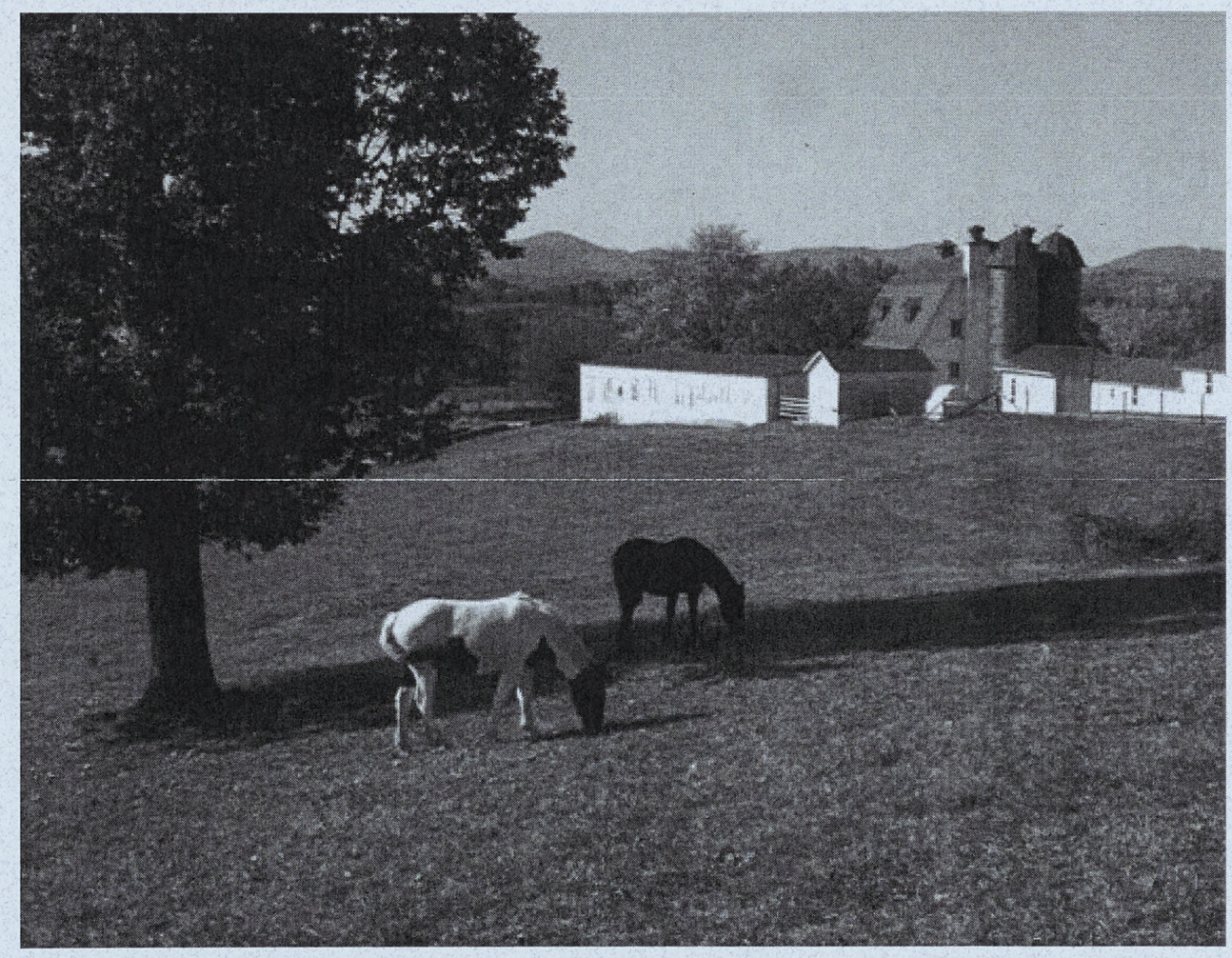
Historical Society of Western Virginia

2009 JOURNAL



Vol. XVIII No. 1

Historical Society of Western Virginia

Amor montium nos movet

(For the love of mountains inspires us)

George Kegley
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The Journal, Vol. XVIII, No. 1, chronicles the history of the Commonwealth west of the Blue Ridge. Published by the Historical Society of Western Virginia (formerly the Roanoke Historical Society), P.O. Box 1904, Roanoke, VA, 24008. The price for additional copies is $5 for members, $10 for non-members. The Society welcomes unsolicited material but submissions cannot be returned and the Society is not responsible for damage or loss.

On the cover: Elks Home Farm (See story, page 43)

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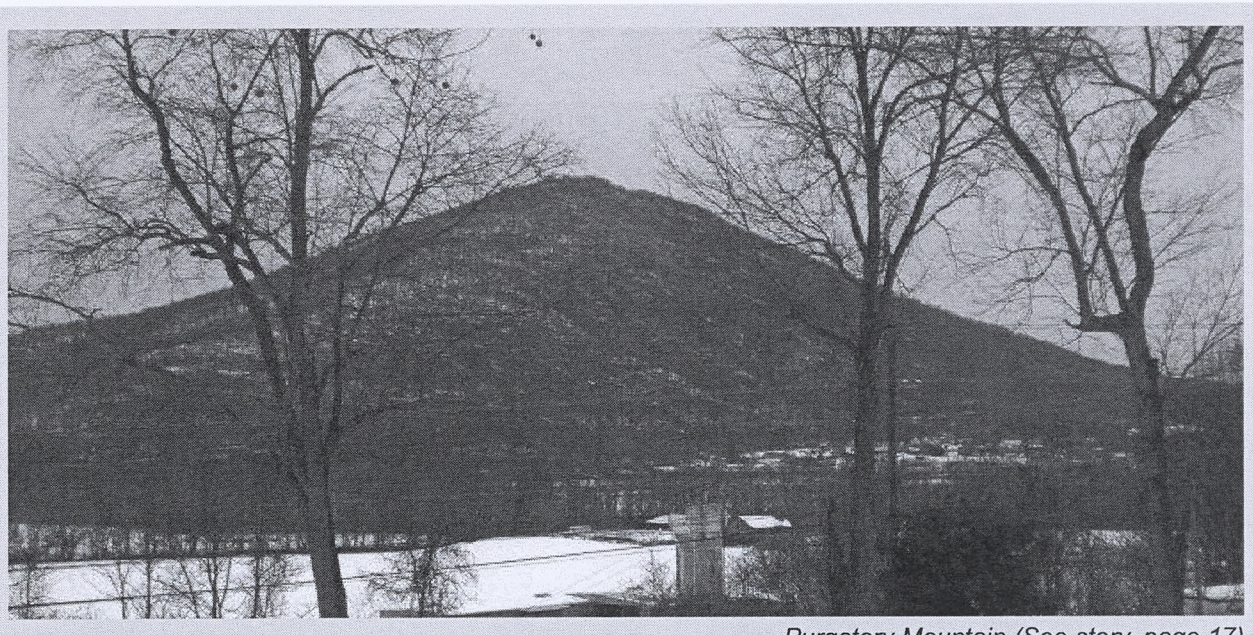

Purgatory Mountain (See story, page 17)

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The Electric Parlor movie theater was operated by H.L. Rockhill at 12 Campbell Ave. SW in 1908-1909. Admission was 5 cents to see "Baby Gladys and Master Hiatt." (Photo from History Museum of Western Virginia)

Note From the Executive Director

This past year, 2009, was a transitional one for the Historical Society, and as we enter 2010 we are poised to take on even more challenges in the next two years. The staff has spent a great deal of effort reviewing programming and designing new events to keep up with our changing culture. By fall of this year, the History Museum will open in a temporary location to accommodate the renovations taking place at Center in the Square. Our collections have already been moved into temporary storage and, surprisingly, the new location has made the collections inventory much easier. Although the O. Winston Link Museum will continue normal operations, the History Museum will scale down on-site operations and focus on outreach and future planning. There will continue to be changes ahead, some temproary, some not, and we certainly appreciate your patience as we work through the upheaval. The light at the end of the tunnel is the anticipated rebirth not only of Center in the Square, but the History Museum as well. Indeed, there are dramatic renovations ahead for the galleries and displays in the museum, and we welcome your contributions to our continued fundraising efforts.

Jeanne Bollendorf

An integral part of our outreach includes technology. Over the coming months, there will be updates to the look and content of our website, we have joined the social networking craze and are now on Facebook, and of course, we are still working tirelessly on the Virtual Collections projects. The digitization of the Historical Society's collections at both the History Museum and the Link Museum is an important aspect of our outrach. The benefits of putting this information on the Internet are that we can design multiple perpetual exhibitions that don't require physcial space; our employees can easily access documents or artifacts that will be used for exhibition, education and research; and researchers and hobbyists from all over the world can connect to our organization and learn about us or become members. Although the Virtual Collections can be accessed from home, we welcome anyone to visit our Virtual Collections Manager, Linda Steele, in the Watts Library to learn how to access and use the online database. Indeed, Linda has created a wonderful set of guidelines for learning to use the Virtual Collections called "A New Way of Looking at Old Things." These instructions will be posted on our website at www.history-museum.org and we encourage all interested parties to view Linda's tutorial.

We look forward to seeing you. Do drop in!

Jeanne M. Bollendorf
Executive Director

A New Way of Looking at Old Things

Virtual project at Historical Society brings the past into the Twenty-first Century

by Linda Steele

A father wrote a letter to his son, who was a student at University of Virginia. He was concerned about his child. Was student life leading the young man astray? Was he studying enough? Was he drinking too much? Was he spending too freely?

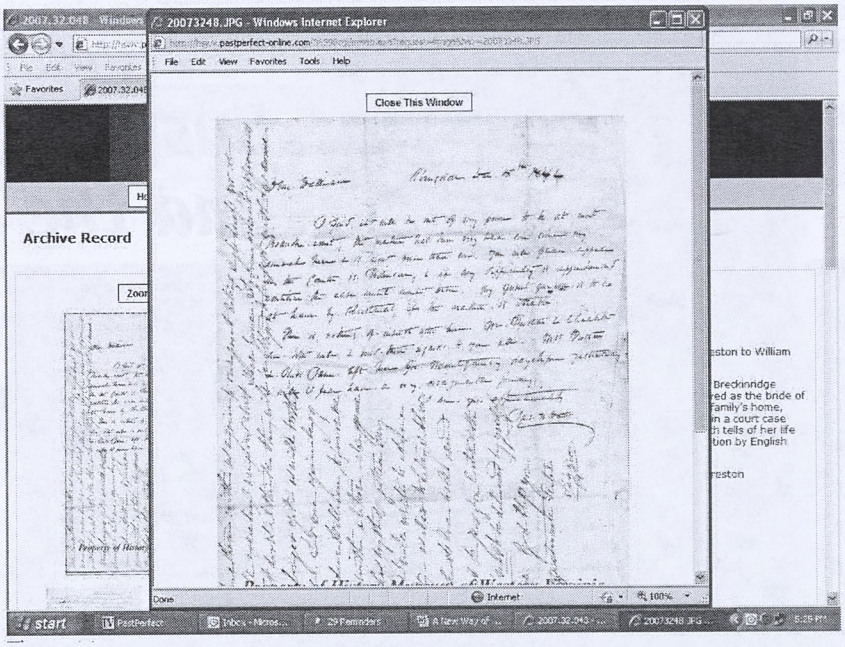
The letter was written on September 23, 1839, from Gen. Edward Watts, living on his plantation "Oaklands," in Big Lick, Virginia, to his son William, who was an undergraduate at the University. It was handwritten in ink, using a quill pen, on a single sheet of paper, folded, then folded again to make its own mailing envelope, and sealed with red wax. The pleasure of seeing and reading the wise and witty letter is now available to anyone with an Internet connection through the Historical Society of Western Virginia's Virtual Project. A portion is excerpted below:

> The Institution [University of Virginia] was never a favourite with me, I do not believe it is a place where ripe scholarship and sound learning are to be acquired and the dissipation and irregularities acknowledged to exist among the students are sufficient to fill with apprehension all Parents who regard the morals and habits of their sons...
>
> Your life has heretofore been a retired and rather secluded one and has given you little opportunity of mingling with the young and gay. It has engenderd a diffidence which may put you in danger, in other words the fear of being esteemd singular may render it difficult to utter that most important word no and to refuse the solicitations of those who have a singular pleasure in making others as worthless as themselves. To withdraw oneself from all society is one thing, to engage in disorderly pleasures and demoralizing pursuits is another. Neither is prudent or proper. Your own taste and good sense will I trust indicate to you the proper course.
>
> I have written to Mr Gwathmey to-day to place $200 to your credit in the Bank of Virginia for which you can check as you want it. I shall take care to supply you with whatever is required for your respectability and comfort, and beyond that I am fully persuaded you have no wish to go.

