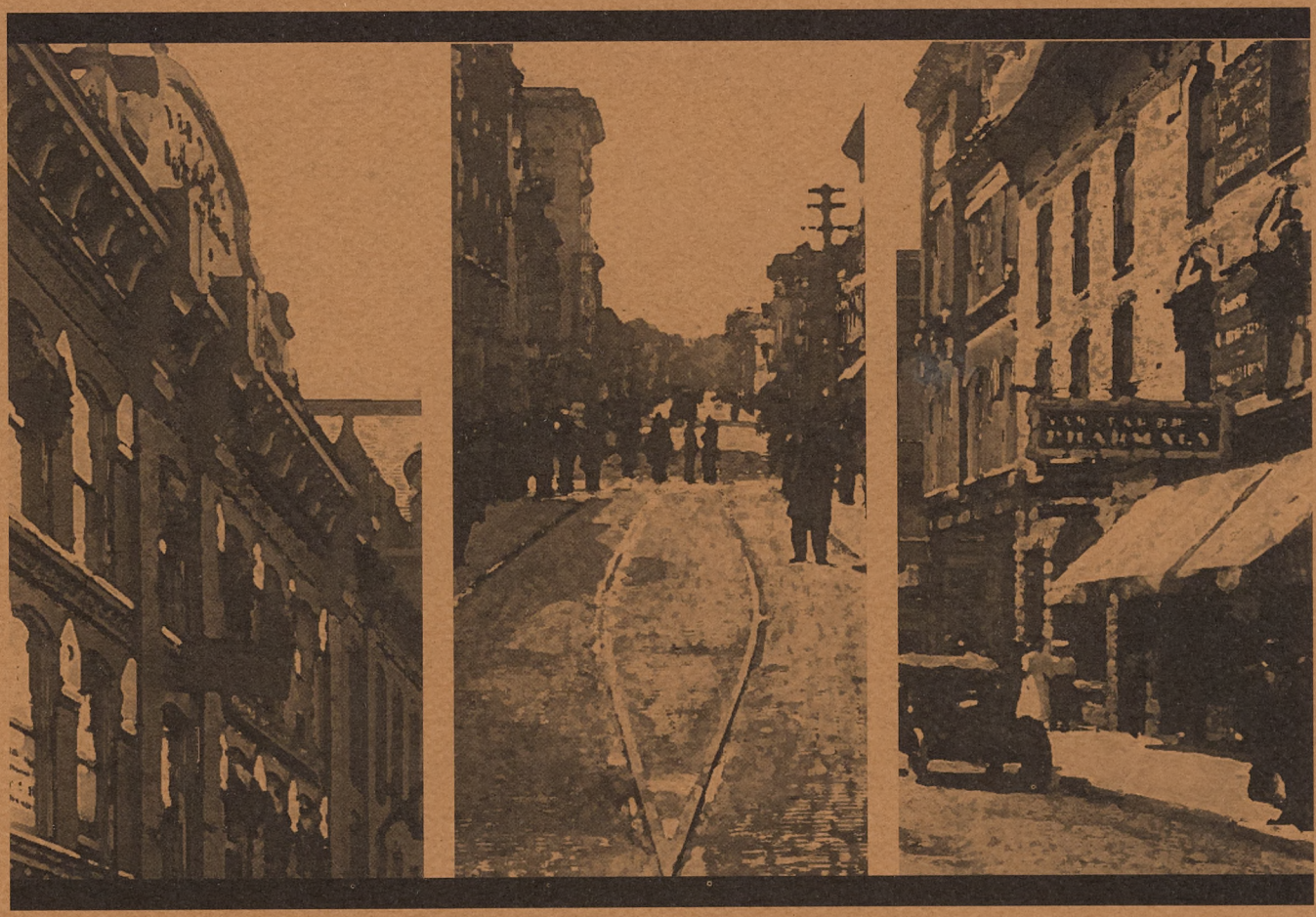
History Museum & Historical Society
Of Western Virginia

Journal



Vol. XVI No. 2

History Museum & Historical Society
OF WESTERN VIRGINIA

Amor montium nos movet

(For the love of mountains inspires us)

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Buffalo Mountain, Floyd County

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Note from the Executive Director

The Historical Society of Western Virginia is pleased to present this, the 32nd issue of the *Journal*, Volume Sixteen, Number Two.

The Society continued to experience modest programmatic, budgetary, and membership growth during 2005. As a result, and following an intensive three-month special 2005 committee/board study, the institution was reorganized into component operating divisions, each with a guiding committee, budget, and assigned staff. Those operating divisions are: the Crystal Spring Steam Pump, the History Museum of Western Virginia, the O. Winston Link Museum, and Kegley Publications. Each remains fully a part of the re-christened Historical Society of Western Virginia, a name that the committee felt both harkened back to our original name, the Roanoke Historical Society, and best addressed our mission:

> "…to promote an interest in the broad spectrum of history with emphasis on that of western Virginia; to collect, preserve, interpret, and make available materials relating to that history; to sponsor research and publication in the field of regional history; and to provide educational services to people and institutions throughout western Virginia."

Corner cupboard, early to mid-19th century, Bedford County. Donated by Christian Vinyard.

Highlights of 2005 included the exhibitions: *Civil Rights Movement in Virginia*, from the Virginia Historical Society; *Evening Glamour*, *Everything but the Kitchen Sink*, *Images of Roanoke Past*, *Working Out Her Destiny*, from the Library of Virginia; and *The Flood of '85*. At the O. Winston Link Museum, exhibitions included the *Norfolk Southern Calendar Show*, a historic model train layout, and a series of rail images from the Society's own permanent collection. The Link Museum also debuted two permanent exhibits, the *Heritage Gallery*, and the *O. Winston Link Research Station*, and expanded into an unused space of the Passenger Station trackside level.

Both the Link Museum and the History Museum held active lecture series, with the History Museum holding nine, and the Link Museum debuting with six, as well as special events, ranging from the History Museum's annual *Fantasyland* to the Link Museum's now annual *Santa By Rail*. The Link Museum also gave over 25 outreach lectures to various community and civic groups. The 2005 agenda included bus tours to Albemarle County and the New River Valley, and a new Rail Heritage Day, founded in celebration of the 100th anniversary of the Passenger Station, but now made an annual event.

Having successfully managed a small private collection of O. Winston Link images as a traveling exhibition during its first year of operation, in 2005 the Link Museum acquired a sufficient number of images from the Link Estate to reach an original goal: the establishment of an O. Winston Link Museum Traveling Exhibit. In its first year the exhibit was presented in Namur, Belgium, Amsterdam, in the Netherlands, and at Concord University in West Virginia.

Through its operating divisions, the Society acquired several unusual and very significant additions to its collection in 2005, includ-

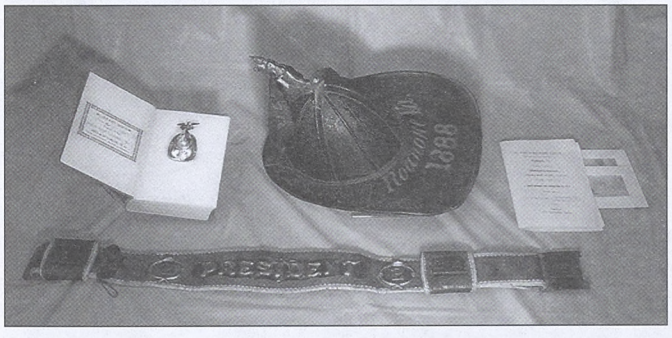
ing an unpublished (until now) O. Winston Link image, a large group of items with a long history of association with the Day, Wright, and Vinyard families of Roanoke County, a Bedford County corner cupboard, and an unusually well documented group of firefighting related objects (see accompanying photos).

Lastly, bucking national and area trends and fully the result of tremendous volunteer efforts, the Society grew both from the perspective of active members and dedicated (endowed) fund sources. Individual/family memberships rose from 638 to 695, and dedicated funds rose from $216,994.28 to $716, 409.67, almost all of which is due to the endowment component included with the O. Winston Link Museum campaign. The Society still operates on a razor-thin operating budget of less than $375,000.00. That covers the costs of two fully staffed museums, as well as all administrative costs of the Society. Despite placing a large amount of dedicated funding aside in 2005, the Society experienced a modest operating deficit. Please therefore consider an additional gift using the enclosed card. The staff and board are dedicated to conservative fiscal management and will use each dollar in the most careful manner.

To our members, corporate supporters, event sponsors, granting agencies, volunteers, and 50,000-plus attendees, thank you for your dedication and support. It is an honor to work with each of you.

Kent Chrisman
Executive Director

New Acquisitions



(Clockwise from bottom left) Before there were skateboards there was the Flexiflyer, like this one donated by Gail Oliver Palmer, which she used as a child in the early '50s.
Roanoke Fire Department artifacts include a portrait of L.E. Lookabill, circa 1890, published in the Roanoke Police Review of 1928. At age 18, Lookabill helped organize Roanoke's second "Junior" Company; the color of the squad members' helmets indicated position -- in the case of the helmet pictured, black indicated "president." Also pictured are a Company president's belt, and a Fireman's Service program.
The Link Museum has acquired some seldom seen images Link shot in daylight, like the one above.

The 'Progressive Reform' Movement in Roanoke, Virginia, 1900-1912

by Rand Dotson

In the 1880s, no city in the South grew faster than the railroad hub of Roanoke, Virginia. Located in a valley of the Appalachian Mountains in the southwestern portion of the state, Roanoke had been the Town of Big Lick – a tobacco depot with about a thousand residents – until 1882, when a group of native businessmen used tax breaks, cash bonuses, and land grants to convince a Philadelphia investment firm to select the place as the junction, headquarters, and machine shops for its Norfolk & Western and Shenandoah Valley railroads.

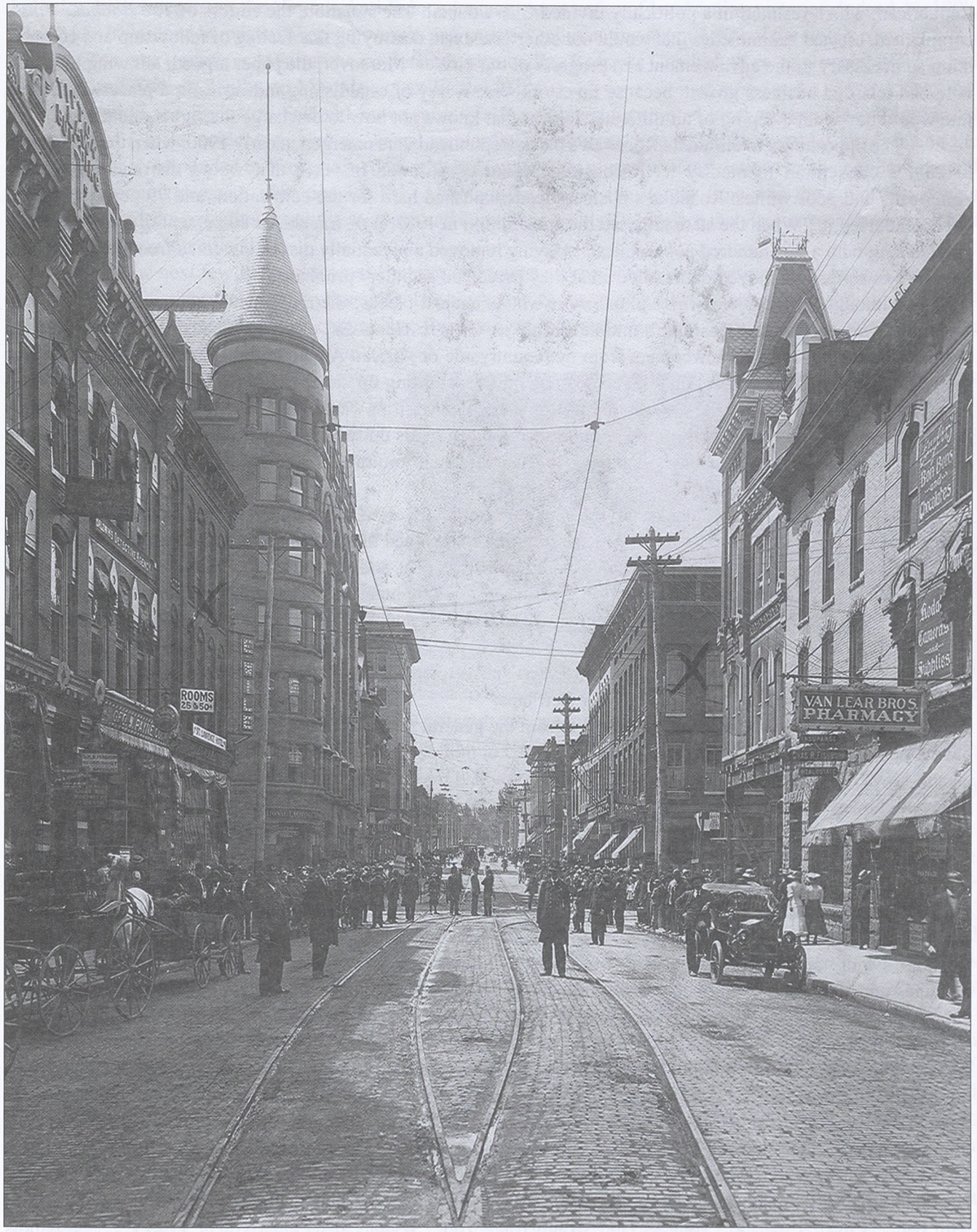
In the aftermath, skilled workers from the North and rural migrants from the Virginia countryside arrived in Roanoke by the thousands. By 1890, the "new" city of Roanoke had become the fifth largest municipality in Virginia. By 1900, the town was the state's third biggest city and home to the largest locomotive manufacturing plant in the South.[i] Regional boosters, encouraged by the town's seemingly spectacular rise from nowhere, declared it the "Magic City of the New South" and promised that Roanoke would soon become "the Atlanta of Virginia."

Conditions in Roanoke, however, were hardly magical. Corporate tax breaks given to secure the railroad left little funding for adequate municipal services or infrastructure improvements. New industries and workers' housing went up in what had been cow pastures, and much of the town sprang up haphazardly with little attention to form or function. Roanoke's business leaders, the men who successfully promoted the city to outside investors and industries, had an almost blind faith in economic development as a panacea for all the town's problems. Their faith, however, failed to shape the city in the fashion they expected. As a result, by the turn of the century, the town still seemed more Big Lick than Roanoke. It was a city with numerous dirt streets, hundreds of free-ranging cattle, a polluted farmer's market, few enforced health regulations, a rowdy saloon and brothel district, overcrowded and dingy schools, and no public parks or library.

Roanoke's disordered and primitive conditions, which in the minds of businessmen threatened to retard additional economic development, eventually became an issue that they sought to remedy. They were not alone. The town's forces of "morality," appalled by the city's unruly saloons and thriving bordellos, moved to enact prohibition and close down local brothels, while the wives and daughters of business leaders moved to ensure pure milk and food. Although these three groups usually had the same goals, much like "progressive reformers" elsewhere in the nation, they did not always act in concert or agree with one another. They were, however, white, educated members of the town's middle and upper classes, businessmen, professionals or their wives, and above all, willing to devote considerable energy to modifying their home in ways that recast it as a "progressive" metropolis. They shared a great deal in common with urban "reformers" throughout the nation – mainly because these paternalistic Roanokers sought to impose their version of order on the chaos they perceived all around them.[ii]

The first step in that process began when business leaders and elected officials eagerly endorsed disfranchising black and poor white residents – the main groups traditionally opposed to livestock and health restrictions. The city's African-American voters – about 25 percent of potential ballots – had little real chance of gaining access to political power on their own. In Roanoke, however, they joined newcomers from the North who also voted

Rand Dotson, a Salem native, gave this paper at the Virginia Forum in Winchester in April 2006. It will be a chapter in his forthcoming book, The Magic City of the New South: Class, Community and Reform in Roanoke,Virginia, 1882-1912. *Dotson, a graduate of Roanoke College, earned a master's degree at Virginia Tech and a doctorate at Louisiana State University. He is acquisitions editor for history and Southern studies at Louisiana State University Press.*



A view looking south on Jefferson Street, about 1900. Terry Building is at left.
(Historical Society of Western Virginia photo)

Republican, which resulted in a politically divided City Council. The situation, the editors of *The Roanoke Times* complained, created "animosities that would not otherwise exist, destroying that feeling of fellowship and co-operation so necessary to the advancement and progress of our city."[iii] Moreover, the paper argued, allowing blacks to vote had retarded business growth because investors were weary of establishing industries in a place where their fate would be "in the keeping of an illiterate element that knows not how to discharge the rights of suffrage."[iv]

The opportunity to eliminate Roanoke's black Republican vote emerged in early 1900, when the state voted to hold a convention to modify its Reconstruction-era constitution in ways that would disfranchise African Americans and poor whites. Roanoke's business leaders pushed hard for the convention, and 79 percent of local voters endorsed it.[v] When the state imposed the constitution in 1902, it disfranchised 80 percent of the city's black voters along with a few hundred poor whites.[vi] Having removed a potentially dissenting voice from the ballot box, the city's businessmen moved on to solve what they perceived as other "problems."[vii]

Although suffrage "reforms" pitted most whites against blacks, the city's white community was deeply fractured over other issues. Roanoke's middle and upper-class residents and elected officials had worked steadily to prescribe the behavior of newcomers from the countryside or African American inhabitants, passing laws, for example, that prohibited bathing in streams, damaging trees, putting up barbed wire fencing, and dumping slops into the streets.[viii] Although they eventually also outlawed cows from wandering unattended, most cattle owners ignored the law and let them roam freely. Manure from the animals dotted the city, attracting swarms of flies and the ire of its well-to-do residents, who lodged a constant stream of protests to officials about marauding cows having eaten their shrubs or flowers and attacked their children.

In 1902, upper-class residents convinced their representatives on City Council to hold a public vote on banning cattle within city limits. The local business community heralded the move, noting that cows roaming at large on Roanoke's principal streets had become a civic embarrassment and threat to economic development.[ix] Cow owners held a vastly different opinion, and in a petition signed by hundreds of them, they informed City Council that banning cows would make it impossible for working men to supply their families with milk and butter.[x] At a subsequent pro-cow rally, speaker after speaker blasted the notion of banning cows, even by popular vote. Roanoke, one pro-cow politician told the crowd, was "not a town for people who wished to plant flower beds, to sit and watch them grow, with poodle dogs in their laps."[xi]

Businessmen responded with a promise from the general manager of the N&W that Roanoke would never have a new depot as long as the city allowed cows to commit depredations on public property. They also formed an anti-cow club that issued campaign literature and provided free carriage rides to the polls.[xii] In the balloting that followed, however, those opposed to banning cows won by a single vote.[xiii] Businessmen and local papers loudly disputed the results, and several months later, the N&W informed city leaders that if they unilaterally banned cows, the company would immediately construct a new $100,000 railroad depot. Much to the dismay of Roanoke's working classes, Council eventually passed the ordinance.[xiv]

The city's forces of "morality" were much more interested in enacting prohibition than disfranchising blacks or banning cattle, and as a result, they stood largely on the sidelines during those "reforms." To them, Roanoke's longstanding reputation as a debauched, wide-open town, where saloons and brothels outnumbered churches and schools, was a much more significant problem. Local ministers and devout Christians were in the vanguard of the city's prohibition crusade, but they also had widespread support from the wives and daughters of working-class males.

The crusade to ban alcohol began in earnest in 1903, after ten local pastors organized The Roanoke Anti-Saloon League and then successfully petitioned for a local option vote on prohibition.[xv] The city's business community and most elected officials came out in force against the measure and quickly organized a well-funded anti-prohibition campaign. According to them, prohibition would be a threat to Roanoke's continued prosperity as well as a disaster for its workers, who would have to become criminals in order to enjoy a beer after a hard day's toil.[xvi] On Election Day, women and children affiliated with the Anti-Saloon League paraded in front of polling places with banners asking men to "Vote As God Would Have You." Seventy percent of voters, however, cast ballots against the measure.[xvii]

Over the next few years the League kept up its campaign and sought tangential measures to restrain alco-

hol sales. In the meantime, the Virginia Anti-Saloon League won a series of local option victories. Indeed, by 1908, "drys" had triumphed in most of Virginia's towns and counties, eliminating about 1,000 of the state's roughly 1,700 saloons. Roanoke County and four of the six counties surrounding Roanoke City had all enacted prohibition, as had all towns and cities in Southwest Virginia except Bristol.[xviii]

In 1908, the city's Anti-Saloon League successfully petitioned for another local option vote and convinced thousands of female residents to sign an appeal supporting prohibition. Roanoke's business leaders, sensing the growing danger, responded by brokering a deal with bar owners that placed new restrictions on their operations and eliminated saloons deemed "objectionable."[xix] Although the prohibitionists this time won the ballot, Roanoke's businessmen filed a lawsuit against the measure and convinced a judge to declare the election void because it had not been properly advertised.

Over the next few years additional counties and towns nearby enacted prohibition and dozens of displaced bar owners and distillers relocated to Roanoke. The city's Anti-Saloon League kept up its campaign but was repeatedly defeated by the local business community. Eventually it joined the Virginia Anti-Saloon League in focusing solely on enacting statewide prohibition as the ultimate means of "drying up" the town. As a result, Roanoke, a persistent thorn in the side of prohibitionists, did not go "dry" until 1916, when Virginia imposed prohibition.[xx]

A horse-drawn wagon hauled dirt for the Anchor Co. foundation at the southwest corner of First Street and Kirk Ave. (the present site of the Shenandoah Building) in 1910.
(Historical Society of Western Virginia photo)

Middle and upper-class women, the wives of the businessmen against prohibition, were largely silent on that issue. While they may have resented the saloon, prohibition seemed less important to them than protecting their children and homes. Like other "progressive" women, they used a definition of home that encompassed schools, playgrounds, health regulations, and city beautification; and they deemed these 'domestic' issues as wholly within their female sphere of authority. In 1906, dozens of them organized an Educational League to push for reforms in Roanoke public schools, all of which lacked proper ventilation, provided water out of a common bucket, and had dirt playgrounds.[xxi] Using their husbands as intermediaries, the Educational League eventually convinced City Council to increase school spending to address these problems.[xxii]

Many of the women involved in that campaign were also in the vanguard of the city's pure milk and food movement, which sought ways to safeguard the town's dairy supply. The women had a strong ally in Roanoke's Mayor, Joel Cutchin, who although initially opposed to banning cows or inspecting milk, understood which way the wind was blowing and ordered local dairies inspected for cleanliness.[xxiii]

After these initial successes, several of the women behind the two campaigns met to discuss forming an umbrella organization to address all issues related to "matters pertaining to the good of the children of the city."[xxiv] Shortly thereafter, they founded the Woman's Civic Betterment Club of Roanoke. Its goals, they informed a local paper, included "gaining the co-operation of all loyal and progressive citizens to promote health and cleanliness and point to higher ideals." The seventy-five initial members elected Sarah Johnson Cocke president, and in her subsequent acceptance speech, she pressed for a reform strategy that would be suggestive rather than active.[xxv]

Although local papers claimed the women in the Club came from every section of the city, in reality almost all members resided in a couple white, upper-class neighborhoods. Almost all were married, and most were Roanoke natives whose husbands were prominent businessmen.[xxvi] The group's first president, Sarah Johnson Cocke, moved to Roanoke from Atlanta in 1903, shortly after marrying a local lawyer. Before arriving in Roanoke,

Sarah Johnson had been on the Woman's Board for Atlanta's 1895 Cotton States Exposition and the first treasurer of the Atlanta Woman's Club. Her initial impression of Roanoke, she later recalled, was that it was like the younger sister of Atlanta. Its numerous problems, however, were also readily apparent. The city, she remembered, had "grown so rapidly that its busy citizens had, to a great extent, overlooked the inadequacies of village conditions to cope with the requirements of city necessities."[xxvii]

Once the Civic Betterment Club published its aims, Roanoke's business community, newspaper editors and physicians lined up in support of the group and advised all residents to do likewise. The goals of the Club, the *Roanoke Times* proclaimed, belong "exclusively to the sphere of femininity and are the fundamental principles upon which the true home is constructed."[xxviii] In another move to show its support, the paper gave the Club a column to publicize its goals. Mayor Joel Cutchin also heralded the Club's emergence and became one of its most loyal supporters.[xxix] In its first reform campaign, the Club sought health regulations for the local farmer's market, which it proclaimed polluted with horse manure, rotting meat, and garbage. In an attempt to clean up the area, the women distributed guidelines to farmers detailing practices for cleanliness, including keeping themselves and their wagons clean, covering foodstuffs with oil paper, keeping dogs away, and refraining from spitting.[xxx]

In keeping with its mantra of offering suggestions to city officials only after it had investigated a problem, the Club funded dozens of presentations by sanitary experts. At each of the lectures, business leaders and elected officials introduced the speakers and sat on the stage with the men while the women in the Club sat in the audience unacknowledged, entirely in keeping with their goal of "discrete suggestiveness." Public opinion about the Civic Betterment Club, measured by the tone of letters to its newspaper column, varied from admiration to outright disdain. Many of those who wrote in suggested that the Club get involved in issues clearly outside its realm of responsibility, asking it to do something about dangerous railroad crossings and "negro loafers [and] bad boys." The deluge of requests, according to the Club, was entirely foreign to its aims and desires, which it claimed were non-partisan, discrete, and limited to the suggestive realm.[xxxi]

In order to mediate its dealings with the public, the women created a male advisory board composed of local business leaders. The men on the board, all of whom had wives in the Club, met about once a month to discuss its projects and offer advice. They also served as the male emissaries of the organization, handling contracts, soliciting donations, and working out the details of services provided by the experts it hired. Like other female "reform" groups in the South, the Civic Betterment Club benefited enormously from the backing of these businessmen. Indeed, with male approval, the women not only lessened the risks of public condemnation, in many ways they recreated the home by installing symbolic fathers as the protectors and benefactors of their organization.[xxxii]

In 1907, the Club funded a lecture by John Nolen, an urban planner from Cambridge, Massachusetts, and rising star in the City Beautiful movement. Afterwards, it hired Nolen to draw comprehensive plans for improving Roanoke. When City Council declined an invitation by the Club to fund Nolen's work, the women staged an elaborate Fall Festival to raise funds. According to Sarah Cocke, when Council turned them down, the Club decided that "it was no more expensive to build a beautiful city than it was to permit an ugly one."[xxxiii] The festival attracted thousands of visitors, most of whom patronized the dozens of elaborately decorated booths that served as its central feature. The Dixie Stall, for example, featured women in Civil War era hoopskirts baking biscuits in an electric oven decorated with dozens of Confederate flags. Other booths featured pure food demonstrations or displays of historical memorabilia from Asia and Europe.[xxxiv]

The festival netted $5,000, which not only paid for John Nolen's plan, but also funded its publication as *Remodeling Roanoke*. The plan, which came with a cost estimated at over a million dollars, called for widening downtown's principal avenues, relocating all public buildings to a tree-lined central square in the heart of the city, developing a more rational arrangement of city streets, and creating a system of radial greenways and parks. According to Nolen, Roanoke had been blessed with numerous natural advantages but had developed so rapidly and in such chaotic fashion that it had simply gone from a village of 500 to a village of 35,000, or in his words, from Big Lick to Bigger Lick. As a result, he noted, the Roanoke of 1907 was "plain, common-place and in some localities, distinctly unsightly." Although Nolen admitted that remedying these civic embarrassments would be expensive, he argued that the city's lack of distinctive buildings made his plan more economically feasible since none of the structures standing in the way were worth preserving.[xxxv]

Mayor Joel Cutchin pushed immediately for funding Nolen's plan, but City Council debated the issue for a year before finally providing funding only for modest street and sewer improvements. While the Civic Betterment Club was disappointed, its members held tightly to a platform that precluded political involvement. As a result, according to Sarah Cocke, Nolen's plan was "graciously received and safely deposited in the city's archives."[xxxvi]

Despite the setback, the Club remained active, albeit in a less public way. Indeed, its work behind the scenes with the aid of the Mayor contributed to the reorganization of the city's Board of Health, the passage of a Pure Milk and Food Ordinance, and the creation of a public park and library.[xxxvii] Although the Club and its male supporters praised Mayor Cutchin for his efforts on their behalf, he was far less popular with Roanoke's forces of "morality" for siding with the business community against prohibition. Moreover, because Cutchin believed the best way to regulate prostitution was simply to confine it to a particular area, he had repeatedly rebuffed their calls for a crackdown on the city's brothels. In March 1911, however, those advocating a change in policy convinced a Grand Jury to indict him for gross negligence of duty for failing to close down the town's "red light district" and on suspicion of being a frequent client himself.[xxxviii]

The charges horrified members of the Civic Betterment Club, not only because of their close association with the Mayor, but also because they had invited him be the keynote speaker at the upcoming Virginia Federation of Woman's Clubs convention they were hosting. Not long after Cutchin's indictment, the Club informed him that "in view of existing circumstances" it had unanimously voted to "release" him from his promised address. The mayor, no doubt stung by the offer, canceled the city's pre-convention clean-up day and publicly rebuked the women for deserting him.[xxxix]

After hearing lurid testimony from dozens of prostitutes, a jury later found Cutchin guilty and he eventually resigned from office.[xl] Although the Civic Betterment Club had up until then steered clear of morality issues, in the aftermath of the verdict it petitioned City Council for censorship of "immoral vaudeville, coarse jokes, and moving pictures giving needlessly criminal exhibition."[xli] When Council failed to act, the Club enlisted the support of the Chamber of Commerce and together they convinced theater owners it was in their best interest to abide by recommendations made by a jointly-staffed board of censorship.[xlii]

In the years that followed, the Civic Betterment Club helped establish the city's juvenile court system and Parent Teacher Association. During World War I, however, the Club became the Civics Division of the Chamber of Commerce, which shifted its focus solely to instilling patriotism in local children. After the war, the Civic Betterment Club became the Woman's Club of Roanoke, a vastly less public organization, devoted primarily to civic art, domestic education, and gardening.[xliii]

Although progressive reform in Roanoke had a variety of goals, at its core it was a movement led by businessmen and their wives to modify their home in ways that would ensure continued economic modernization. Whether this involved disfranchising blacks and banning cattle or strengthening health codes and creating parks, the main goal was always to adjust Roanoke's disordered environment in ways that made it more attractive to potential investors. Since enacting prohibition and ending prostitution were tangential to this goal, those issues fell outside the main currents of reform. Overall, progressive reform in Roanoke was extremely conservative in its outlook – it did not advocate social justice or uplift, and never doubted the absolute suitability of Roanoke's economic hierarchy or industrial order. Most of Roanoke's reformers fit into what Dewy Grantham describes as a southern progressive movement led by businessmen interested in creating a more orderly community through economic modernization and material progress. They also conform to William Link's suggestion that southern progressivism was often paradoxical, unpopular, hierarchical, undemocratic, racist, and paternalistic.[xliv]

In the context of 'progressive reform' in Virginia, Roanoke fits easily into the spectrum of reactions Raymond Pulley describes as a broad response to the disorder caused by the state's post-Civil War business booms and underclass revolts – one of the worst of which was the cataclysmic Roanoke Riot of 1893. "Reform" in the Old Dominion, Pulley argues, was reactionary, conservative, anti-modern, and highly undemocratic. While Roanoke's "progressives" may not have been quite as reactionary, they were certainly conservative in their outlook and undemocratic in their methods, and they likewise enacted reforms they believed would forestall disorder and promote economic progress.

(Notes follow)

NOTES

[i] This essay was presented at a panel on "reform" in Virginia at the first annual Virginia Forum conference, held in Winchester, Virginia, April 7-8, 2006. The author thanks his co-panelists, Ralph Mann and Christopher Curtis, and the session's chair, Nelson Lankford, for his helpful comments on this paper.

[ii] Lawrence H. Larsen, *The Rise of the Urban South* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1985), 155, 157.

[iii] See, for example, Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967), 111-132, 153-63; Richard Hofstader, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F. D. R.* (New York: Vintage, 1955), 176-85, 216-18, Dewy W. Grantham, *Southern Progressivism: The Reconciliation of Progress and Tradition* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee, 1983), xvi-xviii, 4-34, 158, 275-88; William A. Link, *The Paradox of Southern Progressivism, 1880-1930* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), xi-xiii.

The terms "progressive" and "reform" are embedded with allusions to progress and betterment that are better left open to interpretation. Mainly, the terms denote changes enacted by upper class whites that may or may not have bettered the community or improved individuals' lives.

[iv] *The Roanoke Times*, 10 April 1900.

[v] *The Roanoke Times*, 24 May 1900.

[vi] *The Roanoke Times*, 26 May; 7 June 1900. At the convention, delegates drafted a new constitution that restricted the vote to males who served in the Confederate or United States armies or navies during a time of war, to their sons, to men who had paid at least $1 in property taxes, to men who could read and explain any portion of the new constitution, and to men unable to read who could explain any portion of the constitution read to them. All those who registered, except former Civil War soldiers, had to pay their poll taxes for the three previous years. These registration options, however, existed only in October 1902 and 1903. In 1904, those attempting to register had to meet all the above criteria plus prepay their poll taxes for the next three years and make a written application to vote, without assistance, in the presence of a registrar.

[vii] *The Roanoke Times*, 2 Oct 1902.

[viii] For this same dynamic occurring in the rest of the South, see Grantham *Southern Progressivism*, 10-34, 116-25; Link, *Paradox of Southern Progressivism*, 70-85, 322; for the same dynamic in Virginia, see Raymond Pulley, *Old Virginia Restored: An Interpretation of the Progressive Impulse* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1968), 66-151.

[ix] City of Roanoke, Virginia, *General Ordinances of the City of Roanoke, Together with other Ordinances and Contracts Affecting the Rights and Interests of the City of Roanoke* (Roanoke: Bell Printing, 1884), 51-52, 56-57, 70-71.

[x] *The Roanoke Times*, 16 Sept 1902.

[xi] *The Roanoke Times*, 24 Sept 1902.

[xii] *The Roanoke Times*, 25 Oct 1902.

[xiii] *The Roanoke Times*, 29 Oct 1902.

[xiv] *The Roanoke Times*, 5 Nov 1902.

[xv] *The Roanoke Times*, 15, 16 July 1904.

[xvi] Virginia Anti-Saloon League, *Temperance Handbook of Virginia* (Richmond: Anti-Saloon League of Virginia, 1910), 17; *The Roanoke Times*, 22 Nov; 2 Dec 1903.

[xvii] *The Roanoke Times*, 8 Dec 1903.

[xviii] For official vote of 1,823 opposed to prohibition, 841 in favor of prohibition, see, *The Roanoke Times*, 1 Jan 1905.

[xix] Virginia Anti-Saloon League, *Temperance Handbook*, 17-19; Allen W. Moger, *Virginia: From Bourbonism to Byrd, 1870-1925* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1968), 297-305.

[xx] "Agreement – between the undersigned Liquor dealers of the City of Roanoke, Va., in the one part, and the Business Men's League of the City of Roanoke of the other part," in Edward L. Stone – Borderland Coal Company Papers, box 276, 1908 Anti-Saloon League file, Special Collections, Alderman Library, University of Virginia.

[xxi] Moger, *Virginia: From Bourbonism to Byrd*, 308-313; Raymond Barnes, *A History of Roanoke* (Radford: Commonwealth Press, 1968), 536.

[xxii] *The Roanoke Times*, 11 March 1906.

[xxiii] *The Roanoke Times*, 12 April; 9, 12, 18 May 1906.

[xxiv] *The Roanoke Times*, 9, 10 Nov 1906

[xxv] *The Roanoke Times*, 22 Nov 1906.

[xxvi] *The Roanoke Times*, 13 Dec 1906.

