately. Not one long note or pause did either of them hurry over.⁸⁹

Mrs. Frantz mentioned how her older sisters carried their wheels to spend the evening with friends, during which there was as much laughing and talking as spinning.⁸⁸ An account of pioneer life in Belpre on the Ohio River told of the young girls congregating in groups in the "spacious rooms of the blockhouse and cheering each other at their labors, with song and sprightly conversations."⁸⁹

Some spinning wheels were brought with the settlers from across the Atlantic. Others, particularly the simpler ones, the large wool wheels, were made by enterprising fathers or husbands. In 1826 Nelson Sprinkel of Harrisonburg employed 25 men in making all kinds of spinning wheels. He sent these wheels by wagons into the adjoining counties, trading them for money, flaxseed or other negotiable farm products.⁹⁰

For a short time during and after the War of 1812, home spinning machines were popular.⁹¹ Thomas Jefferson wrote in 1813 that "Small spinning jennies of half a dozen to twenty spindles will soon make their way into the humblest cottages . . ."⁹² In the appraisal list for Frederick Smith, reported to the Montgomery County court in January of 1820, there was included a Pleasant Spinner, surely an example of the spinning machine in question.⁹³ A few years later a list in Washinton County, 1827, for John Houston, stated simply "1 spinning machine."⁹⁴

Other equipment necessary for preparing the yarn to be used as warp or filling for weaving, was listed in numerous appraisals. The reel, onto which the yarn was wound from the spindle of the spinning wheel, was both a hanking (or skeining) and a measuring device. They were variously listed as check, click, clock or Jack reels. Most often they were simple, rough pieces but occasionally were of fine workmanship. Basically a reel was a support resting on a base held by three feet. The support held four or six arms, each with a crosspiece at its end. The yarn was wound round and around the crosspieces to form a hank or skein. Some reels included a device which clicked after a certain number of revolutions and was connected to a clock hand on the support. Called a "weasel" in some areas, the reel was mentioned in the sing-song chant to become a part of American folk lore:

Round and round the vinegar jug
The monkey chased the weasel;
Thats the way the monkey goes,
"Pop" goes the weasel!

The reels used in the Virginia back country were usually made to measure 90 inches around because an Act of Parliament specified that linen skeins should be 90 inches. A typical reel clicked after 120 revolutions, which were also shown on the small clock face on the support. At the click the spinner tied the threads of the skein together with a piece of yarn. The skein, or cut, equalled 300 yards. The full scale for linen was:

1 cut — 300 yards (120 turns on reel)
2 cuts — 1 heer — 600 yards
24 cuts — 12 heers — 1 hesp — 7,000 yards
48 cuts — 24 heers — 2 hesps — 1 spindle — 14,400 yards⁹⁵

Such precise measurements might seem unnecessary and unrealistic on the frontier unless one remembers that many of the intermontane Virginians had been professional weaver-farmers in Northern Ireland before coming to America. For them weaving was an art. Not only had their guild been strictly regulated with imposed standards and measurements, but it also was a matter of fierce individual pride. They and their families continued to follow procedures learned as apprentices in Ireland.

In addition, planning the yarn for weaving projects required precise measurements. John Wily in his *Treatise on . . . manufacture of flax . . .* offered advice on skeinning. His figures were based on the newer yard measurement, rather than the 90 inches, or twice the old 45-inch measurement, for an ell. He wrote:

. . . you ought to provide yourself with . . . a Clock Reel that will strike at being twined 120 times; so that you may know when you have 120 Threads on your Reel, which is called a Cut. These Cuts, or Skeins, should be tied separate from each other, so that you may know, by counting the Cuts, exactly what Number of Threads is in each Hank, and if your Reel is exactly two Yards round, which is a proper Size. You will then have 240 yards of Thread in each Cut. 15 of these Cuts is a Days Work for a good Spinner, so that in 12 Days she will spin as much Thread as will warp 30 Yards suitable to a 720 Slay and in 12 Days more she will spin the Filling, so that you may have Thread spun for 30 Yards of Cloth in 24 days.⁹⁶

Much of the cloth woven was in a plain weave for which only lengths of warp threads needed to be calculated, but often dress materials and sometimes flannels for men's coats were woven in stripes or plaids which required exact numbers and lengths of different colors.

Numbers of reels climbed from none in the first period to nearly 50 of the households listing reels, or one reel in every other household, in the 1820's. Again Montgomery County listed fewer for each period than the sample selections of the other counties would indicate.

A quill reel was found in the appraisal of Nicolas Allee.⁹⁷ This was not a reel, but a wheel which in other areas was called a bobbin-winder. Wool was stored as skeins, but had to be wound on bobbins, or quills, to fill the shuttles used in weaving, or on spools for making warp. Quills made of paper or cornhusk called "broaches," or of short hollow pieces of teasel or elderberry stems were not listed, but spools or warping spools were. Also appearing in Montgomery appraisals were other pieces of equipment such as spooling frames or scarnes, warping bars or warping frames and swifts. With this equipment the people of the county prepared great quantities of yarn for weaving. A traveler to western Virginia in 1818, finding no public house at nightfall, accepted the hospitality of a private family. He wrote of the household:

In one place you might see a large map suspended on the wall, and next to it, a proportionately large bundle of hanks of yarn; here a bookcase pretty well stored with useful books, and there a pile of counterpanes and bedquilts; the frame of a fine print of a distinguished American hero, served to hold up by its pressure, skeins of thread or quills. Now, however this curious intermixture might be regarded by some, the tout ensemble was altogether pleasant to me, because associated with ideas of industry, economy, simplicity of taste and feeling, and of that regard to the culture of the mind which ought to characterise, and which enobles a Virginia farmer.⁹⁸

Yarn appeared in surprisingly few of the appraisal lists. In Montgomery County 11 percent of the households listed yarn or thread during the 1770's and during the later 1810's, but in other periods the total percentages ranged only from three to eight percent. Most of these were woolen yarns with some linen or unspecified in the 1800-1820's. Washington County's totals were larger but all unspecified, except linen in 1810, 60 percent and in 1820, 17 percent. Its only cotton listings, also in 1820 were 17 percent. By 1820 some cotton may have been grown there, and factory yarn from New England was available in stores by that time, some of it from the mills being built in Piedmont areas of South Carolina.⁹⁹

The low percentages of yarn, in periods when raw materials, equipment and men's clothing were listed were puzzling to the writer. Most of the inventories were of the estates of men, the property, according to the laws of Virginia, being divided in thirds; one-third to the widow and two-thirds divided among the children.¹⁰⁰ In wills, wives and unmarried daughters were sometimes given their "weaving apparel."¹⁰¹ Crops, salt, meat and other expendable items were seldom mentioned in

appraisals. Yarn may have been considered sometimes in that category, as these items would normally be used before the nine month period which must elapse before items of the estate could be distributed among the heirs.¹⁰² These factors may have influenced the lack of notations of yarn and thread in the appraisals.

Yarn in hanks and skeins was ready to be wound onto quills or spools for weaving unless the cloth was to be colored, in which case the yarn was dyed in the hank. Dye tubs, which appeared in a number of appraisals were used for this purpose. Dyes were bought in the stores, or from peddlers, or dyestuffs found growing in the countryside were used.

"The most important and most frequently used dyes in the United States in the 18th and 19th centuries were indigo for blue, madder and cochineal for red, and fustic and quercitron for yellow. Logwood was the most commonly used black dye," and sumach although not really a dye, was also much used.¹⁰³ Indigo was grown for a short time in eastern Virginia, but there is no record of it being grown in the western counties. Madder, according to Thomas Jefferson in 1811, had been cultivated "ever since I can remember in this state for household use."¹⁰⁴

Indigo and madder were items in the appraisal of the store which was in the estate of John Anderson of Montgomery County who died in 1821.¹⁰⁵ Madder was also listed in the appraisal of the store of Lewis Arniss, Blacksburg, 1826.¹⁰⁶ Cochineal and fustic may have been available from other stores in the county or from peddlers. Quercitron or black oak and sumac grew in the area, also walnut and hickory which gave a bright yellow color, sassafras for orange or brown and butternut which was a basic dye for coloring woolens brown and required no mordant.

Mordants were ingredients needed in addition to the dyestuffs to prepare the fibers to take the dye and to fix the color in them. Copperas was available in Alexander Boyd's store at Fort Lewis on the Roanoke River in 1766,¹⁰⁷ also in John Anderson's store. In addition, families could use for mordants, potash from woodashes, chamberlye or oxides of iron. The oxides were made of soaking bits of old iron, such as nails, in an acid such as vinegar.¹⁰⁸

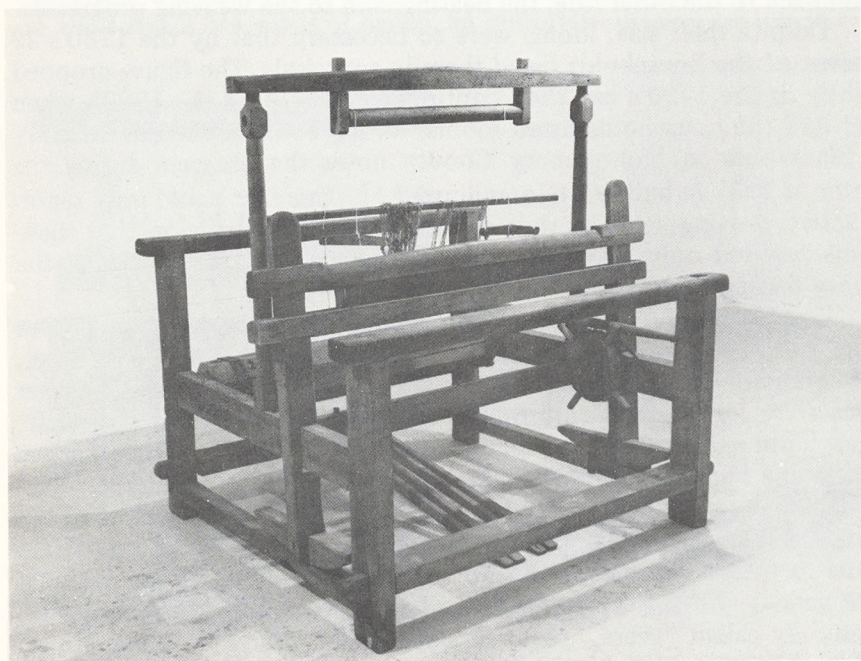
Surely most dying instructions were handed down verbally in families or, at most, quantities of the ingredients and simple instructions may have been written on scraps of paper. For newcomers to the business, however, a number of manuals were available. *The Country Dyer's Assistant* written by Asa Ellis, was published in Massachusetts in 1799. Mr. Ellis's introduction indicates that he wishes to correct the past situation where:

"women and children commonly dictate the colors to be impressed upon the [cloths]. But they frequently make an injudicious choice; the colour which they dictate fades; the coat is spoiled, is thrown aside, or given to Jack the garden boy; and poor little Tommy must have a new one."¹⁰⁹

Publication of *The Domestic Manufacturers Assistant and Family Directory in the Arts of Weaving and Dyeing*. . . at Utica, New York in 1817 by J. and R. Bronson was perhaps the greatest boon to the largest number of home weavers than any other book on this subject in the nineteenth century. It gave directions for dyeing woolens and cottons, as well as weaving drafts and instructions on various phases on home manufacture of cloth.¹¹⁰

The largest and most important piece of equipment in the manufacture of textiles was the loom. On it yarns were woven into cloth. Looms were heavy pieces of furniture requiring space and a certain skill in carpentry since they must be true in order to weave straight cloth. Most looms were made by the individual settlers, perhaps with the aid of a neighbor skilled in carpentry. In the western part of Augusta County Samuel Weaver made looms and John G. Heatwole charged \$8-10 for the carpentry work on a loom.¹¹¹

Looms were made of heavy beams of wood with only a few parts of iron, such as the ratchets. If necessary, even ratchets could be made of wood. The beams were fashioned with mortise and tendon joints so that they could be assembled and disassembled for storage. Because the looms required at least five or six feet of floor space and were head high, they took up so much space in an early small house, that many householders built a separate loom house or shed for them.¹¹² However, if the mother of the family did the weaving, it was easier to keep the loom in the house where the weaving could be done along with the other household activities.



Loom, cradle rocker type

Briefly, a loom is a frame holding the parts essential for making cloth from two sets of yarn, or thread. The warp threads are rolled on a large beam at the back of the loom and were pulled forward in parallel, horizontal alignment to a beam at the front of the loom. In the center of the loom, the beams above held cords from which hung the harnesses. The harnesses were moved up and down by foot treadles tied to the bottom of the harness by cords. In the harnesses were heddles made of tied string, forming openings between knots. The warp threads, when the loom was warped, were pulled through the openings or holes of the heddle in an order determined by the pattern to be woven into the cloth. The simplest looms with only two harnesses wove only a plain weave. The warp threads also were drawn through the reed, or slay, between the heddles and the front beam of the loom. The reed, made of many short pieces of reed or cane held side by side by fine lashings of thread or leather, served two functions. It determined the width of the cloth, and, as it was moveable, swinging from the top, or occasionally from the bottom of the loom, beat the weft or filler threads. The filler threads wound on quills were carried by shuttles.

Weaving was done by making a shed, an opening between warp threads, by raising some harnesses and lowering others. This order was determined by a draft, a written plan based on the placement of warp threads in the heddles. Next the shuttle containing the filling thread was thrown from one side of the loom to the other; the reed was pulled forward to beat that thread against an earlier woven thread; the harness's positions were changed by the foot treadle; the shuttle was thrown again back to the other side, the beating; and so the weaving progressed.

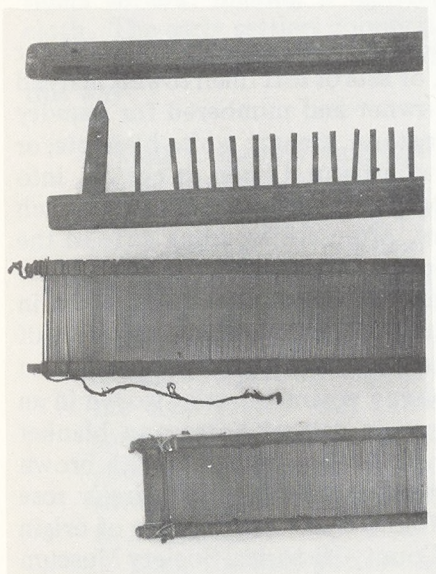
Despite their size, looms were so necessary that by the 1780's 29 percent of the households listed them in appraisals. The figure dropped slightly in the 1790's but then continued to rise until the 1820's when over half the households listed looms. A daybook of the Black family in Blacksburg in Montgomery County notes the progress during the winter of 1837 in building a loomhouse.¹¹³ This fact could only report an active weaving activity, thus counteracting any suspicion that these looms resulted only from an accumulation existing in families as the county became more settled.

Looms were listed in the inventories in numerous ways, sometimes alone and the various parts listed separately, or more often as a set. Most commonly the whole set was called "loom and tackling." Other terms were loom and furniture, loom and utensils, loom and appurtenances, loom and apparatus, or in one appraisal, loom and "other matters on weaving business." Another Montgomery County inhabitant willed his daughter various items "and all her weaving apparel." Prices of the appraised items show the value of the special parts of the loom. While looms alone were valued at \$2.50 to \$3 in 1815, looms and tackling were valued at from \$7.50 to \$18. Listed separately were harnesses, commonly called "geers," reeds or slays (slais). Slays were sometimes listed by the number of threads they carried per yard as 400, 500, 600 or 700 slays.