In another example, the same father, Edward Watts, complained to his elder son, James Breckinridge Watts, who was a student at the University of Virginia in 1832,

> P. S. How much farther back do you intend to carry your handwriting? I assure you it is as much as I or I imagine any one else can do to read it now and if you lean it a little more you might as well write Hebrew. I earnestly recommend it to you to correct the procedure before it is too late. There was moreover a little bad grammar & one word misspeltin your last,
> E.W.

Unfortunately, the offending letter from son James has not been found. We do have other letters from him, however. One letter was sent from James to his brother William in 1842, in which James discusses the inscrutability of women. Another surviving letter from James looks more complicated. It is Catalog Number 2007.32.048, shown in Figure 1. The horizontal lines were written by James. The vertical lines were written by James's sister, Elizabeth Breckinridge (Watts) Preston, who had recently married Thomas Lewis Preston, and moved to Abingdon, Virginia. They were writing to their brother William at "Oaklands," in 1842. It is left to the reader to decide whether in the ten years since his father's letter to him, during which time James had finished his education and become a practicing lawyer, he had heeded Edward's advice on writing.



Screen capture illustrates how archived materials are accessed via the Virtual Collections.

The story of sister Elizabeth "Lizzie" Watts, the first bride at "Oaklands," as well as portraits of Edward Watts and William Watts can be seen in the Virtual Project, which includes catalogues of photographs, books, and objects in addition to archival documents.

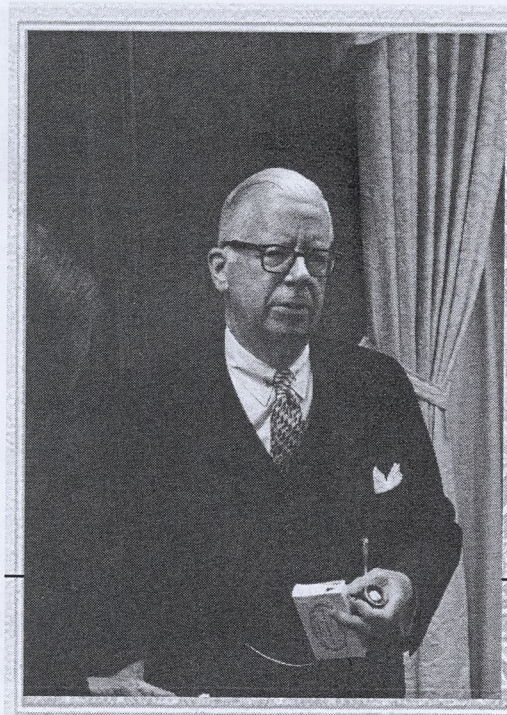
An illustrated tutorial, showing how to use many features of the Virtual Project online, will soon be posted at the Society's website www.history-museum.org.

Index to Journal Articles Now Available Online

The Society's website *www.history-museum.org* contains an index to all articles ever published in the Society's Journal, now called Journal of the Historical Society of Western Virginia. The index was prepared by William M. Hackworth, Chair of the Publications Committee.

To access the index from the web pages, click "Now on Sale: HSWV's 2008 Journal" at the bottom of the right-hand column and then click on the "Journals Index" link from the Publications page; or click on "Journals Index" in the drop-down menu under the Publications tab in the top menu; or simply enter http://www.history-museum.org/html/journals_index.html into the address bar of your browser and press [Enter]. Next, scroll to the bottom of the page and follow the instructions to download the Journals Index. Within the index, you can use the find feature [Ctrl] + [F] to quickly search by keyword for authors or titles.

Linda Steele is Registrar of the Historical Society of Western Virginia. She is also Manager of the Virtual Projects at the History Museum and the O. Winston Link Museum. A Roanoke native, Linda is a lifelong lover of local history. She may be reached at the Society offices in Center in the Square by phone at (540) 224-1207 or by e-mail at registrar.hswv@cox.net.



Business, Government and the Constitution in the 20th Century ~ The Career of Henry H. Fowler

by Roy C. Smith

I am delighted to have been asked to contribute some thoughts on the important — but tangled and complex — relationship between business and government in the United States, and to do this in the context of the life of one of Roanoke College's most distinguished graduates, Henry Fowler—my late father-in-law, business partner and friend—whose 100th birthday would have occurred two weeks ago.

Henry Fowler was in all respects a man of his century, a man of business, of government and of the Constitution during times when these were all greatly challenged. He played a part in many of the great events of his lifetime, including efforts to dispel the Great Depression, World War II and management of the post-war economic recovery that vastly extended American prosperity and helped to shape the country into being what it is today.

He was born at home in Roanoke at 1327 Patterson Avenue, the adored only child of a middle-aged couple, Mac and Bertha Fowler, both of whom were born just after the Civil War. Mac was a locomotive engineer for the Norfolk & Western Railway and Bertha was a proud Daughter of the Confederacy, who kept a large portrait of Robert E. Lee in her bedroom until she died.

Henry attended public schools in Roanoke and went on to Roanoke College, from which he graduated in 1929. He was a member of Pi Kappa Phi fraternity and the man voted most likely to succeed. He learned early in life that there was a great deal more to the world beyond Roanoke, but he knew his ticket to seeing it had to be paid for by doing well in school. He did and received a full scholarship to Yale Law School as his reward.

The world into which young Henry was born had changed a lot by the time he arrived at Yale. When he was but 3, the U.S. Supreme Court in a landmark ruling declared that the Standard Oil Company, America's largest corporation, was in violation of anti-trust laws and had to be broken up. This was one of the court's most important rulings in which the Constitution was interpreted to allow for the public interest in certain cases to have precedence over long-protected property rights.

This talk was given as the Constitution Day lecture at Roanoke College on Sept.19, 2008, by Roy C. Smith, son-in-law of Henry Fowler. He is professor of entrepreneurship and finance, international business and professional responsibility at New York University. He is a graduate of the U.S. Naval Academy and he holds a master's degree from Harvard University.

When he was 5, the 16th Amendment to the Constitution was ratified, permitting the passage of a new income tax law with rates beginning at 1% and rising to 7% for taxpayers with income in excess of the then princely sum of $500,000.

When he was 10, America was exploding in a bubble of prosperity, brought on by great advances in industry and commerce—a time of a New Economy, propelled by technologies such as electric power, the automobile, radio, refrigeration, moving pictures and other marvels. But all of this came to an end following the stock market crash of October 29, 1929, just four months after Henry graduated from Roanoke College.

But he didn't have to worry—at least not right away—he was going to be locked up for the next three years in law school, where, as he put it, "I really slaved away just to keep from disgracing myself." He needn't have worried, or perhaps because he did, he made the Law Review and was invited to stay on for another year to obtain a doctorate in Constitutional Law, an invitation he readily accepted because he hadn't been able to land a job.

The Fowler home on Patterson Avenue.

No wonder, between 1929 and 1932, U. S. Gross Domestic Product fell 25%. Unemployment soared to terrifying levels, reaching 25% of the work force in 1933. Prices and wages plunged by as much as 50%. But almost worse than all this, borrowers who couldn't pay off bank loans began to default on them. Farmers, small businessmen and big businesses too, went into default. Depositors, needing to rely on their savings to make up for their loss of income and worried about the defaults, began to withdraw money from the banks and soon there were "runs' on the banks all over the country. By early 1931, more than 1,000 banks had failed, precipitating a national panic. In all, more than 9,000 banks failed in the 1930s and $140 billion in deposits (worth more than $1 trillion in today's money) were lost. Without their savings, many American families were plunged into poverty.

The Great Depression was a seminal event of the 20th Century. It was global in context—countries in Europe, Asia and Latin America suffered from it equally as badly as America—and the economic suffering it engendered quickly passed into the political arena where it upset established governments and encouraged their replacement by more radical, stronger regimes. A frenzied National Socialist Party rose to power in Germany and militarists took over in Japan. The rise of these parties and the corresponding weakness of ineffective socialist governments in Britain and France let loose the forces that brought on World War II.

The causes of the Great Depression have been debated by theorists ever since it began. The "monetarists" (who are known as the champions of the free market as the most efficient mechanism for economic management) claim that it was the excessive and imprudent growth of the money supply in the 1920s that caused the problems. This created the financial bubble that was burst by the Crash.

Others claimed then that corporate greed and excessive speculation were the root causes of the Depression and that these vindicated the ideas of Karl Marx, who asserted that the entire system of market capitalism was bankrupt and would soon collapse. The system, Marx believed, was essentially exploitative of labor and would necessarily reach a point when the vastly more numerous working classes would revolt and impose an anticapitalist, or

Communist, system instead.

There was another idea being circulated then by English economist John Maynard Keynes which became the subject of his great work, The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money, which was published in 1936. Keynes held that governments had the obligation and the capability to manage their economies so as to achieve full employment, and this could be done by fiscal means rather than by relying only on changes in interest rates. Governments, in other words, should raise and spend money during difficult times, and withdraw money from the economy during prosperous, overheated ones. The spending would have the effects of creating new jobs that would give unemployed people an income which would help to counter inflationary forces while paying down government debts to leave plenty of borrowing capacity for the next cycle.

"Gentleman Joe" Fowler at Roanoke College.

All of these powerful new ideas were in hot circulation at Yale in the early 1930s, where students, faculty and visiting intellectuals discussed the affairs of the day, knowing that there was little in their legal, government or economics textbooks to explain what to do about the current economic crisis. And of course they discussed the presidential election of 1932, in which President Herbert Hoover was opposed by the 50-year-old governor of New York State, Franklin Roosevelt, who had won the nomination of his party with an optimistic and confident (though vague) promise to change things and set the economy right once he came to office. Hoover, a successful conservative Republican businessman who took office in 1929, seven months before the Crash, endeavored to set some Keynesian projects into action, but the extraordinary speed at which the economy deteriorated overwhelmed them and — as the man in charge — he became hugely unpopular. You can appreciate how today's graduating college students might feel themselves to be in shoes similar to those of Henry Fowler in the early 1930s.

In the end, Roosevelt won 42 of the 48 states and huge majorities for his party in both houses of Congress, in one of America's biggest presidential landslides. Roosevelt would take office in March of 1933, but soon after his election, "brain trusts" were recruited and formed in many of America's leading universities for service in the new administration that was believed surely to bring about great changes.

While he was at Yale, Henry Fowler absorbed all the rhetoric, theory and excitement that abounds at great universities during times of great upheaval. In addition, he absorbed a new nickname, one that would last for the rest of his life. Henry came to be known as "Joe," a shorting of "Gentleman Joe," a figure of the day similar to the "Joe College" of my time in school. Joe was pleased with the nickname—it represented a long, but successful intellectual and social journey from the remote Blue Ridge Mountains to the elitist corridors of Yale, where he came into close contact with many of the movers and shakers of the New Deal when it was still on the drawing boards.

After completing his doctorate, Joe joined a well-known Washington law firm, Covington and Burling, which was led then by Dean Atchison, whom Roosevelt appointed undersecretary of the Treasury in 1933, and who later became secretary of state in the Truman administration. Joe sought an interview there and soon had an offer which he happily accepted, expecting to be at the center of action.

A year later, the 26-year-old Joe Fowler was appointed an associate general counsel of the Tennessee Valley Authority, which though only just created by the Roosevelt Administration, was deep into the effort to defend itself against a make-or-break lawsuit challenging the constitutionality of the law that authorized it. The job was exciting and challenging and Joe accepted it right away, though it meant that he would have to move from the center of action of the New Deal to the comparative backwater of Knoxville, Tennessee. The move proved to be a blessing

in many ways to the young lawyer; among those was the opportunity to meet Trudye Hathcote of Amory, Mississippi, who was working at TVA and would become his wife of 63 years.

The creation of the Tennessee Valley Authority was one of the most monumental undertakings of the Roosevelt era. It appeared within the first 100 days of the administration when the President and the various brain trusts were overflowing with energy and ideas. Roosevelt was never an ideologue—he didn't know or much care what a monetarist was, nor had he then ever heard of John Maynard Keynes, He was a pragmatist in search of large government programs that would provide jobs and get the economy back to normal as soon as possible. The inventory of such New Deal projects soon became huge and sounded like an alphabet soup: the CCC, the RFAA, the AAA, the NIRA, WPA and others were rapidly created in classic Keynesian fashion to initiate a slew of public works projects that would stimulate the economy into recovery.