[xxvii] Woman's Civic Betterment Club of Roanoke, *Year Book of the Woman's Civic Betterment Club* (Roanoke: Hammond Printing, 1910), 2, 7-11; demographics and husbands' professions from city directories as well as Barnes, *A History of Roanoke*.

[xxviii] Biographical information on Mrs. Lucian H. Cocke from *The Roanoke Times*, 29 Sept; 31 Oct 1903; 21 Jan 1944 (obituary); quote from Sarah Johnson Cocke, "From Hoopskirts to Airplanes," 1-98, TMs (1933), Virginia Room-Roanoke City Public Library. Sarah Johnson Cocke later received national acclaim for her *Bypaths in Dixie* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1911), a collection of "negro folktales."

[xxix] *The Roanoke Times*, 15 Dec 1906.

[xxx] For examples, see Cutchin's speeches to council in Roanoke City Council Minutes, 4 Feb 1907; 9 March 1908; 8 Feb, 10 Aug 1909; 6 June, 7 Nov, 17 Dec 1910, Clerk's Office, Roanoke City Municipal Building.

[xxxi] *The Roanoke Times*, 10 Feb 1907.

[xxxii] See letters to WCBC in its column in *The Roanoke Times*, 10, 17, Feb; 3, 10, 24, 31, March; 7, 21 April; 12, 21 May; 2 June 1907.

[xxxiii] Male support of female reform groups is discussed in James L. Leloudis, II, "School Reform in the New South: The Woman's Association for the Betterment of Public School Houses in North Carolina, 1902-1919," *The Journal of American History* 69, no. 4 (March 1983): 889.

[xxxiv] Sarah Cocke, "The Woman's Civic Betterment Club of Roanoke," *Virginia Realtor* (Sept 1926): 36.

[xxxv] See coverage in *The Roanoke Times*, 13-26 Nov 1907; *Festival Facts and Fancies*, 12-23 Nov 1907, in Virginia Room, Roanoke City Public Library.

[xxxvi] John Nolen, *Remodeling Roanoke: Report to the Committee on Civic Improvement* (Roanoke: Stone Printing, 1907), 10-11, 40.

[xxxvii] Cocke, "Woman's Civic Betterment Club," 36.

[xxxviii] City of Roanoke, *Annual Report of the Official Departments of the City of Roanoke for the Fiscal Year Ending December 31, 1910* (Roanoke: Stone Printing & Mfg. Co., 1911), 145-53; *The* (Roanoke) *Evening World*, 4 May 1912; Mrs. M. M. Caldwell, "Nationwide Work for Civic Betterment," *The American City* 11, no. 6 (June 1912): 841-42.

[xxxix] Cutchin's March 29, 1911 indictment is reported in *The* (Roanoke) *Evening World*, 13 May 1911.

[xl] The WCBC wrote Cutchin on April 22, 1911 to inform him of their decision, for this and the Mayor's response, see *The* (Roanoke) *Evening World*, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12 May 1911.

[xli] See coverage of the trial in *The* (Roanoke) *Evening World*, 15 May – 3 June 1911.

After the trial, Cutchin appealed the verdict and refused to resign. In March 1912, however, Virginia's Supreme Court rejected his appeal and Cutchin resigned from office.

[xlii] The group began the campaign in November 1911; quote is from *The* (Roanoke) *Evening World*, 9 Jan 1912.

[xliii] *The* (Roanoke) *Evening World*, 27 March 1912; see also listing of fifteen WCBC members elected to the board of censorship in ibid., 2 April 1912.

[xliv] History of the WCBC from George Raymond Stevens, *An Economic and Social Survey of Roanoke County* vol. 15, no. 1 (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 1930) 118-19; Iva J. Geary, "The Woman's Club of Roanoke," 1-2, TMs (1936), Federal Writers' Project, District No. 5, Project No. 65-1700, WCBC file, Virginia Room, Roanoke City Public Library.

The Victorian Courtship of Miss Emma and Mr. Tinsley

by David W. C. Bearr

C.L. "Lipp" Tinsley

Mr. Tinsley, my relation to you makes life so much dearer to me ... I believe you would do all in your power to add to my pleasure [and] pray that God may prepare us for what He is preparing....[i] – ECC

Emma Comer

Roanoke was a boomtown in 1882 when Charles Lippitt Tinsley (1866-1941) arrived from Franklin County to clerk at Fishburne Bros. Co., a manufacturer of "Fine Virginia Smoking Tobacco." He was a teenager and on his own, but armed with a strong work ethic, he believed "The Magic City," where the Norfolk and Western Railway had recently headquartered, was the place to gain the experience and capital he needed to get ahead in business. In ten years he made partner and was vice president of the then reorganized tobacco firm, R. H. Fishburne & Co., Ltd., and with this accomplishment he turned his attention to courtship and the ultimate goal of marriage.

With both of her parents deceased, Emma Carr Comer (1873-1953) lived with an older sister and brother-in-law, Anna and Charles Cook, in Vinton. Formerly a city resident, she remained a student at the Roanoke High School and sometimes she still worshiped at Greene Memorial Methodist Church. At both school and church she appreciated the fatherly attention of a family friend, Tipton Tinsley Fishburne–a school trustee, superintendent of the Methodist Sunday School, and one of Roanoke's most prominent citizens. A decade earlier Fishburne persuaded C. L. "Lipp" Tinsley to work for him at the tobacco company, and in 1892, he introduced his younger kinsman, a second cousin, to "a refined, yet wistful young lady at Greene Memorial."[ii]

A vintage black tin box, with red and gold accent lines, holds more than 400 sheets of the correspondence that Emma Comer and Lipp Tinsley exchanged during the four years they kept company, and these papers tell the story of a late Victorian courtship largely governed by a code of etiquette that mixed sentimentalism and morality. She greeted him in letters and in person as "Mr. Tinsley," and he addressed her as "Miss Emma." She finished her letters "Sincerely," he wrote "Your true friend," and both concluded with a full-name signature.

David W. C. Bearr of Westminster, Md., wrote about Emma Comer's status as the first graduate of Roanoke High School in the 2001 Journal and he has gleaned from Comer papers to write more about this early Roanoke family. He is the great-grandson of Emma's brother, the Rev. Charles F. Comer. A veteran of the public school and community college systems in Maryland, he teaches in the graduate department of McDaniel College at Westminster.

They avoided letter writing on Sunday (they reserved the Sabbath for rest and worship), but, whenever 24 hours separated them, they promised to write each other "just what I have been doing, have felt, have said, etc." This pledge produced 12- and 14-page letters chock full of commentaries on people and places, as well as their dreams and disappointments.

The predominant theme throughout their many letters was the couple's concern over what she labeled her "blue spells," when feelings of sadness and loneliness overwhelmed her. Their correspondence, even by Victorian standards, appears formal and reserved, occasionally humorous or sentimental, but rarely passionate. Emma said that his letters often caused her to search "my own heart," but she conceded that he must read between the lines of her writing for evidence of her growing love and deep need for him.[iii]

The Vinton Years

...the noted physician, Dr. C. L. Tinsley, advises Miss Emma not to overdo, to think of her needs, and to rest completely until she is well.[iv] *– CLT*

In their proper society, Sunday afternoons brought gentleman callers to the homes of young ladies, and with a standing invitation Lipp Tinsley customarily rushed from Roanoke, after a mid-afternoon religious or civic meeting, and joined Emma and her sister's family in Vinton. She recalled fondly one of the parlor gatherings: "We talked and giggled and joked … popped corn … and ~don't you tell~ tapped our feet and tried to keep up with the fast tempo of the songs." The surprise here is that only religious music was heard at the Cook household on the Sabbath, and when these lapses in manners occurred (ragging hymns and toe tapping) the older folks were surely out of earshot. Guests who stayed for supper joined the family for evening services at the Vinton Methodist Church.[v]

Another rule of etiquette dictated that a gentleman could not call on a lady without her prior permission, and if it were not for the a.m. and p.m. rail service and trolley system that moved both mail and passengers between city and town, this point of etiquette might have squashed many last-minute plans for Emma and Lipp. She would hesitate at a sudden visit, but would acquiesce because he "always lifts my spirits." And, sometimes the request served her interests too: "I will be real glad if you would call and bring your friend." Her girlfriends from Salem and Roanoke were with her, and she could assure each gentleman "a pretty girl to talk to."[vi]

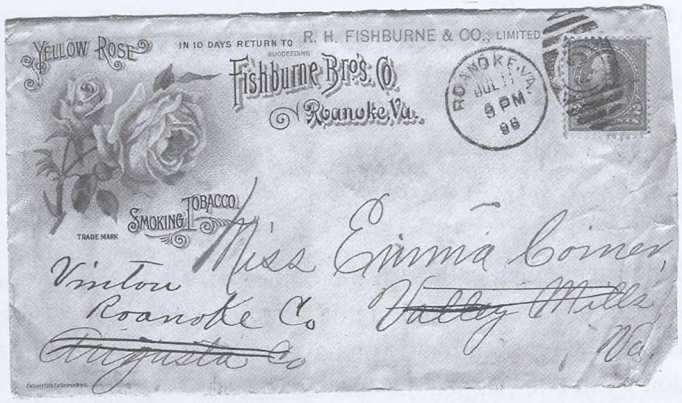
Lipp Tinsley on his bicycle.

Public transportation was convenient, but its schedule could be unforgiving. If he missed the mail train Lipp paid a courier to take messages to Emma, but when the note carrier became enamored with her, he teased that "if he were a little older I would be jealous and not allow him to continue." On one severely cold day Lipp cycled to Vinton and his frigid look upon arrival triggered "the *rumour* all over town" that a frost-bitten ear had fallen off of his head. Emma feigned concern and needled him to "wrap your ear up well … losing two would be doubly worse."[vii]

Even the honorable Mr. Tinsley occasionally ran afoul of the rules. After a prolonged evening visit he barely managed to jump aboard the last car back to the city. He wrote Emma that even if his return had been on foot it would have been a small inconvenience for the privilege of her company, but he also apologized for exceeding the time restraints of a polite visit. Another time he was on business in Vinton when he learned that she had taken ill,

and he impulsively went to her side. Mr. Cook demanded an apology from Lipp for calling unannounced on his sister-in-law.[viii]

A courting couple was not intentionally left alone, but Anna Cook allowed her sister some liberty by permitting Emma's girlfriends instead of an older relative or married lady to escort them on outings. She and Lipp attended concerts at Virginia College and year-round events at "the local Methodist Churches we embrace," St. Mark's Lutheran, and First Presbyterian where they heard W. Creighton Campbell – the cleric credited with placing Roanoke on a "strong moral keel." Their favorite warm-weather activity was a stroll in the city, and some of these walks involved a stop at Maury Bros. Portraits. Here the couple posed with her friends (chaperones) for the paper images that Lipp called "souvenirs." For years they were the only pictures he had of Emma and him together since she did not allow a couple-only sitting until after their marriage.[ix]



Company envelope from Lipp Tinsley's correspondence with Emma Comer in 1895 and '96.

Emma and Lipp saw each so often while she resided in Vinton that they could "gather no news to write." They did correspond in August 1893 about her imminent return to school. He accused the school board of a "poor selection for the High School this session when they settled upon the old Carriage Factory" for classes. Emma's "very indignant" classmates echoed his sentiment, but Emma was philosophical about the move necessitated by overcrowding at the Commerce Street School: "…the knowledge attained there will be just as valuable as if attained within college walls." Her advocacy probably also reflected some disappointment that she did not have the opportunity to follow "my college alumnae sisters" to Hollins.[x]

More significantly, in late August Emma felt quite "blue" and questioned whether she could return to school. She still experienced periods of grief over the early deaths of her parents and two other family members, and she wrote Lipp: "childhood memories of my losses have not softened and continue to bring tears to the eye and pain to the heart." At times like these he attempted humor to break the spell: "as your eminent physician I prescribe total bed rest until you are no longer unwell."

Often she sought direction from her minister's wife at Vinton, and Margaret Buchanan repeatedly advised her to keep "your overly analytical and questioning mind occupied with practical everyday things." Emma also asked her physician and former neighbor, Dr. Joseph A. Gale (later a founder of Lewis-Gale Hospital), "What must I do?" The particulars of this consultation are unknown, but Emma continued her studies and on May 25, 1894 was the first graduate of Roanoke City High School, then in its third year of operation.[xi]

In July Emma was "in school" at Randolph-Macon Academy at Bedford, a Methodist institution that during the regular academic session offered a boy's preparatory program. Whether she attended a church or special summer school program is unclear, but while there she penned a note to Lipp that was as poignant as any she ever wrote:

> Life does seem so dark and dreary sometimes. But for the efficacy of prayer what would life be? I fully realize that the happiness of my life, largely depends on the course which I pursue. This is why I so often [say] that I am alone on the sea of life, not knowing whether to direct my course.[xii]

Emma's vulnerability seemed only to bolster his desire to be with her, and upon receipt of this letter, he was on the next train to Bedford.

Word from Valley Mills

Separation, to my mind, is a sure test of one's heart. It either tightens the chords of affection or reverses them.[xiii] – ECC

In October 1895 Emma accepted a teaching position at a private school at West View in Augusta County, and she lived nearby with another sister and brother-in-law, Symanthia and W. E. Mays, at Valley Mills. Lipp protested the long-distance courtship and questioned why she undertook the difficult job of teaching. However, the time away made her homesick for "the mountain city" and made her heart grow fonder for the beau whom she "looked up to in every way." She was proud of her effort in the classroom, but believed that "one would require the patience of Job to do this for very long."[xiv]

By November Emma and Lipp had "a plan," and although they never used the word "engagement," they were clearly on a course toward matrimony. She recounted for him a recent sermon in which her minister stressed that the time for marriage is "not until after one's character is formed," and she concluded "that no young person ever weighed a more serious thought." He informed her of their Roanoke and Vinton contemporaries who were betrothed or recently married, and he gave his opinion on whether each lady had "settled" or had found the "love of her life." Regarding a couple who was with child as they approached the altar, Lipp hoped that the man would be a more honorable husband than he was a suitor. Emma countered, "boys are tricky … it lies with girls to exhibit properness."[xv]

Emma Comer (left, seated) posed with Lipp Tinsley along with her girlfriends (chaperones), probably on a Sunday promenade.

About this time a Tinsley cousin gave Lipp an 1861 family keepsake, *Advice to a Married Couple*, and he and Emma studied the book published by the American Tract Society. They exchanged light-hearted banter over the idea of a wife's subordination to her husband. He offered: "I will never disagree with you, will solicit your opinion on everything, and then make it mine." W. E. Mays urged Emma to "secure all the promises … in writing." The biblical quote, "Ye husbands, give honor unto the wife, as unto the weaker vessel," (I Peter 3:7) supported Lipp's already romanticized vision that his devotion to Emma would bring her contentment and make him the ideal spouse.[xvi]

Further advice put forward the belief that throughout the ages one of the most humiliating instances between a couple can occur when a "monopoly of affection" is demanded by either party. Despite their desire for "harmony and fair play" in their union, this circumstance proved problematic for Emma and Lipp even before their marriage. With his sisters and mother in Roanoke at Christmas, he promised Emma to come to Valley Mills on December 22 but he would have to be back in the city by the 24th. After he learned that she was teaching the days he planned to be with her, he postponed his trip until the following week. Emma had held her tongue, but with the new schedule she made clear to Lipp her angst. He wrote: "Miss Emma there is no one on earth that I had rather spend my holidays with than you," but he felt compelled to stay with his family, too. A year's end message confirmed his presence at Valley Mills on Christmas Day.[xvii]

Soon "previous loyalties" again rocked the couple's relationship. Emma fretted "every day over how [to]

handle *our plan*," apparently hesitant to commit to a firm date for the wedding, and as she did many times over the years when something weighed heavily on her mind, she decided to visit Margaret Buchanan who now lived in Covington. As she prepared for travel, Lipp encountered someone in Roanoke who knew about Emma's melancholy ways, and he surmised that the talk came from "the long tongue" of the minister's wife. In an uncharacteristically aggressive step Lipp headed to Valley Mills and demanded of Emma to sever all ties with "Mother Buchanan." She hoped he would forget the entire affair, but Lipp pressed that he had "no forgiveness for someone who may betray you." A devastated Emma cancelled school and retired to her room.[xviii] No letter exists with further mention of this conflict, perhaps the correspondence was destroyed, but Lipp had gleaned from the advice book that unresolved conflicts were like "the drip, drip, drip of water that cuts at rock greater than a violent storm."[xix]

Honeymoon photo of Charles Lippitt and Emma Carr Tinsley made in Norfolk soon after their marriage on Sept. 29, 1896.

Young couples committed to each other, but separated by many miles, remained a part of the social scene. Etiquette required a young lady to have an escort at functions, and while Emma had gentlemen consorts in her neighborhood, Lipp also made it proper for several ladies in Roanoke to attend functions. The couple went out of their way to keep each other abreast of these arrangements, but always with a tongue-in-cheek attitude. She and her partner were croquet champions at one party, and on another night a young man serenaded her on the guitar "as the sun drops behind the western hills." And, she inquired of Lipp, "you… spent a jolly evening yourself?" When he filed a most fanciful scenario of his own nocturnal singing, she warned him that she was "possessed by the Green-eyed Monster of Jealousy."[xx]

Books and newspapers were daily companions for Emma and Lipp and helped to fill the hours while they were apart. She was a fan of fiction from the popular serial dime novels about the Wild West to Thackeray's *Vanity Fair*. Thinking that Lipp might be "too delusional" about marriage, she persuaded him to read the English novel with an eye to the author's more sobering views on the matter. He sent her envelopes filled with clippings from the two dailies he read, and he forwarded to her under separate cover entire issues of the Methodist *Advocate*. He never tired of theology and "figuring out how to best live" his life, and it was the religious journal that he "curl(ed) up with on a Sunday afternoon." She looked in the tract for one more discussion on the meaning of sanctification "always hoping for greater assurance that I will live as I should." In a lighter vein, she asked Lipp if he saw the article about "saving the minister," and she quipped: "If we follow the advice of the writer, we will never be at a loss for something to do."[xxi]

Mid-summer in 1896, the couple formally notified their families by mail of "our plan" to marry. Emma's family questioned if her "frail condition" precluded a married life for her, but to the contrary, his family considered it quite suitable to match a nervous person with a sympathetic and quiet type. According to their wisdom "the excitable will be quieted by the gentleness of the other."[xxii]

Epilogue

Their long courtship concluded on September 29, 1896, when Emma Comer and C. L. Tinsley united in marriage at Staunton. The honeymoon itinerary included stops in Roanoke, Vinton, Lynchburg, and Norfolk to greet relatives and friends, and then they came back to "our Magic City" to set up housekeeping. Their only child and her namesake, Emma Comer Tinsley, was born on November 13, 1897, and a few years later the family occupied their new home that stood for half a century on the northwest corner of 13th Street and Campbell Avenue, opposite West End United Methodist Church.

C. L. Tinsley was recognized as a Roanoke Pioneer during the city's 1934 Golden Jubilee Days. He was a 50-year member of the Osceola Lodge of the Knights of Pythias and a perennial steward in the Methodist Church, a member first at Greene Memorial and then at West End. For three decades, he was president and principal stockholder of the Tinsley Construction Co., Inc.–General Contractors. The secretary-treasurer of the business was E. C. Tinsley, either wife or daughter dependent upon which lady was present.

Emma Tinsley dealt with intervals of depression the rest of her life. Her husband sought the intervention of an internationally renowned Philadephia neurologist, S. Weir Mitchell, to treat her. His diagnosis for Emma was neurasthenia, and his "rest cure" therapy included total rest, massage, electric stimulation and a high fat and high caloric diet. Treatment took place over a six-week period, at either a clinic or private retreat and during this time the patient was not allowed to contact her family, read, write or engage in any other activity that might be stressful. Mitchell's successors took a seemingly less pampered approach to her care and interestingly, some of their advice mirrored that offered to Emma during her courtship by Margaret Buchanan, the minister's wife.

After attending Hollins College and graduating from the University of Virginia, their daughter, Miss Emma Tinsley (1897-1981), taught science at Roanoke's Lee Junior High School and then biology at Jefferson High School.[xxiii]

Footnotes

[i] Emma Comer, Letter to C.L. Tinsley (EC), 10 December 1895

[ii] Letterhead, R. H. Fishburne & Co., Ltd.; Millard Rewis, Jr., "Tipton Tinsley Fishburne," *His New Creation* (nd), 47-50; Miss Emma Tinsley, personal notes (ET)

[iii] "Manners," Encyclopedia of Southern Culture, Vol. 2, 395-401: EC, 6 November 1895; __, 23 March 1896; C. L. Tinsley, Letter to Emma Comer (CT), 15 October 1895

[iv] __, 27 June 1896

[v] Later the Vinton Church was renamed Thrasher Memorial after Paul and Sallie Thrasher, who held in their home about 1801 the first Methodist services in Vinton. Tinsley regularly attended meetings of the Rosebud Society (missionary organization), the Y.M.C.A., and the Knights of Pythias; ET

[vi] EC, 18 September 1894, 4 March 1895; CT, 2 August 1895

[vii] EC, 10 December 1895; CT, 8 August 1893

[viii] __, 16 November 1894, 20 December 1894; EC, 18 September 1894

[ix] CT, 22 July 1895; "Dr. W. Creighton Campbell, Twelve Largest Contributors to Building of Roanoke," *The Roanoker* Magazine, (website: 1/31/2006).

[x] CT, 8 August 1893; EC, 10 August 1893; ET notes.

[xi] Margaret Buchanan, Letter to (Miss) Emma Tinsley, 23 January 1941; EC, 10 August 1893; Roanoke City High School diploma for Emma Carr Comer, 25 May 1894; ET notes

[xii] EC, 16 July 1894

[xiii] __, 23 March 1896

[xiv] __, 31 January 1896; 10 December 1895; 11 January 1896

[xv] __, 31 January 1896, 29 June 18967; CT, 25 February 1896

[xvi] Rev. James Bean, *The Christian Minister's Affectionate Advice to a Married Couple* (nd): 23, 39, 42; EC, 29 January 1896.

[xvii] CT, 12 December 1895

[xviii] __, __ March 1896

[xix] EC, 3 September 1894; CT, 21 May 1896

[xx] EC, 11 May 1896; 10 December, 1895

[xxi] CT, 11 January 1896, 4 February 1896; EC, 23 March 1896.

[xxii] W. B. Tinsley, Letter to C. L. Tinsley, __July 1896: "The Old Suitability Rules," loose papers titled "Victorian Courtship." Emma was tentative about her marriage. In a 23 March 1896 letter she wrote: Emma's wish: "I do trust, Mr. Tinsley, that you are not looking to a delusive future, but that all may be as real as you expect."
[xxiii] ET; author's family archives.

Life in 1905

What a difference a century makes! Here are some of the U.S. statistics for the year 1905:

- The average life expectancy in the U.S. was 47 years.
- Only 14% of the homes in the U.S. had a bathtub. Only 8% of the homes had a telephone.
- A three-minute call from Denver to New York City cost 11 dollars.
- There were only 8,000 cars in the U.S., and only 144 miles of paved roads.
- The maximum speed limit in most cities was 10 miles per hour.
- Alabama, Mississippi, Iowa, and Tennessee were each more heavily populated than California.
- With a mere 1.4 million people, California was only the 21st most populous state in the Union.
- The tallest structure in the world was the Eiffel Tower!
- The average U.S. worker made between $200 and $400 per year. A competent accountant could expect to earn $2000 per year; a dentist $2,500 per year; a veterinarian between $1,500 and $4,000 per year; and a mechanical engineer about $5,000 per year.
- More than 95% of all births in the U.S. took place at home.
- 90% of all U.S. doctors had no college education. Instead, they attended so-called medical schools, many of which were condemned in the press and by the government as "substandard."
- Sugar cost four cents a pound; eggs were fourteen cents a dozen; coffee was fifteen cents a pound.
- Most women only washed their hair once a month, and used borax or egg shampoo.
- Five leading causes of death in the U.S. were: (1) pneumonia and influenza; (2) tuberculosis; (3) diarrhea; (4) heart disease; (5) stroke.
- The population of Las Vegas, Nevada, was only 30!
- Crossword puzzles, canned beer, and ice tea hadn't been invented yet.
- There was no Mother's Day or Father's Day.
- Two out of every 10 U.S. adults couldn't read or write. Only 6% of all Americans had graduated from high school.
- Marijuana, heroin, and morphine were all available over the counter at the local corner drugstores. Back then, a pharmacist said, "Heroin clears the complexion, gives buoyancy to the mind, regulates the stomach and bowels, and is, in fact, a perfect guardian of health."
- 18% of households in the U.S. had at least one full-time servant or domestic help.
- There were about 230 reported murders in the entire U.S.

TRY TO IMAGINE WHAT IT MAY BE LIKE IN ANOTHER 100 YEARS!

(Editor's note: These statistics were gleaned from several web sites.)

Roanoke Families Built Many Roads from 1950 to 2005

by Stanard "Stan" Lanford

After working for over 50 years in the highway construction field, I have a great interest in recording the history of some of the interesting and energetic entrepreneurs who worked in the highway construction and allied businesses and in the stories about their companies. In many cases there is a strong family connection that led the men to become road builders.

I will attempt to show the family connections and how these families often helped one another to succeed in a very competitive business. In some instances a strong personal friendship developed between contractors as they learned whom they could trust. These contractor friends often offered advice and "deals" to each other. In my writing I hope to give at least a snapshot of the many road-building companies which have located in the Roanoke area.

One of the more interesting stories can be told about a New York native who started his construction career in Virginia well before the Civil War and later developed into one of the largest railroad contractors in the country. Through his wife's relations, this railroad builder also had connections with a firm that is well known in the Roanoke Valley.

Stanard "Stan" Lanford retired as president of Lanford Brothers Co., a Roanoke County contractor, in 2004 after 50 years of experience. He begins a two-part history of road builders, many of them family businesses, in the Roanoke Valley and western Virginia. Lanford, a civil engineering graduate of the University of Virginia, served in the Air Force before working in construction. Kenneth Lanford, his son, is the third-generation president to lead Lanford Brothers.

Family Relationships and Transportation Construction

Transportation construction can be broken into several categories: water-borne, footpaths, wagon roads, railroads, highways and airports. In colonial times, Virginians used their many coastal rivers and larger creeks to access their plantations for shipping tobacco and other goods in and out of the colony. Local landowners were charged with furnishing labor to construct and maintain the required wagon roads and paths needed by the community. At that time road construction was mostly a matter of clearing the trees, stumps, and underbrush to open up a trail and providing bridges and or ferries for adequate water crossings. Thus, many of the farmers had some experience at road work.

When the era of canal building started in Virginia in the early 1800s, there were no large construction companies to build these projects. Canals along the James, Potomac and many smaller rivers were built to bypass the rapids and sections with low water. By the 1830s, railroads were being constructed in Virginia. This canal building and railroad construction was contracted out to local entrepreneurs who thought they could organize the manpower and equipment to accomplish the task.

One of these early contractors was Claibourne Rice (usually known as "C.R.") Mason. According to the 1850 census of Hanover County. C.R. Mason was born in New York about 1810 and married Drusilla Boxley, born in Louisa County. They had four children; three were sons who would eventually be partners with their father in construction work. C.R. Mason also owned 14 slaves, according to the 1850 census of slave inhabitants of Virginia. His real estate was valued at $11,000. His occupation was shown as railroad superintendent.

From other sources we know that Mason constructed the first section of the Louisa Railroad from Doswell to Fredericks Hall by 1837. By 1839, the Louisa line had been extended to Gordonsville, making a nearly direct line to Richmond by connecting to the Richmond, Fredericksburg & Potomac Railroad at Doswell. Railroad construction was largely done with hand labor and horse-drawn carts at this time. Slave labor was probably the source of much of this manpower. The Louisa Railroad was changed to the Virginia Central Railroad by 1850 and ultimately was to become part of the Chesapeake and Ohio after the Civil War.

The book, *Sons of Martha, the History of Mason and Hanger Company*, states that C.R. Mason ran the Louisa Railroad in its early days. That would explain his occupation of "railroad superintendent" in the 1850 census. By the 1860 census Mason had moved to Augusta County and his wife, Drusilla, not listed, had probably died. Mason now had nine children, four sons and five daughters. The three oldest children, aged 20, 18, and 16, were born in Louisa County, indicating that he lived there from 1840 to1844. This is the time when the Louisa Railroad had been completed to Gordonsville and Mason was in charge. The next four children, aged 14, 11, 10 and 8, were born in Hanover County, where he was located in the 1850 census. The two youngest children, ages 5 and 1 were born in Augusta County. This would indicate that he had moved from Hanover to Augusta by 1855.

Additional data about Mason in the 1860 census tells us that he had $24,500 in real estate and a whopping $311,400 in personal property. This personal property included the value of his seven slaves in Augusta County and another 16 he had working in Alleghany County on his railroad construction projects that were complete only to Clifton Forge before the Civil War. The 1860 census of slaves showed that he had two partnership projects using his own and rented slaves. The partnerships were named Mason and Cross and Mason and Johnson. Mason and Cross had 38 slaves employed, none owned by C.R. Mason. Mason and Johnson had 91 slaves working, including 14 owned by Mason. The partners that Mason had on these projects were probably the persons actually running the job on a full-time basis. Many contractors took a partner to help them complete a contract and dissolved the partnership at the completion of the project. Another firm named Ward and Rixey was using 55 slaves apparently for the construction of the Virginia Central railroad to Clifton Forge.

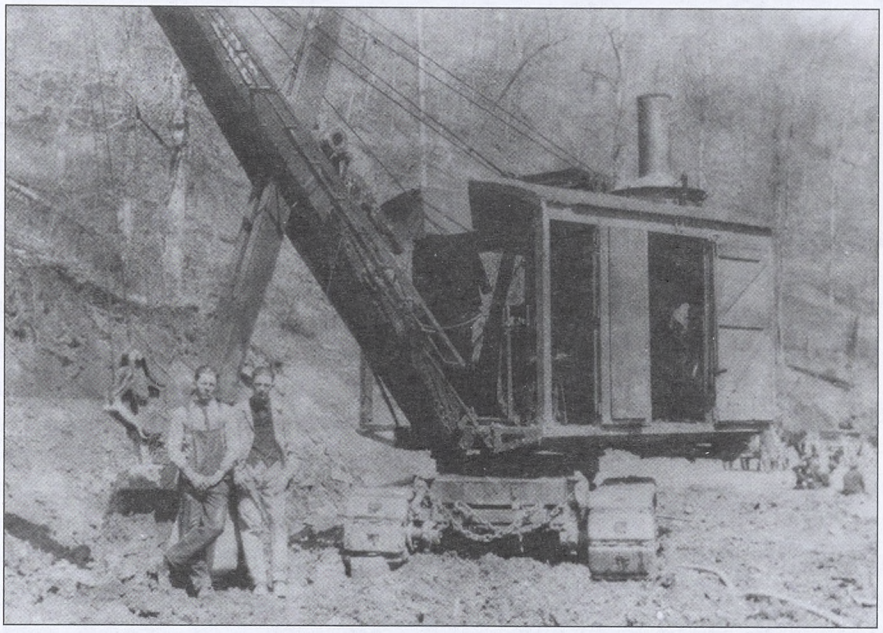
The 1860 census states that Mason's occupation was "railroad and mail contractor." With over $335,000 in land and personal property, he must have been one of the wealthiest men in Augusta County at that time. At 50 years of age he should have been ready to settle down and enjoy life, but that was not to be as America was about

Title picture: A Sam Finley Co. asphalt truck, about 1925.

to begin a terrible Civil War.

Mason was to play an active role in the Confederate Army during the Civil War. He raised Company H of Augusta County men for the 52nd Virginia Regiment and went to war with that group. His ability to construct roads and bridges soon caught the eye of General Stonewall Jackson, and Mason was quickly placed on Jackson's staff as a captain and head of his Pioneers (similar to the Corps of Engineers in today's Army). Jackson fondly referred to Mason as his "bridge builder." Mason built many bridges and roads for Jackson's Army as it marched across much of Virginia.

The company history tells us that C.R. Mason went back to railroad construction after the war. He was contractor on the westward expansion of the Virginia Central through much of West Virginia and into Ohio. One record accomplished on this railroad was the placement of over a million cubic yards of dirt and rock in a railroad fill at Jerry's Run in Alleghany County between 1867 and 1870. When Collis P. Huntington purchased the old Virginia Central and renamed it the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad, he continued to rely on Mason. He is reported to have said that Mason "pitched the first shovel full of dirt and drove the last spike in the C&O System." C.R. Mason went on to expand his business to building much more than railroads as the company grew over the next 125 years.



Stanard Lanford (right), a founder of R.B. Gay & Co., a predecessor of Lanford Brothers Co., stands by a steam shovel on a construction site in the 1920s.

The company eventually took the name of Mason and Hanger, building many projects, including work on the Radford Arsenal for the U. S. government during World War II. Many hundreds of Roanoke workers rode special trains to Radford and back each day to complete the important project of furnishing ammunition for our troops in World War II. On the day President Franklin Roosevelt's death was reported in T*he Roanoke Times*, Mason and Hanger ran an advertisement seeking 800 carpenters and 300 laborers in the help wanted ads. Mason and Hanger Company was sold to a larger corporation around 2000.

Drusilla Boxley Mason, wife of C.R. Mason, had a nephew, Joseph Cluvarius Boxley, who had a daughter named Margaret Ellen Boxley. Margaret Boxley married Caius Marcellus Carpenter in 1848 and one of their children was James Cluvarius Carpenter, usually referred to as Clivie. Clivie was born in 1853 and died in Clifton Forge in 1910. Clivie went to work for C.R. Mason in 1870, constructing the Virginia Central Railroad, when he was 17 years old. In a short time he rose from water boy to cart driver to foreman. Six years later he returned to the family farm in Louisa County to live for the next few years before venturing to Richmond to work in the tobacco business. By 1886 he was ready to start building railroads again and entered a partnership with Mason. Their work proved to be a success and Clivie and C.R. continued to work together on railroad construction for about six years.

Another Boxley cousin, William Wise Boxley, better known as "W.W.," had been working for Clivie Carpenter and C.R. Mason through much of the 1880s. W.W. was born on July 17, 1861 while the First Battle of Manassas was being fought. W.W. and Clivie Carpenter entered a partnership to build railroads about 1892 under

the name of Carpenter and Boxley. Their first project was to build a railroad in North Carolina for the Southern Railway. By 1893 both Clivie and W.W. had moved to Clifton Forge, their base of operations in working for the C&O Railroad.

Other names mentioned in the *History of W.W. Boxley Company* as working for Carpenter and Boxley were other Boxley cousins, Willie Haley, Therit Towels (W.W.'s brother-in-law) and the Chisholm boys. The Haley and Chisholm names are connected with another railroad construction company started in the early 1900s under the name, Haley, Chisholm & Morris out of Charlottesville. W.W. Boxley located in the Roanoke area in 1912. He served as mayor of Roanoke from 1918 to 1922. The W. W. Boxley Company was a large builder of railroads and roads in Virginia and the eastern seaboard from 1900 to 1930. We will learn more about this firm later.

It is apparent from all these family connections and so many of these workers starting from the farms of Louisa and surrounding counties that many of the young men in this part of Virginia wanted to try to improve their lot in life by working on construction projects where they earned a payday on a regular basis. Compare this to farm work where payday came when the crop was sold or timber harvested, which would mean a long wait before any cash was available. Many of the young men who saw that a cousin or uncle was able to become a successful contractor having made the transition from farmer to contractor, thought they might be able to do the same.

An Example from My Family

Now I want to share another story about a young farm boy in Virginia who had a vision that construction work could be his ticket out of subsistence farming into a better life for a family he hoped to have one day.