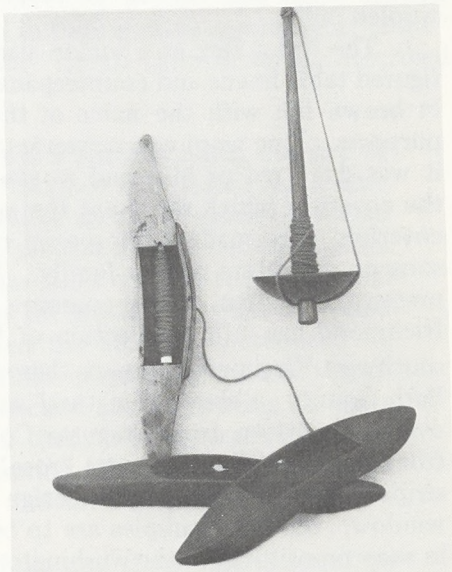
The figures of the 1810 census showed that of the 13.3 yards of cloth woven per capita in Montgomery County, 8.3 yards were linen, 1.8 yards were wool, and 3.3 yards were mixed.

The Montgomery County figures of 1800-1809 and 1810-1819 roughly reflect the census figures for 1810. Of the total amounts $\frac{1}{3}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ were linen, $\frac{1}{4}$ or less were mixed and none to $\frac{1}{3}$ were woollens. The figures by period clearly reflect the historical events of each decade. During the first period the country was just being settled and all the figures for raw materials and equipment were low. The second period included the last years of the privations of war and, as raw materials and equipment increased, more cloth supplies were listed. Although equipment lists increased, supplies of produce and yarns decreased in the period 1790-1799. Either less cloth was woven or, perhaps with the availability of imported goods, appearing again after the Revolution, there was less reason to keep a supply on hand beyond immediate need. The percentages of cloth supplies began to increase during the period of the Embargo and Non-Importation, and reached their peaks in all fibers during the decade before 1815, only to drop to nothing in all fibers but linen in the following period when imports again flooded the country. Of the other counties examined, albeit superficially, all had higher percentages of households listing cloth supplies than Montgomery County.

While "Virginia Cloth" coats appeared in the few Washington County appraisals searched, the term was not seen in the Montgomery County appraisals. Any cotton used seems to have been used in stockings or mixed cloth which was sometimes included with linen in statistics. Except for one entry of $6\frac{1}{2}$ yards of cotton cloth (@\$5.62) in 1812 and $2\frac{3}{4}$ yards of calico, an important printed cotton, in 1790,



Reeds and raddle



Shuttles with modern hand spindle

no cotton cloths were listed in Montgomery. Appraisals did include woolens, white, worsted, fulled and unfulled; and linens, raw, bleached, white, tow, flax, "700" and new flax linen. Other woven materials listed were home made cloth, ticking, striped huckabac, sheets, towels, tablecloths, counterpanes, coverlets and blankets.

Lincey, or linsey-woolsey, a mixed cloth of wool with some other fiber, was not listed in any of the Montgomery County appraisals. However, 26,471 yards or 3.3 yards per capita were listed in the 1810 census for the county. Linsey, generally a mixture of wool for warmth and linen warp for strength, is accepted as a unique American adaptation. According to one historian of the woolen industry, this mixture was unknown in England or Europe because of the guild regulations. On the frontier of North America, it answered the need for a stout, warm fabric made from readily available materials.^{1 1 4} Fulled and dyed blue, it was used for men's pantaloons and hunting shirts. Howells and others said that linsey, often in a plaid pattern, was mostly used for women's and children's clothing. Wool and linen were less flammable than cotton and hence safer for women, whose long skirts presented a danger with open fireplaces. Indeed, some said that women for that reason were reluctant to use cotton when that fiber became plentiful.^{1 1 5}

Linen was the most plentiful cloth made in Montgomery County. Fine flax linen was used for table linens and towels, as well as for undergarments, handkerchiefs, women's caps and men's shirts. Bagging, toweling, bed ticking and servants' clothes were made of tow linen.

Home manufactured woolen, generally called simply "cloth," or sometimes "homespun" or "homemade cloth," was a substitute for English woolens and worsteds, especially when imports were interrupted and before the War of 1812 stimulated the development of American woolen mills.

The finest flax and cotton yarns in the household were saved for figured table linens and counterpanes, or sets of soft linen towels marked in brown ink with the name of the owner and numbered for laundry purposes. Fine wool was woven into natural, creamy white blankets; or it was dyed red or blue and woven, with natural linen or cotton, into the coverlets which represent the apogee of a handweaver's skill. Such coverlets were made with special care, often for wedding gifts to the sons or daughters of the family. More of these have survived to the present time than of the common fabrics. The Valentine Museum in Richmond has a fine collection of Virginia textiles. Representative of southwest Virginia handiwork there are a cotton dimity bedspread from Bath County, a blue and natural wool and cotton coverlet woven in an overshot pattern from Augusta County, a natural homespun blanket from Botetourt County and a "rose" blanket, creamy white with brown stripe and an embroidered design reminiscent of a cathedral's rose window. Similar examples are to be found closer to the place of origin in such repositories as the Washington County Historical Society Museum at Abingdon, and the Smithfield Plantation House at Blacksburg. In the collections of the latter are fine sheets, woven on the plantation and

a fine white counterpane from Wythe County.