But these new agencies were strongly opposed by conservatives, who believed that they exceeded the powers granted in the Constitution, and who sought to have them declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, which complied by overturning the National Industrial Recovery Act in 1935 and a variety of other New Deal efforts. Roosevelt, fearing that the nine sitting judges (the "nine old men" as he called them) would sink his whole effort to restart the economy, attempted to increase the number of judges appointed to the court, so as to pack it with a majority of his own choosing. The effort was hugely controversial and didn't succeed. Roosevelt would have to live with the judges who were there, and reshape his programs and legislation accordingly. Thus the administration prepared for a great battle with the Supreme Court over TVA.

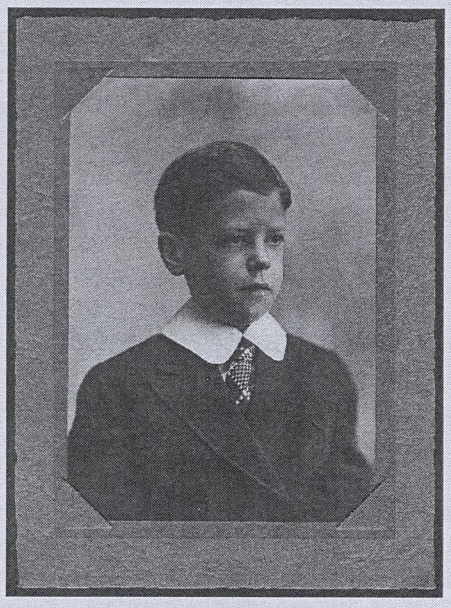
TVA was the brainchild of the President himself. He was concerned about the extent to which the electric power industry, predominantly owned by the private sector, had become a pawn in the financial speculation of the 1920s leading to the formation of highly leveraged utility holding companies that went bust after the Crash. The government had allowed these large concerns to be formed because it decided that the enormous capital cost associated with power generation and transmission could better be met through a system of authorized and regulated regional monopolies. But the sorry state of the industry in 1932 frightened the public and became an issue in the election. Roosevelt frequently asserted his support for measures to protect the "sovereignty" of the federal government to control national power resources. At the same time, he became aware of the extremely poor condition of the residents of the Tennessee Valley which covered all of the state of Tennessee, parts of Alabama, Mississippi and Kentucky and smaller parts of Georgia, North Carolina and of Southwest Virginia, reaching up to Christiansburg, not far from here.

Even by Depression standards, those who lived in this area were especially poor — with an average annual income of less than $650, and unhealthy — 30% were affected by malaria. Much of the valley had no electric power at all. TVA was designed to modernize and economically develop the region and to do so under a new federally chartered corporation, the first of its kind, that would provide the resources to combat all the human and economic problems of the region. It would provide electricity generation, navigation improvements, flood control, fertilizer manufacturing and build roads, bridges, dams and electric transmission lines to make it all possible.

It was a vast undertaking, passed by Congress in May of 1933, within only two months of Roosevelt's inauguration; a year later Joe Fowler was on his way to Knoxville. By December of 1935, a lawsuit filed by investors in the Alabama Power Company asserted that the establishment of TVA by the government was unconstitutional. The suit was masterminded by Wendell Wilkie, the general counsel of Commonwealth and Southern Corporation, the largest U. S. electric utility holding company, and Franklin Roosevelt's unsuccessful opponent in the 1940 presidential election.

A second blessing to fall on Joe Fowler in his appointment to the TVA was the opportunity to work closely with an extraordinary man, John Lord O'Brian, a very experienced government lawyer who was the TVA's general counsel and Joe's boss and mentor. O'Brian was appointed by President Theodore Roosevelt to serve as U.S. attorney for the Western District of New York. Unusually, he continued to serve in this position through the administrations of Presidents William Howard Taft and Woodrow Wilson. In 1929, President Herbert Hoover appointed O'Brian to serve as head of the Anti-Trust Division where he was responsible for arguing more than 15 cases before the U.S. Supreme Court. O'Brian, a Republican, was in his early 60s when he arrived at TVA.

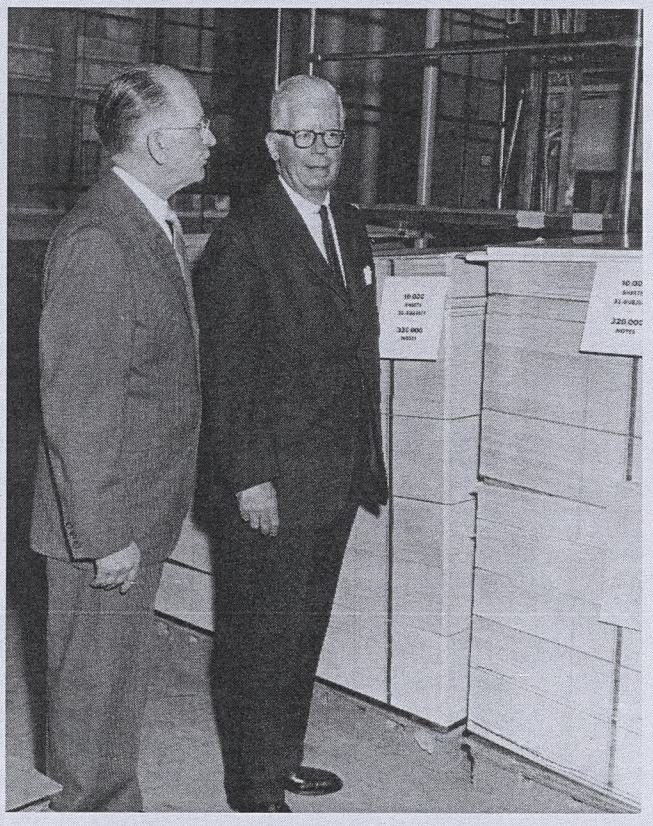
Joe increasingly gained the confidence of O'Brian who included him in the deliberations over the arguments and tactics for the case. The case against the TVA was based on the assertion that the Constitution did not empower the federal government to establish a government-controlled corporation that would function as a low-cost



Above: Henry Fowler as a schoolboy.

Right: Fowler (right) with another government official.

Below: Fowler compares notes with President Lyndon Johnson.



Treasury Secretary Fowler and Stuart Saunders, Roanoke College Trustees Chairman and Norfolk & Western Railway President, hold the first dollar bill with Fowler's signature.

Henry Fowler spoke at Roanoke College in 1985 and U.N. Ambassador Jeanne Kirkpatrick listened.

monopoly in competition with existing private sector enterprises.

O'Brian and his team argued that the dams and power facilities in question were constructed in reliance upon the Interstate Commerce and National Defense clauses of the Constitution which explicitly provided these powers to the federal government. The electricity was sold across state borders in aid of developing interstate commerce, and the navigational and other improvements in the region were necessary, among other reasons, for national defense. This was one of the first times such arguments had been made in a Supreme Court case, but the TVA team believed they could sell them to the judges. What gnarly old group of conservatives could possibly be against interstate commerce and national defense? One of the judges was, but the other eight voted to uphold TVA when their decision was announced in February of 1936. It was a huge victory for the Roosevelt Administration. The TVA is still in business today, after 75 years of providing power and infrastructure to one of the country's poorest regions, which is no longer so poor.

Joe was promoted by O'Brian to assistant general counsel in 1939 but late that year, at 31, he was recruited by Senator Robert M. Lafollette Jr., to serve as general counsel of a subcommittee of the Senate Committee of Education and Labor that was investigating violations of free speech and the civil rights of labor. Unexpectedly for a Republican, Lafollette was an ardent supporter of organized labor and his subcommittee was to investigate the industrial espionage, infiltration, physical intimidation and other techniques used by large employers to prevent workers from organizing.

Lafollette's efforts, however, were overtaken by the gathering storms that burst into World War II with the Nazi invasion of Poland in 1939 and subsequent events that led to the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor in December 1941. In January 1942, President Roosevelt issued an executive order establishing a War Production Board to exercise general direction of war procurement and production. This was to be the arm of government on which the armed forces would have to rely in order to prosecute the war. It was charged with determining the policies, procedures and methods of the Federal government in purchasing, contracting and construction of all war material, armaments and equipment and also any industrial conversion, requisitioning or plant expansion that should be necessary.

The first order of the Board was to halt all commercial automobile production within the United States. This was a very powerful body indeed. The War Production Board, along with an Office of Price Controls and a system of rationing the use of food, raw materials and just about everything else, would control all of the economic and industrial exertions that the country had to put forth in order to defend itself and wage war against opponents in Europe and Pacific. This was the largest concentration of economic power ever to exist in the history of the country, and it was protected by the National Defense powers of the Constitution. John Lord O'Brian was appointed general counsel of the Board at the outset and he recalled his able and trustworthy protégé, Joe Fowler, then 33, to assist him.

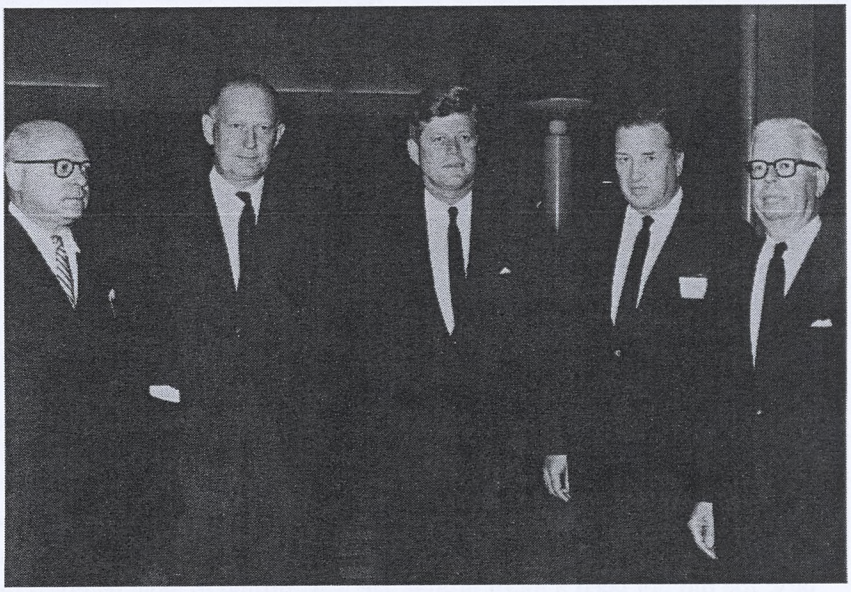
It was certainly a massive undertaking, much bigger than the TVA. The United States had to equip and supply more than 5 million members of the armed services and millions more who were serving in the forces of Great Britain and Russia. The U. S. was indeed the arsenal of democracy at this time, because it alone was able to organize, procure materials and manufacture the endless supply of munitions and weaponry needed: more than 600,000 aircraft, 2,000 ships, a million artillery pieces, 4 million machine guns, 3 million trucks and more than 300,000 tanks. All of this, plus a continuous supply of food, clothing and ammunition for the troops, was indeed produced during the relatively short three years and nine months that represented the duration of the war for the U. S.

The War Production Board handled it all. It worked with the country's most important leaders of industry and labor; with its suppliers of oil, iron ore, rubber, chemicals and everything else that the production schedules required. Numerous standing and ad hoc committees of industrial executives and Board staff members were organized to get things going. And everything that happened did so under a directive, contract or court order prepared by the legal department. Joe and his colleagues were hugely busy and right in the middle of things, Joe's weak eyesight had caused him to be exempted from the draft when it was first imposed, and by the time the standards had been relaxed to let in those who could see with glasses, he was declared to be too important to the war effort to be drafted. Many of Joe's life-long friendships with important men from all segments of society were formed during these few years.

When the war ended, Joe felt he had made enough of a name for himself to justify taking the risk of forming his own small law firm, Fowler, Leva. Hawes and Symington, to continue to represent in Washington a number of

the large corporations he had worked with during the war. The law firm was a success and for the first time in his life, Joe was earning a substantial income. But Joe's time in private practice would prove to be continuously interrupted by returns to government service.

Soon after the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950, Joe was recruited back to duty as director of Defense Mobilization by President Harry Truman. This body was nowhere near as potent or as important as the War Production Board, but it performed a similar task and Joe Fowler was its chief executive. The task of the Defense Mobilization Office, however, was more difficult in some respects because the Korean War did not involve national mobilization. The civilian economy went on as usual, without rationing or price controls or government intervention, but still the needs of the armed forces had to be met. This meant long efforts to appeal for voluntary cooperation and a more gentle and persuasive use of government authority to get things done. These were different lessons, but invaluable ones for the 42-year-old director. So was the experience of serving as a member of the President's cabinet and of the National Security Council, which surely marked Joe Fowler as a man on the rise. Truman was succeeded in 1953 by Dwight Eisenhower, and Joe returned to his law firm, where he was to remain for a decade.