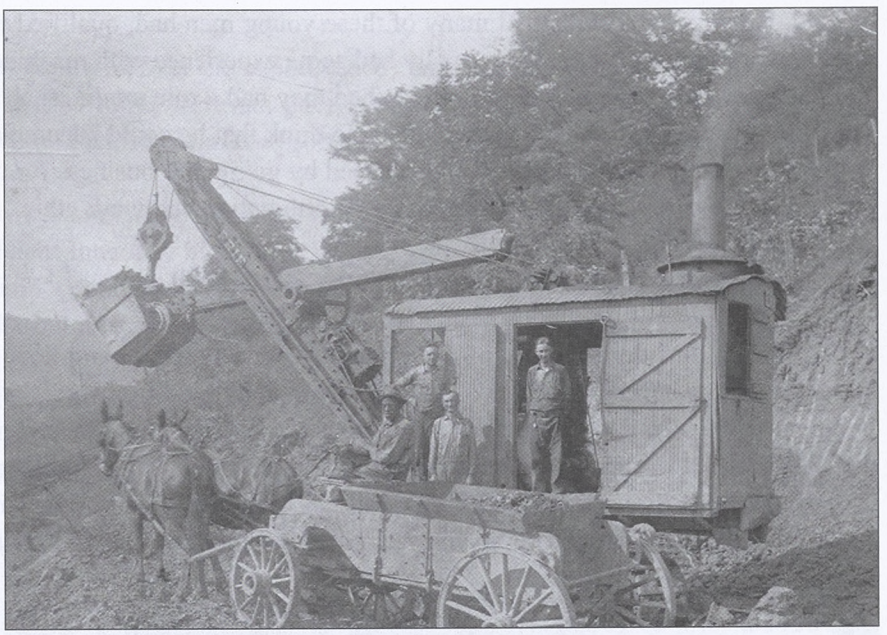
In February 10, 1926 a young woman wrote a letter from the Boone County Coal Company in Sharples, W.Va., where she worked, to her parents in Bowling Green, Ky. She described a young construction worker she met and fell in love with. She had announced her engagement to her parents and answered some questions they had raised.

A crew poses with an early road grader at Sharpels, West Virginia, in 1926.

She described her fiancé as a "fine fellow and a perfect gentleman, has a good job, working for the Gilbert Construction Company, and makes $275/month. He is 22 years old (which is not quite true, as he was born on February 14, 1906 and had not quite reached age 20 at this time) and is very much interested in a future. He has great plans and I am sure he will amount to something. He is going into the contracting business for himself with one of the men in this company now in a little while."

The letter contained more personal information, but the interesting remarks about the young man's plans to start his own business at an early age makes one wonder about his background to believe he could successfully start a business at such an early age. The young man was born on a farm in Louisa County and had limited education. His mother had taught school before she married and probably home schooled this, her oldest child, as he did not enter the public school system until he was 10 years old. Before he was 15, he was working on construction projects in Parlett, Ohio and a year later in West Virginia. He was ambi-

tious and before he was 18 years old he had become a steam shovel operator after having worked as a construction laborer and fireman on a steam shovel.



John Lanford (right), a younger brother of Stanard Lanford, with a crew and a wagon beside an antiquated steam shovel in 1927.

The steam shovel operator in the 1920s held an important position in the excavating construction company's ability to get its work accomplished. Most contracts for highway construction were and still are unit price contracts. The contractor bids on an estimated quantity of excavation to be moved, as well as other items such as lineal feet of pipe of various sizes to be laid and other items, each with its own unit price. Building new roads across West Virginia required a large volume of earth and rock to be removed. The invention of the steam shovel greatly increased the productivity of the company provided it had a good operator on the steam shovel. The shovels had many control levers and foot pedals that required excellent hand-eye coordination to obtain good production rates for excavating the earth and rock to shape the new roadbed. The best operators could keep their steam shovels properly maintained so the machine could dig all day every day.

The young man's uncle was part of a newly formed (1923) Gilbert Construction Company and the young man was to become a full-time shovel runner on the project to build what is now known as Route 60 near Hawks Nest at Anstead, W.Va. The partners in the newly formed Gilbert Construction Company were Enrico Vecellio, Lit Coleman (uncle of the operator), and Dick Gay, who had the most education of the three partners having attended one-year post high school at Fork Union Military School. Gay and the shovel runner were to become partners in an offshoot of the Gilbert Construction Company in 1942. It took the shovel runner a while to do it, but he finally got his own company 16 years after he had promised his bride-to-be that he would do so in a few years. The Great Depression of the 1930s certainly played a part in the delay.

The young shovel operator's name was Stanard Lanford and the young woman who wrote the letter was Betty Compton. They married in 1928 and they were my parents. The new business was called R.B. Gay and Company and was headquartered in Roanoke after 1946. This firm constructed highways and railroads in West Virginia, Virginia, North and South Carolina and Georgia from 1942 until 1953 when Gay withdrew from the partnership due to illness. In 1953, a new partnership was formed in Roanoke under the name Lanford and Slater that included Stanard Lanford, his two sons, Jack and Stan, and Ted Slater, a long time employee of Gilbert Construction Company. This company evolved into Lanford Brothers Company, Inc. in 1960 and is still operating today with third generation Ken Lanford as the president.

Two other companies were offshoots of Gilbert Construction Company. One was the well-known firm of Vecellio and Grogan of Beckley, W.Va., and Palm Beach, Fla., founded in 1938, that is still in business today, operating under a third generation president. The second was L.S. Coleman Company of St. Albans, W.Va., that existed from 1942 until about 1983 when it shut down after the death of Lit Coleman and the retirement of his son, Jim Coleman.

The opportunities were few for a young man who was raised on a small farm in Virginia to break away from the family farm, where cash was always scarce and paydays tended to come only when a crop or animal could

be sold. However, the skills that many of these young men had, qualified them for construction work. They were used to working long hours, they usually had some experience with machinery, such as wagons, mowers and rakes and had knowledge about draft animals. When they had a role model, such as C.R. Mason, Lit Coleman or Enrico Vecellio, it was logical for the young person to think that he could become a road builder. I believe that is why the young shovel runner thought he would succeed by going into business for himself, with little capital or education, but with some natural abilities and a strong determination and work ethic.

Roanoke Was a Base for Contractors, 1920-2000

After considering some of these family connections, we are now going to look at Roanoke as the final home for a large number of highway contractors in the period from 1920, a date when VDOT records are available on line to 1956 when the Interstate Highway Act was passed, until the end of the 20th century. We have mentioned the W.W. Boxley Company that succeeded the Carpenter and Boxley partnership after the death of Clivie Carpenter in 1910. W.W. Boxley continued to build railroads, highways and bridges in Virginia and surrounding states until about 1932. By that date the company was crushing stone for railroad ballast, paving highways, and concrete construction. Railroad construction slowed considerably due to the Great Depression and W.W. Boxley decided it was not ethical for his company to sell materials to contractors and also bid against them to build the project.

Workers prepare forms and subgrade for concrete pavement.
(Photo courtesy of Virginia Department of Transportation files)

A list of projects worked on locally by W.W. Boxley Company, in addition to many miles of railroad construction, is impressive. The list includes Roanoke's Memorial Bridge, Carvins Cove Dam, Route 11 in Botetourt County, Patrick Henry Hotel, Schulte United building on Campbell Avenue (old People's Drug Store), McBain building (old Miller & Rhoads), Sam's building on the City Market and the Boxley Building.

Boxley became a survivor by changing its focus from construction to furnishing crushed stone products; rip-rap and recently adding ready-mix concrete to the varieties of business. The organization is now named Boxley Materials Company and is headed by the fourth generation grandson, Abney Boxley III.

As we look at the many construction companies that were operating from the Roanoke–Salem area in the past 60 years, we will try to give a brief history of their beginnings and why they closed and in several cases why they seem to have been very successful.

A Brief Description of the Highway System in Virginia

It may be helpful to briefly show the pattern of highway construction in the period from the close of World War II, a time when very little road construction took place due to the war, until the end of the 20th century. The U, S. Congress passed the Interstate Highway Bill in 1956, starting the largest transportation construction program ever known. During the period from 1946 to 1956, Virginia was slowly beginning to widen to four lanes many of

the existing two-lane primary highways.

When the State Highway Department took over the maintenance and construction of the counties' secondary roads in 1932, 25,000 of the total 35,900 miles were not paved. They were just plain, old dirt roads, most impassable in wet weather. By 1990 the number of un-surfaced secondary roads had decreased to 137 of the total 45,485 miles in the secondary system.

The primary and urban highway system had 9,632 miles in 1940 and by 1990 that number had increased to 18,398 miles that included 1,077 miles of Interstate highways. Vehicle registration had increased from 526,000 in 1940 to 4.985 million by 1990. Virginia's population grew from 2.678 million in 1940 to over 7 million today. Our population has grown tremendously, but our transportation system has also increased to meet the expanding needs of our economy.

We added over 17,000 miles of new Interstate, primary, urban and secondary miles to the Virginia system in the period from 1950 to the current year. Our state population increased by a factor of 2.3 times while our number of registered vehicles increased by almost 10 times. All of this indicates that a lot of highway construction took place in Virginia from about 1950 until 2000 while our state was enjoying a greater prosperity then ever before.

Many young Virginians saw an opportunity and started their own business to help with all this construction. Quite a few were very successful, but some were not able to attain sufficient experience and capital to stay in business. I propose to record some of the companies that were working from the Roanoke region prior to1956 and place particular emphasis on the period 1950 to 2000, telling of the successes and failures and some interesting details about how companies start up, grow and often disappear.

How I Gathered Information

As a method of trying to locate the contracting firms, based in the Roanoke region, that performed VDOT (Virginia Department of Transportation) construction, I looked at the Roanoke Business Directories from 1935 through 1970 at five-year intervals and at Roanoke telephone directories for the period from 1950 through 1970 at five-year intervals. After locating those firms that called themselves road contractors, I searched the minutes of the Virginia Commonwealth Transportation Board (CTB) for each name. Other firms may have performed highway construction as a sub-contractor or even for VDOT, but the search failed to identify them. This could have been caused by poor quality of the typescripts and typos that made the search fail.

I also used an extensive collection of the Virginia Road and Transportation Builders Association's annual directory and monthly magazines to refresh my memory of the dates when certain events happened. In addition I have contacted many of the contractors who are still living for insight and information about the companies mentioned here.

From the period of 1945 to 1970, I found 56 companies that were listed as road, asphalt, excavating and grading, bridge, or railroad contractors. Of the 56 names found in this time period, only 30 were found to have had contracts with VDOT. I will give a short summary of the information I have on each company. I used the U.S. census data to collect information on those contractors alive in 1930 and earlier.

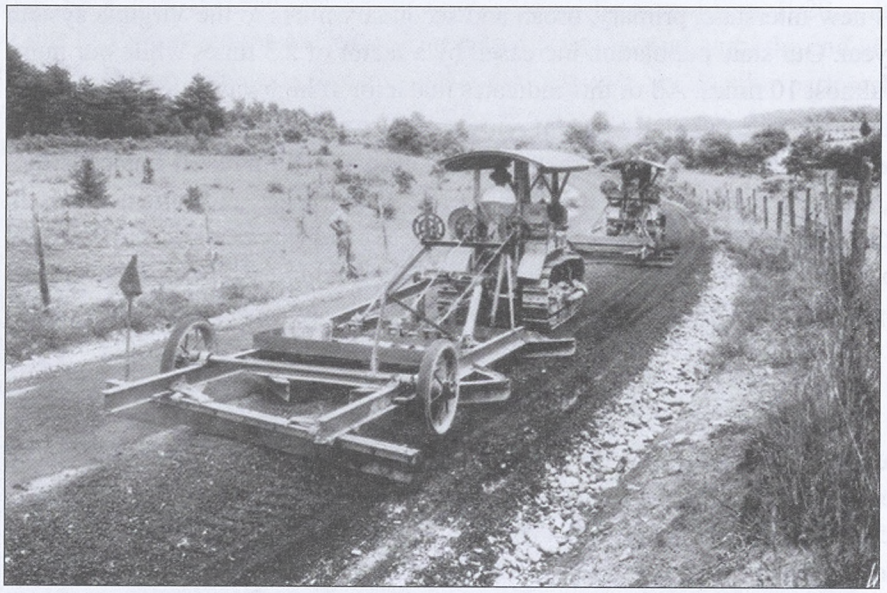
Road Builders of the Roanoke Valley

As we look at the many construction companies that were operating from the Roanoke–Salem area in the past 60 years, we will try to give a brief history of their beginnings, the type of work they performed, why they closed and in several cases why they seem to have been very successful. Road building firms frequently are categorized by the type work they do, such as paving, excavating and grading, or bridge construction. For these three types of work, the larger companies tend to act as the prime or lead contractor on most VDOT projects because they usually involve the most expense in building a road.

Generally, smaller contractors perform such specialty items as guard rail and sign installation, seeding and topsoil, incidental concrete work (curbs, gutters, sidewalks) and other combinations of various components of the

work, such as welding or placing reinforcing steel. These firms are considered to be subcontractors for a certain phase of the job. Some road-building firms start out in this fashion and grow to the point they can handle many different phases of construction. Frequently, a large company will also be a sub-contactor to perform a large segment of the work, although another contractor will be the prime contractor because it is doing other items of work of even greater value.

Recalling that Virginia had over 25,000 miles of unpaved roads in 1932 when the state accepted responsibility for maintenance and construction for almost all of the roads, it is not surprising that many types of surfacing roads were developed in that decade. Liquid asphalt had the property to act as a cement to hold stone chips to the surface of crushed stone base for the roadway. A new product called asphalt concrete was developed in the 1920s. This was a mixture of stone, sand and hot liquid asphalt that was heated and mixed in a rotating drum, called an asphalt plant, to form asphalt concrete that could be placed on the road bed in thin (1- to 3-inch) layers, compacted with a steel wheel roller and thus have a very smooth, long lasting surface.



Using an old-time road planer to shape a road surface.
(Photo courtesy of Virginia Department of Transportation files)

Several firms which have developed into major players in the asphalt paving business were located in Roanoke during the early 1930s. Sam Finley Inc. and Virginia Asphalt Paving Company were prominent early on in the paving business. Additional asphalt paving companies which have performed VDOT contracts over the years while operating in the Roanoke area are Adams and Tate Construction Company, Adams Construction Company, S. R. Draper Paving, Lee Hy Paving Corporation, L.H. Sawyer Paving Company and John A. Hall and Company. Other companies do some asphalt paving, but the ones listed have the capability to mix and lay their own paving materials.

William B. (Bill) Adams was born in 1903 in Campton, Ga., the son of a house carpenter. In the 1930 census, he was living in Atlanta in the household of his father. Bill Adams' occupation was shown as a construction supervisor. He had attended Tech High School in Atlanta. In 1923, Adams went to work for the Sam Finley Company whose office was located near the Tech High School campus while Adams was a student there. He and his wife Martha had one child, a daughter, Betty. Martha's father furnished aggregate to the Sam Finley Company in Columbus, Ga. Bill Adams and Martha moved 57 times in the first eight years of their marriage. He was employed as an asphalt paving worker spraying asphalt on the road and applying stone chips to make the surface. As indicated by the census, Adams was a supervisor by 1930. Finley had sent Adams to Roanoke in 1929 to unload and spread two railroad tank cars of asphalt.

Bill Adams liked working in Virginia and asked Sam Finley to bid on some upcoming VDOT asphalt paving contracts. Having moved around so much, he was now ready to settle down and make Roanoke his home. With the help of some additional workers from Georgia, Adams was soon building Sam Finley Company into a major contractor for road paving in Virginia. Carter Tate was a 1930 Georgia Tech graduate civil engineer who came to Roanoke as Finley's general superintendent in 1932, reporting to Bill Adams, Finley's vice president and general manager in Virginia. Tate was a people person and was well liked by other employees.

Other workers who joined Adams from Georgia were his wife's brother, Robert E. "Bob" Duckworth Sr., Arthur Rutherford, father of M.W. "Buck" Rutherford, and John Martin. Local persons hired by the Finley organization in Roanoke were W.H. "Ham" Pettigrew, a VMI civil engineering graduate in 1933, Richard "Dick" Wellons, a summertime employee, and Gordon Mills, office manager and accountant for Finley's Virginia business. These men would all be partners with Bill Adams in the future.

W.H. "Ham" Pettigrew was hired in 1933 and worked in the field for a year before he was asked to find stone and sand sources for paving the streets in Colonial Williamsburg. Pettigrew did an excellent job of finding the proper sand and stone aggregates for the asphalt concrete and this was his strong point throughout his career. Pettigrew said that in 1940 when the government was starting the Radford Arsenal project, he saw Ralph E. Mills, a contractor for the government on this project, and Mills needed a lot of stone placed in the roads being constructed throughout the arsenal. Pettigrew told him he was sure that Finley's organization could help him and they got the job. The Finley company worked there throughout much of World War II.

Each of these men who were working for Bill Adams at Sam Finley, Inc. had certain qualities and skills that led to superior performance on their work. Adams was apparently a very good judge of people's abilities. By the end of World War II, Bill Adams was ready to move on to start his own company.

Bill Adams and Carter Tate founded Adams and Tate Construction Company in 1946. The end of World War II brought hope to those people who considered themselves road builders. There was a great need for many miles of road to be constructed and paved at the close of the war. This company lasted until 1953 when Tate withdrew due to some differences about their method of opening a new line of business. Tate went to work for an asphalt contractor based in Baltimore. He died in a car accident in 1954.

Adams changed the name to Adams Construction Company and it operated as a partnership that ultimately included Bill Adams, Betty Adams (his daughter), Dick Wellons, Buck Rutherford, Ham Pettigrew, Bob Duckworth, Paul Rotenbury and Gordon Mills. Bill Adams passed away in 1982.

Dick Wellons graduated from Virginia Tech in 1947 and was hired by Adams and Tate. He had worked for Sam Finley in the summer while a student and within two years Adams put Wellons in charge of their Roanoke private work operations. By 1973 Bill Adams retired and named Dick Wellons the president of Adams Construction Company.

The firm greatly expanded its operations in this time period and acquired over 15 asphalt plants working more than 350 employees. Adams laid millions of tons of asphalt on Virginia highways as well as doing work in North Carolina and Florida. As the interstate highway system was being completed, the company was looking at new opportunities for projects to build. Under Wellons' leadership, the company opened an asphalt plant in Florida. This did not work out and was closed in 1987. Dick Wellons was an industry leader and served as president of the Virginia Road Builders Association in 1978.

Adams, while working for Sam Finley, Inc. was a charter member in the founding of the Virginia Road Builders Association in November 1943. This group was formed to lobby for better highways in Virginia. He was also instrumental in the founding of the Virginia Asphalt Association and served as its first president. The Asphalt Association is a technical group founded to improve the quality of asphalt concrete road surfaces. Adams was recognized by Ferrum College in 1970 when they named the new football stadium in his honor. Adams had been instrumental in raising the funds to pay for this new facility. Bill Adams was also one of the founders of Windsor Hills Methodist Church. He served on the boards of Ferrum College, the Methodist Orphanage Home in Richmond and many other charitable organizations.

In 1985 the remaining partners sold the company to English Construction Company and Lanford Brothers Company. Adams Construction Company continues in business today under the ownership of English Construction Company. The firm is still one of the largest asphalt paving companies in Virginia as it continues to expand and acquire other firms. All of Bill Adams' partners have now passed away except for Bob Duckworth, Sr. who is still living.

Some other early leaders in the construction of asphalt-surfaced roads were a group of men who had worked for the oil companies that supplied the liquid asphalt or tar used in binding the rock chips to the crushed

stone base. These men recognized the advantage of asphalt pavements and started Virginia Asphalt Paving Company located in Roanoke about 1938. The original partners were John T. "Jack" Cunningham, Jr. of Roanoke, Burton P. Short of Petersburg and Sterling L. "Buss" Williamson of Charlottesville. As time went by, each of these businessmen helped develop the paving market in their home regions. Williamson founded S. L. Williamson Co. in Charlottesville and is still in business today, operated by his son and granddaughter. Short's firm, B.P. Short & Son, Inc., located in Petersburg, is also still operating with Short's grandson as the CEO.

Virginia Asphalt Paving, jointly owned by the partners mentioned here in the early years, was passed on to Jack Cunningham, Jr.'s sons, J.T. "Jack" III, and R.Q. "Bobby" Cunningham. After operating asphalt plants in Roanoke and other areas of the state for over 50 years, furnishing and laying millions of tons of road surface material that included over 80 VDOT projects, the company was sold to English Construction Company and Jack and Stan Lanford in 1992 and merged into Adams Construction Company.

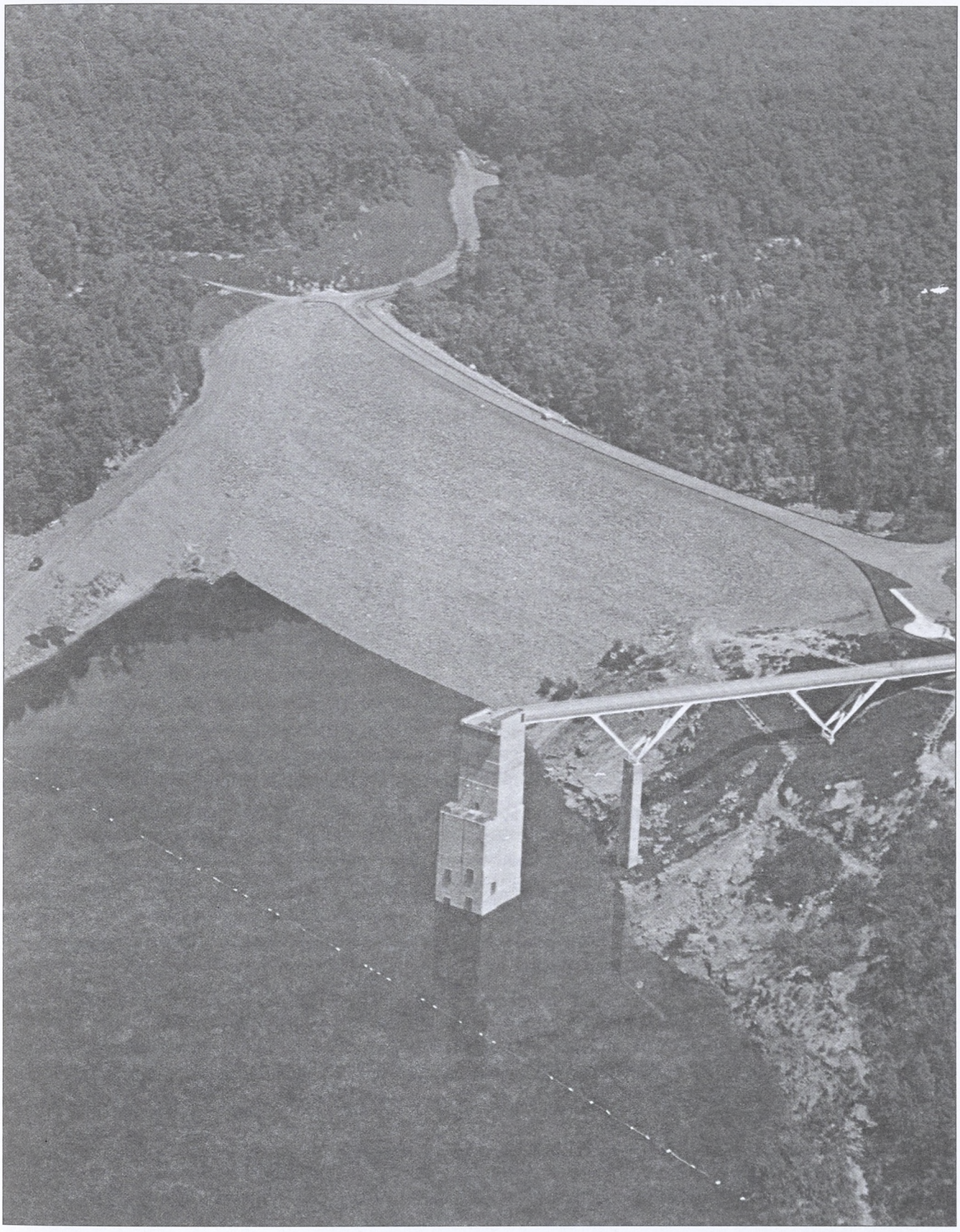
Sam Finley had been a well-respected name for asphalt paving in Virginia since the middle 1920s. Finley is said to have invented the idea of mixing asphalt concrete and placing it on the road surface. The Commonwealth Transportation Board in 1932 voted to allow Finley to lay a short stretch of "Fin-Lay cold type" of pavement on U.S. Rt.11, known as Williamson Road. Finley started in Atlanta, and by 1927 he had a division working for VDOT on road paving projects. By 1931 he had offices in Roanoke and Bedford. W. B. "Bill" Adams was Finley's Virginia manager. Sam Finley Inc. was a charter member in the Virginia Road Builders Association with Bill Adams as the company's representative.

Finley was a major player in the asphalt paving of highways in the Roanoke area as well many other parts of Virginia and other parts of the southeastern U.S. After World War II ended, the Hardaway Company of Columbus, Ga., acquired the company. Hardaway sold the paving business to Warren Brothers Company, Division of Ashland Oil, Inc, now called APAC, in 1965. Sam Finley, Inc. continued to operate under that name until 1981 when APAC decided to merge all their paving companies into one name in each state and thus we now have APAC Virginia at several locations in Virginia. The Roanoke business office was merged into other APAC offices in Chantilly, Richmond, and Norfolk in 1977. The manager of the Roanoke office when it closed was Robert T. Smith.

Smith had obtained his job with Finley in 1933 through the help of his fellow Georgian, Carter Tate, co-founder of Adams and Tate. Smith was driving a Tom's peanut truck in 1933 and was servicing a small store at Eagle Rock. Carter Tate, a Finley employee, had stopped at this same store and knew Smith as a classmate from their college days at the University of Georgia. They met again that day and Carter asked Smith what he was doing driving a "peanut" truck. Smith replied that was the only job he could find, that he was making $5.00 a week and paying weekly room and board of $3. Tate offered Bob a job in Colonial Williamsburg, where Sam Finley Inc. had a contract to rebuild the streets. The job would pay 30 cents per hour and required working 60 hours per week, making his pay $18.00/week. Smith immediately accepted the offer. After a couple of weeks on the new job, Bill Adams, then the manager for Finley's operations in Virginia, visited Smith at the job site and told him he was making too much money. Smith was put on a salary of $12 per week. He went on to learn the asphalt paving business from the ground up for the next 10 years.

Smith served in the Army Corp of Engineers during World War II. He was assigned to build airfields in Argentina. After the war he returned to Roanoke, seeking his job with Finley. Bill Adams and Carter Tate left Finley to start Adams and Tate Construction Company in 1946. Sam Finley had passed away in 1942. Smith went to Atlanta to see Sam Finley's widow about a job managing Sam Finley Inc.'s Virginia operations and the Roanoke office. She gave him the job and he stayed until the Roanoke office was closed. Smith worked his last years with John A. Hall and Company. He died in 1979.

John A. Hall, son of a local attorney for the Virginian Railroad, entered the U.S. Marine Corps in World War II at the age of 17. He served in the South Pacific and saw combat. Upon the completion of his tour of duty he went to work, operating an asphalt plant for Nello L. Teer Company in Durham N.C. After about 10 years Hall returned to Roanoke to go into business for himself. He was awarded his first VDOT project in 1955 under the name John A. Hall & Co of Roanoke. Hall purchased an asphalt plant located near the Dixie Caverns exit on I-81 and operated there for several years. In 1960 Hall paved the road from St. Paul to Dante in Wise County as a sub-



The former Wiley N. Jackson Co. of Roanoke built the Gathright Dam in Alleghany and Bath counties in the 1970s with a joint venture partner, Roberson Fowler Co.

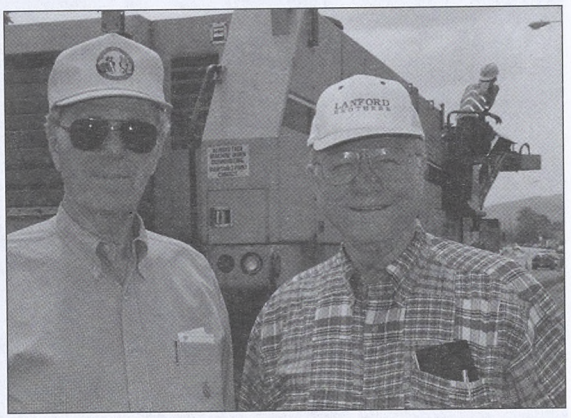
contractor to Lanford & Slater. In 1981, Hall had an auction sale and disposed of most of his construction and paving equipment. He continued to bid for several more years and subcontracted most of his work. He was awarded his last job by VDOT in 1992 and voluntarily closed his business.

Wiley Jackson, Jimmy Turner and Gordon Penick formed Lee Hy Paving Corporation in 1957 to do asphalt paving. After operating out of Roanoke for a few years the company moved to Richmond under the ownership of Gordon Penick. They continue to do a lot of paving in the Richmond area, where Gordon Penick is still chairman of the board.

Lonnie Sawyer started a new company in Salem to perform asphalt-paving work. This company first appeared in the Business Directory in 1970. VDOT's records show that L.H. Sawyer Paving Company was awarded its first project in 1978. The company continues in business today, operated by Lonnie Sawyer's son-in-law, Sam Carter, and longtime employee Stan Puckett. They bid infrequently on VDOT projects but do a lot of municipal and private paving jobs.

This concludes the first installment of my work on the road contractors in the Roanoke region. The second installment that includes the excavating and grading contractors, bridge builders and specialty contractors, will appear in next year's Journal.

Note: The author appreciates hearing from anyone with corrections to any of the information printed in this article.



Brothers Jack (left) and Stan Lanford, retired partners in Lanford Brothers Co.

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Bob Childress and his Six Rock Churches

Religious Patterns and Presbyterian Worship in the Appalachian Region, 1750-1950

by Dr. John Kern and Randle Brim

The six rock-faced Presbyterian churches built by Robert W. Childress between the mid-1920s and the early 1950s are located in Floyd, Carroll, and Patrick counties of southwestern Virginia. The Childress churches are situated about in the center of the Appalachian region in the physiographic province of the Blue Ridge, as identified by cultural geographers Karl Raitz and Richard Ulack.

Bordered to the southeast by the Piedmont and to the northwest by the Ridge and Valley, the Blue Ridge Province extends in a narrow band southwest from south-central Pennsylvania for 550 miles to northeast Georgia and contains the highest mountains and most spectacular scenery in the Appalachian region.[1] European-American settlement of the Blue Ridge began after the French and Indian War of the late 1750s and early 1760s. Mid- to late-18th-century traffic on the Great Valley Road skirted the area now included in Floyd, Carroll, and Patrick counties to the northwest. Rantz and Ulack said the population in the study area of the Childress rock churches did not attain a density of six persons per square mile until around 1800.

The study area received Scotch-Irish settlement from the mid-Atlantic, and English settlement from the West Chesapeake Tidewater. The initial Scotch-Irish settlement tended to be Presbyterian, while English settlement might be Methodist or Episcopal. By 1800, American Methodism had begun to expand in the region at the expense of the Presbyterian Church, and Baptists gained strength on the Piedmont. Both Methodists and Baptists benefited from the religious revivals that began around 1800 and continued through most of the 19th century. The Presbyterians insisted on an educated ministry, and a shortage of trained ministers in remote settlements contributed to a decline in the practice of the Presbyterian faith.

Raitz and Ulack conclude that by the early 1900s only 6 percent of recorded church population in central and southern Appalachia was Presbyterian At that time Methodists made up 30 percent of church attendees; and Baptists constituted 40 percent of church membership. Raitz and Ulack found that by the mid-twentieth century Baptist Church membership predominated in Carroll and Patrick counties, whereas no religious group totaled over 25 percent of church membership in Floyd County.[2]

Presbyterians in America adhered to a system of federated congregations whose presbyters or elders governed through the local church session, the larger presbytery, the regional synod, and, by the time of American independence, a national assembly. Religious historians Gaustad and Barlow conclude that "the combination made for a Presbyterian Church with a distinctly intellectual tenor . . . and a church tirelessly dedicated to higher education." They note that on the eve of the Revolution there were at least 30 Presbyterian churches in the Virginia Ridge and Valley Province just west of the Blue Ridge in Rockingham, Augusta, and Rockbridge counties, and they posit that the great majority of these Presbyterians on the Virginia frontier were patriots.[3]

Between the Revolution and the Civil War, Alice Felt Tyler in *Freedom's Ferment* comments that the revivals and religious awakenings in the early 1800s encouraged settlers west of the Blue Ridge to take advantage of every opportunity for community life and welcomed missionaries. Presbyterians were in a good position to assume responsibility for missionary work because they were already established in the Scotch-Irish settlements in

Dr. John Kern, director of the Roanoke Regional Preservation Office of the State Department of Historic Resources since it opened in the late 1980s, holds degrees from Swarthmore College and a doctorate from the University of Wisconsin. Randle Brim, deputy zoning administrator of Randolph County, N.C., earned two bachelor's and a master's degree and served in the Air Force in Vietnam. He has researched and written a number of articles on history-related topics and he has planned several books.