Two accounts of clothing worn in Montgomery County during the period of this study illustrate or amplify the information available from the appraisals. In a 1881 lecture on Blacksburg life around the year 1835, Professor T. N. Conrad, described worshipers attending a service in a log church:

The dresses of the females and the suits of the gentry were cut by no fashion plates or marked out by scientific tailors. The flax-made hunting shirts and broad [wool broadcloth] pantaloons constituted the suits of the men, and nicely pressed sunbonnets with homespun dresses, the dress of the ladies. As late as 1835 only two straw bonnets could be seen . . .¹¹⁶

The second account was a report "to keeping Agnes Lester" from the overseer of the poor, from whom authority for reimbursement was sought for 2 linsey petticoats, 1 linsey short gown, 2 pair woolen stockings, 2 short shifts (one 700 linen, one 600 linen), 1 tow cloth apron, 2 handkerchiefs and 2 caps.¹¹⁷

Men's outer clothing was made of dyed and fulled woolen cloth. Fulling was an extra expense but it was necessary to shrink the cloth before it was made into clothing and, according to Tench Coxe, the "Dying saves the domestic labor and expense of washing, while it prevents all that injury to the pleasantness and beauty of woollen cloths, which frequent washing occasions."¹¹⁸ In fulling, woolen cloth was soaked in warm soapy water and subjected to a period of beating by human hands or feet, or by wooden mallets. In the process the woolen fibers shrank, making a tighter, therefore warmer and more durable cloth. The early settlers cooperated in fulling cloth and made a "frolic" of the job. An early "Kicking frolic" on the Ohio River was described this way:

Half a dozen young men, and a corresponding number of young women were invited. The floor was cleared for action, and in the middle was a circle of six stout splint-bottomed chairs, connected by a cord to prevent recoil. On these sat six young men with shoes and stockings off and trousers rolled above the knee. In the center the goods were placed, wetted with warm soapsuds, and then the kicking commenced by measured steps, driving the bundle of goods round and round; the elderly lady with a long-necked gourd, pouring on more soapsuds, and every now and then, with spectacles on nose and yardstick in hand, measuring the goods till they were shrunk to the desired width, and then calling the young men to a dead halt.

Then the lads put on the hose and shoes, the lasses stript their arms above the elbows, rinsed and wrung out the blanket and flannels, and hung them on the garden fence to

dry.¹¹⁹

Perhaps the rest of the evening was spent dancing the Virginia Reel, a country dance which, it is said, represents the movement of the shuttle from side to side across the loom.¹²⁰

As the need arose in a community, fulling became a business. At first, the fulling business was a sideline for an existing gristmill. Later, fulling mills were built solely for that purpose, to which most eventually added carding machines and sometimes the dyeing of yarns. Soon after Staunton became a town in Augusta County, John David Wilbert arrived there, rented three lots through which ran "a good and convenient stream of water" and built a grist and fulling mill.¹²¹ When Andrew Duncan set up a fulling mill in Augusta County in 1767, he paid an experienced fuller twenty pounds annually and "vittles" for three years to teach him and his family to full.¹²² Advertisements in early 19th century newspapers of Rockbridge county attest to that area's industriousness and facilities for fulling and blue-dyeing.¹²³

Montgomery County in 1810 had two fulling mills. The 1820 census listed among the manufacturing establishments of the county "wool carding and cloth dressing," which consumed annually 10,000 yards of cloth and 23,700 pounds of wool. That the latter census listed 12 men as being employed in such enterprises indicates the probability of between four and six establishments.¹²⁴

During 1817, a Montgomery County appraisal showed that William Reynolds left fullers tools valued at 19 pounds and four shillings.¹²⁵ John Gardner, whose property was also appraised in 1817, may have been a fuller, for in his property were:

a sharing [shearing] cloth machine [worth]	\$100.00
1 copper kettle	40.00
1 carding wool machine	56.25
1 ten plated stove	22.00
1 pair stretchers	
1 pair fullers shears	
and other textile equipment	4.50 ¹²⁶

Gardner's equipment would have been used after the fulling process. The wet cloth, taken from the mill was hung on stretching frames outside the mill to dry, and shrink.¹²⁷ Cloth woven one-yard-wide shrunk to about three-quarters of a yard. After having dried, the cloth was napped with a tool made of the dried seed-pods of the teasel plant.¹²⁸ Because the napping raised the wool fibers unevenly, shearing was necessary. The final process, pressing, involved press boards and a metal stove. For this service, the charges in the 1770's were the equivalent of 40-50 cents a yard,¹²⁹ which made cloth an expense item even when manufactured at home of home-grown materials. Because of the marked difference in value, cloth in the appraisals was often specified fulled or unfulled.

Some fullers drove through the countryside, picking up and delivering cloth to the housewives, in the ancient manner of the English "putting out" system.¹³⁰ Others, such as James McFarland of Rockbridge County, advertised in the newspapers:

... I intend attending on the first day of every Court, at Mr. Neices in Fincastle, and at Mr. Isaac Robinson's between that place and Pattonsburg, where I will receive and deliver cloth dressed according to the directions left with it ...¹³¹

Often fulling mills became merchandizing centers to which store and post offices were added. At least two fulling mills in adjoining counties developed into woolen manufacturies in the 1820's: The Fincastle Woolen Mills, belonging to Benjamin Ammen,¹³² and the Clapps Mill or Old Stone Mill in Abingdon.¹³³

In the official records of Montgomery County only one reference to a weaver was found. In secondary sources there are references to persons said to have been weavers, but not full-time craftsmen.