Henry Fowler (far right) was appointed deputy secretary of the Treasury under President Kennedy. Stuart Saunders, Chairman of the Roanoke College Board of Trustees is at left. Next are Treasury Secretary Douglas Dillon; President Kennedy; and Henry Ford II.

During World War II, Joe and his family had located in Alexandria and Joe became active in Democratic Party affairs in Northern Virginia, twice being elected as a delegate to to the national Democratic presidential conventions. The leader of the Democratic Party in Virginia since the 1920s was Senator Harry Byrd, who was a fierce opponent of civil rights. He authored the "Southern Manifesto" which southern politicians signed to demonstrate their opposition to integration of black students with whites in the public schools, and orchestrated a program of massive resistance in Virginia to school integration, which culminated in the closing of many of the state's public schools in 1957. Though a Virginian with traditional views (and no personal experience of racial integration) Joe Fowler participated in vigorous efforts in Northern Virginia to overturn the Byrd organization's actions.

In 1960, John F. Kennedy was elected president of the U.S. He decided to include a Republican in his cabinet. Douglas Dillon, a Kennedy friend who had served as an undersecretary of State in the Eisenhower administration, was appointed secretary of the Treasury. Kennedy's advisors, however, wanted to be sure that there was a safe pair of hands on whom the Democrats could rely just underneath Dillon, and proposed Joe Fowler, then in his early 50s, for the job of deputy secretary. Kennedy agreed and the offer was made and accepted. However, when Senator Byrd, then chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, heard of the appointment, he called Kennedy to object. "Here's a man from my state, that I've never met but who has opposed me in Virginia and you want to put him in the Treasury," he said. "By senatorial courtesy, if I oppose the appointment, no one on the Senate Finance Committee will vote to confirm him. Better send him around to see me, but don't count your chickens just yet."

Joe went to see him and told him that he too was born in Virginia and had supported and voted for him for many years, but on the issue of school integration, they didn't agree. Joe said he believed that America had to be ruled by the law and the Constitution, and that the Supreme Court had made integration the law of the land. Byrd,

whose massive resistance effort was a spent force by then, acknowledged the point and said he would vote to confirm him. Byrd was known as a very difficult man to charm, but Joe did so and went on to serve in Kennedy's Treasury.

Joe's years as deputy secretary of the Treasury were very eventful. Neither he nor Secretary Dillon were experienced in the mysteries of governmental finance but the country faced serious economic issues—a growing balance of payments deficit that was putting pressure on U.S. gold reserves as foreign central banks exchanged accumulated dollar holdings for gold, and a sluggish economy inherited from the Eisenhower years that Kennedy had promised "to get going again." In July of 1963, the president approved an executive order proposed by the Treasury to impose an "Interest Equalization Tax" on foreigners borrowing in U.S. capital markets and transmitting the proceeds overseas. Soon afterwards, the president authorized additional controls that would require U.S. companies making investments abroad to secure the funds overseas rather than export them. Both of these measures were unpopular and controversial, but they did contribute to reducing the balance of payments deficit.

In the summer and fall of 1963, Joe especially was involved in preparing Congress for Kennedy's plan to lower income taxes significantly as an incentive to economic growth. Joe, who already knew and had befriended many of the key committee chairmen in the House and Senate, was the point man for this effort. The proposed tax cut would equal about 2 percent of gross domestic product (GDP), the largest tax cut in American history at the time. The top marginal tax rate applied to individuals would drop from an extraordinary 91 percent to 70 percent and the lowest rate would be set at 14 percent.

This effort consumed most of Joe Fowler's time until November 1963 when President Kennedy was shot and killed by an assassin. The event completely traumatized the country and the government. Most of the senior cabinet officials were on an airplane headed for talks in Japan. As deputy Treasury secretary, Joe was called in by President Lyndon Johnson for a series of emergency meetings with the National Security Council and to brief the former vice president on all of Kennedy's pending economic plans and forthcoming operations. In early 1964, after his first State of the Union address urging Congress to support Kennedy's plan, President Johnson was able to enact the Kennedy-Johnson tax cut, which substantially stimulated economic growth during the following five years, creating what some economists at the time called a "Golden Age" during which the longest uninterrupted period of economic growth in American history occurred. This record was only exceeded (but just barely so) in the 1990s in the Clinton years. The Kennedy-Johnson tax cut was used by the incoming Reagan administration almost 20 years later as a template for a similar tax cut.

After the tax cut was signed into law, Joe advised President Johnson that he wanted to return to private life. However, a year later, when Douglas Dillon retired, Johnson called Joe and asked him to return as Treasury secretary. Joe did not need a lot of urging. He was thrilled to have received the offer and accepted it promptly.

Returning to the Treasury in 1965, Joe faced considerable economic challenges. The country had landed ground troops in Vietnam and that war, which was escalating rapidly, had to be financed. The balance of payments problem had worsened, threatening the strength and the future of the U.S. dollar as the world's principal reserve currency, and inflation—encouraged by the recent tax cut and the expanding costs of the war effort—began to rise ominously, from 1 percent in 1960 to 1.6 percent in 1965, from which it would double in the following year. Joe would devote the next three years to reducing the federal fiscal and balance of payments deficits, to strengthening the dollar and protecting the world financial system.

Economic policy then was controlled by a triad of Fowler at Treasury, William McChesney Martin at the Federal Reserve and Gardner Ackley and Arthur Okun, who were successive chairmen of the president's Council of Economic Advisers. Their policy conclusions had to be sold to the president and to the senior Congressional committee chairmen in order to become reality. This selling job was Fowler's task, but he participated in the policy decisions, which were considered classic Keynesian moves at the time. The tax cut stimulus of 1964 was followed by a restraining tax increase, or "surcharge" in 1968. These fiscal moves were thought to demonstrate how government policy, thoughtfully prepared and executed, could constitute the most enlightened form of economic governance ever applied.

Subsequent economists and historians have questioned this conclusion, but acknowledge that the fiscal moves made in 1964 and 1968 were directionally correct and the economic results that followed were both positive and what was intended. That alone was a big stride forward in the art of managing complex national economies. In any event, Joe Fowler was probably the only man in American history successful to sell both a tax cut and an increase

As deputy Treasury secretary, Fowler (at LBJ's right, closest to podium) was called in by President Lyndon Johnson for a series of emergency meetings with the National Security Council and to brief the former vice president on Kennedy's pending economic plans and forthcoming operations.

to the same people within a four-year period, and then to leave office with a slight fiscal surplus.

Joe had other missions while in the Treasury: the resolution of the continuing balance of payments problem which he helped mitigate by the introduction into the international monetary system of Special Drawing Rights, or "paper gold."

Joe toughened the rules affecting the transfer of dollars abroad; he negotiated tough "balance of payments offset agreements" with Germany and Japan, making those countries pay for most of the cost of U.S. troops stationed there. He devised and implanted numerous credit support facilities to maintain the currency ratios with Britain and some other countries, and was involved with trying to assist them when their currencies came under attack. He accomplished a lot for a Treasury secretary in just a few years.

Joe resigned from the Treasury in November 1968 and at 60 became a partner of Goldman, Sachs & Co., a New York investment bank headed by an old colleague at the War Production Board, Sidney Weinberg, who died about six months later. Joe was designated chairman of Goldman, Sachs International Corp., and for the next six years devoted himself principally to helping the firm develop its international business. There he became a mentor to Robert Rubin, whose interest in politics led him to become a future Treasury secretary. He was also a director of several major American corporations, including Norfolk and Western Railway, TWA and Corning Glass and served as chairman of the board of Roanoke College and as a board member or trustee of the Atlantic Council, the Brookings Institute, the Funds of the Episcopal Diocese of Virginia and other non-profit organizations.

Henry Fowler was a Big Government Man. He was a participant in many of America's most significant moments in a century filled with them. He served his country at a time when vast amounts of power were ceded to the government, which it used responsibly and effectively. This power had to be defended against repeated consti-

Lady Bird Johnson, wife of President Lyndon Johnson, holds a replica of the 1965 Time magazine cover showing Henry Fowler as Man of the Year.

tutional challenges. Fowler learned to believe in free markets and open economies, and strongly opposed communism and various national forms of socialism. But he also believed that government had an obligation to respond to political forces and to intervene in economic affairs in the best interest of all citizens, though such intervention must be clearly necessary, competent, fair and to the greatest extent possible, bipartisan.

He believed in the singular importance of American power and its benign projection around the world, but also that world peace and economic development critically depended on the cooperation and participation of foreign states and leaders and that such cooperation would necessarily involve considerable give and take. Above all, he believed in the American constitutional system of law and democracy—a system that had served and guided the country so well during a century of great struggle and difficulty in economics, war and civil rights. American democracy, weathered as it had been by the tumultuous Twentieth Century, had provided the vessel for its people to enjoy the fruits of civilization and prosperity such as no other society in the history of man had ever before achieved.

Joe Fowler died a few days into the new century, in January 2000, believing that his efforts had contributed to the achievement of this ideal and he was content.

Colonel John Smith ~
Unsung hero of Virginia's Colonial frontier
First owner of downtown Roanoke

by Gordon Aronhime

PART ONE

We have it on the best authority imaginable that Colonel John Smith was born in the year,1701, for this is stated in court sixty-five years after the event.*(i)* Where he was born is another matter. A secondary work not noted for scholarship states boldly that he was born in England of English parents and moved to Ireland before coming to America, but when one need not document it is not necessary to be accurate for paper never protests.

Where he may have been born is not known to this compiler of data on the illustrious subject, but, again from a sworn statement in court, we know he did live in Ireland and sailed from there to America, landing in Philadelphia. He had with him on this voyage his wife, Margaret, and their five sons, listed in order of age from oldest to youngest – Abraham, Henry, Daniel, John and Joseph.*(ii)* The importation order does not state the date of arrival, but it is likely that the date was about 1730-32.

The secondary work referred to above tells of the exploits of John Smith in another County of Virginia prior to his coming to the West, but again let it be said that paper is not concerned with what is written on it and whether one John Smith may not be mistaken for another, this being the two most common names in the categories. So, wherever John Smith and his wife Margaret with their five boys may have first lived, they were certainly in what is today Augusta County, Virginia before the year 1738. The importation order was issued by Orange County in late June of 1740 but it must be recalled that all orders for Augusta County between its creation in 1738 and its organization of 9 December 1745 were issued by Orange County.*(iii)* At least one son appears to have been born to the couple between their arrival in America and the year 1741 when the records seem to catch up with them, and his name must have been Patrick. In Augusta County proper, three more children were born and they were baptized at the Tinkling Spring church – David on 19 July 1741, Jonathan on 22 July 1744, and Louvisa or Louisa, the only daughter apparently, on 6 October 1745. A son, James was born after the Smiths moved to what is now Botetourt County not too long after the birth of their daughter.*(iv)* Thus, it will be seen that there were nine sons, James apparently the last child, and the one daughter who became the wife of Rees Bowen, later killed at King's Mountain Battle.

Shortly after his arrival on the frontier, about 1738, John Smith, with five other partners including the noted Colonel James Patton, who assumed control of the venture, buying out all partners save Smith and Zachariah Lewis, were granted a patent for 100,000 acres on the waters of the James and Roanoke Rivers. These were lands on the far ends of the earth then and this appears to be perhaps the first blanket grant that could be sur-

This article was published in the Augusta Historical Bulletin of the Augusta County Historical Society, Volume 14, Number 1, Spring 1978. Gordon Aronhime (1911-1983) was born in Roanoke and lived most of his life in Bristol where he was a writer/photographer for the Bristol Herald Courier and a local historian and author. He wrote a series of historical articles on early settlement in Southwest Virginia and East Tennessee. He earned undergraduate and graduate degrees at East Tennessee State University. A collection of his articles and historical papers is in the Archives of Appalachia at East Tennessee State University, Johnson City, Tenn.