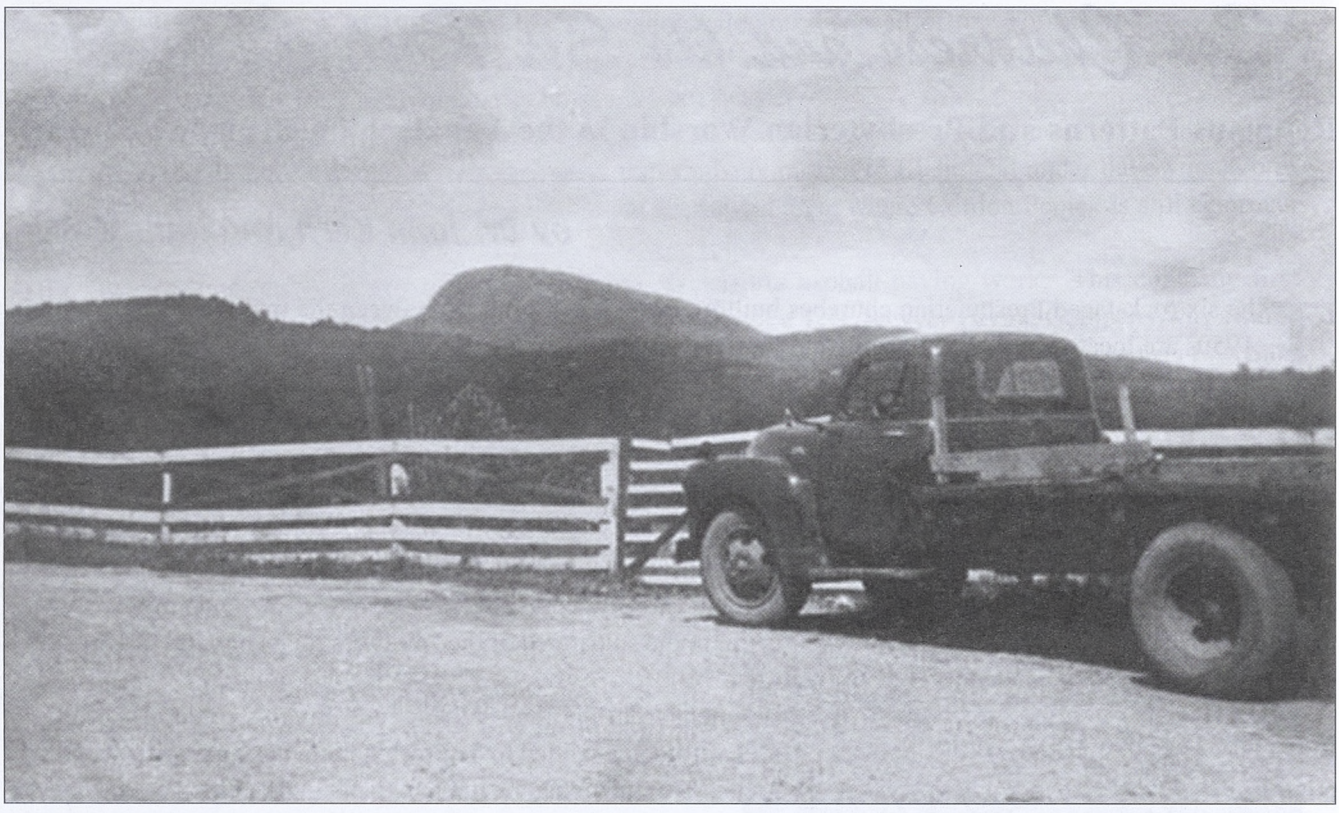

Photo of Buffalo Mountain in July 1956. *(Courtesy of Floyd County Historical Society photograph archives)*

the Ridge and Valley. Tyler concludes, as did Gaustad and Barlow, that the Presbyterian churches "insisted on an educated clergy, . . endeavored to bring culture to the Western communities as rapidly as possible, . . . and considered missionary activity in the West a patriotic as well as a religious duty."[4] Tyler observes that eventually Protestant sects west of the Blue Ridge seemed to succeed "in inverse ratio to their intellectual attainments and indirect ratio to their emotional appeal." Hence, after the Civil War, Appalachian Presbyterians lost strength to Methodists with their relatively uncomplicated creed and to Baptists with their independent church organization and tendency to splinter into numerous groups: Hard- and Soft-Shell Baptists, and Primitive and Free-Will Baptists.[5]

The Presbyterian Church in America divided over the issue of slavery during the Civil War, as had the Methodists and Baptists during the 1840s. After the Civil War, Presbyterian Church factions reunited and national Presbyterian Church membership increased steadily from 700,000 in 1870 to 3,500,000 in 1950. These membership figures show Presbyterians to be far more numerous in 1950 than the other two principal denominations of the 18th century, the Congregationalists and the Episcopalians. National Presbyterian Church membership in 1950, however, was less than 30 percent of Methodist membership and less than 20 percent of Baptist membership.[6]

John Edgerton, in *Speak Now Against the Day: The Generation Before the Civil Rights Movement in the South,* recounts several instances of Presbyterian pastors or missionaries from the rural South whose modest family origins, subsequent education in Presbyterian seminaries, and socially active ministry in the Appalachian region parallel the career of Robert Childress.[7]

Childress and the Rock Churches

In the 65 years between Robert Childress's birth in Patrick County and his death in 1956, he had received rudimentary education in The Hollow, Patrick County, attended a Methodist revival around 1910, subsequently met a recent graduate from Presbyterian Seminary, and by 1920 decided to become a seminary-trained Presbyterian

minister. During his student years in seminary, Childress established a Presbyterian church in Mayberry, Patrick County. Upon graduation from seminary in 1926 he began his Presbyterian missionary work at Buffalo Mountain, missionary work that he continued for 30 years while founding churches and bringing his spiritual and socially active educational leadership to those who worshiped with him.

Richard C. Davids, in *The Man Who Moved a Mountain* (1970), tells the story of Childress, "an overwhelming, magnetic kind of man," who established six rock-faced Presbyterian churches in Virginia's Blue Ridge Mountains of Floyd, Carroll, and Patrick counties from the mid-1920s to the early 1950s. The ministry of Bob Childress changed the lives of rural backcountry residents living in relative isolation in a mountainous no-man's-land along the borders of the three counties.

When Childress died in 1956, he left a spiritual legacy of changed and awakened lives and a material legacy of six rock-faced Presbyterian churches: *Bluemont,* Carroll and Patrick counties, built 1920, rock-faced 1945-1946; *Mayberry,* Patrick County, built 1925, rock-faced 1948; *Buffalo Mountain,* Floyd and Carroll counties, built of fieldstone in 1929; *Slate Mountain,* Floyd and Patrick counties, built of fieldstone in 1932, expanded in 1951; *Dinwiddie,* Carroll County, built of fieldstone in 1948; and *Willis,* Floyd County, built of fieldstone in 1954. Bluemont, Buffalo Mountain and Slate Mountain churches straddled county lines. All six of the Childress rock churches are still places of worship. Bluemont, Mayberry, Buffalo Mountain, Slate Mountain, and Dinwiddie continue to hold Presbyterian services and retain strong ties to Childress. In 1967 the Willis Church became Interfaith, then Full Gospel, and is now the home of Grace Baptist Church.[8]

Childress was born January 19, 1890, the third from the youngest of nine children raised in one-room cabins. His father, Babe, came from Scotch-Irish ancestry and was of the third generation of Childresses to live in The Hollow in Patrick County. His "pure Irish" mother, Lum, experienced depression for a time after Bob's birth. Hard drinking and unschooled, the Childress parents loved their children and kept a clean home, but they never owned land and had to move frequently following evictions for arrears in rent. Fourteen years Bob's senior, Hasten as the oldest child assumed many responsibilities for raising the family.

At the age of six, Bob Childress began attending Friends Mission School taught by Sally Marshburn, who was sent to The Hollow by Quakers at Guilford College in North Carolina. He never missed school or Sunday school and studied with Miss Marshburn until she married and moved away when Bob was 14. Childress drank and fought for the next six years until he attended a week-long Methodist revival, where he experienced, not revelation, but a new peace.

The next year at 21, he attended eighth grade again at Friends Mission School until he married Pearl Ayers, a fellow student. After the birth of a son, Conduff, and a daughter, Evelyn, he taught at Kimball elementary school and worked as a blacksmith until his wife, Pearl, died during the flu epidemic of World War I. At 29, he became a Patrick County deputy sheriff for two years before he resumed blacksmithing and married Lelia Montgomery.

Following his second marriage, Bob Childress began attending "brush arbor" services, some of them headed by Roy Smith, who had recently graduated from Presbyterian Seminary. Childress and Smith became fast friends, and in 1920 at age 30, now with four children, Childress decided to become an ordained Presbyterian minister. His decision meant that he would have to attend and graduate from high school and college before attending seminary. It would take 11 years before he received his ordination as a minister. Bob crammed for entrance with Roy Smith and began high school at Friends Mission at the same time that his son, Conduff, entered first grade.[9]

At the Friends School Bob Childress advanced to 10th grade within a month and graduated from high school by the end of the school year in the spring of 1921. In June he received a letter of acceptance from Davidson College, and in September he and Lelia and the children moved to Davidson. A son Paul was born to them in November. The following spring of 1922, professors at Davidson recommended that Childress proceed directly to seminary. After a summer of lay preaching and teaching around Mayberry in Patrick County, Childress and Roy Smith approached Union Theological Seminary in Richmond. Union Theological refused to admit Childress to the seminary but allowed him to attend classes. That fall of 1922 Lelia gave birth to a third son, Bill Joe. After a semester, Union Seminary recognized Childress as a student of high record and promise, offered him a scholarship

Buffalo Mountain, in western Floyd County, today.

and a rent-free house on campus, and gave him a $100 scholarship each year for his remaining time in seminary.

During the summer of 1923 after his first year in seminary, Childress and family returned to Mayberry. There he built a two-room school and resumed preaching. They spent the next two summers in Mayberry, where the Presbyterian church was completed in 1925. During the final year in seminary, daughter Hattie was born in frail health. A few days before graduation from seminary in June 1926, Childress accepted an offer from Peter Cunningham Clark of Montgomery Presbytery to establish a place of worship at "The Buffalo" or Buffalo Mountain, Floyd County. Clark described Buffalo Mountain as a dangerous, isolated place where men drank and shot at each other and where people were uneducated, without schools or Sunday school. Childress accepted Clark's challenge and moved to Buffalo Mountain in the late spring of 1926.[10]

Childress and his family lived on the mountain, where he preached for three years at the Presbyterian Buffalo Mission School founded in 1923 by the Rev. Clark while Clark was superintendent of home missions for Montgomery Presbytery. When Childress led construction of Buffalo Mountain Church, built in 1929 from local field stone, he established the mother church of his ministry. During the Depression he supervised fieldstone construction of Slate Mountain Church in 1932. After World War II, Childress directed rock-facing for Bluemont Church in 1946 and rock-facing for Mayberry Church in 1948. Under Childress's leadership Dinwiddie Church was constructed of fieldstone in 1948. Finally, Willis Church was built of fieldstone in 1954, two years before Childress died of complications from a stroke suffered in 1951.

During the remarkable 30 years of his ministry, Bob Childress provided education and spiritual and social leadership for people living in rural isolation in the Blue Ridge Mountains of the bordering Virginia counties of Floyd, Patrick, and Carroll. He helped feed and clothe the poor, comforted the indigent, and awakened lives. He helped secure improved transportation, such as roads and bridges financed by WPA funds during the Depression, used buses to bring people to church and Sunday school, and broadcast gospel music from loud speakers mounted on the towers of some of his rock-faced churches. Like "a wild horse in a field," with incredible energy he brought high spirits and awakened excitement to the lives of those he touched.[11]

Presbyterian churches were established but not prominent in the Blue Ridge Mountain counties when Childress began his pastorate there in the mid-1920s. The first Presbyterian church in Floyd County was founded in the Town of Floyd in 1850. A second church was recorded in Floyd County land records in 1897, and a third in 1910. By 1921, trustees of Abingdon Presbytery had purchased land in Floyd County for a church school. By that date, the Floyd County Index to Real Estate Conveyances listed four Presbyterian churches in the county, as opposed to 18 Primitive Baptist churches.

Presbyterian churches in Carroll, Floyd, and Patrick counties were variously administered by Abingdon, Montgomery and Fincastle presbyteries. Childress's initial ties were with Abingdon Presbytery, presently housed in Wytheville, and Montgomery Presbytery, whose records now reside at the Peaks Presbytery in Lynchburg. The Abingdon Presbytery in 1925 reported inadequate facilities for Home Mission work, saying that "many fields have no workers and organized churches stand vacant." In 1933 the Abingdon Presbytery noted that churches in Bluemont and Dinwiddie subsequently served by Childress received the least funds from and paid the lowest amount to the presbytery, and that those churches stood in the presbytery's "most needy, most difficult, and most neglected field." Circuit Court deeds have not been located for all the Childress churches. Recent research has turned to personal interviews with church members and to examination of original session minutes of the individual churches' records, which remain in possession of the individual congregations.[12]

The legacy of Childress and his six rock-faced churches survives in the rural mountainous region of southwest Virginia half a century after his death in January 1956. Davids doubtless overemphasized the changes wrought by the Childress ministry in *The Man Who Moved a Mountain.* A 1974 article in the Patrick County Historical Society file for Mayberry Presbyterian Church quotes an old lady raised on The Buffalo as saying, "He [Richard Davids] writes like we were all savages before Bob Childress came." The New Deal, the Works Progress Administration, and better roads and schools sponsored throughout Virginia by the Harry Byrd machine did much to counteract the rural isolation that the ministry of Bob Childress constantly challenged while he built his rock-faced churches as the focus of faith-based communities and as rallying points for spiritual and educational outreach. But no political programs and machines could generate the personal energy and excitement of Childress's ministry.

As Davids frequently recounted, Childress used humor and compassion and remarkable energy to bring people into his church circle of positive expectations and loving care. As is shown in interviews of those who knew Bob Childress and have remembered him for half a century since his death, he was revered for bringing out the best in people. He brought women into active leadership in his church. He brought children into church services by bus, and he encouraged children to receive higher education. He welcomed people to services with church-steeple broadcasts of gospel music. He built his six rock-faced churches with the labor and socially active leadership of church members who founded their faith in his ministry.[13]

Buffalo Mountain Church

Bob Childress preached at Buffalo Mission School for three years after he arrived at the Buffalo community in the spring of 1926 following his graduation from Union Seminary in Richmond. Childress kept a journal of his activities from Buffalo for three winter months, probably in 1928, at the request of Home Mission headquarters. In one January week he had car trouble, got wood for the Mission School furnace, worked on his car, visited 13 homes, got snowbound, visited five homes on horseback, and conducted chapel, night services, and three Sunday services, but he couldn't get to Slate Mountain.

During the first week in March he conducted chapel, visited a bereaved family, held a song service, attended Hillsville court and had cases dismissed against four young men who had disturbed church service, attended a road meeting, made a night address, taught class at Buffalo Mission, preached afterward at Meadows of Dan and Indian Valley, built a stage at Buffalo Mission School, held a cottage prayer service, got stuck in the mud, and took three people to doctors' appointments in Floyd.

The Hillsville court cases Childress asked to have dismissed may have been against young men who "rocked," that is, threw rocks at the Mission School, breaking windows and threatening to come inside. Childress had visited fieldstone churches in Tennessee when Presbyterian church headquarters asked him to travel there to

Buffalo Mountain Church

tell the story of the mountain missions. Childress learned that the beautiful fieldstone churches in Tennessee were not expensive to build with donated manpower, and he may have thought it better to rock-face the Buffalo church than to have a frame church "rocked" by young men who just didn't behave. At any rate, after the Buffalo community first met to create a Presbyterian church and established session minutes in December 1927 with elders J. M. Sutphin, H. E. Branscome, and Bailey Goad, Childress called for the church to be built of fieldstone.

The first session meeting for Buffalo Church took place at the Mission School on December 18, 1927. J. M. Sutphin was elected clerk, a position he held for more than thirty years. His first appointment was to approach the people in the Buffalo community who were members of Jacksonville Presbyterian Church in the Town of Floyd and to invite them to place their membership with Buffalo Church. At a Buffalo session meeting held at the Mission School on April 22, 1928, Bob Childress's wife Lelia was "examined and admitted to the sealing ordinance of the Lord's Supper."

Davids reports on construction of Buffalo Mountain Church during the summer of 1929. Childress secured a building loan from Elbert Weeks of the Willis bank. Buffalo elder Bailey Goad suggested building the church above the Mission School where men had congregated to drink and enjoy the view across the valley of the Buffalo. Men cut trees and skidded them to the church site with oxen. They sawed oak for beams and poplar for siding, dug out the basement, and laid the foundation. Childress announced a contest to bring the prettiest quartz stone, along with loads of fieldstone, for the church walls. Buffalo elder J. M. Sutphin supervised mortaring the stone into place. The congregation voted unanimously to change their name from Buffalo View to Buffalo Mountain Presbyterian Church and the new building was dedicated September 19, 1929. Childress began his pastorate there at the mother church that lasted more than 20 years and accomplished the creation of five more rock-faced churches.

Slate Mountain Church

Slate Mountain Presbyterian Church, five miles southeast of Buffalo Mountain, began as a mission of Buffalo Mountain Church. About 1930, Childress began holding services and Sunday school at a one-room school in the Slate community near Rock Castle Gap. In June 1932, Childress reported to the Buffalo Mountain session that he had baptized 14 people at Slate Mountain. Slate Mountain elder Ted Sutphin remembers building the fieldstone church in 1932. Members dug creek bed sand from Burks Fork, hand-screened the sand to eliminate the gravel, and shoveled the sand into trucks for delivery at the church site. Childress's son Conduff hauled the fieldstone for the church by truck. The 18-inch-thick walls required a great deal of mortar. Beautiful crystal quartz rocks were placed on both sides of the front entrance to the church; one came from the family farm of Cecil Cock.

In 1939 Slate Mountain Church organized as an independent Presbyterian church with Childress as pastor. Slate Mountain session minutes in November 19, 1939, recorded Sam Underwood, William Underwood, and Ted Sutphin as elders; Ron Belcher, Virgil Belcher, and Luther Wood as deacons; and Luther Wood as treasurer. At that first Slate Mountain session, Bob Childress requested and received permission to spend the entire Sunday school offering of $2.61 "for the benefit of the convicts as a token of sympathy on their behalf for Thanksgiving." This Thanksgiving gift was for prisoners at the convict camp at Meadows of Dan, two and a half miles south of Slate

Mountain Church. The gift of the whole church collection came at the height of the Great Depression and the donation came all in coins. It was a big day when the first person put a dollar bill in the Slate Mountain collection plate.

During World War II Slate Mountain Church sponsored two outpost Sunday schools: Mayberry, conducted by Luther Wood and enrolled 60 students; and Stamping Birches, which had 50 pupils. Slate Mountain Church must have grown in membership as well as outreach because session minutes for spring 1951 recommended construction of a three-room addition to the rear of the 1932 church building. Ted Sutphin borrowed $4,000 from Joseph Sowers of Floyd County Bank. Lendell Craig quit school at 16 to work on the Slate Mountain Church addition, which included the rear cross-gable wing and the bell tower. After two weeks of training from Fred Shelor, Craig cracked the fieldstone rocks so they could be mortared in place to form a flat exterior surface. Childress suffered his first stroke in 1951 during the period of construction on the addition to Slate Mountain Church.

Slate Mountain Church

Bluemont Church

Bluemont Presbyterian, on the border between Patrick and Carroll counties, was built in 1920 eight miles southwest of Buffalo Mountain and rock-faced in 1946 shortly after Childress assumed the pastorate there at the close of World War II. The Rev. Roy Smith, Childress's mentor by 1919, preached the first Presbyterian sermons near Bluemont at Pilot View and Rome schoolhouses beginning in 1915. In 1918 the Abingdon Presbytery promised $500 for a church building, provided that worshipers would raise an equal amount. The wood-frame Bluemont Church was ready for use in the spring of 1920, and the church was organized in September 1920 with G. E. Willis as elder and James A. Vass as deacon. Granville "Ernest" Willis owned the first automobile in the region and traveled to Presbytery sessions in southwest Virginia and to Richmond to represent Bluemont. Ernest Willis's daughter Polly Willis, later Polly Willis Cock, and Vida Bowman taught Sunday school at Bluemont when Childress became pastor in 1945.

Polly Cock remembers when Bob Childress approached her father, Elder Ernest Willis, about rock-facing Bluemont. Childress asked these Sunday school teachers to write letters to church members to solicit funds for the project. In September 1945 Childress wrote Polly Willis and Vida Bowman that he was beginning to receive pledges. The next month Childress thanked both women for their funding efforts to rock-face Bluemont, pledged $100 of his own to each of their subscription lists, and closed with the following:

> Please make it plain to those approached, that we expect to finish regardless of what they give but that you want them to have a part in it for their own sakes as well as for the cause. Let them also know that those who desire to work can work out their pledges and we expect to begin hauling stones within a few days, weeks at most. We will need a lot of helpers for that.

Vida Bowman remembers that when her husband came home from World War II in December 1945, he began helping haul fieldstones to Bluemont. He collected field rock from Ed Gardner's place. Cecil Cock, who married Polly

Bluemont Church

Willis two years later, brought one of his favorite quartz rocks and still remembers its placement in the Bluemont stone facing.

Bluemont Church received a scenic easement with the Blue Ridge Parkway in October 1937, which stipulated that church buildings could not be erected or altered without Park Service consent and approval. Polly Willis Cock remembers that several times a park ranger would ask Childress to stop the alterations at Bluemont. Childress would tell the workers to stop, but then would have them resume as soon as the ranger left. Polly remembers Childress saying, "I don't care what they say, we will finish rocking this church even if we have to work on it at midnight." In disregard of the Park Service scenic easement, Bluemont Church was rock-faced in 1946 under the supervision of Sam Branscome, who had learned rock laying in Tennesee.

During the 10 years of his pastorate at Bluemont, Childress installed a Delco Battery system that provided electric lights and public address system with outside speakers that broadcast music and church services for several miles. He also employed perhaps the first use of church buses in the area to transport children to Sunday school and vacation Bible school.

Mayberry Church

Mayberry Presbyterian Church in Patrick County was constructed six miles southeast of Buffalo Mountain as a wooden frame structure in 1925 when Bob Childress served as church pastor while a student at Union Theological Seminary in Richmond. Session minutes for Mayberry have not been located, and less information is available on the church, especially for the time when it was rock-faced with fieldstone in 1948.

After his first year in seminary Bob Childress held Presbyterian services in an old Mayberry school where his mentor Rev. Roy Smith had preached a few times in the early 1920s. Childress presided over construction of a new school in Mayberry in 1924 and after his second year in seminary led construction of Mayberry Church. The small frame church was dedicated in July 1925. A workday photo in 1925 listed the Rev. R. W. Childress, as well as numerous Cockrans, Lights, Scotts, Spanglers, and Webbs. Materials recovered from the Mayberry Church cornerstone in 1975 recorded a meeting at the new Mayberry School House in 1924, a meeting that marked the beginning of Mayberry Church: "During the summer months much interest was shown in the Lord's work, and in July, after a revival meeting ... conducted by R. W. Childress, a Seminary student, it was unanimously decided by the congregation that there must be a church building and a church organization in Mayberry." The first officers of Mayberry Presbyterian Church were elders D. Burton Scott and Ernest Cochran, and deacons Wolford Spangler and Asa Spangler. Mr. Willard, a skilled carpenter, supervised local labor in building the church. Special thanks were given to Willard "for his faithful work and untiring efforts to make Mayberry Church the prettiest church in Patrick."

Davids and Brim mention Bob Childress's special ministry to Josie Spangler at Mayberry Presbyterian Church. Josie Spangler lost most of her eyesight following the birth of her first child Margie and suffered an emotional breakdown. When Childress found Josie bedridden, he drove her to a doctor in Mount Airy, learned that she could play a reed organ, and then encouraged her to play at church services. Josie Spangler traveled with Childress

thereafter, playing a portable organ carried by Childress at church services, while she recovered her spirits and health. Josie gave birth to two more children, Wallace in 1927 and Bernice in 1930. Though now totally blind, she was also reborn and insisted that her children attend Mayberry Presbyterian. As a child Wallace built fires in the church stove before services during the winter and aired out the church during the summer. When Mayberry Church was faced in stone in 1948, Wallace Spangler donated a clear quartz rock that had encased an insect.

Mayberry Church

Dinwiddie Church

Dinwiddie Presbyterian Church, built in Carroll County of fieldstone in 1948, stands at the farthest distance, about 13 miles, northwest of the mother church at Buffalo Mountain. When James "Arthur" Mitchell returned to Mitchell Crossroads after World War II, he sought to revive the Dinwiddie Presbyterian congregation that had languished for decades as the least funded and least active church body in the Abingdon Presbytery. Mitchell asked Richard Slate, then a young man plowing in a field, to "come back and help re-establish the church." Mitchell also asked Dr. Goodridge Wilson of the Abingdon Presbytery to contact Bob Childress to hold services with the Dinwiddie congregation to revive the church.

At the end of the first service Childress held in the old school building used by the Dinwiddie Presbyterians, he received a collection of $5.60. Richard Slate still remembers Childress's immediate response and challenge: "That's not enough money for me, let's put it in a building fund." Dinwiddie elder J.A. Mitchell then wrote a letter to Childress inviting him to come back as their pastor and help them build a church. As soon as Childress returned in May 1946, plans began to build a new church. Building committee members were J. R. Slate, chair; Miss Willie K. Mitchell, secretary; J.A. Mitchell, treasurer; and J.H. Wright and Richard P. Slate.

Work on the church foundation began in July 1946 without architects or plans. Childress and Slate laid out the building foundation footprint by tape measuring and stepping it off.

Dinwiddie Church

Most of the field rock came from Buffalo Mountain and was hauled in a World War II weapons carrier that Childress had purchased from army surplus. Granite shavings for mortar were hauled by the weapons carrier in 10 loads from Flat Rock Quarry near Mount Airy, North Carolina. When funds ran short, Childress brought Slate with him to meet with an owner of the *Roanoke Times* and drove her to the church site, asking her, "What do you think of the church building? Isn't it wonderful? Isn't it beautiful? Isn't it wonderful enough to have a roof?" The next day a truckload of shingles arrived at the church from an anonymous donor. Richard Slate remembers that Childress specifically directed interior construction of the fieldstone altar and pulpit, which remain unchanged today. The first service at the new Dinwiddie Church was held in September 1948. In 1953 Childress purchased an acre of adjoining property from Carroll County at a public auction in Hillsville for $2,000, a price far beyond the church's budget. Childress paid for the purchase with a personal loan from the Bank of Floyd. Much of the information on Dinwiddie comes from an interview with Richard Slate, who has served as an elder at Dinwiddie for almost 60 years since his installation in 1947.

Willis Church

Willis Church, built in 1954 in Floyd County five miles northeast of Buffalo Mountain, was the last of the rock-faced churches constructed under the spiritual leadership of Bob Childress, and the only one of the six churches constructed after Childress suffered his serious stroke in 1951.

Willis Presbyterian Church traces its origins to meetings in the home of Troy Weeks, a prominent and respected leader in the Town of Willis who taught school and then became the town postmaster. For more than a year the Willis Presbyterian congregation worshiped as a mission of the Buffalo Mountain mother church. Willis Presbyterian Church began its history as an independent church in October 1939 with Elders Troy Weeks, Ephfrom Weeks, and Henry Mayberry and 24 charter members. Troy Weeks served as clerk of the Willis Session until 1965, and as an active elder until 1981.

Willis Church

From 1939 until 1953 Willis Presbyterian Church met in the Willis bank building, which had closed during the Depression. In January 1953 the Willis congregation held a meeting where they agreed to sell the bank property to Blue Ridge Lodge, No. 4, of the International Order of Odd Fellows for $2,200. The meeting then resolved to use the money from the sale of the bank for construction of a new church building. At a Willis Church meeting in April 1953, the congregation agreed to buy a vacant lot in town and build a new church. In August 1953, the Willis building committee agreed to "build a wood building cased with granit [sic] stone." The building committee would draw up plans for construction after looking at the few churches. In October 1953, Elder Troy Weeks reported that the building committee had contracted with Lyle Stanley to build the new church building. Stanley would do all woodwork and specified basement work for $2,250 with materials furnished by the congregation.

Construction photographs show the wooden framing erected by Lyle Stanley and then covered with tarpaper and ready for field rock encasement. The fieldstone came from many places, including the Susan Quesenberry farm, the J. W. Boones farm, and lands owned by the Weeks. Troy Weeks did the initial electrical wiring for the

church and installed the chimes in the bell tower. Eventually, speakers on the Willis church bell tower broadcast gospel music Saturday evenings and Sundays played from 78-rpm records. Bob Childress's failing health obligated him to resign his pastorate at Willis Church in September 1953, and his son, William "Bill Joe" Childress, then a second-year student at Columbia Union Theological Seminary, ushered the Willis congregation into the new Willis Presbyterian Church during the summer months of 1954.

In July 1967 the Willis Presbyterian congregation changed its name to the Interfaith Church of Willis. Around 1990, the church name changed to Willis Full Gospel Church. That congregation vacated the Willis rock-faced church by 2003, and Grace Baptist Church purchased the church from Peaks Presbytery, which retained first right of purchase, for $4,000. The 2003 transfer was facilitated by Bob Childress's son Bryan, who was glad to see the Willis church remain in service.

Endnotes

1. Karl Raitz and Richard Ulack, *Appalachia, A Regional Geography, Land, People, and Development* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1984), chapters 1 and 2.

2. Ibid., chapters 3 and 4.

3. Edwin S. Gaustad and Philip L. Barlow, *New Historical Atlas of Religion in America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 38-41.

4. Alice Felt Tyler, *Freedom's Ferment: Phases of American Social History from the Colonial Period to the Civil War* (New York: Harper and Row, 1944), chapter 2.

5. Ibid.

6. Gaustad and Barlow, 131-138.

7. John Edgerton, *Speak Now Against the Day: The Generation Before the Civil Rights Movement in the South* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995): A. Williams, 100-101; E. Smothers, 125; C. Williams, 78, 157-158, 289, 567.

8. Richard C. Davids, *The Man Who Moved a Mountain* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1970). Davids met Robert Childress in 1950 and subsequently interviewed him and his extended family and neighbors. The book has gone through 20 printings and has generated its own folklore. It now provides the basis for a dramatization, *The Man Who Moved a Mountain,* authored by Joseph Maiolo and Thomas Isbell. (Randle Brim has visited all six churches, has visited with descendants and neighbors of Robert Childress, and has interviewed current church elders and historians, including Stewart Childress, grandson of Robert and pastor of two of the churches.)

9. The narrative in this and the two preceding paragraphs comes from Davids, *The Man Who Moved a Mountain,* Chapters 1-4.

10. Davids, *The Man Who Moved a Mountain,* Chapter 5. Hattie was the seventh Childress child, the youngest of five boys and two girls.

11. Donald Nance, former archivist for Abingdon Presbytery in Wytheville, Virginia, called Buffalo Mountain the mother church; personal communication, August 2005. Childress broadcast gospel music played on 78-rpm records from Buffalo Mountain, Bluemont, Slate Mountain, Dinwiddie, and Willis churches; Richard Slate, elder of Dinwiddie Church and affiliated with Childress churches since 1947, likened Childress to "a wild horse in a field"; personal communication, September 2005.

12. Floyd County Circuit Court, Index to Real Estate Conveyance. Donald Nance explained the changing jurisdictions of Abingdon, Montgomery, Fincastle, and Peaks Presbyteries; personal communication, August 2005. Minutes of Abingdon Presbytery, 1925-1936, recorded the needy state of the Carroll County Presbyterian churches that would be served by Childress.

13. Newspaper clipping from the Mayberry Presbyterian Church file, Patrick County Historical Society, 1974;

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September 2004	Slate Mountain Presbyterian Church, 21, 24, 26-27, 30.
October 2004	Dinwiddie Presbyterian Church, 5-8, 12, 15.
November 2004	Buffalo Mountain Presbyterian Church, 16-20.
December 2004	Willis Rock Church, 2-4, 6, 8.
January 2005	"Doing Good for Others," 8.
February 2005	"Squirrel Creek," Part I, 8.
March 2005	"Squirrel Creek," Part II, 14.
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Names of Batte and Hallam Misspelled for Centuries

Southwest Virginia historians have been writing for many years about Thomas Batts and Robert Fallam, eastern Virginians who may have been the first white men to see New River in 1671, but they were wrong. That was the accepted spelling used by Robert D. Stoner, F. B. Kegley, Mary Kegley and many others.

The proper names of those early explorers were Thomas Batte and Robert Hallam, according to Sara Bearss, senior editor of the Dictionary of Virginia Biography, a publication of the Library of Virginia. In a talk at a History Forum in Winchester in April 2006, she explained the mistake: "The original journal of the pair's expedition apparently no longer survives. In 1688, John Clayton (ca. 1656-1727) presented a copy, in which the principals' surnames were misspelled, to the Royal Society in London; this led to their later misidentification in published accounts as Batts and Fallam.

"The Henrico County clerk imitated Batte's signature on May 9 and 16, 1692, in Henrico County Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1688-1697). His (Batte's) father and brother clearly spelled their surname as Batte, in Charles City County Order Book (1655-1665). Abraham Wood to John Richards, Aug. 22, 1674, Shaftesbury Papers, clearly refers to the two as Batt and Hallom."

The Early Presbyterians in the Roanoke Valley, 1749-1851

by John Hildebrand

Salem Presbyterian Church celebrated its 175th anniversary on June 11, 2006, an occasion for all Roanoke Valley Presbyterians to reflect on their heritage, a heritage extending back over 250 years. The Reverend John Craig, a latter-day Paul and the first settled ordained Presbyterian minister in Colonial Virginia, brought Christianity to southwestern Virginia and planted the seeds of Presbyterianism in the Roanoke Valley in 1749

The first settlers in the Valley of Virginia were primarily Presbyterians who had roots in Ulster, Northern Ireland. They were part of the large movement of the Scotch-Irish people from Pennsylvania into Virginia in the 1730s. As these Presbyterians moved into the valleys formed by the Shenandoah, Upper James, Roanoke, New and Holston rivers, the young Presbyterian Church in America was hard pressed to minister to its spiritual needs with properly trained and ordained ministers.

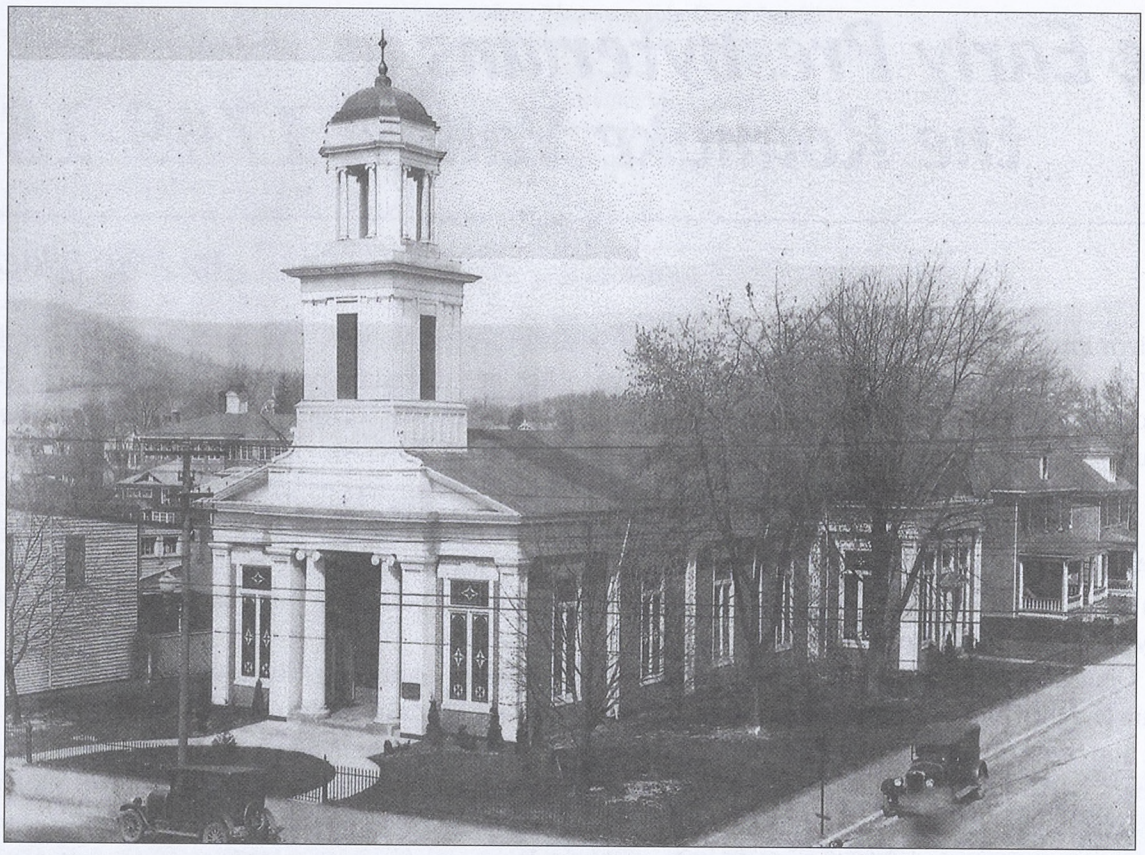
Donegal Presbytery, Lancaster Pennsylvania, in response to requests from the Presbyterians of North Mountain and the Borden Tract in present-day Rockbridge County, ordained John Craig on September 3, 1740, and ordered him to supply these two congregations "one Sabbath in two months and as many week days as he can." By December, 1740, John Craig had settled on Lewis Creek in Augusta County, ready to begin his wilderness ministry.