Many of the settlers of Augusta and Montgomery Counties were Scotch-Irish from the linen manufacturing area of Ulster. A report to the Irish Parliament in 1774 stated that, due to the decline in the linen trade between October of 1771 and October of 1773, 30,000 persons had emigrated from Ulster, and of these 10,000 were weavers, many of whom "carried their weaving utensils to America."¹³⁴ These were the settlers thronging into the backcountry of Virginia and other southern states just before the Revolution. In America they could acquire land but it was uncleared and required a farmer's full attention. After having escaped from the status of being tenants subject to rising rents and declining profits for their hand work, these men were willing to endure many hardships in order to become landowners. If they served as indentured servants or as hired hands or as tenants, this was only a short-term compromise of their eagerly-sought independence.

For their weaving both large and small landowners in the older and newer areas of settlement sought skilled indentured servants. For a finder's fee or commission such merchants as William Allason of Falmouth and Winchester sent groups of indentured servants into the Valley of Virginia. William Preston, in the spring of 1774, received two such groups from a merchant named Edward Johnson. Interestingly Preston's payment was made in hemp.¹³⁵ An advertisement of Stephen Trigg in 1773, among miscellaneous papers in the court house at Christiansburg stated:

... that there will be for sale at my house on Monday the 11th and at Mr. James McCorkle's on Thursday the 14th of October, 30 Healthy white servants, Consisting of Men, Women, Boys and Girls. Credit will be given if Required or a Discount made for Ready Money.¹³⁶

Nicholas Allee. An exact list of the moveable property of Nicholas Allee, dec'd.
as appraised by us this 23rd of July 1808

✓ 1 Loom	1	5	0
1 Arm Chair	0	4	0
✓ 1 Quill Wheel	0	1	6
✓ 1 pair Sheep Shears	0	2	0
✓ 1 Flax Wheel	0	12	0
✓ 1 Cotton 2 nd	0	6	0
✓ 1 Flax Wheel	0	6	0
✓ 2 Flax hackles	0	15	0
2 Bedsteads beds & bedding	6	0	0
✓ 21 Weaving Spools	0	3	1
✓ 10 "Heads of Sheep at 8 ^{ts} pr	4	0	0

One such indentured servant who came into William Preston's household was Peter Byrns, a weaver by trade. He apparently did not himself weave in Virginia, but, instead, remained with the Prestons until his death as teacher to the family's children.¹³⁷ Byrns may have supervised the training of others as weavers.

Another community source for weavers was the system of apprenticing youths, most of whom were orphans. By Virginia law since 1656, orphans were to be bound out to be instructed in the "mysteries of manual pursuits."¹³⁸ The Indian wars in southwest Virginia in the second half of the century left many orphans, and the records of Augusta County list the names of many children bound to learn the mystery, or trade, of saddlers, potters, millers, weavers and others.¹³⁹ In the Montgomery County Order Book for October 5, 1779, it was recorded:

Ordered that Hugh Pierce, an orphan of 8 years be bound to Wm Doak, gentleman, until he arrive to the Age of Twenty and the sd William is to teach him to Read, Write and Cypher as far as the five Common Rules, and to learn him the trade of a Weaver.¹⁴⁰

William Doak, gentleman, a leader in the county, had been a member of the Fincastle County Committee in 1775. No other reference has been found to Doak's weaving or to Hugh Pierce in any capacity.

The identity of Montgomery County weavers is uncertain. Reminiscences long after the fact and essays without annotation declare that 1790 and 1800 "Noah Mollet was the county weaver and wove table-cloths, toe cloths, shorting, "600" towelling, hemp lining, twilled blankets, etc."¹⁴¹ Court records say nothing of Mollet, but they include an appraisal of James McElhenney's estate, circa 1790. He had no farming equipment but did own a loom, four pairs of linen gears, six old reeds, one wooden gear, three shuttles and one pound of wool, which seems to indicate that he was a weaver.¹⁴²

Mollet and McElhenney appear to have been exceptions. Evidence points to the fact that women in their homes did most of the weaving in the county for their own families and for their neighbors. While all the periods after the 1790's showed one or two spinning wheels per household, at no time did more than half the households have looms. Families appear to have prepared their own yarn and then by a system of barter those with looms also wove for their neighbors. In most cases such transactions cannot be documented but the examples described below must have been duplicated in all communities.

A Preston Family daybook from Washington County, dated 1780-1820, contained frequent entries 1811 to 1818 illustrating the business transactions between the Prestons and their neighbor, Martha Huston. In return for rye, corn, oats and wheat, one and a half to seven bushels at a time adding up to 62 1/2 bushels, two gallons whiskey and paying her \$16.00 subscription [to the church?], Martha Huston returned

payment by "sewing" one half bushel flaxseed, by spinning (one week's spinning by Mary or Nelly—servants or daughters?) and by weaving a total of 578 yards of linen and 41 1/2 yards of cloth. Periodically in the account book the statement is written: "This day settled with M. H. and we stand clear of all claims vs each other."¹⁴³

A family anecdote from Rockbridge County also illustrates the simplicity of such cooperative enterprise. The son of Robert Alexander who later established the school which became Washington and Lee College, one early fall in the 1760's was sent to the house of a neighbor who had contracted to weave cloth for the Alexander children's winter clothes, but who had postponed the job. The child had been told to complain to the woman that "Winter is almost upon us and all the children are naked." Raised to respect honesty, the child took off and hid his clothes in a hollow tree and went on to the neighbors' to deliver the message. It was said the women jumped to the loom and made the shuttle fly without stopping until the web was completed!¹⁴⁴