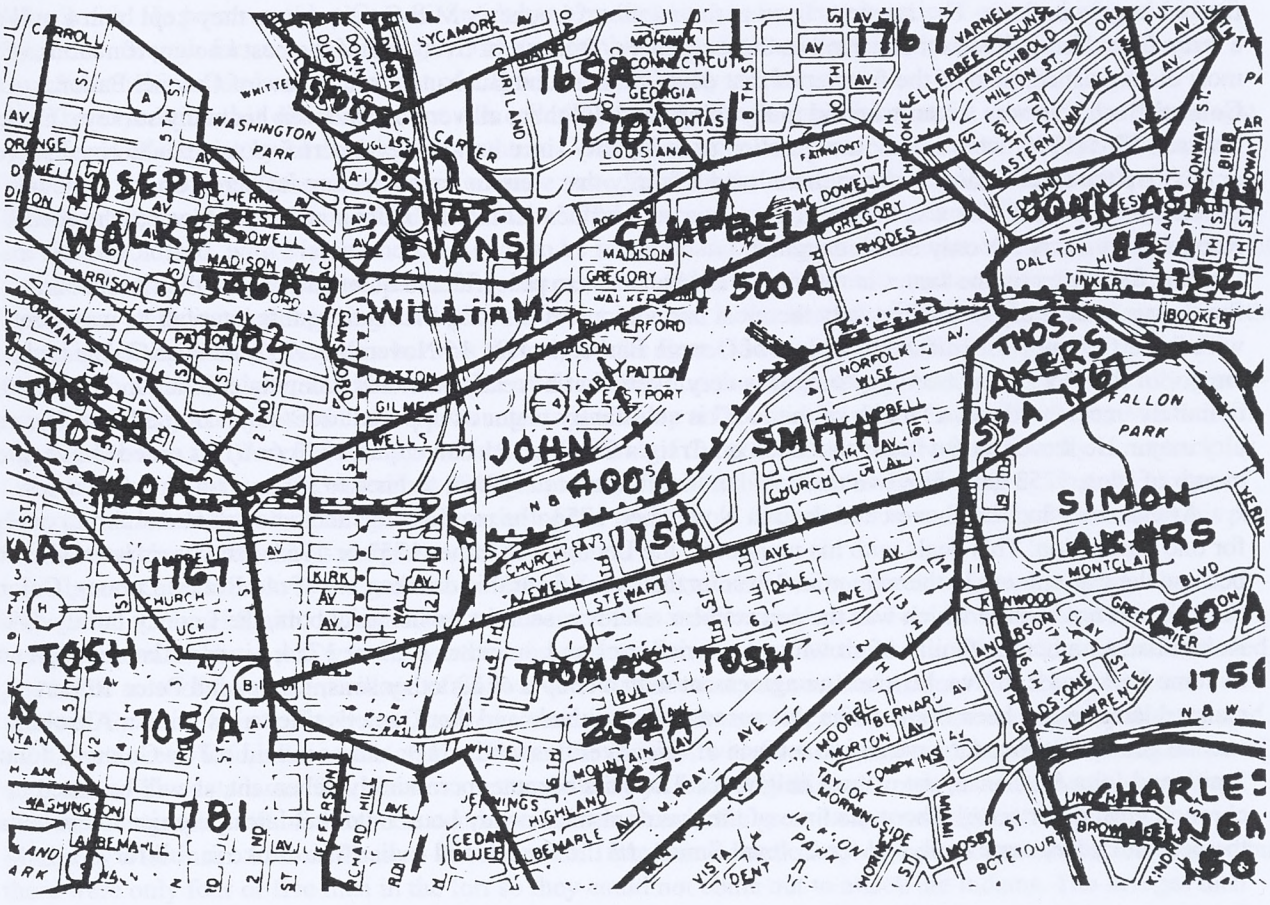
veyed piecemeal and not in one huge tract, such as the Beverley Manor. Smith was put in charge of selling and surveying the land and was to receive for this, in addition to his sixth part of the profits, ten percent for his work. He got nothing and many years later, in May, 1767, filed a bill for a suit which came to Augusta County Court for judgment in November, 1770 when Colonel Smith was 69 years old. He remained in that work for ten years.*(v)*

One of the most interesting things to speculate about on Colonel Smith is where he lived in the early years. He did not live in either Borden's Grant or in Beverley Manor but seems to have lived just north and slightly west of the latter. He owned several tracts but dates of land patents, as is well known to anyone studying frontier land situations, are not accurate indications of dates of settlement. As indicated above, he did not live, as did many of his friends and associates, in Beverley Manor or the Borden Grant, but seems to have lived just above the northwest edge of the former. The matter is further complicated by the fact that John Smith Jr., his son, had deeds for lands that were only separable from the Colonel's own by later transactions long after John Jr. was killed. For Colonel Smith, one tract and probably the site of his home, was on the south fork of the north river of Shenandoah, adjacent to the line of Colonel James Wood's property. This was patented to John Smith (1701-1783) on 25 June 1747 and he sold it to Silas Hart on 5 June 1749, with Margaret Smith signing a release for her dower interest in the land.*(vi)* That this was his actual residence is supported by a petition of 1749 which requests that the inhabitants of the south fork of the south branches of "Pattomuck" who "are very discommoded for want of a road to market and to court on occasion, but especially to market."

The petition further states that the petitioners "have found a very good way for a road: Beginning at John Patton's and over the mountain to Captain John Smith's." They beg for a bridle road to court. Among the signers of this petition are Colonel John Smith, his sons Abraham, Daniel, Henry and John Jr., which indicates that the family lived in a cluster, as was customary in that day.*(vii)* John Jr. had purchased his land from that same Silas Hart who bought the elder Smith's land in 1749.*(viii)* John, Jr. willed this land to his nephew John, son of Daniel Smith as indicated in Note viii above. The elder John Smith also had a tract of land on Moffet's Branch of Cathey's River which had been patented to him on 10 February 1748 and which he sold to William Matthews, a weaver, on 28 November 1749. But it is very unlikely that he lived on the land on Moffett's Branch, but instead occupied the land he first mortgaged and then sold to Silas Hart.*(ix)*

The conditions that give this as fact are many. First, the land sold to Silas Hart would have to be the one mentioned as his home in the 1749 petition. Then, John Smith is witness to various deeds in Augusta County dated 8 February, 18 and 19 June, 1746.*(x)* He is also mentioned in a suit found in County Court Judgments for what is shown as February, 1745 but is really 1746, for in the years prior to 1752, English colonists, like Englishmen world over, used the old calendar which changed year on 25 March instead of the 1st of January. This is the second listed suits after the County Court Judgments of Augusta began and it comes to the court again in both April and June of 1746 when the suit is reversed and the plaintiff and defendant swap positions. In this double suit, the two principals are Colonel Smith and George Breckenridge, and Captain Smith's neighbor was Robert Breckenridge, brother of George.*(xi)* This suit for non-performance stems from 1742. On 25 February 1746 (the real date), a man named Alexander Brownlee of Donigall, Lancaster County, Pa., brought suit against Colonel John Smith over his having failed to make good the title for 400 acres of land on a branch of North River. The bond for this was dated 9June 1739, proving that Colonel Smith was in the area of the Hart land then and active in disposal of tracts of land. The suit refers to him as John Smith of Orange County, and such he was since Augusta had not then been organized.*(xii)* On 27 February 1749 (really 1750), along with Colonels James Patton and John Buchanan, Smith was one of the vestrymen to receive the deed for 200 acres in Beverly Manor for the Glebe.*(xiii)*

As noted above, Colonel Smith acted as agent for Colonel Patton and the others in the attempt to dispose of the 100,000 acres that had been granted them on branches of the James and Roanoke Rivers. To better protect those interests, no doubt, Colonel Smith moved about this time to a location on the James River where he was to live for the over thirty years that remained of his life. This move was of great importance, for it led to Colonel Smith's captivity, it led also to the marriage of his only daughter, and it led to the circumstance mentioned at the outset of this monograph which gave us the actual date of birth of this great man of the frontier. His decision to move also indicates his connection with the sale of lands already referred to. Prior to his move to the James, Colonel Smith made what seems to have been the first of his encounters with credit that were to complicate his



Early map identifies a 400-acre tract once owned by Col. John Smith in the area of what is now Campbell and Church Avenues in downtown Roanoke. (Map by J.R. Hildebrand)

life so terribly later on. On 1 January 1746, he gave a note to Patrick Dowell for £1 which he promised to pay on order or demand to William Hughes and, in due time, the claim was presented.*(xiv)*

Some have contended that Colonel Smith first moved to the site of Roanoke. This is undoubtedly mistaken, though he did indeed own a tract of 400 acres in what is today the central part of Roanoke City. He sold this land, listed as "The Great Lick" to Malcolm Campbell on 21 November 1759.*(xv)* The earliest known acquisition of land on the James was for 500 acres on 16 March 1748 in the forks adjacent to Joseph Walker and James Mills on Cedar Creek (this is the creek that flows through Natural Bridge).*(xvi)* The same reference lists another survey "adjacent to his former survey in the forks of 390 acres" which was surveyed on 20 March 1751. This gave the owner a total of 890 acres on the James and he took up two more tracts, one of 120 acres and another of 75 acres, the first on the north side and the second on the south side of the James. These two were surveyed on the 30th and 13th of June 1753.*(xvii)*

Like most men of his day, Colonel Smith acquired more land than he could manage. As one present-day history student remarked, "those people used land like we do money and sometimes as foolishly." On 28 November 1751, he bought the first of two tracts from Colonel James Patton on Craig's Creek, buying the second tract on 17 May 1753. The first was for 195 acres and the second for 213 acres. These lands were to figure, along with the surveyed land already mentioned in tragic importance fifteen years later, as will be seen. The 408 acres on Craig's Creek were located near the mouth of that stream.*(xviii)* So, before 1750, Colonel Smith, then still a captain, settled on and near the site of the present town of Buchanan, Virginia. His neighbors were distinguished and figured largely in his later life. To the west lived the Looneys – a family not badly named, if one considers the drunken rages of the elder Looney and the subsequent family legal tangles, as will be shown since Colonel Smith

figured largely in these. The Looneys lived at the mouth of Looney's Mill Creek, where they kept both a mill and a ferry. One, Henry, lived on an island in the river there. To the east lived one of the best known, if not one of the most distinguished, men of the frontier of that day, Colonel John Buchanan, son-in-law of Colonel Patton. Colonel Buchanan was a man who did many things and did them all very badly. Even his many surveys, made between 1745-1750, were called into question as to legality since he was never certified as an authorized surveyor.*(xix)* Up the river a short distance there lived a family that were to have a lasting influence on the fame of Colonel John Smith. This was the large, energetic, and influential family of John and Lily Bowen, whose son, Rees, was to marry the only Smith daughter.

The first years on the James at the site of Buchanan were peaceful and quiet and maybe the finest John Smith was to ever enjoy and certainly the most harmonious of his long life. During this interval, he was surety with Robert Looney for Elizabeth, widow of George Barber.*(xx)* On 15 November 1752, he qualified as both a "major of the foot and as Coroner."*(xxi)* It is very likely that he really was only a deputy coroner and it should be definitely understood that a "major of the foot" is an infantry major as opposed to a "major of the horse," or cavalry major. He served as a witness to a deed on Craig's Creek on 21 November 1753.*(xxii)* As noted above, the month of June, 1753 gave him two tracts of land on the James adjacent to his two surveys totaling 890 acres.

After witnessing the above cited deed in November, 1753, the records are silent about Colonel Smith except for one transaction. This deals with his neighbors, the Looneys. In either 1753 or 1754 – ten years later when he became the star witness in the numerous lawsuits that arose from this drunken act of old Robert Looney, Colonel Smith could not be sure which was the correct year – he was sent for by his neighbors, the Looney family. Old Robert had a numerous family of grown and married sons and, in either 1753 or 1754, his son Absolom agreed to come back home to live, he made an agreement with a couple of his other sons, Daniel and Peter. Robert claimed later he had been drunk when this agreement was made and that Daniel's title to his brother Absolom was no good. This dispute gave rise to a brace of suits over this land which had been laid off by Colonels John Smith and John Buchanan, the nearest neighbors. The suits became increasingly vehement, as will be noted in chronological order.*(xxiii)* About the time of the events at the Looney household that later gave rise to the suits, the peaceful years came to an end for Colonel Smith and the French and Indian War broke in full fury.

PART TWO: The Tragic Years (1755-1770)

Section A: The War Years (1755-1763)

From 1755 to 1763, Colonel Smith was struck repeatedly by severe tragedy even though he may not have felt the severity of these years since they were tempered by the excitement of war which has always exhilarated men and caused them to submerge their personal tragedy to the excitement of the fray. We first hear of them in this period from the correspondence of Governor Dinwiddie. The Governor wrote that a company of forty men was to be raised by Captain Smith. Note that although Smith had already been appointed a major of infantry, he served as a captain until his capture in 1756.