John Craig was born in County Antrim, Ireland, in 1709. He was educated at the University of Edinburgh and immigrated to America in 1734, settling in New Castle, Delaware. His best known pastorates were the Tinkling Spring Church at Fishersville, and the Augusta Stone Church, at Fort Defiance. He served Tinkling Spring until 1764 and Augusta Stone until his death in 1774. In addition to serving these two congregations as their regular pastor, John Craig found time to minister to Presbyterians over a much larger and sparsely populated area, extending from Massanutten Mountain in Rockingham County, south to the Great Lick on the Roanoke River and then west to the headwaters of the Holston River in Wythe County. His parish also extended to Windy Cove on the Cowpasture River in Allegheny County and to Buck Mountain on the headwaters of the south fork of the Rivanna River, east of the Blue Ridge. In addition to the demands of horseback travel over long distances, Craig was confronted with the dangers arising along the frontier from the French and Indian war. Within this larger area, John Craig visited many families and communities, baptizing their children and laying the foundation for at least 15 Presbyterian churches.

On one such visit, the Reverend Mr. Craig stopped at the Great Lick, now Roanoke City, and on March 7, 1749, he baptized John Mason, son of John Mason, Thomas McNeal, son of Neal McNeal, and Mary Tosh, daughter of Thomas Tosh. Craig's baptismal records mistakenly identified Mary Tosh's father as Tasker Tosh, Thomas's brother.

In 1762, Hanover Presbytery asked Craig to supply one Sabbath at RoaOak and one at Catawba, likely in response to requests for supply pastors from the Presbyterians in these two areas. In the spring of 1768, Hanover Presbytery again asked Craig to visit and minister to the Presbyterians in southwest Virginia. The Presbytery's request "ordered that supplies be appointed. Mr. Craig six Sabbaths at Craig's Creek and Reed Creek, & places interjacent; & that Mr. Craig's Congregation (Augusta Stone) may not thereby sustain too great a loss, the Presbytery appoint Messers. Black, Brown, and Cummings to supply it one Sabbath each."

John Hildebrand of Salem, a retired engineer and author of Iron Horses in the Valley, *also edited* A Mennonite Journal, *of his great-grandfather, Jacob R. Hildebrand of Augusta County.*



Salem Presbyterian Church, 1928 photo.

Craig's journey took him as far west as Reed Creek and the Holston River. At the Presbytery meeting at Tinkling Spring in the spring of 1769, Craig reported the organization of eight churches and the ordination of representatives for each. His account of the trip described the name, location, representatives and the number of families in each church. The Presbytery's Clerk was ordered to record Craig's report in the Presbytery Book

Today, there are three active Presbyterian congregations descended from the eight churches organized by Craig in 1768: New Dublin in Pulaski County, Sinking Spring, now the Fincastle Church, and New Antrim, now the Salem Church.

The lineage of the Presbyterian Churches in the Roanoke Valley can be traced back through the Salem Church to the New Antrim Church. The Church was named for Craig's home county in Ulster and served 43 Scotch-Irish families who had settled along the Roanoke River. It was the first church of any denomination in the area, and was located on the south side of the Salem Turnpike, immediately east of Peters Creek. The congregation's first representatives, or elders, ordained by Reverend Craig in 1768, were William Bryan, Andrew Boyd, Robert Page, Neal McNeal, and Thomas Tosh. In 1769, a 36-acre tract for the church was surveyed for William Bryan, William Bryan, Jr., William Cowen and David Gass; it was described as being "on the east side of a small run at the foot of a pine ridge." A further identification of the New Antrim tract is contained in the Botetourt County Surveyor's book, Volume 1A, where the legal description of a survey of John Neely's lands concludes: "containing 900 acres of land exclusive of the lot of land the said John Neely sold to the Presbyterian congregation on which Ebenezer Church stands." The survey is dated April 3, 1807

William Bryan was the leader of the New Antrim Congregation. He was born in Northern Ireland in 1685 or 1686. The date of his immigration to America is unknown, but he settled in Pennsylvania, where he married Margaret Watson. They moved to the Salem area in 1746, acquiring a farm in the area of present day Lake Spring and Salem High School. He is credited by many historians of giving present day-Salem its name. He died in 1786 and is buried in Salem's West Hill cemetery.

F. B. Kegley, in his book, *Kegley's Virginia Frontier,* identifies Bryan and his brother David as leaders in the "pioneer Presbyterian church on the Roanoke" and the "meeting place was at the site of the later Brick Church (Ebenezer) on the east side of Peters Creek on the old Salem-Lynchburg Road. The site is marked today by a small stone monument." Kegley's book also includes a map identifying the 36 acre tract as the "Presbyterian Meeting House Tract – 1767."

Another reference to the New Antrim Church is contained in Stoner's *A Seed-Bed of the Republic, Early Botetourt.* Page 361 reads, "Another church served by the Reverend Mr. Wallace … was the Peter's Creek Congregation of Presbyterians. This Church, in what is now Roanoke County, was located on Peter's Creek east of Salem and was served by Rev. Mr. Wallace in 1781." Stoner further reports that on April 8, 1781, William Bryan, Samuel Crawford and Thomas Poage, "Elders of the Peters Creek Congregation of Presbyterians … Do hereby certify (to the Court of Botetourt County) that the Rev. Caleb Wallace is a regular and orthodox Minister of our church and congregation, and as such we recommend him to be licensed to celebrate the Institution of Matrimony according to the rites of our church as directed in the late Act of Assembly declaring what shall be a lawful marriage."

Gravestone of the Rev. John Craig in the Augusta Stone Church Cemetery at Fort Defiance, north of Staunton. *(Photo by Nancy Sorrells)*

Unfortunately, the name New Antrim did not survive. Although the name was used by Reverend Craig in his account of his 1768 mission and was recorded in the Hanover "Presbytery Book", other references to the New Antrim congregation in the records of the Synod of Virginia, Hanover Presbytery and Lexington Presbytery are RoanOak or Peter's Creek until 1802, when the name Ebenezer is used by Lexington Presbytery to designate the "on the Roanoke-Peter's Creek congregation."

The first pastor of the Ebenezer Church was the Reverend Robert Logan, who ministered to the Fincastle Presbyterian Church at the same time. The Ebenezer congregation remained active until 1831, when it joined with the Catawba Union Church to form the Salem Church. In 1851, the pastor of the Salem Church, Reverend Urias Powers and 25 members of the congregation left to form the Big Lick congregation, from which the Presbyterian Churches of Roanoke city are descended.

Thus the descendant of that first Presbyterian congregation, known at different times as New Antrim, RoanOak, Peters Creek and Ebenezer, began the journey which would see the growth of the Presbyterian faith throughout the Roanoke Valley. From this early beginning, Roanoke Valley Presbyterians have been truly blessed. Paraphrasing the Psalmist, we "have a goodly heritage."

John Henry Pinkard and the African-American Banks of Roanoke

by Michael E. Blankenship

Over the years much has been written about Roanoke's legendary African-American herbal doctor, John Henry Pinkard. In my investigation into his life I have found that much of the "information" previously disseminated was a mixture of fact and fiction concocted by him, like one of his medicines, during his own lifetime. It is with pleasure that I present this previously unexplored aspect of Dr. Pinkard's career.

Historic preservation has always been a personal goal. I have been fortunate to locate many one-of-a-kind items of great historic value, and gladly donated them to museums [including the Roanoke Historical Society] and libraries across the country for their preservation and use by future generations.

It was with this mind-set that I entered the final home of Dr. Pinkard on Oct. 14, 1999. His old mansion on Franklin Road, near the southern city limits had housed White House Galleries, an art gallery and frame shop, for many years. On the night before Lowe's was to take over the building, George and Libby Ferguson, who owned White House Galleries, invited me and my family to come and take anything we wanted from the attic. The house was scheduled for demolition and anything left would go down with the house.

My parents love to go to flea markets and as they were scurrying about, taking old frames, framing materials and prints to their van, I was busy exploring for any evidence of Dr. Pinkard's time of residence. Since Pinkard died in 1934 I had little hope of finding anything of interest.

I had been in the attic several hours looking under and over piles of debris by the light of a single bulb, when I inserted my hand into a hollow "pocket" between the rafters around the edge of a dormer. I immediately felt paper and withdrew several business type journals. I didn't know what I had but I knew it might be important. There were perhaps 20 "pockets" around the window and each contained business journals, old city directories, hymnals and an array of items, which I discovered belonged to Dr. Pinkard.

In all, I found nearly 50 of Pinkard's business journals, including the minute book of the Afro-American Bank which he and other prominent members of the African-American community started on August 1, 1921. Virginia at that point already had a history of African-Americans establishing banks for their own communities. One of the first Black-owned banks in America, the Savings Bank of the Grand Fountain United Order of the

Michael E. Blankenship is an amateur historian employed by Rockydale Quarries Corporation. He lives in Southwest Roanoke County. This article will be in his forthcoming book, John Henry Pinkard, African-American Legend of the Roanoke Valley.

Above: Dr. John Henry Pinkard, circa 1925. *(Photo courtesy of Gainsboro Library)*

Reformers, started in Richmond in 1888.

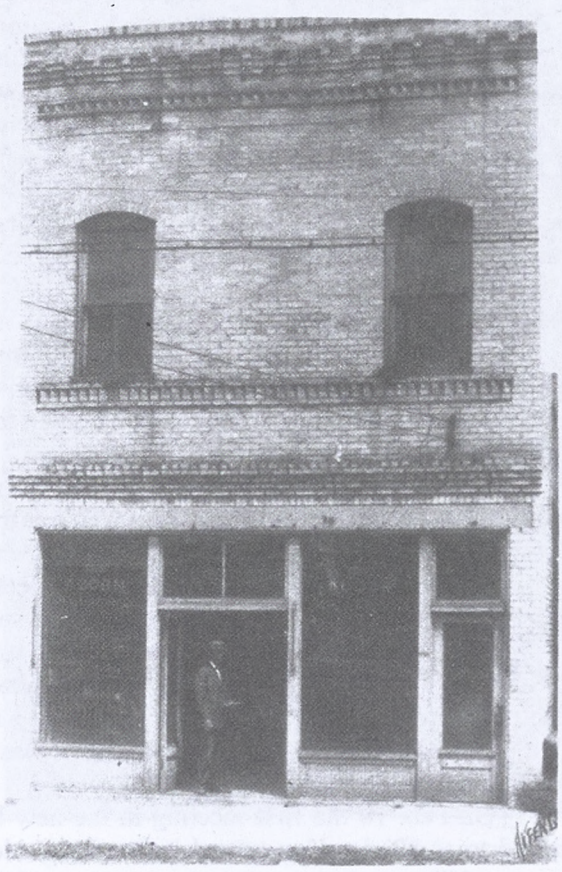
Without a doubt, Pinkard had also heard of Maggie Lena Walker who helped found the St. Luke Penny Bank in Richmond in 1903, earning her the recognition of being the first female bank president in the United States. In the words of Mrs. Walker, "What has the white man done for you that you should trust his bank?" I think Pinkard, like Walker, also saw a Black-supported bank as a confrontational response to segregation, as she so accurately stated, "The almighty dollar is the magic wand that knocks the bottom out of race prejudice."

In the year 1920, four Black-owned banks were operating in Richmond: Mechanics Savings Bank, Second Street Savings Bank, the Commercial Bank and Trust Company, as well as the St. Luke Penny Saving Bank. By 1921, Roanoke must have seemed ripe to have an African-American bank of its own. Such a venture would encourage, support and facilitate economic empowerment of the African- American community, which often experienced less than courteous treatment at white-owned establishments.

The beginning of the bank is recorded in Roanoke City Charter Book 13, pages 155 and 156, September 13, 1921, where the certificate of incorporation is detailed. The capital stock of the corporation was between $25,000 and $50,000, divided into shares of $100 each. The officers were listed as: Dr. J. H. Pinkard, president; Dr. W. R. Brown, vice president; Rev. J. H. Robinson, secretary/treasurer. Other directors of the bank were listed as: B. F. Sherard and J. H. Brooks.

The minute book of the Afro-American Bank, 44 handwritten pages in its entirety, is a fascinating part of Roanoke's African-American history, capturing the excitement, enthusiasm and pride of Roanoke area Blacks in creating a major institution owned and operated by themselves.

Many are surprised to see the word "Afro-American" used at such an early date, thinking the word was an invention of the 1960s and 1970s during the first wave of the Black Pride Movement. Actually, by 1921 the word had been in use for several decades, having come into common usage during the 1890s. By 1892 the nationally prominent Afro-American Newspaper had been founded in Baltimore, Maryland. In 1895 a book appeared, entitled *Afro-American Encyclopedia of the Thoughts, Doings and Sayings of a Race,* compiled and arranged by James T. Haley {Nashville, Tenn.: Haley & Florida, 1895} in which the Rev. J. C. Embry, D.D. of Philadelphia espoused the usage of the word, claiming it to be "euphonious, beautiful, true." He further states: "To Mrs. M. I. Lee, an honored foster-child of Wilberforce University, we owe the honor of introducing into our literature the only accurate, beautiful and classic title ever applied to our race." Dr. Pinkard also obviously liked the sound of the word and all it conveyed.



Acorn Small Loan Co., Pinkard's bank at 1019 Salem Ave. SW in Roanoke.
(Photo courtesy of Gainsboro Library. Photo by Aufenger)

The first meeting of the Afro-American Bank was on August 1, 1921 in Roanoke. The initial gathering was chaired by Rev. J. H. Robinson acting as president pro tem. After a brief talk, it was moved and passed by those present that a "prominent organization" be formed. John H. Pinkard was elected president, with G. E. Moore as vice president, and J. H. Robinson as secretary and treasurer. William Craft bought the first share of stock.

The second meeting was held at The Acorn, Dr. Pinkard's drug store, on August 8, 1921. The minutes indicate an earnest desire to create a bank and those present were urged to spread the news about the fledgling project.

At the third meeting, on August 26, 1921, G. E. Moore was replaced as vice president by Dr. W. R. Brown of Burrell Memorial Hospital. President Pinkard appointed a committee to assist in the selection of a board of directors. The organizational meetings continued on an almost weekly basis and each meeting included inspirational pep talks on the benefits and possibilities a bank would bring to the community.

The "promoters" for the new bank were Chalmer B. Smith and Frank E. Swope, both white men, from South Carolina, and both relative newcomers to Roanoke. At the October 14, 1921 meeting they received an advance for their forthcoming promotional work. It is odd that the board of directors would hire white men to represent a totally African-American project, surely there were persons in the black community who were equally capable. In hindsight they may have wished they had hired someone from their own community because in a minute book entry for May 23, 1923 the bank is shown paying expenses involved in a lawsuit Smith and Swope had filed against the bank.

Also at the October 14 meeting, a 25-member board of directors was appointed by Pinkard. When the newly appointed board began debating the location of a site for the bank, Pinkard brought the discussion to a halt by "stating to the Board of Directors that he would build them a building and equip it completely for a bank and furnish all necessary capital needed" which he would lease to the bank or sell to them at cost. Of course, "his generous offer was unanimously accepted by the Board of Directors." The projected date for the start of business for the bank was projected at January 1, 1922.

Mary A. Pinkard, Pinkard's wife, was the first woman to purchase a share of stock in the bank but by December 1921 shares had also been sold to Mrs. Mary Wade, Mrs. Carrie Woods, Mrs. Maggie Meade, Mrs. Gracie Fisher, Mrs. Delilah McGeorge and Mrs. P. W. Poindexter. At $100 per share this was quite an investment for women of the 1920s.

At the November 18 meeting the shareholders were "elated by the presence of Mr. Elwood of Altavista, Va., a successful white business man. He was presented to the body, and after relating several stories in a jovial way, he gave the Institution some timely and encouraging remarks. Mr. Elwood told us that friendship and business could never go together." He told the group to believe they could succeed. At the conclusion of this meeting, a group of 12 trustees was announced.

In early December, Pinkard stated an important aspect of the proposed bank: "The U. S. money is known not by a man's color, and so it will be with the Afro-American Bank in its dealing with the public."

At the last meeting of 1921, Dr. Pinkard announced that the bank's safe had arrived and was "in the building." Apparently the bank building had been erected between October 14 and December 30. Pinkard stated "the fixtures would be here by the time the bank had seasoned out."

The January 1, 1922 projected opening date for the bank came and passed without an opening in sight. At the first meeting of 1922, on January 6, a committee was appointed "to notify the stockholders to meet for a final election of directors and trustees." Apparently the new committee had some questions about the record-keeping of the organization because they reported "that it was necessary for the books of the Secretary be gone over, and see how much stock has been sold."

On Feb. 10 the first meeting in the new bank building was held. Andrew Jackson Oliver, many times referred to as "Pinkard's personal lawyer," presided at all the meetings for February 1922. Pinkard was absent because of illness. It was apparent that some of the stockholders were already growing impatient. The minutes state: "it was decided that we do not return any subscriber's portion of his money paid on stock, unless we first determine to abandon our purpose to establish a bank."

Weekly meetings were abandoned in March 1922, the next meeting was May 12, 1922. Little was accomplished at the meeting and another meeting was not held until August 18. Between the March and August meetings a stunning event occurred which surprised all those dealing with African-American banks in Virginia. The Mechanics Savings Bank in Richmond, which had opened its doors on January 1, 1902, was closed in July 1922 by the state bank examiners. Following were allegations of banking irregularities and accusations that executives at the bank had made large withdrawals just prior to the bank's closing. Only 40 percent of the depositors' money was returned. For many who worked hard for their dollars, receiving only 40 cents on each dollar they had saved was devastating. This closure deeply affected the confidence of all investors and depositors in African-American-owned banks in Virginia.

The news could not have come at a worse time for Pinkard and supporters of the Afro-American Bank. At the August 18 meeting, which was more than a year after the initial meeting to start the bank, lawyer A. J. Oliver was the chairman. "In his remarks he showed, that among other reasons why the bank was not opened was that a permanent organization had first to be made in selection of regular officers, the making of bylaws, etc. He also stated that when sufficient stock was sold, in accordance with the state laws, a notice was to be sent to all stockholders to attend the meeting for election of permanent officers." A September 1 meeting was suggested for the election of permanent officers and the adoption of bylaws of the Afro-American Bank.

A meeting was eventually held on Halloween night at 8 o'clock, but a majority of the stockholders was not

present so no business could be transacted. However, a Finance Committee was appointed to handle "all matters regarding the future relations of the Bank."

The last meeting for 1922 was held on November 20. The Finance Committee reported "progress in the auditing of the books" and authorized "a new issue of stock certificates".

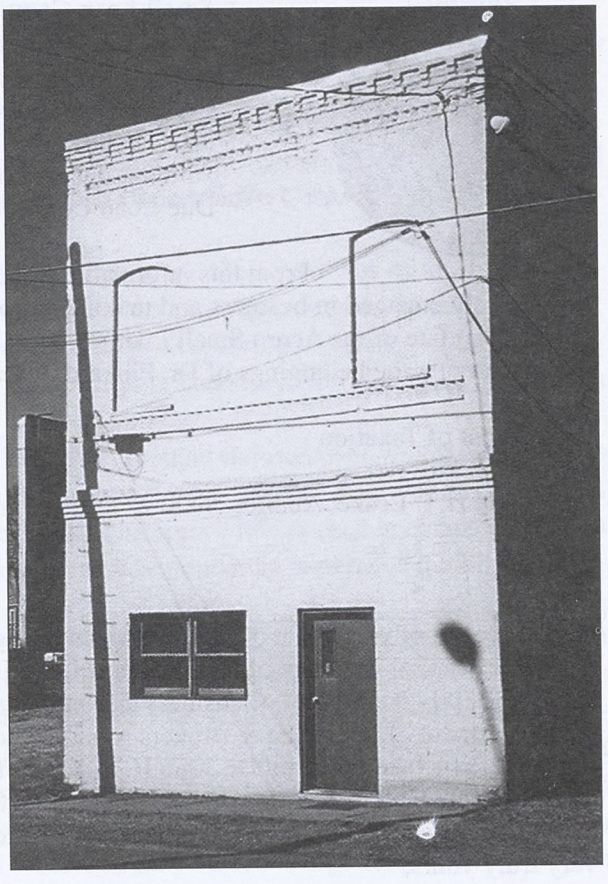
Two meetings were held in 1923, one on April 4 and the other May 23. The purpose of these meetings was to pay expenses incurred by the banking organization.

On March 4, 1924 a special meeting was called to discuss whether the bank proposition should be dissolved or carried forward. All those present were granted an opportunity to express their feeling and the minutes state "quite an inspiring talk was made by all of the members of the institution." A motion prevailed by a vote of 8 to 16 to continue in the attempt to open the bank. This was the final business meeting for the Afro-American Bank. The attempt to create a bank sadly failed.

Perhaps the group establishing the bank should have had more patience and learned from previous banking efforts. The famous African-American-owned St. Luke Penny Savings Bank of Richmond opened its doors on November 2, 1903 and its shares of capital stock were not completely sold until 1912. Yet that bank met great success in attracting customers and investors.

Less than a year after the quiet collapse of the Afro-American Bank, John Pinkard still had his sights set on founding a bank for Roanoke's Black community. A "Supplemental Certificate of Incorporation" was filed at the Roanoke City Courthouse on January 10, 1925 [Roanoke City Charter Book 15, page 8-10] to establish the Acorn Banking Company, Inc. The purpose of this venture, as described in the certificate, is slightly different than that set forth for the previous bank. This time there would be more involvement with "stocks, bonds and other securities," money lending and real estate loans. The stock was also lowered to $25 per share.

The names of the officers of the new corporation are listed as: J. H. Pinkard, president; W. W. Hicks, vice president; Chas. B. Mattox, secretary; M. A. [Mary A.] Pinkard, treasurer. C. Thompson is also listed as an additional director.



Neighbors Electric Co. occupies the former Acorn Small Loan Co. building today.
(Photo courtesy of Mack Neighbors)

Perhaps Roanoke's Black community had been soured on the idea of its own bank after the failure of the Afro-American because it appears that they were not supportive of the new Acorn Bank. In the Roanoke City Charter Book 15, pages 497-499, a Certificate for Amendment to the Charter, dated March 14, 1927, spells out the situation: "Whereas, upon consideration of the condition and operation of our corporation, we, the Board of Directors of Acorn Banking Co., Incorporated, consider it advisable to amend our present charter so as to discontinue the banking business as such, and instead thereof our corporation to be authorized to engage in the business of making small loans..." The name of the newly formed corporation changed to the Acorn Small Loan Co., Inc. and was still under the leadership of Pinkard. A listing of the new officers included: John H. Pinkard, president; A. J. Oliver, secretary-manager; and M. A. [Mary A.] Pinkard, treasurer. The new list of directors included: W. R. Simms, J. W. Hicks, and Geo. E. Harrington.

It is fortunate that one of the banking records is preserved in the Harrison Museum of African American History. The single page, dated May 11, 1929, is entitled NOTES WITH INTEREST DUE THEREON STILL IN NOTE FILE. The names of individuals and the amounts owed give a fascinating snapshot of the Acorn Small Loan Co. at that point in time:

There was also one note listed left over from the Acorn Bank:

P. R. Sawyer	39.74	.57	40.31
Grand Totals	$546.42	$108.21	$654.63

The complete financial picture of the bank was recorded at the bottom of the document:

NOTES IN COLLECTOR'S HANDS, JAN. 17, 1929		
Small Loan Company Notes	$1359.43	
Acorn Bank Notes	593.85	
Total	$1953.28	
Collected on above Notes	236.75	
To be collected	$1716.53	
Amount due on notes in hand	654.63	[See above]
Due Loan Co., from all sources	$2371.16	

From this information we can see that, at least for a time, the Acorn Small Loan Company was actively engaged in business and making a profit.

The fate of the Acorn Small Loan Co. was found in a letter dated November 1932 on a secretarial pad discovered among the belongings of Dr. Pinkard, it reads:

Department of Taxation
Richmond, Va
Honorable H.T. Leake, Auditor

Dear Sir:

I am in receipt of your letter of recent date enclosing blanks for Capital returns for the year 1931 showing the operations and capital holdings of Acorn Small Loan Incorporated. I beg to inform you that the above company no longer exist[s]. It went out of business during the year 1930, that being the last year for which it was licensed and the Department of Insurance & Brokers was duly notified of the disolution [sic] of the company. Its entire capital, stock, etc. was taken over by Dr. John H. Pinkard of Roanoke, Va. during the month of August & September 1930; from that date the business formerly conducted by the above company closed, therefore it has no capital on which to report. So I am returning to you the blank marked "no capital to report."
Very truly yours,
[Andrew J. Oliver]
Formerly Sect. & Manager
of above company dis[s]olved.

The new small loan company, as had the Acorn Bank, occupied a building erected by Pinkard at 1019 Salem Ave., SW, Roanoke. The building still stands on Salem Avenue and is now occupied by the Neighbors Electric Company. For many years the old bank building was occupied by Southwest Cleaners.

Sources

Much of the information on Maggie Lena Walker and the Richmond banks from: *A Right Worthy Grand Mission,* by Gertrude Woodruff Marlowe, 2003, Howard University Press, Washington, DC.]

Suggested further reading about the African-American banks of Virginia: *Race Man, the Rise and Fall of the "Fighting Editor,"* by Ann Field Alexander, 2002, University of Virginia Press, Charlottesville, Va.

Pictured: Promotional token, front and back, from Acorn Banking Co. dated 1925. *(Courtesy of Daniel Jones)*

Civilian Conservation Corps Restored the Jefferson National Forest to Health

by Loretta J. LeMay

Within or adjacent to the boundaries of the area designated as the Jefferson National Forest, beautiful well-wooded slopes, fish in the crystal clear streams, and deer in the forests abound. The barren, denuded slopes and silt-filled streams that existed prior to the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) years bore little resemblance to what we see today.

The efforts of predominantly urban young men restored the forests and the economies of local communities as East Coast urban inhabitants visit and share the enduring beauty and natural resources of our mountains. The Jefferson National Forest, an area bounded on the north and east by Rockbridge County, on the south by Washington County and on the west by Pine Mountain which is the Virginia boundary with Kentucky, provided a work place for the CCC.

The CCC, a welfare/relief program existing from 1933 to 1942, brought thousands of young men into the Jefferson National Forest to work on forestry projects. The majority of these boys, aged 17-28, lived in urban areas of the United States. About 150 to 200 men worked on land reclamation projects while housed in camps located on private and federal lands. This article briefly explores some social and environmental aspects of the implementation of the CCC Program within the Jefferson National Forest.

The CCC is accepted as the most successful, most popular, and earliest implemented of Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal programs (Cavalho 1977, Salmond 1967). In fact, as early as his acceptance speech for his nomination as a presidential candidate, Roosevelt alluded to his plans for a program which would be of a conservation nature and would employ a million men (Salmond 1967). The labor market in the grips of the Great Depression had very few jobs to offer to anyone, especially the unskilled youth of the nation when family men had a greater need for jobs. Salmond states that: "… of those between the ages of fifteen and twenty-four who were in the labor market, perhaps one in four were totally unemployed. A further 20 percent worked part-time only … The government could no longer afford to ignore their plight." (1977:3)

Upon assuming office, Roosevelt moved quickly to implement a plan which would combat youthful unemployment. In an address to Congress on March 21, 1933, Roosevelt recommended civilian employment on national forests. Youth employment programs appealed to Roosevelt for a number of reasons. It has been estimated that 250,000 youths, aged 18 – 25, were riding the rails, looking for work during the Depression Years (Salmond 1967). As the newly elected President of the United States, Roosevelt felt pressure to find meaningful work for the unemployed youth which would not be competitive with the older segments of the labor force.

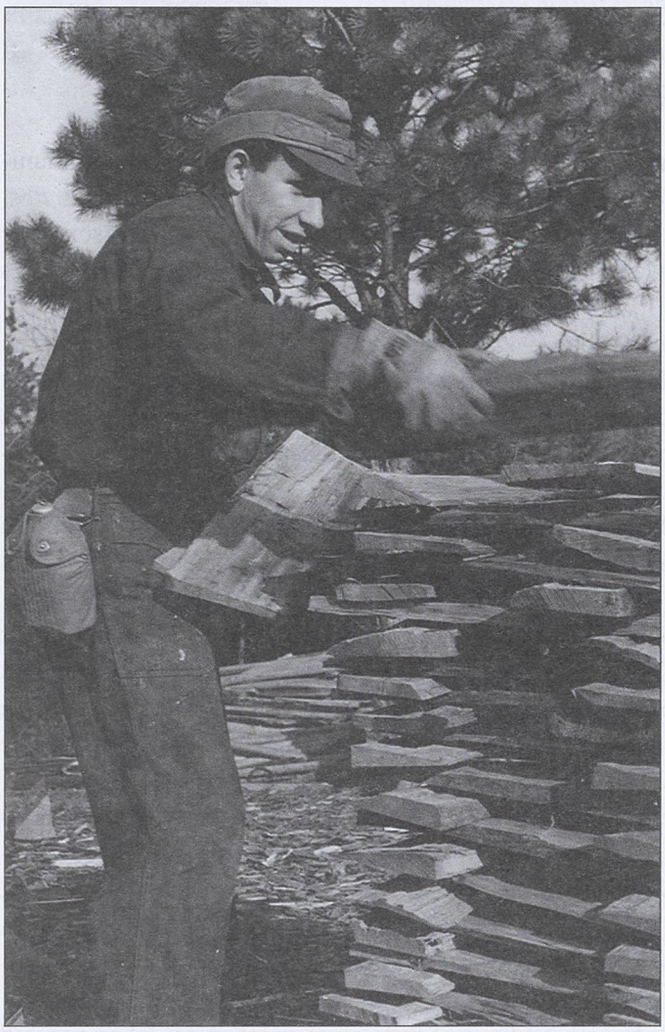
Several factors: wage control, work on public lands only, and use of little or no mechanical labor ensured non-competitiveness with the older labor force. During the Congressional hearings authorizing the CCC, a snag was narrowly averted. The Secretary of Labor, Frances Perkins, through her testimony defused criticisms that the low wage of $30 per month would have a negative impact on the general wage level. Miss Perkins stated that the bill, a relief measure, could not be thought of as "providing real wage-producing employment." She convinced Congress that such a low wage would not be exploitative since the men would be "provided with food, housing,

Loretta "Lori" LeMay, a geography professor at Radford University, has interviewed CCC veterans in preparation for a book about their work in the Jefferson National Forest before World War II. A Vermont native, she holds master's and doctoral degrees from Indiana University. She has taught at Indiana, New River Community College and Radford. She talked about the CCC at a Nov. 17, 2004, meeting of the History Museum and Historical Society.

and work clothes as well" (Salmond 1967:16). The control of wages, well below the current labor market, was primary to passage of legislation.

Second was the confinement of projects to work on public lands or on soil reclamation projects on farm land. Roosevelt felt that the practices of non-mechanized labor would provide more work for more individuals (Salmond 1967). Our fledgling national forests provided employment opportunities. The bill passed easily with strong bipartisan leadership. On March 29th Congress sent a bill to Roosevelt authorizing the Emergency Conservation Work Bill (E.C.W.), allowing him to formulate the framework for the Civilian Conservation Corps.

Roosevelt quickly assembled an advisory council of representatives of the Departments of Labor, Interior, Agriculture and War (Salmond 1967, Cavalho 1977). He appointed Robert Fechner as director of E.C.W. Fechner formulated guidelines for the "establishment and operation of the CCC camps" (Cavalho 1977:3). Participation by the Department of Labor was important. The Departments of Interior and Agriculture assumed responsibility for the supervision of the enrollees during work projects. The War Department, through the Army, oversaw the welfare of the enrollees from induction through and including their camp life when not working.



A Civilian Conservation Corps worker stacks planks. *(CCC photos by superintendent of Jefferson National Forest; courtesy of Nancy Wooldridge)*

Roosevelt retained a strong interest in the program and insisted that he personally check on the location and scope of each of the camps. On April 5th Roosevelt issued Executive Order No. 6101 which set forth the structure of the E.C.W., more popularly known as the Civilian Conservation Corps (Cavalho 1977). Dissemination of information about the new program occurred rapidly. The *Rockbridge County News* of Lexington, Virginia carried a story on April 6th, reporting proposed locations of camps within western Virginia (Volume 49, 1933).

With one exception, the guidelines and structure of the program remained unchanged until the termination of the program in 1942. In the program's final workable form, the Army retained responsibility for and authority over the enrollees except for actual working hours instead of just until the enrollees arrived in camp. (Salmond 1967). Two other parameters of the program varied. Age of the enrollees fluctuated but remained in the 17-28 year-range, with a few special exceptions. Secondly, the duration of enrollment varied from six months to two years.

The Army, as representatives of the War Department, had the responsibility of all physical care of the enrollees. The Department of Labor delegated the selection of the enrollees to state agencies. The Forest Service, National Park Service, or Soil Erosion Service within the Departments of Agriculture and the Interior, selected and supervised work projects. No lack of projects existed.

The National Forests of the eastern United States were the result of governmental purchase of abandoned lands. Millions of acres of land in the southern United States were considered worthless by owners and tax assessors (Clark 1984). The Weeks Act authorized the purchase "of private lands … cut over, burned over, and farmed

out … mostly east of the Great Plains" (Bergoffen 1976:25).

Before the end of the 1800s, the forests of the eastern United States had nearly ceased to exist. Forest had once covered 800,000,000 acres of the nation, but by 1933 over 87 percent of the virgin timber had been removed, leaving only 100,000,000 acres (Salmond 1967). Although left standing longer, the forests of Appalachia did not escape decimation.

At the turn of the century, the eastern United States with the exceptions of Virginia and Texas, had been almost completely cleared of forest lands (Clark 1984). As the forest reserves of the eastern United States were depleted, the timber industry constructed narrow gauge railroads, using them to gain access to a largely untouched treasure trove of virgin mountain forests. Timber interests brought in whole towns of immigrant workers, set up sawmills and denuded the mountains of timber (Eller 1979). Quotes from the first forest ranger on the Clinch District, C.B. Clark, illustrate the attitudes of the timber interests:

> "A policy of cut out, burn out, and move out had been followed in the past" and "No one believed in growing another crop of timber, it would take too long. No one now living, would live long enough to harvest a crop (timber)." Areas supporting marketable [sic] stands were depleted or fast becoming so, before the onslaught of the timber scrounger of that day (1965:8).

After the mountains had been clear cut, farmers tried to take advantage of the newly cleared land, plowing mountain slopes. Poor, thin soils dominated as would be expected of land which had previously been forested with hardwoods. Extreme slopes led to erosion after the forest had been removed and the land plowed. A common agricultural practice to clear land for grazing included burning the mountains to remove shrubs and sedge grass. Removal of the ground cover continued and accelerated the erosion processes.

Over 2 million acres of land in Virginia were labeled as either waste land or idle or fallow crop land. In addition to the unproductive land, fires in 1932 cleared nearly a million acres of forest. (Cavalho (1977). Ranger Van Alstine, the first Forest Service employee on the New Castle District, wrote a particularly vivid description of the area:

> In 1935 there were fewer than a dozen deer in Craig County. There were some turkey and bear. The Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Company had one toll circuit from Salem to New Castle. Otherwise, it was the land of haywire telephone systems. The Appalachian Electric Power Company had a power line between Salem and New Castle. Only New Castle and E.M. Abbott had electricity. Route 311 was the only hard surfaced road, all the others were of dirt with frequent fords at creek crossings. With the exception of Sinking Creek and Meadow Creek Valleys most of the woodlands had been recently burned and were covered with dead trees and new brush growth. Each spring every sprig of sedge grass was burned. I have seen Meadow Creek and Sinking Creek black all the way to New River. The bottom lands flooded every time there was a heavy rain (Van Alstine 1962).

Van Alstine's words vividly paint a picture of conditions in Craig County. Timbering bared steep mountain slopes. Secondary growth had been prevented by the annual burning practices leading to a loss of game and accelerated erosion. Larger game had been effectively eradicated with the loss of habitats. Much of the differences between Ranger Van Alstine's description and present-day conditions may be attributed to the work of the CCC enrollees under the direction of Forest Service employees.