By the 1820's the national transition from home-produced to factory made cloth was well under way. The inventory of John Anderson, merchant, recorded in Montgomery Court in 1821, included the many kinds of cloth offered in his store: flannel, blue tweed coating, tickings, bombazines, calicos, muslins and cambrics. American cashmeres, domestic sheeting, steam-loomed shirtings and twilled domestic jeans were available, as well as Irish linens, Canton crepe and Italian crepe. However, Anderson's inventory also listed a weaver's shuttle, 45 pairs of cotton cards, 117 pairs of wool cards, madder, indigo and copperas, plus 872 hundred-weight cotton, 237 1/2 yards tow linnen and 290 1/2 flax linnen.¹⁴⁵

Although factory-made cloth was available, cloth continued to be made in southwestern Virginia. This study covered only the years until 1830, but as late as the 1850's "linsey jeans, tow linen, flax thread, hose and carpets were the principle home manufactures" in Tazewell, a nearby county, west of Montgomery.¹⁴⁶ In 1858 a British novelist visiting Augusta County wrote a portrait of the Valley farmer in which he said "His dress too, is made of domestic cloth, unless on Sunday, or on some other important occasion such as court day, election or muster."¹⁴⁷

Montgomery County was an area at the edge of the frontier in the beginning of the time span considered. In a sense the frontier reached it and passed by during the next six decades, carrying some of the most energetic and ambitious settlers and their children on to more prosperous country in the far southwestern part of the state, into Tennessee and Kentucky and particularly into the rich military bounty lands of Ohio. Compared to the more settled areas of Frederick and Augusta Counties and the richer farm land and more prosperous communities of Washington County, the percentages of equipment and supplies in Montgomery County are significantly less than those of the other counties.

Study of the figures resulting from the items in the appraisals can

only suggest conclusions. Inferences were made from knowledge of known historical trends and events—many other, particularly local happenings, such as immigrations as well as emigrations, specie problems, droughts or floods, growing seasons and epidemics are unknown and their results go unnoticed or at least unexplained. Small numbers of random selections always run the chance of a wide margin of errors. Acknowledging all these, however, certain conclusions seem apparent from the study.

In summary, Montgomery County from 1777 to 1830 was newly opened frontier country. Men and women settled there to wrest farms from the wilderness and make homes for their families. Cloth for clothing, bedding, and other household uses was a necessity. If it could not be purchased because of poor or no roads to distant markets, embargoes, war and lack of specie, it must be made at home. Most men farmed, and other craftsmen gradually set up practices as demand for their services increased, but spinning and weaving continued to be done in their homes by women. Except for the processes of carding and fulling available at mills, and with the use of some factory manufactured cotton yarn, at least some cloth was home produced in Montgomery County long after American factory-manufactured fabrics were commonly available.

FOOTNOTES

- 1 Bruce D. Tuttle, "Colonel William Preston," (unpublished Master's thesis, Department of History, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 1971); see also Johnson, JAMES PATTON; R. J. Dickson, *ULSTER EMIGRATION TO COLONIAL AMERICA* (London, 1966), p. 54. Redemptioner, An emigrant who received his passage to America on the condition that his services there should be disposed of by the master or owners of the vessel, until the Passage money and other expenses are repaid out of his earnings. OED.
- 2 Hening, *STATUTES AT LARGE*, IX, 257-261.
- 3 Charles Crush, *MONTGOMERY COUNTY STORY* (Christiansburg, Va., 1957; hereinafter cited as Crush, *MONTGOMERY COUNTY STORY*), p. 15.
- 4 Jedidia Morse, *AN ABRIDGEMENT OF THE AMERICAN GAZETEER* (Boston, 1789), p. 231.
- 5 *IBID.*, p. 94.
- 6 Joseph Martin, *A NEW AND COMPREHENSIVE GAZETEER OF VIRGINIA AND THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA* (Charlottesville, Va., 1835), p. 400-402.
- 7 Crush, *MONTGOMERY COUNTY STORY*, p. 61.
- 8 Hart, *VALLEY IN THE REVOLUTION*, p. 154.
- 9 Walter K. Wood, "The Alleghany Turnpike and Internal Improvements, 1800-1850," (Unpublished Master's thesis, Department of History, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 1969), pp. 18-33.
- 10 Hart, *VALLEY IN THE REVOLUTION*, p. 149.
- 11 Rolla Tryon, *HOUSEHOLD MANUFACTURES IN THE UNTIED STATES, 1640-1860* (Chicago, 1966, c1917; hereinafter cited as Tryon, *HOUSEHOLD MANUFACTURES*), p. 155; the writer of this paper is greatly indebted to Tryon. In some instances I find that I have independently rediscovered some things of which he was aware in 1917.
- 12 Joseph Doddridge, *NOTES ON THE SETTLEMENTS AND INDIAN WARS OF THE WESTERN PARTS OF VIRGINIA AND PENNSYLVANIA FROM 1763 TO 1783* (Woodstock, Va., 1850); William Cooper Howells, *RECOLLECTIONS OF LIFE IN OHIO, 1813-1840*, ed. by William Dean Howells (Cincinnati, 1895; hereinafter cited as Howells, *RECOLLECTIONS OF LIFE IN OHIO*).
- 13 William J. Hinke and Charles E. Kemper, ed., "Moravian Diaries of Travel Through Virginia," *VIRGINIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY*, XI (1903-1904), 122-123.
- 14 John Maxwell, Appraisal, April 7, 1779; William Herbert, Appraisal, November, 1778. *DEED AND WILL BOOK B*, pp. 39, 40. Records of Montgomery County.
- 15 William Byrd, *HISTORY OF THE DIVIDING LINE* (Raleigh, 1929), pp. 288, 289, 315; "How They Lived at Bryant's Station," *FILSON CLUB PUBLICATIONS*, No. 12, p. 27 in Tryon, *HOUSEHOLD MANUFACTURES*, p. 194, [also Theodore Roosevelt, *WINNING OF THE WEST*, I, 317; III, 204].
- 16 Hening, *STATUTES AT LARGE*, XI, 64.
- 17 Lewis P. Summers, *ANNALS OF SOUTHWEST VIRGINIA, 1769-1800* (Abingdon, Va., 1929; hereinafter cited as Summers, *ANNALS OF SOUTHWEST VIRGINIA*), p. 676.