This letter of the Governor was written in early August and on the eleventh of that same month and year, 1755, Dinwiddie wrote Major John Smith (he so addressed the letter) in which he stated "Colonel Patton had my positive orders to appoint you commander of the company of rangers raised in your county, how he came not to obey it, I know not, however, you may raise forty men which, with the company commanded by Captain (William) Preston and a company from Luneburg (County) of fifty men that have orders to march immediately to your assistance, I conceive will be sufficient to scour the woods of the enemy and encourage your people to return to their plantations, and then I think you will not want the militia." Of course, Colonel Patton had been killed by the Indians the 30th of July before, or nearly two weeks before these letters had been written and at a distance of more than sixty miles to the west of where Colonel Smith lived. At the same time, he wrote to Major Andrew Lewis, appointed County Lieutenant in the place of Colonel Patton later on, that "Captain Preston and Captain Smith are to be at no place." This meant they were not to be garrisoned, but to serve as "rangers."*(1)*

But the principal letter of this time is from Governor Dinwiddie to Captains Smith and Preston jointly, dated 15 December 1755. In this, he mentions that the Cherokees have offered 130 men to aid on an expedition to the enemy (that is, the Shawnees) and suggests the organization of an expedition under the command of Captain

John Smith. He points out that Captain Smith has already been sent seventy barrels of corn, which would be more than enough for such a campaign.*(2)* However, this did not materialize, but instead turned into another expedition which stood out as the first of Captain Smith's many misfortunes.

The expedition that did come about was called The Sandy Creek Expedition and it is one of the most tragic campaigns of the history of the Virginia Frontier. Companies were commanded by Captains Hogg, Smith, Woodson, Preston, and others on this unfortunate expedition. In the correspondence, Captains Smith and Woodson are spoken of as being "old woodsmen." The troops were to meet at Dunkard's Bottom, near the present site of Radford, with Major Andrew Lewis to be in command. There is an account of this for those who want to read of a tragic campaign that was badly planned, executed even worse, with no enemy to fight other than starvation, stupidity, and meaningless action. This is contained in the Journal of William Preston, a captain on the campaign. They went by way of what was then called the Bear Garden and into what is still called Burke's Garden. In 1756, the latter had been emptied of all settlers and the troops dug potatoes left by the hastily departed settlers. They then crossed Tazewell County as it is today and continued down Sandy Creek. By March 10th, most of the men had deserted. Only a decimated remnant of the group that started off so proudly came back.*(3)* Over two years later, on 23 September 1748, Captain Smith had to defend his good name against the charge of desertion that had been lodged against him during his captivity in Canada. He was cleared of this and all his pay was restored by the House of Burgesses in 1758.*(4)*

The next adventure was the greatest ordeal of Colonel Smith's life. On his return from the Sandy Creek Expedition, Colonel Smith, as instructed, took some of his soldiers to Vause's Fort. This was a private fort newly built by Ephraim Vause and was the westernmost and southernmost of all the frontier forts. The fort was located just to the west of the present village of Shawsville, Virginia and just south of present U.S. 11. It enclosed the home of Ephraim Vause. The events that led to and included the capture of Fort Vause are superbly documented.

Over a week before the attack on Fort Vause, the Indians, with French command, began a reconnaissance of the section. The details are furnished in a letter written by Colonel William Preston to an unknown correspondent, an autograph draft of which Preston kept and which is in the great Draper manuscript collection in Madison, Wisconsin. Colonel Preston wrote that on 16th June a small party of Indians appeared at Fort Vause but there were only four or five men in the fort so they could not come out to attack the Indians. The savages then captured a settler at about two miles from the Fort and took him prisoner to a camp in a mountain gap west of the New River. They detained him three days and questioned him very carefully since one of the Indian spoke English. The settler was told that they had decided to destroy both the forts of Preston and Vause. No attack was made right away. Instead, on the 19th, they brought the prisoner to Evan Neill's home where they proceeded to kill three hogs for their group and to wash their tomahawks. While they engaged in this activity, the prisoner grabbed a horse and a gun and escaped. He came to the home of William Preston and gave his testimony under oath. Meanwhile, on the 22nd, Preston had discharged his company in conformity with the Governor's orders. Shortly after this, he received an express (that is a special messenger) from Captain John Smith that the Indians had appeared at Fort Vause and that he was afraid of being attacked and his garrison consisted of only eight or ten men. Preston was unable to comply with this appeal for aid since he had just dismissed his company. But, alarmed at the seriousness of the situation and the isolated position of those forted at Vause's, he began to gather volunteers and on the 25th had gathered 18 of his own men and 29 other militiamen of the area and set off toward Fort Vause.

It should be remembered that Colonel Preston was not then married and we are not sure of where he lived. Some have suggested that he lived on Buffalo Creek at the home that came later to be known as Greenfield and this is probably correct. This home is located northwest of present-day Roanoke and would have been about 60 miles from Fort Vause. About three in the afternoon, he was within three or four miles of Vause's when the group met a servant of Vause. This man told them that he had been about two miles from the fort when he heard it was being attacked by a large number of Indians. Six men with him at the time were armed and hastened toward the fort. The militiamen outstriped the servant who, when he neared the fort, saw the six firing at the Indians, so he watched the fray. The fort had been attacked by what he described as "a large number of Indians" about ten that morning. The account continued that the "Indians sett the fort on Fire & some Cabbins joining it, and that the house where Captain Smith with Vause's Family were in was not burned until 4 in the afternoon." The next morning they went to the place and saw "the houses, Fort, etc. in ashes and about one hour before we met the

servant man he had been among the Ruins & see (sic!) part of a Human Body which had been burned, & it is generally Believed that all the men in the Fort – but seven in number-" (this refers to the armed militiamen, not the civilians there) "were killed and burned, there is 24 persons killed and missing." Major Andrew Lewis wrote to Governor Dinwiddie soon after the event that "Captain Vause has been a very great Sufferer by the late unhappy affair, his Wife & two Daughters, his Fort, raised at his own expense, and Barn and the other buildings on his Plantation Burned to Ashes and above eighty heads of Cattle & horses killed and carried away.*(5)*

In the holocaust of the surrender of the Fort on 25 June 1756, Captain Vause was not the only sufferer. Everyone in the fort was either killed or captured. A few escaped and some went into Canada in captivity and died there. Captain Smith's family were major sufferers. His son, John Jr., a lieutenant under him, was brought before him and brutally murdered before his eyes. His other son, Joseph, a soldier, was taken into captivity with Captain Smith, and Joseph died there. A few months earlier, in March, on the New River, another son, Patrick, was killed by the Indians.*(6)* Among the prisoners in Fort Vause, in addition to the Vauses and Smiths, there was Peter Looney, a soldier, son of Smith's neighbor, old Robert Looney. Though taken prisoner, Peter escaped, but the event shortened his life, for he died before November, 1760, leaving a widow, Margaret who later married James McCain. It is interesting that Jonathan Smith, brother of Louvisa Smith Bowen, was guardian of this Peter Looney's young son, Peter, Jr.*(7)*

Captain John Smith was not fortunate enough to have escaped. Instead, he was to begin one of the most amazing episodes in his long and extremely interesting life, as will be seen. To use his very words in his Memorial to the House of Burgesses on 3 April 1758, he had been in Fort Vause, or "Vauss", as he put it, "with a small party, was attacked by the enemy, which, after having defended it till he had but three men left, he was at length obliged to surrender." He went on to relate in this same Memorial how "the Enemy then most inhumanly murdered his eldest son" (he really meant the elder of the two sons who were with him in the fort – Joseph, the other, being younger than John, the slain son) "before his face, and carried him prisoner to the Shawnese Towns and French Forts, and from thence to Quebec…" He told further how he was there "put on board a Cartel ship and carried to England."*(8)* It might be noted that a "Cartel ship" was one which was used between warring nations, under a flag of truce, to transfer prisoners from one nation to another. This definition of the word "cartel" is today found more in dictionaries than in the mouths of men, but it is quite correct.

His memorial continued to relate his interesting experiences. Again to quote: "That while he was in England he had the honor to be introduced to Mr. Secretary Pitt, to whom he communicated his observations, who highly approved his scheme, and recommended him to Lord Loudon to encourage and promote such an enterprise." The observations he referred to in this statement were that he had carefully noted the Indian Towns and the French forts on the way to Quebec and he believed he could lead "a small party of men, about 800,…if properly conducted…(could) easily destroy those Indian Towns and perhaps some of the French Forts." Mr. Secretary Pitt referred to above was the true, if not the actual, Prime Minister of England of the time, though he then held only the post of Secretary of State and was not created Prime Minister until ten years later.*(9)* The Earl of Loudon was "that pompous windbag," as a noted American Historian has called him, who was responsible for the military failures in America and Britain, he then serving as the commander of British forces in North America.*(10)* The Memorial further stated that "he has lost three sons and a great part of his fortune in the service of his country, and that being still ready and zealous for his Majesty's Service, and well acquainted with the route necessary to be taken to distress the Enemy in those parts, he humbly offers himself to undertake such an Expedition if it could be approved of."*(11)*

Although the expedition was never implemented, the Memorial did accomplish something, for Smith was soon made a full Colonel in Augusta, to which county, of course, he had returned. By the same order, William Preston was made a Major, the order being dated 17 November 1758.*(12)* The next day after his Memorial he presented the House of Burgesses with a claim in which he stated that "in the year 1755 he was appointed Captain of a company of rangers and continued in the service until he was made a prisoner in 1756; and that he expended large sums of his own money in purchasing provisions and other necessaries for his company, but being taken prisoner, had no opportunity of applying to have his accounts settled until this time.*(13)*

Eight days after this, the House issued its response: "The committee to whom this petition was referred reported that the said John Smith was appointed a Captain of a company of Rangers by commission bearing date of 25th of May 1756, and taken prisoner the 25th of June following at Vause's Fort, that he had several of his

own guns there, which were made use of in defence of the fort, an horse employed in going to mill, a mare which he rode thither a few days before, and several other things, all which were taken by the enemy in the reduction of the fort and that he has but lately returned from his captivity." They concluded that he ought to be allowed the sum of £15, 10 shillings, at the rate of ten shillings a day for his pay as Captain for the date of commission to the date of capture. They further allowed him the sum of £100 for his material things used in the defense of the fort and "as a reward for his bravery in the defence thereof."*(14)* In the 1758 Journals of the House of Burgesses, John Smith was allowed 13 shillings as pay for service as major, £12 shillings, 6 pence for a horse "impressed and killed and hire of another horse." They appropriated £576, 18 shillings to Gabriel Jones, a noted area attorney, and Dr. Thomas Walker for a company's muster roll under Captain John Smith ending on 25 June 1756. To Captain Smith, they allowed £20, 15 shillings for "the balance of his pay and his son's pay as lieutenant of the same company." For his account of "provisions and horse hire, and for enlisting soldiers," they paid Smith £199 and he also received another £75 which was listed simply as "for provisions."*(15)*

One interesting sidelight on Colonel Smith's capture and the subsequent distress of his family is that Margaret, his wife, was awarded £20 for the relief of herself and her minor children. It should not be forgotten that while the Colonel was in captivity, Margaret still had at home three minor children – Jonathan, 14, Louvisa, 13, and James, then only a small child. This money was appropriated by the legislature in May, 1757 but was not paid until 12 January 1758 when William Preston, to whom it was paid for Margaret Smith, rode over with his sister Mary to deliver the money. This payment, like others was duly noted in a very full little notebook he kept for this purpose in 1756-1759 and which has fortunately been preserved in the great Draper collection in Wisconsin. The signature of Mrs. Smith is a boldly written one reading "Margaret (*sic!*) Smith."*(16)*

The most vital and interesting fact revealed by the Journals of the House of Burgesses is in their payment to Captain John Smith, not acted on until 1763, for his pay as a prisoner.*(17)* The amount appropriated by the House was £83, 13 shillings, 9 pence. This, even to the fraction of a day indicates that the Colonel was a prisoner for 158 days. From this, one can see that apparently Colonel Smith remained a prisoner until either the 9th or 10th of December in 1756. This would undoubtedly represent the day he was sent on the "Cartel" ship from Quebec and not the date of his arrival in England. If, however, the date of cessation of captivity was the arrival in England, he must have been put on shipboard in Quebec in early November and not early December. The arrival in England would ordinarily have been a month after the embarkment from Canada. Thus, it was probably in January, 1758 that he met William Pitt The Elder. It should be carefully noted that Colonel Smith, unlike most prisoners of the period – for all were harshly treated-did not spend his time in self-pity, but carefully made notes of the extent of the garrisons in the forts and Indian Towns to which he had been taken. These were quite useful to the British later.