The amount and results of labor of the CCC boys is difficult to calculate. Very little primary information exists concerning the activities of the CCC at a local level. At the Barbour's Creek CCC Reunion in September of 1988, several of the informants mentioned that when the Captain's cabin had been sold in the 1960s, many of the paper records, still in existence, had been destroyed. Outside of the National Archives, very few records of local work projects have survived. There are no records of the social impact other than a few letters sent to Robert

A worker uses a drawknife to smooth and taper a plank.

Fechner, director of the CCC Program. The only method of collecting the information about the effect on the people who worked in the CCC Program is through interviewing personally involved individuals.

It must be admitted that the ages of the respondents and the length of time which has elapsed since the existence of the CCC Program may have affected the memories of the informants. Charley Robertson (1988) clearly indicated his awareness of this when he said "After all this time our 'recollectors' don't work as good as they used to." An additional problem with this type of methodology is the fact that only data from individuals able to be located is included. The data base is limited because only a few of the individual members of the CCC settled and remained in the areas of their respective CCC camps. Serendipitous tips have led to successful detective work resulting in the location of individuals other than those living in proximity to the old camp sites.

Attendance at the Barbour's Creek Reunion allowed contact with many individuals who otherwise could not have been located. This group has been meeting annually for the past five years, demonstrating their interest and sense of identification with events that occurred 50 years ago. All of the informants interviewed during this research had vivid memories of their CCC days. Obviously much information has been omitted. But some memories which may have been colored by time are better than no memories at all.

Records about the organizational aspects of the camps do exist. State and local agencies selected participants in the CCC. The guidelines for selection follow:

> As a single man, not less than 18 nor more than 25, whose family or relatives are dependent or potentially dependent, at a pay of $1.00 per day, by application or through the above mentioned agency (one designated by the commissioner of public welfare) in your county or city.
> As a person living in the vicinity of one of the camps, whose family is dependent or potentially so, as a seasoned laborer or experienced woodsman, or forestry service man, at a pay of $1.00 a day, through the National Forest, National Park or Virginia State Forest Service (National Archives and Records RG-35, Entry 100.)

The selection criteria ensured the welfare aspects of the CCC program by effectively blocking the employment of any youth who did not have dependents, with the exception of veterans and local enrolled men (LEM). The provision remitting all except $8.00 per month gave relief to the families of the enrollees. None of the informants except Bill Campbell (1988) remembered that the sum to be sent home was $22.00. They all stated unequivocally that they had sent $25.00, keeping only $5.00 for themselves. Bill explained that in the early years of the program, the monthly remittance to families was $25.00 per month. This sum changed later to $22.00. Several of those interviewed, however, did state that if you needed more money, some of it had a way of returning to camp

(Thomas 1988, Martin and Baker 1988, Livesey and Bailey 1988.)

On the local level, someone knowledgeable about the local community and appointed by the commissioner of public welfare chose enrollees. Personnel were selected by someone who knew the individuals or their families. Martin (1988) remembers that a visiting nurse informed him about the program. Not all selections of enrollees were unbiased, however. Robertson (1988) recalled that the local storekeeper who was "something of a politician" determined those who were accepted for enrollment. He stated that he believed that he was accepted for enrollment because of a close friendship with the storekeeper's son. Cavalho believes that "the opportunity for abuse by local patronage dispensers did exist" (1977:72.) The selection officers may also have been influenced by others. Captain Arnold, commanding officer of the Speedwell camp, stated in a report to Third Corps Army Headquarters that three "undesirables" had been rejected for enrollment due to his influence with the local welfare officer (National Archives and Records, RG 95). It is logical to assume that the process of influence might work in a reversed pattern.

The networking which exists among kin in Appalachia can be seen to exist within the CCC Program. Moody's (1988) father got him a job at Big Island. Vester Stamper was a project superintendent on the Jefferson and his brother Paul was a foreman, first for Vester, and later at the Barbour's Creek Camp (Stamper 1988). Aubrey Coleman's (1988) uncle, a blacksmith at Arnold's Valley, arranged employment for Aubrey and four of his cousins at F-13 (Coleman 1988).

Five classifications of enrollees existed:

Juniors: The Department of Labor selects as juniors, young, unmarried men between the ages of 17 and 28, [The inclusive ages varied with the lower limit in the beginning of the program set at 18 and the upper limit at 25.] and requires them to make an allotment of not less than $22.00 a month to dependents.

Cooks and Mess Stewards: Upon request of the corps area commander, the field agents of the Department of Labor select and certify a maximum of four men per company possessing suitable qualifications as cooks, and waive requirements pertaining to juniors as to age, marital status and allotment.

Local Experienced Men: Men experienced in work in the woods may be selected free from restriction as to age, marital status or willingness to allot part of their pay, but they may not be employed outside the state in which they are resident.

Veterans: These groups are selected by the Veteran's Administration, and they are composed of individuals who have served the United States in certain wars. They are chosen without regard to age and marital status, but are required to allot three-fourths of their pay to dependents, providing they have dependents.

Others: From time to time the Director of Emergency Conservation Work authorized the enrollment of small groups, such as forestry students and artists. (Harby 1938:37).

Two of these categories, veterans and LEMs, are of particular interest when considering the impact of the CCC within the Jefferson National Forest.

World War I veterans originally staffed the Arnold's Valley camp. A great number of unemployed veterans from World War I were agitated for governmental programs for economic assistance. Veterans known as Bonus Marchers marched on Washington in May 1933. The CCC was uppermost in Roosevelt's mind at the time of the march leading to the inclusion of the veterans as forest workers under the CCC program. Two thousand of the 3,000 "Bonus Marchers" enrolled in the CCC program (Cavalho 1977).

In the opinion of J.N. Jefferson (1988), project superintendent in charge of the construction of the Cave Mountain Lake Recreation area, the veterans were most valuable because of their age and previous experience. Although Jefferson did not denigrate the efforts of the younger enrollees, he stated that after the veterans were replaced by young boys from Pennsylvania, the work did not proceed as rapidly.

The second category which was of utmost importance, considering the rural nature and lack of job opportunities in the location of most of the camps, was local enrolled men (LEMs). A fear of rejection or negative response by local individuals was taken into consideration when the provision for employment of LEMs was included. A letter to President Roosevelt from the members of the Advisory Council, including Fechner, stated: "It is clearly impossible to import into forest regions non-residents even from within the same state, and have peace

there unless local unemployed laborers, accustomed to making their living in the woods in that very place are given fair consideration as concerns their own means of livelihood." (Salmond 1967:35)

The employment of a few local people did not sufficiently pacify all of the local citizens. Resentment of the importation of outsiders existed. Some of the local people found it difficult to understand why outsiders were being given jobs when their young people were unemployed (Campbell 1988).

Virginia's quota for enrollment for the First Enrollment Period numbered 5,000 young men; 4,300 of these men were selected on the basis of population density. A letter from Arthur W. James, commissioner of public welfare and chairman, State Emergency Relief Committee, set forth the guidelines for the selection of the LEMs.

> The remainder of the men, 700 in number, are to be selected in the vicinity of the camps by the National Forestry, National Parks and State Forestry authorities.
> ... The 700 men are not limited as to age or marital status, but they must be selected in the vicinity of the camps and will receive the same pay, viz., $1.00 a day. These 700 are being selected in this manner in order to get sufficient laborers experienced in lumber and forestry work, and to take care of unemployment in the immediate vicinity of the camp for obvious reasons (National Archives and Records, RG-35, Entry 300).

The employment of the LEMs also gave the project superintendents a few experienced laborers who were either familiar with the area and/or possessed a needed skill for the work projects. Jefferson (1988) recalled that stone masons were highly valued. Bailey and Livesey (1988) mentioned that a stone mason at Barbour's Creek had worked on a stone church in Roanoke. Because of his expertise, this man was a crew leader.

Jefferson (1988) also discussed the 'log-hewer' at Camp F-13, Arnold's Valley, Rockbridge County. The man was particularly valued as he was able to supply the hewn and shaped logs for the rustic 'look' that was wanted. The value of skilled workers is easy to understand and is attested to by the fact that they were allowed some latitude in behavior. The log hewer got drunk each weekend and sometimes wasn't "much good for work." However, he was allowed to continue in his position. His value to the camp as well as his pride in his work is further illustrated by the fact that he did not turn in his tools at the end of the work day as was customary. He retained possession of his axe and kept it under his bed (Jefferson 1988).

The majority of the enrollees had few skills, if any, suitable to the work they needed to do. Bill Campbell worked with one crew one day, the other the next. He said that he might as well have had only one crew as the crew that he wasn't with always managed to get lost. As crew leaders, the LEMs educated the urban enrollees in forest lore. Another job performed by LEMs was fire tower watch. Because of their familiarity with the local area, they were better suited to locate and direct responses to fires.

Urban enrollees arrived in camp with no forest lore. The arrival on the Jefferson by the first Barbour's Creek enrollees, primarily from urban Virginia, certainly surprised them. The enrollees had been told that they were going to Utah and were transported by train at night with the shades drawn. Imagine their surprise when they arrived in Craig County in mid-afternoon. From the impressions which are still vividly remembered, surprise may be too mild a word.

The reactions of the original Barbour's Creek enrollees may have been mild compared to the Black company from the Norfolk and Portsmouth area who found themselves in Speedwell in July 1937. Bill Campbell (1988), a timber cruise foreman for the Forest Service working crews out of Speedwell during this period, stated that these enrollees had never been in the woods. "They figured there was a lion behind every tree." The company arrived in camp late at night. One of the enrollees who got up early, explored the camp area, found a dog, and shoved it in the door of one of the barracks yelling, "LION! LION! He said those guys just went out every window and door" (Campbell 1988).

The lack of forest experience notwithstanding, the enrollees restored the forest to health. The projects approved for the CCC had a two-fold purpose, a reconditioning of the environment through reforestation and erosion control as well as economic relief through removal of a large segment of the population from the public labor

force. The Emergency Conservation Work Act (1933) specified that the Corps would be active

> … in the construction, maintenance and carrying out works of a public nature in connection with the reforestation of lands belonging to the United States or the several states which are suitable for timber production, the prevention of forest fires, floods and soil erosion, plant pests and disease control, the construction, maintenance or repair of paths, trails, and fire lanes in the national parks and national forests (ECW Act 1933).

When questioned about selection of work projects, Vester Stamper (1988) and J.N. Jefferson (1988), both work project superintendents, stated that they knew what had to be done and selected projects. The following broad directive was issued July 1,1933 from the chief engineer to all regional foresters but decisions as to actual work performed were made at the local level.

> Character of work done will be restricted to that which will satisfy the forest needs for administration, protection, and utilization of the land and resources.
> Any road on the Forest Road and Trail system will qualify as necessary to the forest.
> High standard road construction is not approved. Work done will be of the truck-trail type. (National Archives and Records, RG-25, Circular E-1119)

Local project superintendents, the state forester, and the regional forester selected work projects in Virginia. Jefferson (1988) obviously remembers with pride the road built in Sunset Field area on top of Apple Orchard Mountain: "It was constructed primarily with picks and shovels. We only had one old Forest Service bulldozer. I laid it out (surveyed and marked) just in front of the builders. It's still there and hasn't been moved."

Although widened and improved, the road remains in the same location as originally constructed. And later in the program after some mechanized equipment had been sent to the camps: "I located the road just before the tractors got there. Still the location is still there." (Jefferson 1988)

Another example of the ingenuity demonstrated by project superintendents with particular emphasis on the 'plan as you go' aspects of the job concerned the construction of a pump house at Cave Mountain Lake.

> So we got together and decided to build a pump house. We finally got it built out of stone. I saw it every day, of course, and we discussed features of it. In due time we got a letter from the chief's office [director of the Forest Service] and they wanted the design plans. I had to tell them that we designed it step by step, possibly on the back of an envelope. We had a lot of leeway at that time. Now you have to get everything approved before [construction]. (Jefferson 1988)

After the completion, Jefferson drew a design plan and sent it to the chief's office.

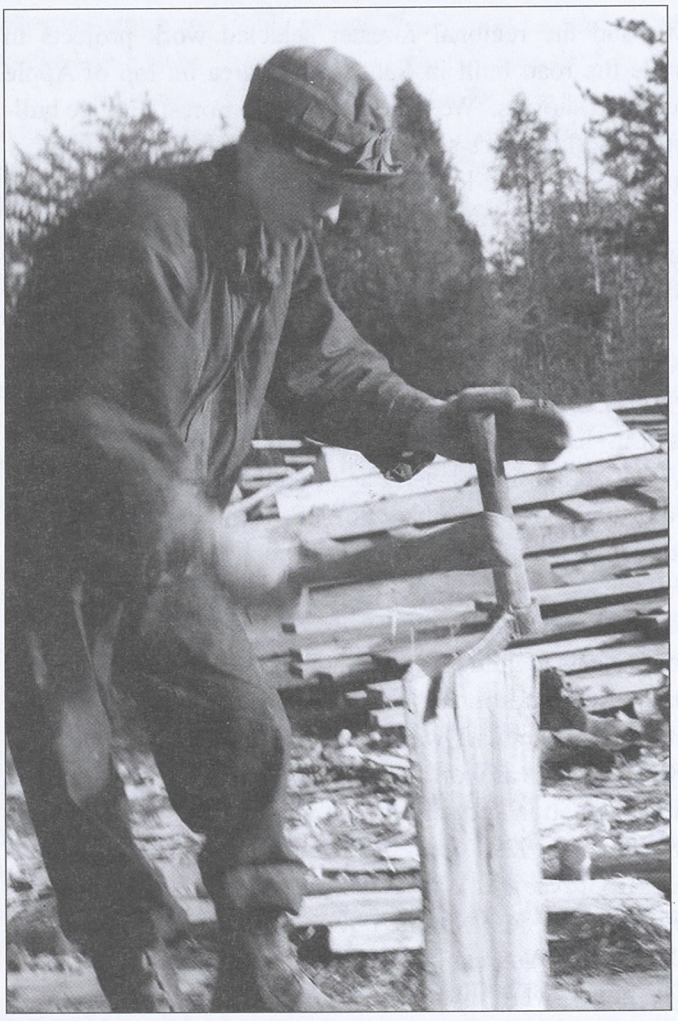
The special investigator checked on compliance of projects to guidelines. Although F-26, Norton, received top rating for camps in the district, Jefferson recalled that he was questioned for using enrollee labor to beautify the camp. Jefferson (1988) defended himself, saying that much of the work was done 'after hours and weekends.'

Vester Stamper (1988) summed up his philosophy of his years as work project superintendent, saying "You had to have a lot of good luck and you had to have a little imagination and sense to go with it." Vester had only a sixth grade education, but had worked for the Forest Service since 1929. He remained a superintendent throughout the program, directing work projects at Damascus, Sugar Grove, and Wytheville. Although the job kept him "working 24 hours a day, there wasn't any project I couldn't try to do." No one ran out of projects. If projects were finished or a sudden influx of enrollees occurred, he stated: "You can always rebuild roads." His personal expertise and knowledge of the area gained from being a native were invaluable. Periodically, Vester went to Roanoke with other work superintendents where they met with the Forest Service superintendent to decide on work projects. Vester said, "I suggested more (for my area) than anyone, 'cuz, I was there."

Many of the immediate effects of the CCC program cannot be separated from the effects of the formation of the Jefferson National Forest as both occurred within the same time period. M.W. Wilson, undersecretary of the Department of Agriculture, devoted much of his address at the dedication of the Jefferson National Forest on July 1, 1937, to the results of the CCC program (Wilson 1937). Of the original 13 camps allocated to Virginia during the first enrollment period, seven camps were located and performed work projects on land which later became the Jefferson National Forest (Otis et al. 1986). In the early years of the program the forest which later came to be known as the Jefferson comprised parts of the George Washington, the Unaka, the Shenandoah, and the Mountain Lake Purchase.

New land purchases as well as parts or all of the previously mentioned National Forests formed the Jefferson. In some instances, the purchase agents bought land just ahead of the CCC camps. George Nietzold (1988), a surveyor who worked with the purchase agents in Wise County in the Norton area, recalls that his crew worked just in advance of the boys of the CCC, surveying purchase units just before the CCC began working on the areas. In fact, the budgets of the E.C.W funded much of the land purchases for the Jefferson. Nearly eight million acres of land purchased for National Forest reserves used CCC funds (Steen 1976).

In two locations, near the towns of Pembroke and New Castle, the CCC began work projects on private lands and before the land purchases for the Jefferson National Forest were completed. When the purchase agreements were finalized, both of these camps became Forest camps. The other five original camps were located on the Unaka National Forest and the George Washington National Forest on land which later was to be assigned to the Jefferson (Otis et al. 1986).



With a wooden mallet and a froe, a CCC worker splits a block of wood.

The *Rockbridge County News* (May 1, 1937) reported the creation of the new National Forest:

> The new forest includes parts of 20 counties. It is generally mountainous area of forest land, much of which has been cut over. Under protection from fire and under management for sustained yield, the forest service said it could continue to grow the required supplies of forest products for important local industries and farm uses. It was said also to have value in protection of watersheds and for recreation.

During the CCC years, the number of camps on the Jefferson ranged from two to eight with the average number remaining fairly constant at around five or six. In general, the number of camps on the Jefferson remained more constant and subject to less fluctuation than the total number of Virginia camps. Also interesting to note is the fact that two of the remaining three camps at the termination of the program in Virginia were situated on the Jefferson.

Bill Broadwine, ranger of the New Castle District, commented that some of the land acquired for the Jefferson was land that no one wanted. The price paid for some of the land, less than a dollar an acre, seems to support this hypothesis (Austin 1988). The purchase of land which no one wanted allowed the employment of many young men who could not find

employment elsewhere.

On the Jefferson National Forest, the E.C.W. seems to have accomplished the primary goals envisioned by President Roosevelt: the employment of unemployed youth of America and the rejuvenation of the nation's forests without major disruption of local traditions and values. The work projects accomplished reclamation of the forest lands in a manner that encouraged natural succession of the native plant species through replanting and control to the natural enemies of forests: disease, forest fires, and humans. The chestnut trees that died as the result of disease were removed from the forests and used as telephone poles, firewood, and as a source of tannic acid. Eradication of gypsy moth and blister rust were other disease control programs. The bark of undesirable species, black gum and hickory, was girdled to allow the growth of marketable timber. A deer restocking program occurred at Barbour's Creek (Campbell 1988).

Many of the work projects were aimed at preventing forest fires and controlling the amount of forest burned when fires occurred. The construction of communication networks through roads and bridges, fire breaks, lookout towers and telephone lines allowed a quick response to fires.

The local populace gained direct economic benefits from the sale of food and other commodities as well as the employment of LEMs and indirect benefits from the forest reclamation projects, especially road building and telephone lines. Roads and bridges provided immediate benefit to the local population living within and around the National Forest.

A small part of the work done by the enrollees especially appreciated by the people who lived in the vicinity of forestry camps is the construction, maintenance and improvement of roads. This service primarily to facilitate fire fighting and forest protection worked to the benefit of farmers who find the CCC constructed roads a boon (Gibson 1941). Another positive impact of the presence of the CCC on the Jefferson included the construction of telephone lines which linked fire warden homes to the district office providing convenience for the local people (Smith 1988).

Although roads and telephones improved the quality of life of the local people who lived near the camps, probably the most important benefit was economic. The money spent for the support of the enrollees and the employment of LEMs contributed to the local economy. The enrollees spent their monthly allowance in the local economy buying personal items.

On a national level, the benefits of the program were first and foremost the restoration of public forests. Perhaps of equal importance was the conservation education that all enrollees received. Through work projects and lectures, enrollees were educated in conservation practices. The benefits of training 200,000 young men every 12 to 15 months in conservation practices were realized by Swing in 1935. "In ten years a million young men would be educated conservationists" (Swing 1935). The impact of an increased awareness of man's relationship to his environment is impossible to quantify. However, it is probably safe to say that the lands, forests, streams and wildlife benefited from conservation practices which were basic to the CCC program.

Cavalho (1977) states:

> From the 1880s to 1933, fifty-three years of wasteful timber harvests did more to injure the Southern economy than 'Grant, Sherman, and all the carpetbaggers put together.' During the Depression, the Civilian Conservation Corps exhibited the possibility and value of reforestation. Given the example of the CCC program, Virginia lumberman [sic] and paper companies began to follow State Forester F.C. Pederson's advice concerning the desirability of reforestation and erosion control which provided long-term planned lumbering, continued high yield, soil erosion control, revitalization of 'fallow' land and the preservation of wildlife habitat (Cavalho 1977:910).

Often with hindsight, we determine that something that seems like a great idea at the time, doesn't age well. Such sentiments certainly do not apply to the Civilian Conservation Corps program. Those of us who live near the former Jefferson National Forest benefit each day from the work of those untrained urban youth that Roosevelt employed to salvage our nation's forests.

The CCC program existed from 1933 to 1942 and the informants interviewed ranged in age from their 60s to 90s. Although the original design of this project was concerned only with the impact of one CCC camp, it was quickly realized that the age of the informants made it necessary to expand the scope to include all of the Jefferson National Forest area. The only repository of this type of information was rapidly being lost due to the increased age and deaths of possible informants.

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A History of Victory Stadium

by Judge Jack B. Coulter

A history of Victory Stadium, located for more than 60 years along Roanoke River near the foot of Mill Mountain, begins with the early use of its site by two railroads, starting a century ago. However, with the demolition of the stadium, that history ends this year.

Years of controversy over the issue of whether to demolish the stadium ended when a legal challenge to demolition was dropped after Norfolk Southern Railway released the City of Roanoke from a condition filed in court 65 years ago and renewed in 1975. The railway had said that it would be willing to release a deed covenant on the property at the right time, according to Roanoke City attorney Bill Hackworth, and this has now been done.

W.J. Jenks, president of the Norfolk & Western Railway (predecessor to Norfolk Southern), wrote a letter on September 25, 1940, offering to give Maher Field to the City of Roanoke on the condition that the City "carry forward a well-rounded and carefully-planned development" and that the land should revert to the railroad if it was not used "for stadium, armory, park and recreational purposes." That was to be the site of Victory Stadium.

Maher Field, containing 30.15 acres along present Reserve Avenue, was purchased by the Virginia Holding Company, a subsidiary of the Norfolk & Western, on October 20, 1923 for $150,000. It was named Maher Field in honor of Nicholas D. Maher, N&W's president from 1917 to 1927.

The gift was subject to a $315,000 bond issue which passed by an appreciable margin of 3,661 to 958 on November 5, 1940, according to the *Roanoke World-News* of Nov. 5, 1940. The N&W, in a deed of gift executed March 15, 1941 (recorded in Deed Book 664, Page 54 of the City Clerk's Office), expressly stated the condition:

> TO HAVE AND TO HOLD unto the City, upon the condition that said tract of land shall be used for stadium, armory, park and recreational purposes only.

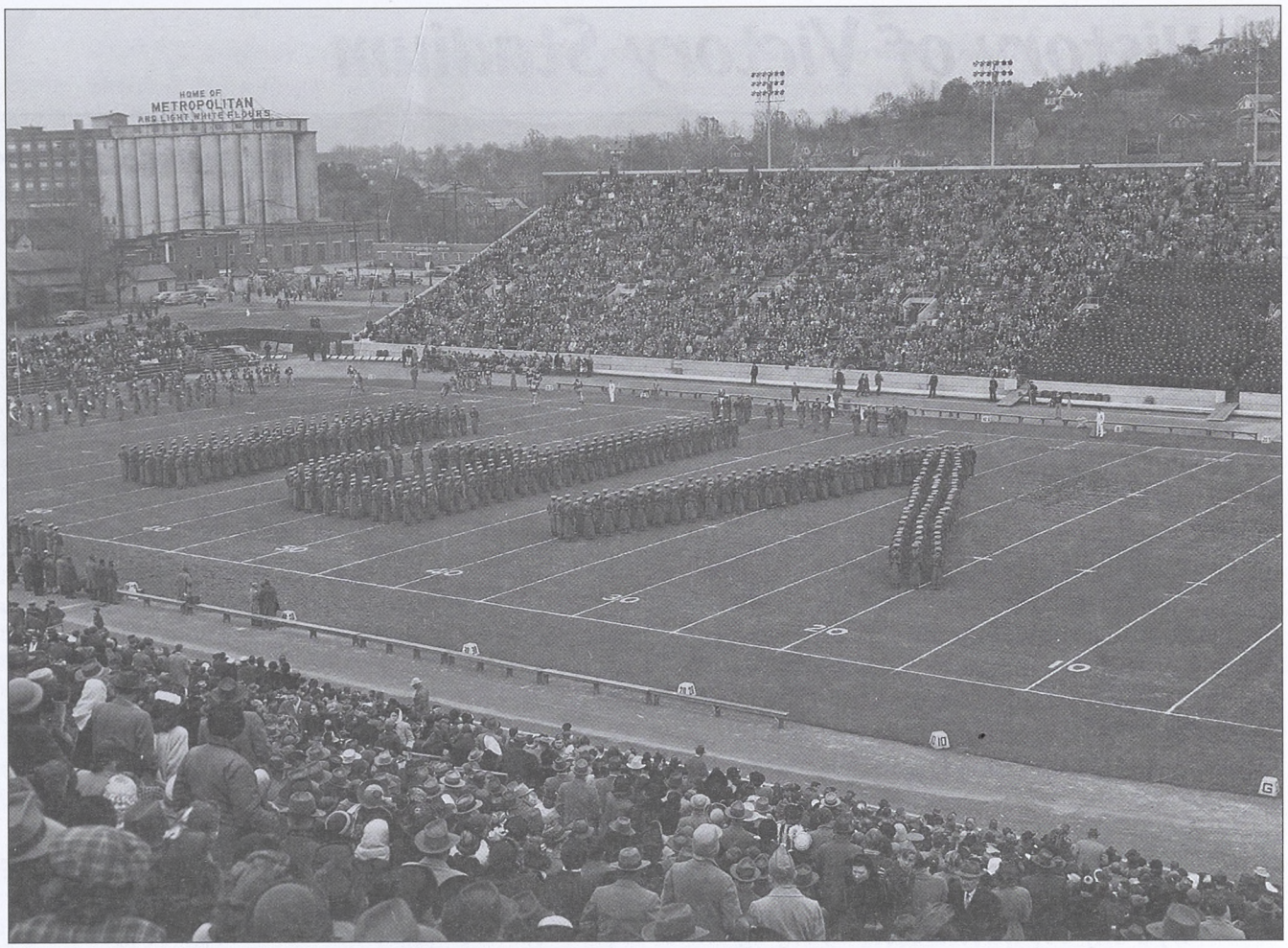
By a City Council resolution, the city agreed to "improve said tract to the end that it would be used for the said purposes that it would construct and thereafter maintain a stadium and armory."

The 30-acre site had been purchased on September 2, 1905, by the newly formed Virginian Railway as the site of its marshalling yards. Portions of the area were used for the Roanoke Fair, for traveling circuses and trotting races. The Virginia Baseball League was formed in 1906 and for years Roanoke had a competitive team, the Roanoke Red Sox, using this site for home games.

The prevailing emphasis for a new stadium emerged in the late 1930s because Lynchburg was seeking to bring the VPI-VMI football game to its new stadium. The VPI-VMI rivalry had begun in 1894 and was brought to Roanoke as a neutral site in 1896, Tech winning 24-0. By 1913 the game, known as the "Military Classic of the South," became a permanent Thanksgiving Day fixture in Roanoke for the next 60 years. The commodious covered grandstand and bleachers fronting north to accommodate the game was erected in 1905, soon to become known as the "Splinter Bowl." The Classic played to capacity crowds for the next 35 years at this stadium.

The Splinter Bowl was razed after the 1940 football season and the big game was moved to Lynchburg in 1941. Two weeks later the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor. Despite severe wartime restrictions on materials and labor shortages, Roanoke's new stadium was rushed to completion in time for the 1942 football season. Considerable money from the federal Works Progress Administration supplemented the city bond issue funds of $315,000.

Judge Jack B. Coulter, retired judge of Roanoke City Circuit Court, was a Jefferson High School tackle who played in the last game in the Splinter Bowl in 1940. He was coached by Willard Kiser.



The annual VPI-VMI football game was one of the big events of the year during Victory Stadium's heyday.
(Photo courtesy of Historical Society of Western Virginia)

It Might Have Been Willard Kiser Stadium

On October 27, 1942, Roanoke City Council, imbued by the spirit of the war and its critical status, officially chose the name "Victory" for its new stadium while retaining permanently the name of "Maher Field" for the entire park in appreciation for the N&W gift. Prior to christening it "Victory," however, there was consideration given to naming it for Lt. Willard Kiser, one of the first Roanoke victims of the World War II, who was killed in the early Battle of Guadalcanal on July 6, 1942.

Kiser had been an All State Tackle for Jefferson High School in 1936 and shortly thereafter organized and captained a pro football team known as the Roanoke Travelers. He was also a volunteer assistant coach for the Magicians' 1940 team which incidentally played the last football game in the old Splinter Bowl. Several others from Roanoke died in the war before Kiser. The first were Benjamin Lee Brown and Cecil W. Haskins who were killed at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. Naming the stadium after one person, however athletic Kiser was, was ultimately thought to be inappropriate as the dead from Roanoke in World War II would ultimately number 534.

With 22,500 in attendance and the crowd swept by patriotic fervor, Victory Stadium was dedicated on Thanksgiving Day, November 26, 1942, *"to the cause of humanity and for the glory of God for the complete and permanent victory of America and her Allies."* VPI, which had not won for five years, took the game 20-6, but it was anticlimactic to the cause and inspiration of the dedication.

Lighting was added to the stadium on September 30, 1946, as night games became more popular. The Junior League of Roanoke inaugurated the Harvest Bowl between VPI and Virginia in 1957, an event which regret-

View of the home stretch during a trotting race at the site of Victory Stadium.
(Photo courtesy of Historical Society of Western Virginia)

tably died for Roanoke, as did the Thanksgiving Game, some years later when a new regime took over at Tech and the Hokies built huge Lane Stadium. The last VMI-VPI game at Victory Stadium was played in 1971 with Tech winning 34-0. The last meeting between the longtime rivals came in 1984 when VPI trounced the Keydets 54-7 in Norfolk.

After the loss of the "Military Classic," the stadium was mainly used for high school football games, one-time stock car racing and occasional music events and fundraising walks by nonprofit organizations. Soon after the death in 1994 of Bob "Guts" McLelland, a noted sports editor of the *Roanoke World-News* and a highly respected and devoted coach and leader of Roanoke's Sandlot Football Program for 46 years, the field at Victory Stadium was given the name of "McLelland Field." The water fountain at the south end of the stadium, measuring 70 feet in diameter and shooting water 40 to 60 feet in the air, was built at a cost of $60,000 from citizen donations and dedicated on Oct. 28, 1966.

Any history of Victory Stadium from its inception and dedication on November 26, 1942, must begin, remain and end immortalized in its purpose and objective — to memorialize those fellow citizens of Roanoke who had paid and would soon surely pay the supreme sacrifice of saving our country and the world from the ravages of Nazi Germany and the brutal tyranny of Japanese aggression. At the Roanoke Valley War Memorial at Lee Plaza the inscription in stone, and in the hearts of those who will never forget, calls to mind the famous closing of Lt. Colonel John McCrae's immortal poem, "In Flanders Field," a sentiment now bittersweet in light of Victory Stadium's demise:

If ye break faith with us who die
We shall not sleep, though
Stadiums rise on other fields

The Lives of John, William and John William McCauley

by Mary Elizabeth "Nona" McCauley Bush

As I look back at the lives of my great-grandfather, grandfather and father, all well-known McCauleys in Salem, I want to record where they came from: a Viking came down from Norway, settled in Scotland and started the McAulay clan in the Highlands.

They descended from the Earls of Lennox and lived at Ardinaple, a turreted mansion near the Firth of Clyde. Dan Ollai, Fortress of Olla, is a picturesque ruin on the coast at Argyle. Later, an ancestor tried to help Bonnie Prince Charlie, a contender for the throne in England. They fought the English and were losing the battle so this McAulay had to escape Scotland or be killed. That's when he escaped to Ireland.

A descendant, Alexander McCauley, was born in Ireland in 1717 and lived in Ulster Province, Antrim County, Ireland. He married Mary Pinkerton, daughter of wealthy parents, who objected to the marriage to the poorer Alexander, so they eloped to America in 1737.

They had three children – John, Charles and Mary. They arrived in Boston and spent three years there. There were Indian raids and Mary rode on her horse with her baby James in her arms to escape the Indians. Sister Mary was tied on to a horse behind them. They later moved to Hillsboro, New Hampshire and then to Merrimack, New Hampshire.

John Jameson McCauley

Their son, James, who was born in April, 1745, married Isabel Jameson, who emigrated from Ulster County Ireland, from Scotland. Their son, John Jameson McCauley was born February 8, 1785 in Hillsboro, New Hampshire. He was educated in public schools and attended one term at the Academy in Fryeburg, Maine, when the weather was bitter. He worked awhile at the family farm. He left in 1818 to seek his fortune in Southwest Virginia. He left Boston on a sailing ship bound for Norfolk. There was a big storm and the ship sank at sea. He managed to get to shore but lost all of his clothes and money in a trunk.

He walked to Bedford County and sat on a log, exhausted. A woman passed him and asked how he was, because he looked so bad and he told her of his trip down by ship, its sinking and his walk there. She went home and told her husband about this nice young man and he came back with her and invited him to come live with them. Mr. and Mrs. Robert Campbell treated him like a son, bought him clothes and let him use their horse to get around and meet neighbors.

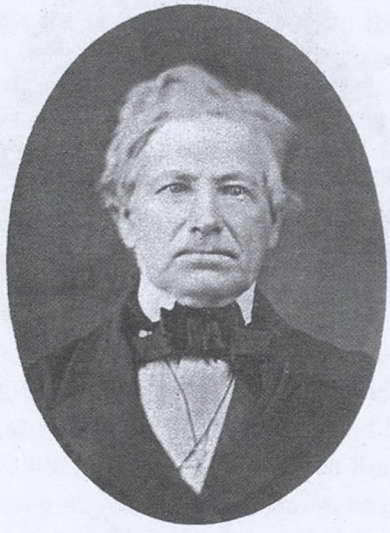
He took charge of an "old field" school. He taught in Bedford County for a few years, then moved to Montgomery County and taught school in Christiansburg several more years. He married Cynthia Van Lear Robinson and moved to a farm his wife owned nearby. He was deputy sheriff in Montgomery County from 1828 to 1832. His wife died after the birth of their fourth child. Holding his little newborn baby, he said he didn't know what would become of his four children without their mother. He hired ladies to look after them.

John McCauley was elected to the Virginia House of Delegates from Montgomery County, where he served

Mrs. Mary "Nona" Bush is a retired school teacher and a Roanoke College graduate. She wrote a book about refugee children in her classes.

until the close of the 1836-37 session. He rode in a stagecoach and one time on his horse to Richmond.

John came to Roanoke County in January 1838. Salem and Montgomery and Botetourt counties and the vicinity around them were trying to form a new county – Roanoke. They elected McCauley to represent them in Richmond and secure legislation they had sought for 18 years. He was successful and on January 30, 1838, Roanoke County was created. In appreciation, they elected him as a senator in the General Assembly and he served from 1841 to 1853.