- 18 John Maxwell, Appraisal, April 7, 1779, DEED AND WILL BOOK B, Records of Montgomery County; Thomas Hill, Appraisal, December 1782, WILL BOOK NO. 1, Records of Washington County.
- 19 Wright, WOOL-GROWING AND THE TARIFF, p. 10.
- 20 NILES REGISTER, VI (1814), 335.
- 21 Mary Jane Gish Frantz, "Roanoke County in the 1840's" JOURNAL OF THE ROANOKE HISTORICAL SOCIETY (Hereinafter cited as Frantz, "Roanoke in 1840," RHS JOURNAL), VII (1970), 6.
- 22 IBID., p. 7.
- 23 Bishop, AMERICAN MANUFACTURES, I, 327-328; [John Mitchell] AMERICAN HUSBANDRY, p. 184.
- 24 James Solto, THE ECONOMIC ROLE OF WILLIAMSBURG (Charlottesville, Va., 1965), p. 76; G. Melvin Herndon, "Hemp in Colonial Virginia," AGRICULTURAL HISTORY, XXXVII (1963), pp. 89-93. The first bounty for hemp had been passed in 1704, and the first hemp export recorded from Virginia in 1730.
- 25 Frederick B. Kegley, KEGLEY'S VIRGINIA FRONTIER, THE BEGINNINGS OF THE SOUTHWEST, THE ROANOKE OF COLONIAL DAYS, 1740-1783 (Roanoke, Va., 1938; hereinafter cited as Kegley, VIRGINIA FRONTIER), p. 325.
- 26 Stoner, SEEDBED OF THE REPUBLIC, p. 46.
- 27 Hart, VALLEY IN THE REVOLUTION, p. 8.
- 28 IBID., p. 9.
- 30 Stoner, SEEDBED OF THE REPUBLIC, p. 46.
- 31 Hening, STATUTES AT LARGE, V. 167-168.
- 32 IBID., V. 169.
- 33 Chalkley, CHRONICLES, I, 345.
- 34 John E. Finley, Directions to prize hemp, 1810, DRAPER MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION, 1750?-1900?, 12ZZ324, Wisconsin State Historical Society, microfilm copy in Carol Newman Library, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Blacksburg, Virginia (hereinafter cited as DRAPER MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS).
- 35 Malachy Postlethwayt, THE UNIVERSAL DICTIONARY OF TRADE AND COMMERCE (4th ed., New York, 1971, c1774) n.p. Postlethwayt was used as a major source for the Hamilton Report on Manufactures (see his introduction), also by Jefferson when advising Congress on economic policy in 1807.
- 36 Betts, JEFFERSON'S FARM BOOK, plate 116.
- 37 Cox, DIGEST OF MANUFACTURES, ASP, Finance, II, 690.
- 38 AMERICAN HUSBANDRY, p. 184.
- 39 Cox, DIGEST OF MANUFACTURES, ASP, FINANCE, II, 690.
- 40 Frantz, "Roanoke County in the 1840's," RHS JOURNAL, P. 9; There is at Smithfield Plantation House, Blacksburg, such a Valley Dutch carpet of Lancaster, Pa., provenance. Col. Rice of the National Textile Institute, Washington, D.C., is the authority for identifying its fibers as a mixture of hemp, wool and cotton. It is in panels and has natural dyed colors of pea-green field with madder-red striped borders.
- 41 Lewis C. Gray, HISTORY OF AGRICULTURE IN THE SOUTHERN UNITED STATES TO 1860 (New York, 1941, c1933; hereinafter cited as Gray, HISTORY OF AGRICULTURE), I, 822.
- 42 U.S. Census, 4th, 1820, DIGEST OF ACCOUNTS OF MANUFACTURING; Cox, DIGEST OF MANUFACTURES, ASP, FINANCE, II, 680.
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New Books

Continued from page 72

BUCHANAN, VIRGINIA: GATEWAY TO THE SOUTHWEST, by Harry Fulwiler Jr. Commonwealth Press, Radford; 931 pages. \$43.40. Copious information about the old Town of Buchanan has been compiled by Harry Fulwiler Jr., a retired civil engineer born there but now living in Northern Virginia.

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