The will of his son, John, who had been so inhumanly killed, as he had put it, before his very eyes at Fort Vause, was dated 22 January 1756 and probated on 18 August 1756 while Colonel Smith was in captivity. Colonel Smith is not mentioned in his son's will.*(18)* The will was difficult to probate, for the witnesses except for one, had been captured by the enemy or killed but the court decided they knew the signatures of the witnesses and the testator well enough and although held over for a further court, it was probated. The son's estate consisted largely of the tract of land mentioned earlier in this monograph which John, Jr. had bought from Silas Hart. He willed this land to his nephew, the son named John of his brother Daniel Smith. Aside from this tract, the bulk of the estate was in horses. The date of the appraisement was 16 June 1757.*(19)*

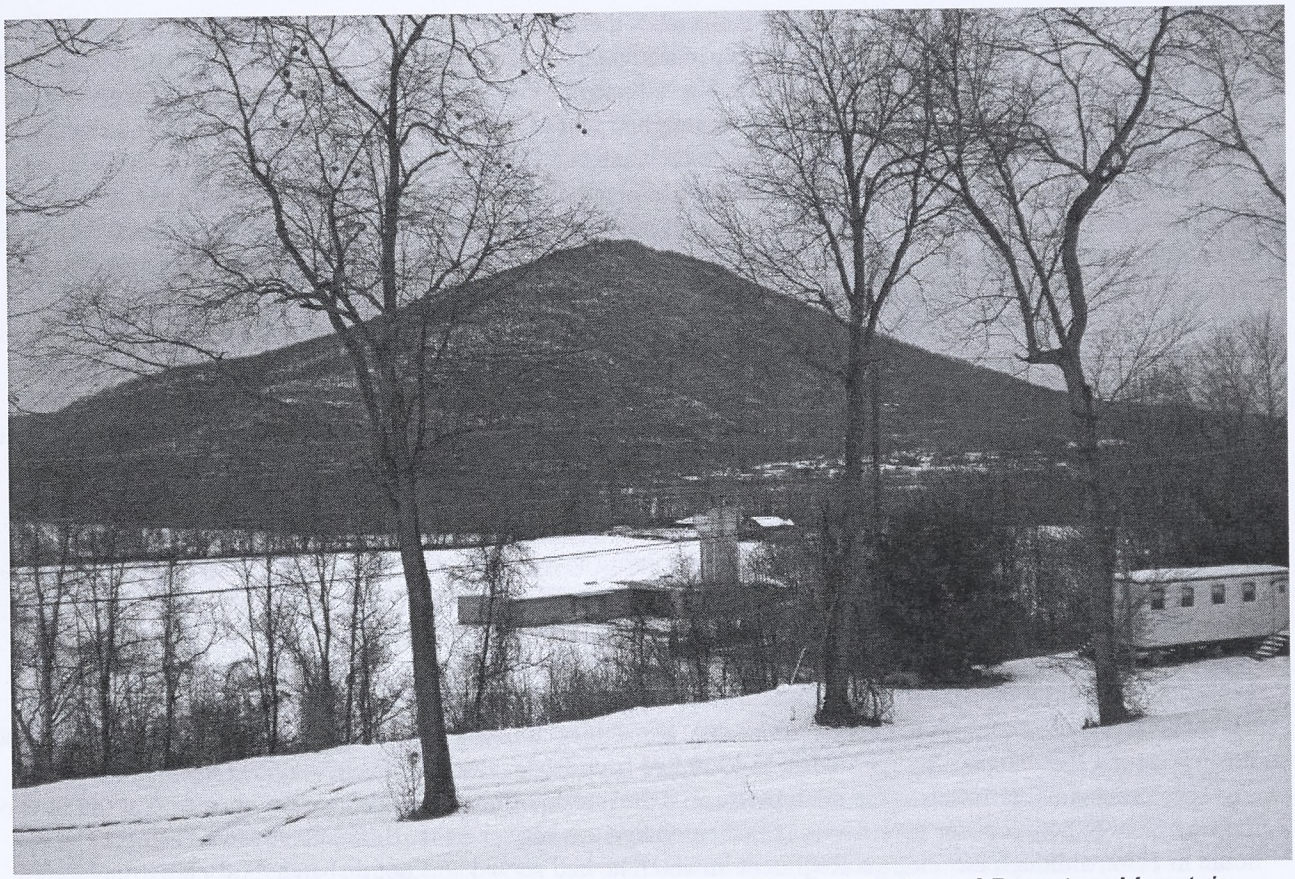
During the captivity of Colonel Smith, the county court appointed a conservator for his estate. The noted merchant Israel Christian, father of Colonel William Christian and father-in-law of Colonel William Fleming, was so designated by an order of the Augusta court of 18 November 1757. It is interesting that the court quite correctly and naturally first appointed Abraham, Captain Smith's eldest son, to administer the estate while his father was "a prisoner in the French Dominions" and when he refused to comply, they then appointed Israel Christian, who, as the court noted, was a creditor, to administer the estate in the absence of John Smith. On that same day, Christian gave bond with Charles Campbell (father of Colonel William) and Abraham Smith as securities.*(20)* It should not be considered that Abraham Smith had acted arbitrarily for he was then much engaged in the defense of the frontiers and did not live quite near enough to his parents at that time. Earlier, on 17 June 1757, he had not appeared though he was one of the executors, when his brother John's will was presented in court for probate, though he did send a message he would not be able to serve. On 17 November 1757, only a

day before he refused to serve as administrator of his father's estate during the captivity, he appeared in court and renounced any rights or claims to the estate of his brother under the terms of the will. Also, as noted, he served as security for Captain Christian to administer the estate of his father during the period of capture. These were stringent times and one could do only so much with justice to the tasks involved.*(21)* That Israel Christian, a merchant, would have been a creditor of John Smith's during his captivity is easily explained by Colonel Smith's own statement already given above in this monograph in his Memorial to the House of Burgesses and its reply by committee that he had indeed spent his own money and extended his own credit in the purchase of supplies for his troops.*(22)*

The time of Colonel Smith's return from captivity is not known. One may only make a shrewd guess from the few facts that relate to the events of the period. Colonel Preston paid Margaret Smith her £20 subsistence money during the captivity of her husband on 12 January 1758. It is not likely that Colonel Smith had then returned or the money would have been either paid to him or at least he would have signed as witness instead of Colonel Preston's sister, Mary, who was the actual witness to the payment. We know from the records of the House of Burgesses that John Smith began presenting his petitions and memorials on 3 April 1758, so he must have returned to his home on the James River about late February or early March of 1758. Certainly the date had thus to be between 12 January and 3 April 1758.*(23)* On 28 June 1758, he paid to the estate of Peter Moser moneys which were owed for "provender" and for "Patterole" (patrol).*(24)* But by far the most important event n the year 1758, other than his numerous petitions and the memorial to the House of Burgesses which gives so much badly needed information on the captivity, trip to England, and the timing thereof, is the order of the Augusta court of 17 November 1758 which qualifies him as a Colonel of the militia, making William Preston a major at the same time.*(25)* This monograph, to be consistent, has usually spoken of John Smith as Colonel, but from this point forward the designation is both correct and authorized. Then on 20 November 1758, only three days after becoming Colonel Smith, he had restored to him a lost honor of great consequence on the frontier. He had been, since its organization in 1745, one of the few vestrymen selected by the Parish of Augusta. On his capture, he was supplanted as vestryman of Augusta at a meeting of 23 November 1756 in which "James Archer was elected to succeed Colonel Patton deceased" and "John Matthews, Jr. elected vestryman vice Major John Smith." But, on 20 November 1758, the Parish unanimously elected him to succeed Thomas Gordon, referring to him as Colonel John Smith.*(26)*

Colonel Smith appears only six times in the existing records of the year 1759. On 8 May 1759 he and Colonel John Buchanan verified the records of the flour that had been given out and weighed at Fort Fauquier, the high-sounding name given the little fort built at Looney's Ferry adjacent to Col. Smith and Col. Buchanan. The record of their certification of it on that day in May was preserved by Colonel Preston and is in the great Draper Collections.*(27)* It is not a matter of record where Colonels Smith and Buchanan may have been on 27 June 1759, but there exists a letter by Colonel William Preston who states that "in the absence of both Colonels Smith and Buchanan, he (Preston) orders" the drafting of men in that part of the Calf Pasture (a section of that area) where the most trouble from the Indians then existed.*(28)* On 21 November 1759, John and Margaret Smith sold their 400 acre tract on Goose Creek at the Great Lick (now the site of downtown Roanoke City) to Malcolm Campbell, whose land was adjacent to this tract and who entertained Dr. Thomas Walker on his trip through there in early 1750.*(29)* Then, on 26 and 27 November 1759, Colonel Smith was present at the meetings of the Augusta Parish as a vestryman.*(30)* These were his last such appearances as a vestryman and his last documented appearance on the historical scene before the complicated year of 1760.

The first event of any consequence in the fateful year of 1760 was neither military nor military-related. Instead, on 13 March 1760, accompanied by his wife Margaret, their son Jonathan, and most probably their young daughter, then 15, Louvisa, and along with Peter Looney who had been a sergeant in the ill-fated company at the capture of Fort Vause, and Colonel John Buchanan, he went the approximately 25 miles up river to the home of John and Lillie Bowen. The Bowens lived on the north side of the river about halfway between present day Clifton Forge and Eagle Rock, approximately on the site which was well known in recent times as the location of the Locust Bottom Church, a Presbyterian church that served the area between 1782 and 1887. The purpose for this small cavalcade of distinguished people was to attend the Bowens in the serious illness of the elder John Bowen. How the Smiths, Buchanans, and Bowens became such close friends when their homes lay so far



Col. John Smith and his family lived here along the James River at the foot of Purgatory Mountain, near present-day Buchanan, for 30 years in the 18th century. Looney's Ferry, which was crossed by thousands of people heading west, was just out of the picture to the left. (George Kegley photo)

apart is not of record, but since all three men were prominent and well off, it is natural that they should have sought each other's company. Also, since Fort Fauquier lay adjacent to the lands of Colonel Smith and had been built by Colonel Buchanan on the Looney property, it is very likely that the Bowens might have repaired there in the times of stress and Indian attack. It is well known that Louvisa, only daughter known by record of the John Smiths, married Rees Bowen, son of John and Lillie Bowen. We are not sure when the marriage occurred, but as will be noted below, it seems to have occurred about 1762, or three years after the event now under consideration. While they were there, the group, except for Louvisa, signed the will of John Bowen.*(31)* In a few days they returned to their homes downstream.

The major event in the life of Colonel Smith in 1760 was his return to active duty. Though a Colonel of the militia, he resumed the rank of Captain, at 59, of enlisted troops (that is, regulars, not militia). The occasion for this return to active duty was the formation of an expedition against the Cherokees. This is the campaign sometimes called Byrd's Cherokee Expedition, though Colonel William Byrd III only commanded it briefly, soon returning to Westover and his new bride, the former Anna Willing. The expedition was then commanded by Lt. Col. Adam Stephen, who was to become a major general in the Revolutionary army, who was a physician, and who laid out the town of Martinsburg, West Virginia later on. Col. Stephen, then a major general, was dismissed from the service by Washington for drunkenness at the Battle of Brandywine (no pun intended!). Colonel Smith did not lead a company on the expedition, but instead commanded a company first forted temporarily at Fort Lewis and then permanently garrisoned at Fort Frederick at Dunkard's Bottom on the New River above present-day Radford. It had been at Fort Frederick that the troops had met for the ill-fated Sandy Creek Expedition in 1756 and when Colonel Smith came there in 1760 he was again to meet with tragedy, though this time on a financial and not human level. Many years later, when in his eightieth year, Colonel Smith stated in open court in

Botetourt County on 10 March 1780, that "he served as a Captain of a company of new lines in the year 1760 under the command of Colonel Byrd on the Expedition against the Cherokees and was legally disbanded ..."*(32)*

In the month of August, 1760, he was with his company at Fort Lewis, located in the western edge of what is today the town of Salem, Virginia. During the month he spent at Fort Lewis, there arose a suit later on which employed Colonel Smith as a key witness. Two merchants had come there from Bedford County following the troops and Smith testified in court later on that he had been witness to an agreement between them — Joseph Ray and William Chandler — that the former was to have been supplied by the latter with £100 worth of goods to be sold later on at Dunkard's Bottom. However, as Smith testified "at ye breaking up of ye campaign under Col. Byrd, then carrying on against ye Cherokees" Ray had applied to Colonel Smith and Peter Looney (who was again serving under his old neighbor as he had at Fort Vause in 1756) to become his securities for this merchandise and they agreed, but the delivery of the goods never took place. The deposition said also that "Ray might have disposed of a large quantity of goods to advantage on that campaign."*(33)* It is in connection with this suit, later on in 1766, that we have the assurance of the Augusta County Court that Colonel Smith was born in 1701.*(34)*