John McCauley

John's second marriage was to Susan Dingledine on December 24, 1835. She was the daughter of John Belthazer Dingledine and Susannah Firestone Hileman (Harvey Firestone, the Firestone Tire founder, was a cousin.) Susannah was a good wife and mother to his four children and then they had eight more children. The eldest was William McCauley. Susannah ran the farm while John was away tending to his political office and other business. She deserved a lot of credit for his success. They lived at a home on Susannah's father's property called Dingledine in what was then Botetourt County, where Lakeside was later located..

After he retired from public life and 12 years as a state senator, he was a contractor in building bridges. Two were across the Roanoke River. He also built the turnpike from Craig Creek across the mountains to the Sinking Creek Valley. He was a practical surveyor and an assistant engineer with Col. James H. Piper and engineer and superintendent of the Southwest Virginia Turnpike. On the colonel's death, John McCauley became superintendent of the turnpike until his death with a fever on September 3, 1864.

He had integrity and a social temperament, made friends easily, was a fine conversationalist, an effective speaker, had a Scotch-Irish humor, and was handsome. He was a staunch Democrat of the Jeffersonian school. He introduced a bill in the General Assembly to charter Roanoke College and he became a trustee of the college. He admired Dr. David Bittle, the college's president who went to him for advice. McCauley was an elder at College Lutheran Church in Salem. His wife died in 1891. They were both buried at East Hill Cemetery in Salem.

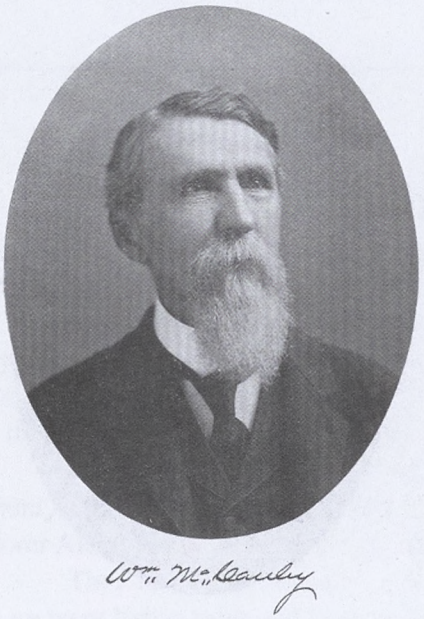
William McCauley

William McCauley, a son of John and Susan McCauley, was born July 17, 1837 in Montgomery County. The next year his parents moved to Dingledine, near Salem.. He was educated at the "old field school" near his home. He went with his father, John, the state senator, to Richmond and he became the first page in the General Assembly. He called himself "The Title Page" and attended four sessions. He went to Roanoke College and graduated in 1859. He taught at a county school for one year. In June 1961, he became a sergeant of Infantry, called the "Dixie Greys," under General Robert E. Lee for one year and then he served under Stonewall Jackson. He was wounded March 23, 1862 at the battle of Kernstown and he became disabled for fighting. He was then an enrolling officer until 1863 when he was discharged upon an application of Dr. Bittle, and a special order by General Lee to teach at Roanoke College. In the fall of 1864 he again entered the army and served as a clerk of courts martial under General Jubal Early. He described his trips over the mountains on his horse in his war letters.

He was elected clerk of the County and Circuit Courts of Roanoke County in 1865 and served until 1893. Then he was commissioner of accounts for Roanoke County and in 1897 was clerk of the Western District Federal Court.

On November 16, 1865, he married Margaret Jane Shirey, daughter of Peter and Julia Shirey, who were charter members of College Lutheran Church and lived at the Elms on East Main Street in Salem, which the family still calls "the Old Homeplace".

William served as trustee and clerk of the District and County School Board and he also served as a trustee of Roanoke College from 1867 to 1908. He wrote many articles of interest for newspapers and magazines. He had an extensive collection of historical material and data and was referred to as an authority in settling questions of local history. (He was known for never throwing away anything.) He wrote the *History of Roanoke County, Salem and Roanoke and Outstanding Citizens*, a leather-bound volume published in 1902, which is rare today. It described how Roanoke County used to be, early life in the wilderness, Indian raids, and trails of westward travel. It described modes of living of early settlers, excerpts from old deeds and court rulings. It also showed pictures and lives of outstanding citizens and told about Andrew Lewis. He wrote about an imaginary walk through Salem with Ira Jeter describing the town as it was in 1819.



William McCauley served on the council, as deacon and elder and superintendent at the Sunday School at College Lutheran.. He was a loving family man and hospitable in entertaining friends and relatives. He and the former Margaret Shirey had 12 children and adopted two. Three sons—Ernest, Victor and William— were Lutheran ministers. Victor was a missionary to India for 30 years. William McCauley died May 29, 1908. A few grandchildren live in Salem today: Billy McCauley who wrote the history of the McCauleys, Dorothy McCauley Butler (Mrs. James), and Mary Elizabeth "Nona" McCauley Bush (Mrs. George W.). Dot lives in the old homeplace on East Main Street, Salem. A granddaughter, Mrs. Dorothy Bush Francisco (Mrs. Randy), and grandson George Francisco live in Salem, too.

John William McCauley

John William McCauley, ninth child of William and Margaret McCauley, was born October 9, 1878 in Salem. He was educated at Roanoke College and ordained as a Lutheran pastor after attending Gettysburg Seminary. He studied at Johns Hopkins University and he received an honorary doctor of divinity degree at Roanoke College in 1936.

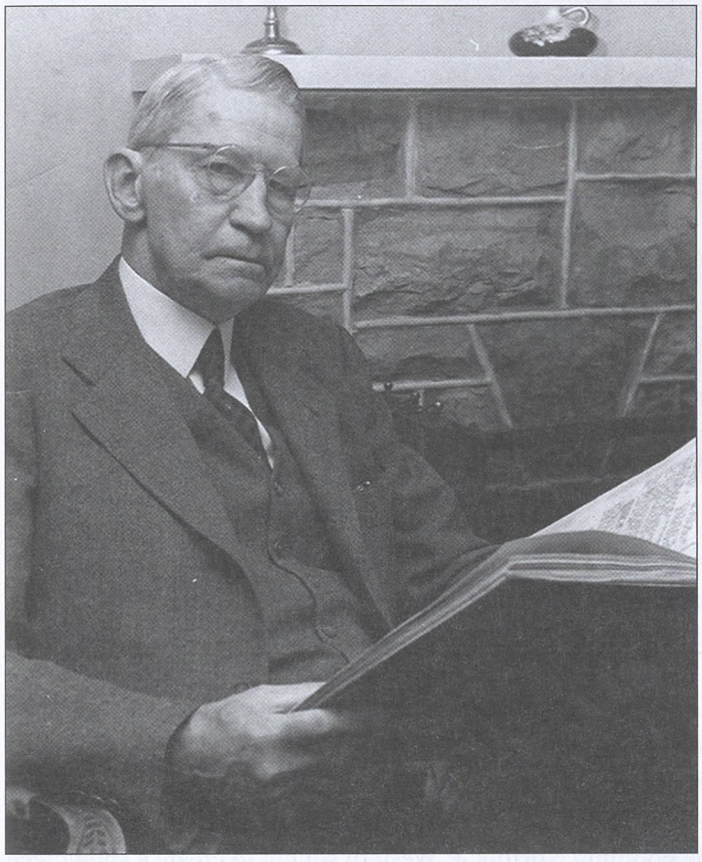
He was a missionary for the Southwest Virginia Synod in 1917. He started Virginia Heights Lutheran Church in Roanoke, which later moved and changed its name to Christ Church. He worked as secretary general at Elizabeth College from 1918 until it burned down on December 22. 1921. He started a new church at Huntington, West Virginia earlier. He married Pearl Piper on April 14, 1906 at Lilly, Penn., where she lived. Her father, Martin Keffer Piper, was the overseer at Piper Coal Company. William and Pearl went to St. Paul's Lutheran Church at Cumberland, Maryland to his first pastorate until 1908. Then they moved to Baltimore to a big, old church, Incarnation, from 1908 to 1910. Their son, William Piper McCauley, and older daughter, Margaret Belle McCauley, were born there. Pearl became sick and they moved to a better climate in Cresson, Pa., near her parents.Then they moved to Salem into a new east wing on the "Old Homeplace" on Main Street that William had added. Their second daughter, Mary Elizabeth, was born there on October 12, 1917.

After the fire at Elizabeth College where he worked, they moved to Lutherville, Md., for five years and then they moved to Howard Park, Baltimore, Md., where he started Redeemer church and led in construction of a first unit and parsonage. They lived there from 1927 to 1940. While in Maryland, he taught a religion course at the Lutheran Deaconess Motherhouse in Baltimore.

Their son, who attended Roanoke College, drowned in the Magothy River (known for its deep 19 holes) at a Sunday School picnic in 1929. Their daughter, Margaret, attended the University of North Carolina for two years. After attending Goucher College, she taught in Leaksville, NC. She married Overton Wilson Clayton, Jr, and lived in Charlotte until he died and she moved to Cary, N.C. until she died. Their youngest child, Mary

Elizabeth "Nona" was married on June 11, 1938 and she and her husband, George, had three daughters, Dorothy, Diana and Deborah. She attended Roanoke College in her 40s.

J. William took early retirement due to heart trouble. He and his wife, Pearl, traveled for two years for the Lutheran Church, selling pension plans to pastors and churches from Maine to Florida and he preached occasionally at churches. Then they returned to Salem to retire. His brother, James, and his family were living in the east wing of the "Old Homeplace," so they decided to take the old slave house behind the main house, clean it out, fumigate and remodel it and live there. They loved their "little house in the garden." During the Korean War, they decided to double it in size, in case their sons-in-law had to go to war and their families would live there. The families did not, but later they built a brick addition so they could be on one floor when they were older.



Rev. J. William McCauley

After retirement, Dr. McCauley started two new churches in Roanoke. One was St. Paul's–an old church that was not used anymore. He sold it to the highway department and built a new church around the corner on Peters Creek from Melrose Avenue. Unfortunately, Peters Creek flooded it and a new church was built next door. Later, it also flooded and was damaged by fire. So it was sold and St. Paul's rebuilt on a hill farther up Peters Creek Road. When Dr. McCauley started the church anew, he got ministerial students at Roanoke College to help him. Then he was asked to have services at Kittingers Chapel on Mrs. Kittinger's property in the Cave Spring area in 1948 – 1957. This church was called St. John's in 1958.

He was in a car accident that soon caused his death at 89 on August of 1968. Dr. McCauley wrote articles for "The Lutheran Magazine," the "Upper Room" and other devotionals.. Elizabeth College alumnae asked him to write about their college, which he did in a booklet called *Elizabeth College and Related Lutheran Schools Historical Sketches.* The alumnae met every year at Roanoke College. They were a loyal bunch and adored Dr. McCauley. Besides William and Pearl's children, there were seven grandchildren and nine great-grandchildren. These are the generations of the McCauley family for many centuries. They all contributed to the world in their own way.

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Dates and churches about Dr. McCauley – from Bishop James Mauney of the Virginia Synod

Personal recollections of (Mrs. George W.) Mary Elizabeth "Nona" McCauley Bush (daughter and granddaughter of these McCauley subjects)

Raymond Loewy's 1949 Train Station

by Bill Green

What may be the Americas' finest small train station was designed in 1949 by industrial designer Raymond Loewy for the Norfolk & Western Railroad. N&W officials were admirers of Loewy's locomotive designs for the Pennsylvania Railroad and the booming Norfolk & Western sought to create a showpiece station for Roanoke, its headquarters city.

Both the existing 1907 brick structure and a local architect's drawings of a blandly modern remodeling failed to express the company's success and aspirations for the future. In contrast, Loewy and his office seamlessly melded disparate functions, site considerations, budget constraints and industrial and traditional materials in a manner that illustrates the differences between industrial design and architecture.

Loewy had earned a reputation as a profit maker for his industrial customers, redesigning products to express the spirit of his dynamic age and appeal to the unvoiced aspirations of a diverse public. To further serve these customers, Loewy had established a division of his firm for architecture, managed by William Snaith. Projects had so far been prototypes of generic retail stores for International Harvester and Lucky groceries, buildings that would be built on multiple sites.

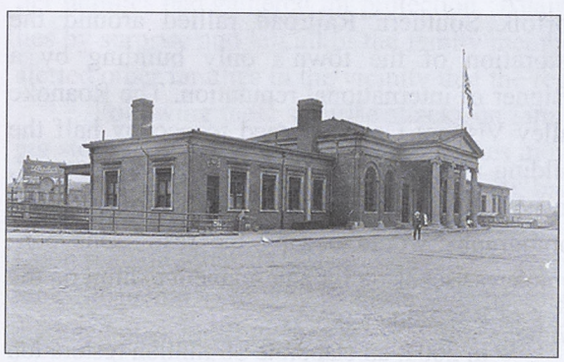
Bill Green is associate professor in the Industrial Design Program at Virginia Tech, where he has taught since 1993. He is the co-designer of the Avion automobile, which held the 1986 cross-country mileage record at 103 miles per gallon. He practiced industrial design at Bayliner Marine in Seattle and taught architecture for three years at the University of California,Berkeley.

The Roanoke station, however, offered Loewy the opportunity to build on a childhood dream. Long fascinated by trains, he had considered it a fantasy fulfilled when his acquaintance with the head of the Pennsylvania Railroad led to the designing of the S-1, GG-1, and T-1 locomotives in the 1930s.

He had also worked on the interior of the Broadway Limited passenger cars with architect Paul Cret, who is considered one of America's top designers in the Modern Classical mode for his ability to retain the proportions, symmetry and material of classicism while rendering the aesthetics in minimalist details. The neo-classical Cret was the likely influence for the "stripped classical" sandstone entry portico that replaced the station's existing ionic "archeologically correct" one.

In contrast, the Loewy firm gave the rear of the station, directly above the tracks, a dramatically different architectural approach. A light, abstract structure, perched on steel posts (pilotis) and brick piers and lit with horizontal band windows, its character was entirely that of arch-modernist Le Corbusier. The reason probably lies in the fact that the architect who produced the working drawings was Allmon Fordice. Fordice was then a young New York modernist who may well have introduced Le Corbusier's then radical ideas into the Loewy office.

Although the classical facade, facing the grand old Hotel Roanoke, and the modern rear elevation, facing the dynamic trackside, each made architectural sense separately, an architect's sense of unity and aesthetic interconnection would have prevented both approaches from being used on opposite sides of the same building, particularly one of relatively small size. But, lacking the architect's self-imposed rules, Loewy and his office could take a bold step and accept that, in this instance, opposites could be united in a single structure.



The Norfolk & Western passenger station in Roanoke as it looked before Raymond Loewy's "modern" redesign.
(Photo courtesy of Norfolk & Western Historical Photograph Collection archive at the Virginia Tech Library.)

Unifying the front and back of the station was the Loewy office's major addition, a wedge-shaped space that bisected the existing building and contained the stone eight-column entry portico and the curved ticket desk with its focal dome above. The large corrugated aluminum-clad waiting room hovered over the train tracks, and a huge window wall created a glowing, terminal focal plane at the back of the waiting room.

Virtually every major feature of the building lay within this new space, from the modern glass curtain wall at the entry doors behind the portico, to the long, train-like, aluminum-framed band windows overlooking (and echoing) similar windows on the trains below. The warm tan travertine marble and tile and brown terrazzo floors (with darker gridded terrazzo squares to indicate nearby doors) contrasted with yellow plaster ceilings and the deep red and gold route map above the walnut ticket desk.

This project exemplifies how a work of architecture can have the characteristics of a work of industrial design. In its careful and unique relationship with its specific geographic site, it is a work of architecture. In fact, "designed for and built on a unique site" is a good differentiating definition between architecture and industrial design (e. g: the difference between a site-built building and a mobile home). The station's unique dichotomy between front and rear seems a good example of a designer from outside architecture solving an architectural problem through a lack of restricting dogma.

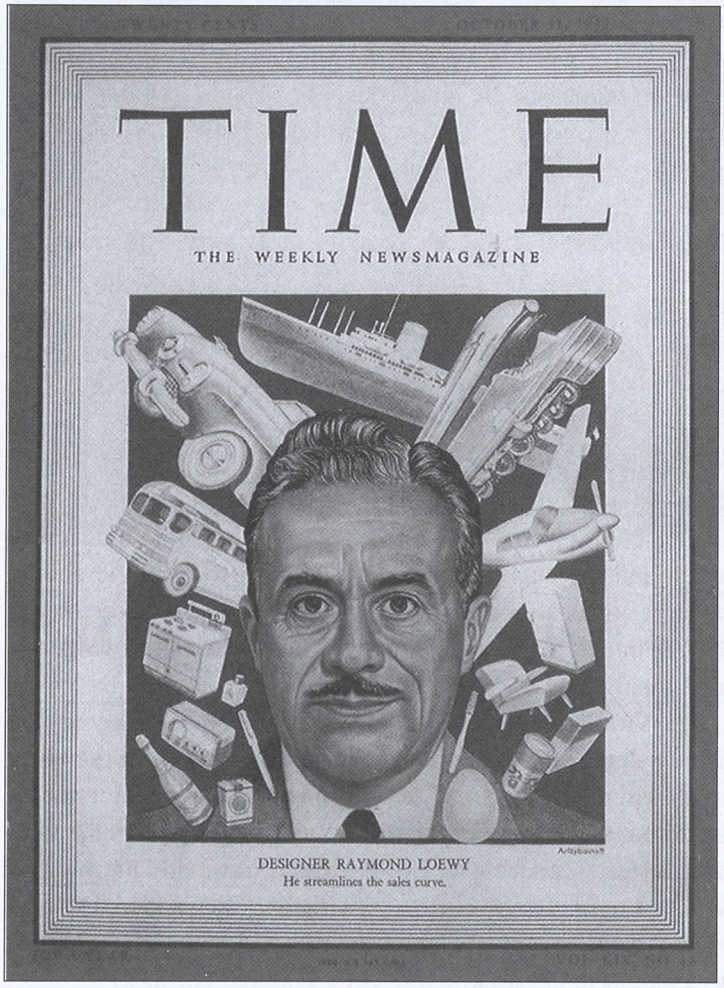
From an industrial design perspective, the station's pedestrian traffic flow from desk, to waiting room, to train was so smooth and seamless that it recalled a production line. Yet it was a humanized line, filled with engaging events and beguiling materials all along the way. The interior space was strangely vehicle-like with its train-inspired windows and metal siding, radiator-shaped exterior form, reversible escalators to load and unload trains and its flush, fluorescent lighting set into marble clad-structural I-beams supporting the 20-foot ceilings.

Rail fan photographers (including the great O. Winston Link) gathered in the cafe at its undulating counter to watch America's last steam railroad pass underneath. They spoke of feeling they were inside a giant camera,

focused on the trains themselves. The station was a building designed by an enthusiast, for enthusiasts.

Loewy's extensive renovation, completed in 1949, retained the brick structure and tile roof but replaced virtually every other feature of the building. From the beginning it was popular and welcomed countless visitors to this railroad town until the Norfolk & Western (now Norfolk Southern) ceased passenger operations on May 1, 1971.The station was then converted to railroad offices.

First one, then two acoustical tile ceilings dropped the interior spaces to eight feet. Indoor/outdoor carpet covered the terrazzo floor. Plywood pseudo-pine paneling partitioned the spaces and covered windows and in some spots marble-patterned laminate even covered actual marble! Finally, in a move necessitated by new double-height freight cars, the over-track waiting room was cut back closer to the original structure.



October 31, 1949

In 1993, Virginia Tech Prof. Scott Gartner and I began, with VPI students, to research and lecture on the history and significance of the station. After numerous lectures, articles and television appearances, the citizens of Roanoke and the Norfolk Southern Railroad rallied around the restoration of the town's only building by a designer of international reputation. The Roanoke Valley Visitors Center agreed to occupy half the building and, as per their late founder's request, the new O. Winston Link Museum of Railroad Photography would occupy the rest. One concourse was set aside for a permanent exhibit on the work of Raymond Loewy.

In 2004, an elaborate $6-million restoration brought the building back to "like new" condition. The building is now owned and managed by Roanoke's unique Center in the Square museum group. With the reopening of the Station the lessons Raymond Loewy taught have returned to provide inspiration to a new generation of architects and industrial designers.

Fear on the Frontier in 18th Century Virginia

Reflections of Fear along Virginia's Western Waters

by B. Scott Crawford

Toward the end of the French and Indian War, fought between 1754 and 1763, a band of 60 Amerindians (American Indians) "introduced themselves into the people's houses under the mask of friendship" along Virginia's backcountry. Relying on surprise, the Amerindians killed the men in this frontier neighborhood and took the women and children prisoner.

They then proceeded to advance along the frontier to the house of Archibald Clendenin, where other frontier families had gathered for protection. Again under the pretense of friendship, the Amerindians took the families by surprise and left all of the family members either dead or taken prisoner excepting Conrad Yolkom who alerted other families in the vicinity that the region was under attack.

Following these surprise attacks on families living on Virginia's western waters, a gruesome and disturbing story unfolded. As John Stuart relates in his "Memoir of Indian Wars," as the Amerindians began to march their prisoners, mostly women and children, back to their villages, Mrs. Clendenin, who had been previously whipped with her husband's scalp, snuck away from her captors, leaving behind her child with another prisoner. Upon realizing that she was missing, an Amerindian stated that "he would soon bring the cow to her calf" and took Clendenin's child by its heels and "beat its brains out against a tree, throwing it down in the path, all marched over it, till its guts were all trampled out with the horses." Clendenin then returned home, only to find her murdered and scalped husband lying in the yard near a fence holding one of their dead children in his arms. Such raids like the one Stuart describes in his memoir were quite common along Virginia's western waters during and following the French and Indian War.

From 1754 through the American Revolution, reports of Amerindian raids along Virginia's frontier generally described small bands of Amerindians inflicting gruesome atrocities on settlers. Typical was the publication of an extract from a letter in the May 3, 1764, edition of the Pennsylvania Gazette from Staunton in Augusta County, which reported that "The People of these Parts are very much alarmed at some late Incursions of the Indians in the Western Part of this County. On the 20th Instant [April 20th] a Number of them came to the House of one David Cloyd (a wealthy Planter, living on some of the Waters of James River, not far from Looney Ferry) and killed one of his Sons, tomahawked his Wife, plundered his House, and took away above Seven Hundred Pounds in Cash, besides sundry valuable Effects." The extract went on to state that even though Mrs. Cloyd "was very much hacked and mangles [sic], is recovered, and says, the Number of Indians was ten."

Relying on small unit tactics, a band of only ten warriors raided the Cloyd home which was unguarded due to the fact that "Mr. Cloyd, and one of his Sons, were then in this Town, it being Court Time, and most of the Family from home." The attack took the county by surprise as the extract from the letter reported "It is

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Defeat of General Edward Braddock in the French and Indian War, in Virginia, in 1755. *(Wood engraving in* Ballou's Pictorial Drawing-Room Companion, *July 7, 1855. Source: Library of Congress, via Internet)*

remarkable, that this House is a good Way within the Settlements, and yet the Enemy found Means to convey themselves undiscovered. But it is said that some other Families are missing, which it is supposed they carried off in their Return."

The Amerindians' murdering Cloyd's son and leaving behind a scalped woman, who was able to survive the attack, serves as a testament to the Amerindians' attempt to instill fear throughout the region and wage psychological warfare. This particular raid, however, was not entirely a success. Not only did Mrs. Cloyd survive the attack and provide some intelligence against the Amerindians, but the extract from the letter includes a postscript that states "Just as I had finished writing this Account, there came Advice, that a Party of White men pursued and came up with some of the Indians, killed one of them, and recovered One Hundred and Fifty Pounds of the Cash, all the heavy Baggage, and four Negroes, whom they had Prisoners."[i]

The historian Jane T. Merritt suggests that along the Pennsylvania frontier during the French and Indian War, Amerindians many times mutilated women's and men's bodies in order to send a clear message that whites along the frontier were not in any way safe living in the region. John Stuart's description of Archibald Clendenin's scalped body still clinging to his murdered son and the scalping of Mrs. Cloyd and her being left behind believed to be dead near Staunton suggests that similar mutilations occurred along Virginia's frontier for similar reasons. By mutilating women's bodies Amerindian warriors symbolically attacked the settlers' ability to maintain life in the region, and by mutilating men's bodies, warriors emasculated surviving frontier men by clearly revealing that ultimately no man could entirely guarantee that his family was safe.[ii]

Raiding Amerindian parties purposefully left mutilated bodies of men, women, and children in areas where survivors could easily discover them in order to make sure they received their message which the Amerindians intended to produce fear throughout the region. Such was the case in August, 1764, when the

Pennsylvania Gazette reported that on a Wednesday following the spotting of two or three Amerindians near Fort Loudon "a Woman, named Cunningham, big with Child, was going from her own House, to one Justice McDowell, about two Miles below Loudoun, she was met with by the Savages, who murdered, scalped, and otherwise most horribly abused her, ripping her Belly open, and taking out the Child, which they left lying beside her." The report went on to state that another band of Amerindians had attacked a local schoolhouse and along with the school master, scalped nine of the children; all of the bodies were left behind in a manner that survivors could easily discover them. Amerindians intended such raids to send a clear message that settlers along the frontier were always threatened to experience such a similar death and in turn, as the article reported, bring about a fear that "would occasion many of the Inhabitants to leave their Places."[iii]

Embracing such terrorist-style tactics and relying on the use of psychological warfare proved to be extremely successful.[iv] Amerindian raids caused Virginia's frontier settlers to cower behind the walls of the many forts and fortified houses that dotted the frontier landscape. As eastern political and military leaders lamented, Amerindian raids also sent large numbers of settlers fleeing to more secure eastern counties or south to Moravian settlements.

Typical was the case of the less than typical Mary Draper Ingles, who, upon returning to the New River Valley following her surviving the Draper's Meadows Massacre, experiencing life as a captive among the Shawnee, and escaping from Shawnee captivity and then enduring a forty odd day journey through the wilderness, took refuge in a small fort on the Roanoke River near present-day Shawsville with her husband and other neighboring families. Mary felt uneasy staying at Vause's Fort, commanded by Captain Hogg, due in large part to news that "Indians was [sic] making Depredations on the frontiers," and a feeling that Amerindians were in the immediate vicinity. Possibly recognizing the potential danger his family might face by staying at the fort, as even George Washington had noted upon touring Virginia's frontier forts that Fort Vause was "in a much exposed gap," and surely wanting to put his wife at ease, Mary's husband, William Ingles, decided to move her and himself east to Bedford County, which was a more secure region. Only hours after the Ingles removed themselves from the fort and headed east, a combined force of French and Amerindians attacked the fort, and after a day-long engagement the French and Amerindians set the fort on fire and either killed or captured all of its inhabitants.[v] Mary Ingles ran the gauntlet of, both literally and metaphorically, the horrors associated with living along Virginia's frontier during the French and Indian War. She experienced an Amerindian attack that left family and friends either dead or captured, she experienced life as a captive, she escaped and made her way back home, she took refuge in one of the many frontier forts, and she fled the frontier only to return when the region became more stable. Even though Mary Ingles was unique in that her experiences were so varied, she in many ways embodies the frontier experiences settlers underwent during this formative period. While many settlers were killed or were captured, the majority of Virginia's frontier settlers at the very least turned to a neighborhood fort during periods when attack seemed likely or they temporarily, sometimes even permanently, abandoned the region and moved to an eastern county or further south. More importantly, like Mary Ingles, all frontier settlers in Virginia experienced the fear associated with the style of warfare Amerindians, particularly the Shawnee, waged against the region beginning with the outbreak of the French and Indian War in 1754.

The Amerindians' use of terrorist tactics even went so far as to affect the psyche of those in charge of providing some degree of protection over the frontier settlers. In a letter to Governor Dinwiddie in April, 1756, George Washington not only makes reference to the large numbers of settlers either residing in a fort or fleeing the region, he also eloquently and empathetically captures the frustration and fear settlers felt as Amerindian raids took their toll on the region's inhabitants and on himself. In relating to Dinwiddie his thoughts about and reactions to a series of letters from settlers apparently pleading with him for relief, he asks Dinwiddie "But what can I do?" His perceptions about the crisis along the frontier led him to conclude that "unless vigorous measures are taken by the Assembly, and speedy assistance sent from below, the poor inhabitants that are now in forts, must unavoidably fall, while the remainder of the country are flying before the barbarous foe." To Washington, the situation along the frontier was near a breaking point. Settlers were either seeking sanctuary in frontier forts or they were taking flight; Washington felt at a loss as to how to adequately help them. He even went so far as

to state that "If bleeding, dying would glut their insatiate revenge, I would be a willing offering to savage fury, and die by inches to save a people!" He then later, after contemplating resigning his commission as "the murder of poor innocent babes and helpless families may be laid to my account here," goes on to state that "The supplicating tears of the women, and moving petitions from the men, melt me into such deadly sorrow, that I solemnly declare, if I know my own mind, I could offer myself a willing sacrifice to the butchering enemy, provided that would contribute to the people's ease." Two times in the letter Washington offers himself as a sacrifice to end the suffering along the frontier, and his reflections on his belief that ultimately he will be accountable for the deaths of innocent babies and defenseless families led him to flirt with resigning his commission. Of course, his language and his suggestions are only rhetorical, but his offering to in essence take his own life through voluntarily giving himself to the enemy at a time when suicide was rare suggests that Amerindian terrorist tactics and their use of psychological warfare were having a strong effect not just on the region's settlers but that they also ultimately affected Washington's psyche.[vi] While in the end the Amerindians raiding the frontier failed to achieve their political agenda, stopping English expansion into the region, their tactics did indeed have a clear impact on not only Virginia's frontier settlers, but also on Virginia's military high command.

While fear became a part of Virginia's backcountry's inhabitants' lives early on and influenced Virginia's political and military leaders' decisions, due in large part to the manner in which Amerindians waged war against the region, the emotion was nothing new to Virginia. Fear, possibly more than any other force, contributed to a British imperial policy that aimed at expanding Virginia's land holdings into first the Shenandoah Valley and then into the Roanoke, New River, and Greenbrier Valleys. Fear, in essence, not only defined Virginia's frontier settlers' lives during and following the French and Indian War, it also in many ways was the agent that gave birth to the Virginia backcountry west of the Blue Ridge Mountains.

Warren R. Hofstra, in his work *The Planting of New Virginia*, identifies three fears were at the root of English expansionist efforts into the Shenandoah Valley that in time facilitated expansion into the Roanoke, New River, and Greenbrier valleys. First, there was the very real fear of French encirclement. As the French expressed their own imperial desires by advancing down the Mississippi Valley, thus connecting Canada with Louisiana, and as they began to occupy the Ohio River Valley thus supporting their claim to the vast interior of North America stretching from the Mississippi to the Appalachians, they essentially left England's claims in North America surrounded and drastically contained. With the French occupying this position in North America, the Board of Trade felt compelled to put forth their concerns to Governor Spotswood of Virginia. Spotswood concurred that French expansion was indeed a threat to England's North American colonies, especially as it was becoming evident that new passes in the mountains suggested that the Appalachian Mountains, the Blue Ridge Mountains specifically, were not as much of a natural barrier between the English and French as colonial officials had thought.[vii]

A second fear supporting English westward expansion was the potential for wars with Amerindians or at the very least the threat of Amerindian raids into eastern Virginia. The previous wars in the Deep South with the Tuscarora and Yamasee had made this threat all too real and possible. Such wars could easily destabilize England's colonies, so the Board felt the need to determine methods and strategies to insure that such wars and raids did not materialize. Governor Spotswood, among others, advised the Board that inter-colonial competition for trade with Amerindians had created the potential for future Amerindian wars; however, Spotswood and the Board did recognize that healthy trade relations with Amerindians could create a peaceful coexistence and decrease the likelihood for war. The Board needed to create a trade that encompassed all of the colonies, thus undermining competition between colonies, and it had to develop a means through which trade relations between Amerindians and the colonies would increase and strengthen. Westward expansion could facilitate such economic ties with Amerindians inhabiting the interior.[viii]

A third and final fear supporting English westward expansion was the recognition that a certain internal threat existed in the colonies. Potential slave insurrections became a concern as England's southern North American colonies began to import an increasingly larger number of slaves each year. By 1720, slaves outnumbered whites in South Carolina and Virginia was at least 15 years into its experiment with institutionalized slav-

ery as a series of laws beginning in the 1680s and culminating in 1705 had turned slavery into a purely racist institution. This situation led Spotswood and other southern colonial governors to fear that as slavery grew so too did the potential for slave rebellion. This fear of internal rebellion, as well as the fear of French encirclement and Amerindian raids and possible war, came together to directly impact British imperial policy and to directly affect westward expansion in Virginia.[ix] Virginia's backcountry became the focus of British expansionist efforts due to the Board of Trade's and Virginia's colonial government's desire to protect the east from the various threats materializing in North America.

While fear became the primary motivating factor behind the settlement of Virginia's backcountry, and while expansion into the regions west of the Blue Ridge relieved some of eastern Virginia's fears, this emotion in time directly affected the diverse ethnic groups inhabiting not only the Shenandoah Valley, but the Roanoke, the New River, and the Greenbrier Valleys as well. The primary fears, however, among settlers began to focus increasingly on Amerindian wars and raids rather than on the French and on the potential of slave insurrections. Slave insurrection was not a great concern among backcountry settlers due to the low number of slaves along the frontier, relative to eastern Virginia. When frontier settlers raised fears of the French, many times it was in relation to their alliances with Amerindian tribes that accompanied the French on raids along the frontier or that acted alone under French encouragement; the fear of the French was directly related to their relationship with the Amerindians. A July 1754 letter in the Preston Family Papers relates how between the tenth and twentieth of June "Sundry Companies of . . . Indians" visited families living in Augusta County and "charged the People to remove off the Land otherwise it would be worse for them in a little time." The writer, whose name is illegible, recognizes that the French were a threat, but only in that it was the French that "send them [Amerindians] out in Parties to savage amongst us." The writer portrays the French as a threat through their association with their Amerindian allies. Similarly, James Smith's narrative describing his capture by Amerindians at the beginning of the French and Indian War notes that "It may be said by some that the French were also engaged in this war. True, they were; yet I know it was the Indians that laid the plan, and with small assistance put it into execution." Like the anonymous writer, Smith attributes the real danger and threat to the frontier as coming not from the French, but rather from their Amerindian allies.[x]

While the French realistically offered a distinct threat to the region until 1763, settlers along the western waters generally considered the French as a more civilized enemy than the Amerindians, thus making the Amerindians the greater and more fearful overall threat. After a group of Amerindians captured James Smith along Pennsylvania's frontier in 1755 as he was helping to build a road between Fort Loudon and Braddock's road, the Amerindians forced him to run between two lines of warriors and receive a severe beating. Reflecting on the event in 1799, Smith makes a point to note that it was a French doctor in Fort Duquesne that gave him medical assistance. Shortly thereafter Smith observed:

> "a small party [Amerindians] coming in with about a dozen prisoners, stripped naked, with their hands tied behind their backs, and their faces and part of their bodies blacked; these prisoners they burned to death on the bank of the Alleghany river, opposite to the fort. I stood on the fort wall until I beheld them begin to burn one of these men; they had him tied to a stake and kept touching him with firebrands, red-hot irons, &c, and he screamed in a most doleful manner; the Indians, in the mean time, yelling like infernal spirits."

To Smith, the French were a source of aid while the Amerindians were a source of pain at numerous levels.[xi]

Just as Smith portrays the French as a civilized force and a source of comfort, John Stuart's "Memoir of Indian Wars" also reveals Amerindians as the force frontier settlers feared most. Stuart relates how Amerindians supporting the French captured Andrew Lewis as he accompanied British Major Grant on a reconnaissance mission near Fort Duquesne early in the French and Indian War. Only due to French intervention were the Amerindians prevented from carrying out their desire to execute Lewis. The Amerindians then stripped Lewis, leaving him only wearing his shirt, before he was taken into the fort. In the fort, "with the tomahawk drawn over

his head," an elderly Amerindian attempted to grab his shirt, and only after a French officer intervened did Lewis escape a second time with his life. The French officer then took Lewis into his room and gave him a complete set of clothes. In Stuart's narrative, the French Amerindian allies offered death, while the French offered both salvation and comfort.[xii]

The morphing of fear from a tripartite division between the French, the Amerindians, and slaves, to a monolithic focus on Amerindians alone along Virginia's frontier produced a force that at times seemed insurmountable to Virginia's eastern political leaders and to the frontier's political and military leaders. With Amerindian raids materializing in what settlers saw as a random, haphazard manner, with the possibility of a raid occurring at any time and in any place, settlers reacted in ways that were not always in line with local leaders' ideals about frontier defense. One of the more frustrating effects Amerindian attacks had on the behavior of frontier settlers, in addition to their fleeing the region and their increasing habit of killing any Amerindians, whether friendly or not, that traveled through the region, was the propensity of settlers to spread rumors about Amerindian movements and raids. In the fall of 1755 George Washington wrote down an advertisement that had appeared around Winchester due to "An inconceivable Panick which prevailed amongst the people" along the frontier. The advertisement noted that "divers timorous persons run through the Country and alarm its inhabitants by False Reports, of the Indians having attacked and destroyed the Country, even Winchester itself." The article then went on to attempt to assure settlers that "the Indians who committed the late Cruelties . . . are returned Home," and it proceeded to almost plead for "all my Countrymen, not to be alarmed on every false Report they may hear . . . but to keep to their Homes and take care of their Crops." Just rumors of Amerindian raids, exaggerated to the degree of purporting that Amerindians had destroyed Winchester, caused enough settlers to leave the frontier that an advertisement had to appear in order to persuade settlers to either come back to their homes or, if they had not fled, remain in the county. As Washington observed in an October, 1755, letter to Governor Dinwiddie, "I believe, they [frontier settlers] are more encompassed by Fear than by the Enemy."[xiii]

Throughout the period the Virginia Gazette and the Pennsylvania Gazette many times aided with the perpetuation of rumors as both papers reported stories not entirely factual. In September, 1764, the Pennsylvania Gazette reported that the author of a dispatch from Camp Loudon was "apprehensive that there are several small parties of the Enemy near our quarters." This followed the dispatch's report that in the vicinity Thomas Smith, "a Man of Veracity," had viewed the bodies of John Miller and three members of his family "dead, scalped and mangled." The Virginia Gazette reported in the spring of 1774, on the eve of the Point Pleasant expedition, that there was "the disagreeable Intelligence that a general Discontent appears among the Indian Nations; that the Cherokees and Shawanese have combined together; and that, in short, the Frontier Inhabitants are under the most dreadful Apprehensions from the ill Temper prevailing amongst those Barbarians."[xiv] Such reports, based to some degree on hearsay and speculation, simply added to anxieties already evident along the frontier due directly to the Amerindians' tactics as they raided frontier settlements. Fears that Amerindian raiding parties were in the vicinity, or that the Cherokee and Shawnee were forging an alliance and would attack the frontier at any moment, simply caused frontier families to panic and possibly act on that panic by spreading rumors or taking more drastic actions. The rumors, just as much as the actual raids, adversely impacted settlers and led them to decide to leave the region or even attack friendly Amerindians traveling through the region. In one instance the rumor of Amerindian movements caused Washington to mobilize a small force to investigate, only to find "3 drunken Soldiers of the Light-Horse, carousing, firing their Pistols, and uttering the most unheard-of Imprecations;" there were no Amerindians, only obnoxious and loud drunken soldiers.[xv]

Fear played a distinct and obvious role in affecting the lives of frontier settlers as they attempted to shape their lives along Virginia's western waters. Fear, and as Washington suggested, possibly more than the enemy, caused frontier settlers to make decisions that directly impacted the way in which they carried out their lives. The fear settlers felt caused them to abandon their homes in order to take refuge in neighborhood forts or to even abandon their homes temporarily or permanently as families fled to more stable and secure locations less likely to be the target of Amerindian raids. Fear even caused frontier men to forego their militia responsibilities and directly challenge their social superiors. Between 1754 and 1759, when he served as commander of the

Virginia Regiment, George Washington continually complained to Governor Dinwiddie about the insubordination militiamen demonstrated and how many men outright refused to go on patrols or to garrison frontier forts. The fear that in their absence their homes and families would be attacked led many men along the frontier to choose "as they say to die, with their Wives and Familys." Similarly, as one frontier captain informed Colonel Fairfax when ordered to, along with his men, report to Winchester, "that his Wife, Family and Corn was at stake; so were those of his Soldiers; therefore it was not possible for him to come."[xvi] In many ways fear, more so than the French and Amerindians that threatened the region during the French and Indian War, was the Virginia government's greatest enemy along the frontier. While Amerindian raids took their toll on human life and caused much human suffering, the fear such raids inspired produced more problems for the region.

NOTES

[i] John Stuart's "Memoir of Indian Wars and Other Occurrences," as published in *Collections of the Virginia Historical Society*, v. 1; new series, v. 1-11 [Richmond: The Society, 1833-1892] 39-40.

[ii] Stuart, "Memoir of Indian Wars," 39-40.

[iii] *Pennsylvania Gazette,* May 3, 1764, Item #33188.

[iv] *Pennsylvania Gazette,* May 3, 1764, Item #33188.

[v] Jane T. Merritt, *At the Crossroads: Indians & Empires on a Mid-Atlantic Frontier, 1700-1763* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003) 178-179; Stuart, "Memoir of Indian Wars," 39; and *Pennsylvania Gazette,* May 3, 1764, Item #33188.

[vi] Matthew C. Ward, *Breaking the Backcountry: The Seven Years' War in Virginia and Pennsylvania, 1754-1765* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2003) 7-8; and *Pennsylvania Gazette,* August 9, 1764, Item #33906.

[vii] According to Title 22 of the US Code, Section 2656f(d), "terrorism" involves "premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience." Certain changes in the way in which Amerindians waged war along the frontier beginning with the French and Indian War brought about a style of warfare that clearly relates to this definition. Various eastern woodland tribes, such as the Shawnee and the Delaware, began to attack noncombatants, mutilate bodies, and resort to various degrees of psychological warfare in order to directly affect British imperial policy. Since, for example, prior to the French and Indian War the Amerindian practice of scalping had distinct spiritual elements tied to it and the belief among many eastern woodland Amerindians that bringing back the scalp of a woman or a child was an act of bravery, the fact that Amerindians consciously began to scalp and mutilate bodies in order to instill fear among frontier settlers and thus stem the tide of white expansion reflects the distinct possibility that the tactics Amerindians resorted to during and following the French and Indian War were more in line with terrorist tactics than previous complicated cultural forces. Since this paper explores the ways in which terrorism instilled fear among frontier settlers, I will not be examining, but do want to acknowledge, the ways in which whites used equally horrific tactics as they waged war against the Amerindians. Europeans did pay Amerindians for scalps they obtained from enemy bodies, they burned villages, and also mutilated Amerindian bodies. However, while Alden T. Vaughan argues that "The seventeenth century had its share of barbarity on both sides of the Atlantic," in the sense that it was customary in England for criminals and enemies of the state to be drawn and quartered and for their heads to be displayed on London Bridge, this was not "terrorist" in nature as such executions and mutilations were state sponsored and committed against those tried and convicted of a crime. While such actions were definitely a means through which the government could "influence an audience," such actions were more in line with totalitarianism than terrorism. See Alden T. Vaughn, *New England Frontier: Puritans and Indians 1620-1675* (Boston: Norton, W. W. & Company, Inc., 1965) 40-41.

[viii] John Ingles, *Escape from Indian Captivity: The Story of Mary Draper Ingles and Son Thomas Ingles as told by John Ingles, Sr.,* eds. Roberta Ingles Steele and Andrew Lewis Ingles (Radford, 1969)19; Ellen Apperson Brown, "Portrait of a Survivor: The Long and Eventful Life of Mary Draper Ingles," *The Smithfield Review: Studies in the history of the Region West of the Blue Ridge,* VII (2004): 58; *Pennsylvania Gazette,* July 29, 1756, Item #19771; George Washington, *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources 1745-1799*, ed. John C. Fitzpatrick (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1931) v.1, page 490-499. While Washington was not a strong advocate for waging a defensive war along the backcountry, he submitted to Governor Dinwiddie a plan for the positioning and garrisoning of a series of frontier forts all along the Virginia frontier. This plan highlights Washington's concerns that Fort Vause was in a precarious position. Out of 22 proposed forts and 1100 men to garrison the forts, Fort Vause was to have the third highest number of troops for a garrison, with 150 men recommended to garrison the fort, accounting for 7.5% of the total forces allotted to garrison the frontier forts. Washington recommended that the largest garrison, 500 men, be located at the fort at Cockes' on Patterson's Creek and that the second largest garrison, 250 men, be located at Dickerson's on the Jackson River, accounting for 25% and 12.5% of the

total forces recommended for garrison duty, respectively. The following table reflects the numbers of troops Washington recommended to garrison the remaining 19 forts and the percentage of the total force suggested to be detailed as a garrison per fort:

Number of Men Washington Recommended for Garrison Duty	Number of Forts	%age of Total Force per Fort
20	3	1% per fort
30	1	1.5%
40	3	2% per fort
50	2	2.5% per fort
60	4	3% per fort
75	3	3.75% per fort
100	2	5% per fort
125	1	6.25%

The forts with larger garrisons, with the exception of Fort Vause, were to be located further north near the Potomac River due to Washington's concern that "invasion is most to be dreaded on this Quarter." Washington believed that strategically, the more settled northern regions were in greater need of defense from French and/or Amerindian attack.

[ix] Washington, *The Writings of George Washington,* v. 1, page 324-325; For information about cultural attitudes toward suicide, see Fred Anderson, *A People's Army: Massachusetts Soldiers and Society in the Seven Years' War* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1984) 116; and Woody Holton, *Forced Founders: Indians, Debtors, Slaves, and the Making of the American Revolution in Virginia* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1999) 43-44. Anderson notes that during the French and Indian War as New England militiamen and British Regulars inter-mixed the New Englanders noted strange behaviors among the British. Dueling and suicide were two actions in which some British Regulars engaged that shocked New Englanders. Suicide, Anderson concludes, was at the very least rare among, or possibly unknown to, New Englanders. That suicides generally occurred as British soldiers awaited punishment, Anderson argues, reflects how harsh corporal punishment was in the British army. Holton, however, suggests that in the southern colonies suicide may have been more prominent than in New England but still rare. Holton examines the suicides of three investors in the lead mines at Fort Chiswell in the New River Valley. The failed economic venture, among other factors, drove at least two of the men, and possibly the third partner, to suicide, suggesting that debt among the gentry was so overwhelming that some men found no choice but to take what was a dramatic step and end their lives. Holton points out that of the other Virginia gentlemen who committed suicide in the eighteenth century almost all of them were in financial trouble. In this light, Washington's rhetorical examination of sacrificing his life to protect the frontier settlers may have been to some degree in line with the mentality of the eighteenth century Virginia gentry. In a sense, Washington was in debt to the frontier settlers as he owed them not finances but protection; their lives were dependent on his actions. His frustration at not being able to "pay" on this debt as Amerindians successfully raided the region and put the frontier into a state of panic might have been similar to the pressure the indebted gentry were under as their honor became the subject of scrutiny. While Washington never, most likely, actually intended to sacrifice his life in the manner he mentions, it is curious that such action falls in line with other views among the Virginia gentry about suicide.

[x] Warren R. Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia: Settlement and Landscape in the Shenandoah Valley* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 70-76.

[xi] Hofstra, *Planting of New Virginia,* 76-77.

[xii] See T.H. Breen and Stephen Innes, *Myne Owne Ground: Race and Freedom on Virginia's Eastern Shore, 1640-1676* , (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980). Breen and Innes suggest that slavery in Virginia did not fully become a racist institution until approximately 1705, with the passage of a series of laws clearly defining black laborers as slaves; however, the devolution toward a race-based slave system began in the 1680s. Prior to 1705, even more so before the 1680s, the status of African slaves in Virginia was ambiguous, with many earning their freedom, similar to indentured servants, and going on to own land, own slaves, and successfully sue white landowners in court. Breen and Innes suggest that during the seventeenth century, owning land more than race defined an individual's place in society. Also, Hofstra, *Planting of New Virginia,* 77.

[xiii] See B. Scott Crawford, "Economic Interdependence Along a Colonial Frontier: Capitalism and the New River Valley, 1745-1789," Masters Thesis, Old Dominion University, 1996, 31-33; and B. Scott Crawford, "The Transformation of a Frontier Political Culture: Blacksburg's Early Experience, 1745-1870, *A Special Place for 200 Years: A History of Blacksburg, Virginia,* ed. Clara B. Cox (Roanoke: Progress Press, Inc., 1998) 142-143; Letter Dated July, 1754, Preston Family Papers, reel 2, Folder 135; and Samuel G. Drake, *Indian Captivities or Life in the Wigwam; Being True Narratives of Captives who have been carried away by the Indians, from the Frontier Settlements of the United States, from the Earliest Period to the Present Time* (Auburn: Derby and Miller, 1852) 184, 259. Slave owners in the New River Valley made up only, on average, approximately 10% of the taxable population between 1782 and 1790, with the average slave holder owning only 2.5 slaves. The largest slave holding estate in the New River Valley, William Preston, listed only 22 taxable slaves in 1790. Compared to eastern Virginia plantations, where by 1782 approximately 78% of the households in Charles City, James City, and Warwick counties in eastern Virginia owned slaves with many estates owning numbers of slaves in the hundreds, backcountry plantations had relatively few slaves.

[xiv] Drake, *Indian Captivities,* 180-181, 184.

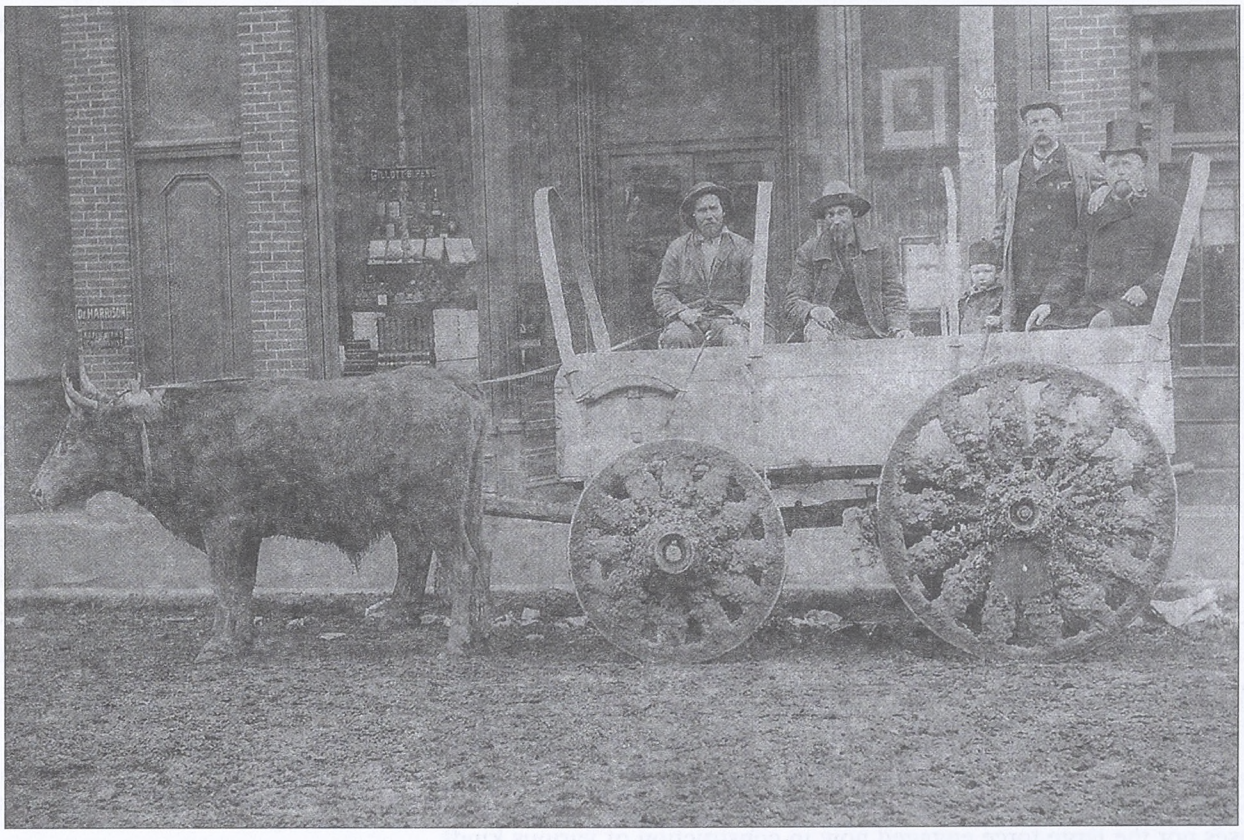
[xv] Stuart, "Memoir of Indian Wars," 52.

[xvi] Washington, *The Writings of George Washington,* v. 1, page 201, 208-209. For an examination of the extent to which rumors affected the South Carolina backcountry during the panic of 1751, see Gregory Evans Dowd, "The Panic of 1751: The Significance of Rumors on the South Carolina Cherokee Frontier," *The William and Mary Quarterly,* 3rd ser., Vol. 53.3 (July 1996): 527-560. Dowd argues that along South Carolina's backcountry extremely anxious situations emerged as rumors of possible Amerindian attacks surfaced. Reflecting a more modern strategic outlook, the Cherokee, like the Iroquois during the French and Indian War, many times used rumors to play on South Carolina's backcountry settlers' fears in order to advance their own agendas. As in Virginia, many times newspapers fueled rumors as they reported them along with "facts."

[xvii] *Pennsylvania Gazette,* September 13, 1764, Item #34166; *Virginia Gazette,* March 17, 1774, Purdie Dixon, page 2, column 2

[xviii] Washington, *The Writings of George Washington,* v. 1, page 204.

[xix] Washington, *The Writings of George Washington,* v. 1, page 200-201, 204.



W.H. "Button" Carr of Floyd County held the reins for a yoke of oxen pulling the first wagon through the mud to reach Roanoke after the big snow of 1890, according to information on the back of this old photo treasured by the Conner family of Copper Hill. The oxen were named Buck and Bright and a Mr. Reed sat beside Carr. The other two men, said to have been from New York, were not identified.
(Photo courtesy of the family of W. Curtis and Golda M. Conner)

How We Were a Century Ago: Roanoke Valley in 1906

Editor's Note: This description of Roanoke City and County comes from A Handbook of Virginia, Information for the Homeseeker and Investor, *published by the State Department of Agriculture and Immigration in 1906.*

Roanoke

The city of Roanoke, situated on the great through line of the Norfolk and Western railroad, one hundred and ninety-nine miles by rail, west from Richmond, is the chief city of Southwest Virginia. It is in the county of Roanoke 907 feet above sea level, and being at the head of the Valley of Virginia has a good claim to be the gateway and the leading city of both these great natural divisions of Virginia.

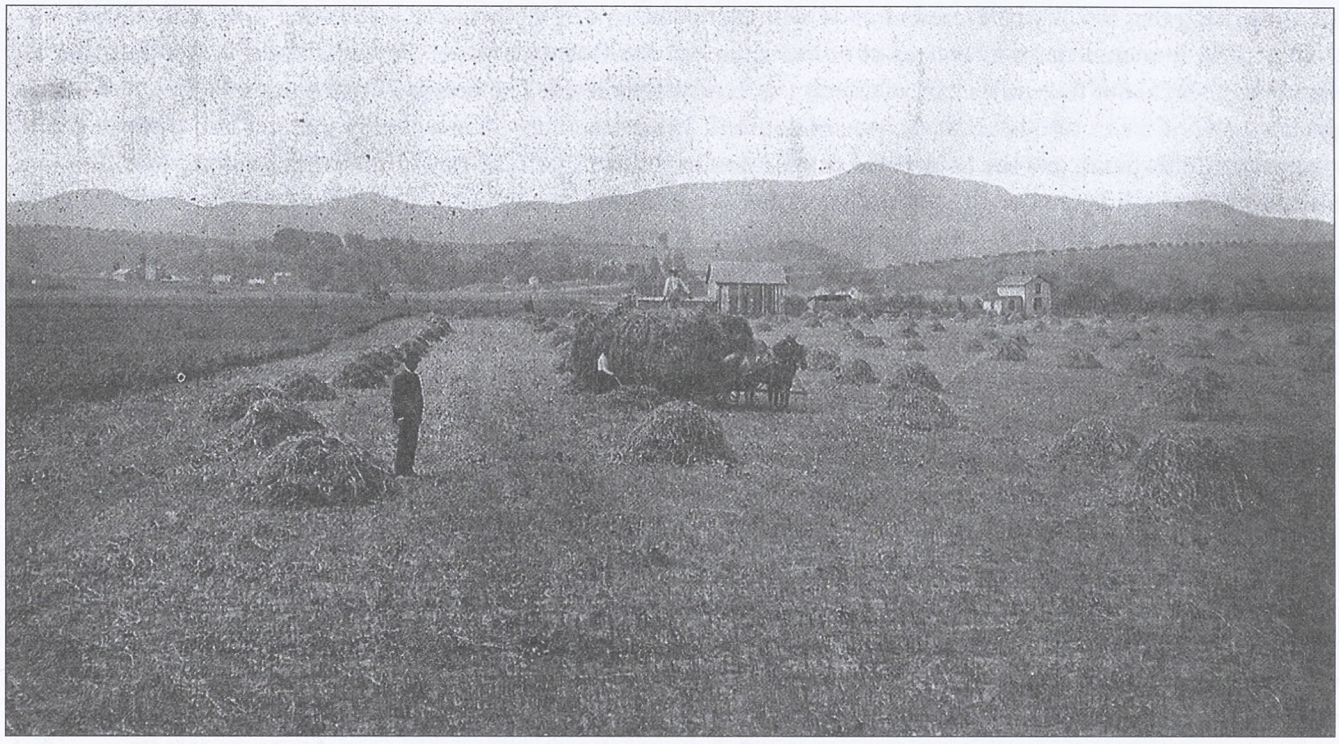
It is convenient by rail to both sections, the main line of Norfolk and Western running through the southwest 151 miles to Bristol, Va., and north 239 miles through the Valley to the Potomac, thus reaching all the cities and larger towns of both, with which it maintains large and profitable business relations. The Norfolk and Western also places the city in direct communication with Lynchburg, 53 miles east, and Norfolk 257 miles; while another branch of the same trunk line carries Roanoke's business south through the State to Winston-Salem, N. C., and southern points. The new Tidewater railroad now building from Deep Water, W. Va., to Norfolk, passes through Roanoke, and furnishes to the "Magic City," as it is called, another great railroad from Chesapeake Bay to the Ohio river. It is a modern, up-to-date, well paved, well watered city, possessing all the conveniences to be furnished by electricity and water power.

Its twenty-seven churches embrace every leading religious denomination, and have handsome and commodious houses of worship. There are also handsome city and railroad Y. M. C. A. buildings, an orphan asylum, and a home for the sick. The educational advantages of Roanoke (in character and extent) are not surpassed by any other town of its size in the State, attracting large patronage from other sections. Besides its splendid public school system, supplied with six handsome and commodious school buildings and equipped with every modern appliance, there is the Virginia College, a flourishing female institution; the Business College, and other schools of a private character.

The enterprise, culture, educations and social advantages of Roanoke render it a most desirable and attractive residential town; and as a commercial metropolis, it ranks with the best of the inland towns of the State. Roanoke has many extensive and valuable industries, the most important of which are the Norfolk and Western machine shops, for the manufacture and repair of rolling stock, the largest and finest locomotives and passenger coaches. These shops now employ 2,300 men, an extensive addition being built, which will increase the working force to at least 3,800. The total number of men now employed in the Roanoke shops of the Norfolk and Western Railway Company, the extensive general offices and yards, including the trainmen and enginemen who have their homes in the city, is, according to the secretary of the Roanoke Chamber of Commerce, about 4,700, and the aggregate amount of money paid to these employees monthly is $256,000.

There are also employed by other industries in the city fully 1,500 men, with an average monthly pay roll of over $75,000 more. These figures do not include the employees of the various wholesale and retail mercantile houses nor the large force engaged now in construction of various kinds.

Among the principal industries of the city which attract the attention of the interested visitor are the Stone Printing and Manufacturing Company, one of the largest plants of the kind in the South; Fishburne Smoking Tobacco Factory; West End Furnace; American Iron Company; a Pennsylvania Corporation; Roanoke Elevator and Milling Company, capacity 325 barrels of flour per day; Twin Furnaces of the Virginia Iron, Coal and Coke



'A fine crop of forage consisting of cowpeas and millet — grown by Col. A.M. Bowman, Salem, Roanoke County.' *(Source: Virginia Department of Agriculture)*

Company; Roanoke Cotton Mill, Virginia Brewing Company and Cold Storage Plant; Blue Ridge Overalls Company planing mills; knitting mill; sash, door and blind factories; Exchange Lumber Company; Virginia Lumber Manufacturing Company; Hammond Printing Works; fertilizer factory; barrel and stave factory; Rockhill Foundry and Machine Shops; Roanoke Boiler and Sheet Iron Repair Shop; candy factory, and one of the largest manufacturers and shippers of marble and granite monuments in the south; also the Roanoke Clay Manufacturing Company, near the city; the Randolph Market Company; Southern Chemical Fertilizer Company, and Virginia Bridge and Iron Company, the largest of the kind in the south.

The department of commerce and labor at Washington reports that in 1900 Roanoke had 38 establishments employing a capital of $1,915,647. She had, in 1905, 54 establishments employing a capital of $2,656,626. Wage earners had increased 27 per cent, from 2,431 to 3,089, and wages 37 per cent, from $1,106,948 to $1,525963. The large, almost palatial, wholesale and retail stores and other handsome business houses and the numerous handsome banks and other public buildings, to say nothing of many beautiful, private residences, can not be specified in a work of this character. They are equal in style and appearance to those of our larger cities, and the pretty well appointed post office shows yearly a large increase of business. The hotel accommodations are exceptional. There are five comfortable and well equipped hotels, some of them luxurious in their appointments, which invite much travel and many large conventions and religious gatherings.

The electric street car system is very complete and reaches beyond the corporate limits to Salem, six miles, and to Vinton two miles. Five million gallons daily of sparkling water gushes from a single spring, at the foot of Mill mountain, and is distributed all over the city. Sewerage is good, the air is pure, and climate as healthful as an altitude of 1,000 feet among the Blue Ridge mountains would be expected to furnish, while a very fertile adjacent country supplies an abundance of farm and dairy products, fruits, fowls and vegetables.

With three such daily newspapers as the *Times*, *Evening World*, and *Evening News*, and a live Chamber of Commerce, to put all of Roanoke's advantages before the public, and keep them there; and with its finances managed and fostered by six excellent banks, with combined resources of $3,729,065 and net surplus of $384,571, it is

not surprising that the city chartered in 1884 with a population of five thousand has forged constantly ahead.

The immense dam, in course of construction by the Roanoke Water Power Company at a point on the Roanoke river, about four miles east of the city, is nearly completed. The height of this dam is 48 feet at the gates, giving a fall of water of 64 feet at the power house. It is estimated that about three thousand horse power can be generated at this plant, and the company is in position to furnish electrical power for manufacturing purposes, and will complete its lines to the city and be in readiness to furnish power and light for the residents of Roanoke by July 1st, 1906.

The census of 1900 gave Roanoke a population of 21,495, the city census, taken in January 1904, showed 26,443 and it is estimated that the population May 1st, 1906, closely approximates, if it does not reach 30,000, over 700 dwellings having been erected in the two years of 1904-05.

Roanoke County

This county, formed from Botetourt in 1838, is situated west of the Blue Ridge mountains in the famous Roanoke valley, 175 miles almost due west from Richmond. It is 20 miles long and about 15 miles wide and contains an area of 297 square miles. Altitude at Salem 1,096 feet. The surface is undulating, being divided into valleys and mountains, the latter principally on its boundaries. Soil alluvial, clay loam and limestone, very fertile, especially the valleys.

This is a splendid agricultural county, producing large crops of all the staple products—wheat, corn oats, rye, hay, etc., This county has, in recent years, made great progress in fruit culture, all varieties of which known to this climate do well; such as apples, pears, peaches, plums, cherries, apricots, grapes and the smaller fruits. Vegetables also are grown to great extent and perfection, which, together with peaches, berries, etc., are put up in large quantities by the various canning establishments located in the county, and Botetourt county adjacent. The apple culture, especially, has created much interest in the county, and it is coming to be one of the foremost apple growing counties in the State, containing some of the largest orchards in the United States. Large shipments of apples are annually made to the markets of Europe direct from the orchards, yielding to the grower from $5,000 to $15,000 for the year's crop. Trucking is quite an important industry, and Roanoke City and the coal fields furnish excellent markets for this and other farm products.

Grazing facilities in this county, in common with all others in this section of the State, are superior, especially in the blue grass section in the northern part. Cattle and sheep are raised extensively, and have direct and quick transportation via Shenandoah Valley railroad to the large markets, besides supplying the local demand in Roanoke and Salem.

Most excellent transportation facilities are furnished by the different lines of the Norfolk and Western system traversing the country which include the main line east and west-the Shenandoah valley division leading northeast to the great cities of that section, and the Roanoke & Southern south through the tobacco counties of southern Piedmont and into North Carolina.

The minerals of the county are iron, manganese, barites, marble, slate and limestone, the most valuable and important of which are its iron ores, magnetic and hematite, which are in great abundance, and of superior quality, and are being extensively developed and worked. There are several mineral springs in the county, of high reputation for their medicinal properties, the most important of which are the celebrated Roanoke Red Sulphur Springs, peculiarly adapted to consumptives. The most valuable varieties of timber are walnut, poplar, oak, chestnut, pine and hickory.

The county is watered and drained principally by the Roanoke river and its numerous tributaries passing through the center of the county and flowing southeast, and to some extent by tributaries of the James running north. These streams furnish some very fine water powers, and are good fishing streams for bass and other varieties. Trout are also found in the mountain streams. Manufactories consist of flour mills and sawmills, roller mill supplies, woolen mills, steam tannery, a fertilizer mill, foundry, and a number of canneries. The climate is an aver-

age temperature, health excellent, water very fine. Churches are numerous, and include all the principal evangelical denominations. Educational advantages are very superior. In addition to its excellent public school system, there are male and female colleges of a high order, notable Roanoke College located at Salem, and Hollins Institute located six miles from the city of Roanoke in a most beautiful and picturesque section. Situated 1,200 feet above sea level, its climate is salubrious at all seasons and it enjoys the further advantage of having excellent sulphur water on the grounds. This school is conducted exclusively in the interest of the higher education of young ladies, and is thoroughly equipped at a cost of over $150,000. The mail facilities and telephone service of the county are excellent, and good county roads, including a splendid macadamized road, extend through the whole length of the county. The county is free from debt, and people are prosperous, and progress and advancement are apparent everywhere.

Population of the county (independent of Roanoke City), census of 1900, 15,837. Increase (independent of Roanoke City) since the census of 1890, 1,895.

The above is a good exhibit of growth in population, as part of the county has been annexed to Roanoke City since last census, and the population thereof included with that city in the recent census.

Salem, the county seat, is situated near the center of the county, in the beautiful Roanoke valley through which flows the Roanoke river, and around which rise the Blue Ridge and Alleghany mountains. Lying 1,100 feet above the sea, it is deservedly noted for its salubrious and healthful climate, and is surpassed by no town in the State for beauty of situation, and the wide expanse, fertility and picturesque scenery of the surrounding country. It lies on the main line of the Norfolk & Western railroad, and is connected by an electric railway line with Roanoke, six miles distant. The streets are well paved and macadamized. The water is of exceptional abundance and quality, being supplied by several large springs owned by the town. Salem is noted not only for the intelligence and refinement, but also for the high moral and religious tone of its population. Its eleven churches are well attended, represented by the Methodist, Presbyterian, Lutheran, Baptist, Episcopal and Catholic. Its educational advantages are of a very high order, it being the seat of Roanoke College, an institution for the education of males, widely known and justly celebrated as one of the leading colleges of the State; during its existence of a half a century, having attracted students from almost half the States of the Union, and several foreign countries. The college buildings are spacious, imposing brick structures; the grounds attractive with beautiful green sward and luxuriant growth of forest and ornamental tress. Its able corps of instructors, laboratory, extensive library, location, and excellent moral and religious influence of the community, render it as a most desirable school for the young men of our State. Other schools are the Salem Female Seminary, the Baptist Orphanage and the Lutheran Orphanage. These are comparatively young but growing institutions, in numbers and reputation. The graded schools (white and colored) rank among the first of the State for efficiency and good management. The town is supplied with excellent hotels, and three strong banks, two newspapers, and fraternal orders.

There are a number of flourishing industries and enterprises at Salem, some of them very extensive, affording employment to considerable expert labor. The most prominent are the machine works, steam tannery, woolen mills, carriage and wagon works, brick works, roller flour mills, and ice factory.

The population of Salem, census of 1900, was 3,412, and by the local school census of 1905, it is over 5,000.

Roanoke's Streetcars Operated for 61 Years

by James E. Dalmas

Roanoke had only existed as a city for five years when a local group of citizens formed a company known as the Roanoke Street Railway Company in 1887. After obtaining a charter, the company was awarded a franchise by the city in early 1888.

While the charter authorized animal, cable or electric propulsion, the first line was powered by mules and operated over a short route centered in the city. In 1889 another local group absorbed the mule-car line and expanded the lines to the nearby towns of Vinton and Salem using steam dummy engines for motive power, keeping the mule-drawn cars on the city lines. By 1890 the mule lines began to expand.

Starting in 1892, another local group reorganized the company with somewhat better capitalization and electrified the car lines, operating with a total of nine cars. The organization also absorbed the small electric company operating in Roanoke at that time. After bankruptcy in 1898 the company was reorganized and renamed the Roanoke Railway and Electric Company.

The early 1900s saw rapid expansion of the system. New extensions and double tracking were among the tasks accomplished. A new car house and modern steam and hydro electric plants were added. Local ownership passed to a holding company. A number of new cars were purchased and by the peak in about 1925 the company was operating about 50 cars over 33 miles of tracks. The peak of the street railways also marked the beginning of formal bus transportation when the Safety Motor Transit Company was organized to compete with the RR&E Co. The SMT Corp. was absorbed by the RR&E Co. in 1928.

Nineteen-twenty-nine marked the beginning of the end of streetcars in Roanoke when two lines were abandoned. This abandonment was followed two years later by the abandonment of the Salem line. The early 1940s saw the abandonment of five more destinations leaving only two major lines. In July 1948 the two remaining lines were abandoned and the 18 remaining passenger cars were sold for scrap. Transit in Roanoke was then handled by buses to 23 destinations.

Even though the streetcar system existed for only 61 years, and some Roanokers lived to see the beginning and the end, the story of the well-managed company is compelling. The system affected virtually all of the citizens of Roanoke. Since public transportation was the only way to rapidly travel throughout the city before the automobile, it was used by people from all walks of life, rich and poor; carrying more than 12 million passengers per year.

James E. Dalmas, a Roanoke native who lives in Jarrettsville, Md., is the author of an illustrated history, The Street Railways of Roanoke 1887-1948, *which will be published by the Historical Society of Western Virginia in June. Dalmas attended Virginia Heights Elementary School, Jefferson High School and Virginia Tech. He is a retired electrical engineer and an authority on vintage street railways.*

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