While at Fort Frederick in Dunkard's Bottom that September, Colonel, or Captain Smith, as he was ranked for that action, did just as he had done at Fort Vause. His troops needed supplies and clothing. He purchased both. When his cash was exhausted, he used his own credit to supply all that was needed rather than see his soldiers suffer. For his patriotism — one secondary writer has called him the Robert Morris of the Frontier — he got thrown in jail for debt later on. Several suits arose over this action of Colonel Smith and since there were ample witnesses and the defendant did not deny that he had promised to pay, he had no defense. On 28 August 1764, John Hamilton brought suit for this debt.*(35)* Earlier—in November 1764, to be exact—a former soldier named John Kenny sued Colonel Smith for his pay as a soldier for four months under Colonel Smith's command. It is interesting that the pay for this soldier in 1760 had been £4 for four months of service.*(36)*

These suits are interesting in the attempt to solve the puzzle of how long Captain Smith served at the time of the Cherokee Expedition, for the records of that campaign are very sketchy. He seems to have been back at his home in 1761, although the Virginia Regiment in which he had served was not disbanded officially until February 1762.*(37)* Colonel Smith appears twice in the 1761 records, first on 6 May and then again on 19 May 1761. On the earlier date, he was witness to a deed that involved Colonel John Buchanan, his neighbor. Other witnesses to that deed were David and John Looney. He then appeared in court at Staunton with Colonel Buchanan on 19 May 1761, with his son Jonathan, too, was to testify to his signature on the will of John Bowen, who had died sometime between this date and the original will date of 13 Mar 1760.*(38)*

There is also a receipt of this time, though the dating is obscure, for 861 pounds of beef which was listed as "for use of my company and the Cherokee Indians" but which some say dates as far back as the ill-fated Sandy Creek Expedition because of the presence of the Cherokees, but which is far more likely to have referred to the coming of the Cherokees, after the conclusion of Byrd's Expedition to Fort Frederick on the way to Williamsburg. At any rate, there is another date in 1762 which is quite certain and this is the mortgage of two slaves and 600 acres of land on Craig's Creek adjoining the lands of Colonel James Patton to William Bowyer, a merchant of Staunton, for £100. This mortgage was paid off on 18 November 1767.*(39)*

Back in 1763, Smith was witness to a deed dated 4 February 1763 from John Thompson to Henry Ferguson for 109 acres on Glade Creek. Along with Colonel Smith, the witnesses were a distinguished group that included Robert Breckenridge and the Colonels William Preston and John Buchanan.*(40)* Although the mortgage noted above to William Bowyer was the first, it was not the last in this troubled period of Colonel Smith's anguish over financial problems. On 9 April 1763, he mortgaged to his son Abraham for £36 a tract of 100 acres on the James River adjacent to the land of Robert Looney. It is interesting that the instrument of the mortgage reads that the mortgage is to be for five hundred years!*(41)* With this mortgage, the years of the French and Indian War close for Colonel Smith.

One very interesting and significant event took place about this time, though the actual date is not in the official records of the era. This was the marriage of his daughter (probably his only daughter) to Rees Bowen. Marriage records were not kept in those days, so one can only reconstruct the date from speculation. But, on 15 November 1762, Lillie Bowen, acting as executrix of her husband's estate, conveyed to Rees Bowen, their son, a tract of 230 acres on Glade Creek of Roanoke River for the sum of £20.*(42)* This land must have been located

near the present town of Vinton just to the northeast of Roanoke City. There is every indication, though no proof that Rees, who is supposed to have been born in Maryland in, or about, 1742, moved there at this time.*(43)* Certainly he was definitely living there on 13 February 1765, for his 238 acre tract was processioned at that time, as shown in the Augusta County Parish Book, which has been preserved.*(44)* By 1762, Louvisa, or Louisa, was seventeen, for it was noted above that she had been baptized at the Tinkling Spring Church on 6 October 1745. Long after the Rees Bowens had moved to the Clinch, in 1774, they sold this land to Thomas Blanton. The deed is interesting for it proves that Louvisa, like her mother, could do what few women and not a great many men on the frontier could — write her own name.*(45)*

PART TWO: THE TRAGIC YEARS (1755-1770)
SECTION B: POST-WAR TRAGEDY

The first post-war months were quite peaceful for Colonel Smith. He was now permanently at home, approaching 63 years of age, and was giving his attention to farming. It is curious that this man, so prominent on the frontier, such an unsung hero, never sought public office, never belonged to the County Court (though whether this was by his choice or from never having been invited is not known), nor did he seek anything other than that by which he could serve his fellow man. Unlike Colonels Preston and Buchanan, his friends, Colonel Smith never sought to aggrandize himself in his service to his country. Instead, he almost bankrupted himself each time he served. The secondary writer referred to at the beginning of this monograph made a striking remark about Colonel Smith when he called him the Robert Morris of the frontier. It is not badly said.

On 21 March 1764, he was security with David Looney for John Griffith, administrator of the estate of Morris Griffith.*(1)* The Looneys also figured largely in the activity of Colonel Smith during 1764, for in August he gave a deposition concerning land problems among members of that family. These, as noted above, had arisen in 1753 or 1754 and Colonel Smith gave a long and full deposition of the original pact made in his own presence. These suits continued in the courts for almost two years.*(2)* Colonel Smith, along with Colonel Buchanan, figured as a witness in these transactions when they had occurred and was again an important witness in the many suits that arose therefrom.

On 28 August 1764, John Hamilton, a merchant, brought a writ against Colonel Smith that was ultimately to result in the jailing for debt of Colonel Smith. This was referred to above as having taken place in the September 1760 encampment at Dunkard's Bottom. The long overdue bill of the merchant was presented in court with impeccable witnesses, and payment was demanded immediately. The Colonel frankly acknowledged his debt and his inability to meet it. For this frankness, he received imprisonment.*(3)*

The interesting question here is when he was imprisoned and for how long. Undoubtedly the jailing had been in the county seat, Staunton. The date can only be reconstructed from events and speculation on events enacted over two hundred years ago on a rough frontier harried by Indians and Nature in an era when paper was scarce, those who could write even scarcer and those who could read even fewer. It is likely that Smith was only imprisoned for a few months, at most, and possibly only for a few weeks, since he had many powerful friends, at least two influential sons (Daniel and Abraham) and the in-laws of his only daughter, the Bowens, were people of means and of rising note in the area.

Colonel Smith must have been jailed for debt in early September 1765. He served as security for Isabella, widow of Abraham Biss on 21 May 1765, something he could not have done in prison.*(4)* On 31 May 1765, Robert Breckinridge wrote his kinsman, Colonel William Preston from the Breckinridge home in Staunton and asked that Preston send his compliments "to Captain Smith and his family." He would not have done this had the Colonel then been in jail for debt, which Breckinridge, in Staunton, would of course have known.*(5)* Also, the Looney suits, so prominent in the period, were held in court in May 1765 and Colonel Smith testified freely at them in a long and interesting deposition.*(6)*

Likewise, in a suit which in abstracted form does not specify time of filing or otherwise, but which seems to have been in the summer, and which was not actually presented in court until 1773, testimony is given that George, son of Jonathan, and Jonathan Smith were in William Crow's store in Staunton and the Colonel told them each to get a suit of clothes and charge it to him. This was in 1765, presumably, as indicated, in the summer. Crow gladly accommodated, for he [had] a scheme to defraud Colonel Smith. This came about later when

the Colonel was in prison. Crow came to him and suggested that if he would convey to Crow two tracts of land on Craig's Creek, the merchant would satisfy all the indebtedness and free him from jail. As Colonel Smith testified in court later, he executed the bond to Crow to pay off his debts, but Crow, who did pay off the debts, sold his bond to McCall and Company who later got judgment on Colonel Smith. In other words, Crow got the land for nothing and Colonel Smith, unaware of the fraud at the time, had to bring suit in 1771-1773 to recover.*(7)*

In connection with this suit, on 16 October 1765, Colonel Smith deeded to William and Thomas Crow two tracts of land on Craig's Creek, one of 195 and the other of 213 acres.*(8)* In order to have recorded this deed, Colonel Smith had to have been out of jail in mid-October, which leads one to speculate that his stay had been brief. Later, in 1767 and 1768, the Crows mortgaged these tracts to merchants from Leeds, Yorkshire and Richmond.*(9)*

Though out of prison, Colonel Smith was not out of debt, for he still had the debt that Crow had assigned to McCall and Company, though unaware of it at the time. On 10 July 1766, he made an important land entry at the mouth of Purgatory Creek. This is just across the James from the Town of Buchanan as it exists today and where the old U. S. 11 highway bridge crossed the River James a quarter century ago in 1950. It was on this 400 acre tract that the village of Pattonsburg was later built. He sold this tract to Margaret Patton Buchanan, widow of Colonel John who had died in 1769, in the year 1770.*(10)* In November, 1766, there arose the suit of Ray vs. Chandler, already fully covered in the text above and which concerned the sale but non-delivery of goods at Fort Frederick back in 1760. Colonel Smith was one of the principal witnesses and, as twice stated previously, it was in connection with the deposition he gave in this suit that we have the certification of the date of his birth.*(11)*

Colonel Smith made over to his son Jonathan some of his slaves for the sum of £90 on 28 February 1767. It is interesting that one of the witnesses to this transaction was William, brother of Rees Bowen.*(12)* In May of that year, Colonel Smith brought suit first against the executors of Colonel James Patton to try to recover the monies due him for his work in the Roanoke-James rivers grant, even though the suit did not come to judgment until November 1770.*(13)*

On 13 August 1767, he served as a witness along with his distinguished friends, the brothers-in-law William Christian and William Fleming (the latter had married the sister of the former) in a deed from Joshua McCormick to Israel, the father of Colonel William Christian.*(14)* It was on the 18th of November of 1767 that William Bowyer surrendered the mortgage to Colonel Smith referred to above.*(15)* Another of those due bills for purchases was presented in November 1768 by William English. This contained an "I promise to pay unto William Ingles or Cumpaney" (*sic*) signed by John Smith and endorsed "Col. Smith to William English — Bill."*(16)* This suit stemmed from indebtedness made on 25 September 1761, so it was probably not for soldier's pay or gear. Presumably this was settled amicably and easily. It is only, save for one other act, that we hear of Colonel Smith in his 68th year by this suit. The Colonel made another trip up the James River as he had in 1760 to witness the will of John Bowen. This time it was for John Bowen, Jr., a brother of Rees. Joseph Looney was another witness and one of the executors was William Bowen, brother of the testator. However, the Colonel did not go to Staunton to prove the will when it was probated on 17 August.*(17)*

Again, in 1769, Colonel Smith served as witness to wills. This time it was for two of his important neighbors. On 25 June, he witnessed the last will of his friend and neighbor, Colonel John Buchanan, son-in-law of Smith's former land partner, Col. James Patton. Oddly enough, this will was not recorded until 23 February 1818, though it was admitted to probate and the executors gave proper security on 16 August 1769. On that same day in August, Colonel Smith, with his son Jonathan, and with George Skillern, was appointed an appraiser for estimating the worth of the property and goods of Colonel Buchanan on the James River. Other men were appointed to appraise the Colonel's belongings on Reed Creek and on New River.*(18)* The other will he witnessed was for his drunken old friend and neighbor, Robert Looney. This will, dated 19 September 1769, was not probated until 1770 and was so done in Botetourt County.*(19)* With these actions, we come to the end of the difficult years of the life of Colonel Smith. The remaining thirteen years of his life were spent in relative peace in the new county of Botetourt, struck off at the end of 1769.

PART THREE: The Final Years (1770-1783)

Only 1770, of the remaining years of Colonel Smith's life is amply documented. In that year, first of the new

Roanoke at its founding, more than a century after John Smith sold his downtown property.

county, within whose borders Colonel Smith's home now lay, he is first heard of on 12 June 1770. On that date it was ordered that a group "view the several ways proposed for roads — by Mrs. Buchanan's (widow of Col. John), William Crow's (former Staunton merchant and now in business at Looney's Ferry), John Smith's and William Rowland's ... on the north side of the river to the court house..."*(1)* On 14 August 1770, he journeyed to Fincastle, new county seat, to prove the will of Looney.*(2)* Then, almost immediately, on 16 August, he went to Staunton to record three chattel mortgage sales, two by him and one by his wife, Margaret. Why these are recorded in Augusta is not clear, but they may have been arranged prior to the formation of Botetourt and simply recorded later in Staunton. At any rate, on 16 August, Margaret, wife of John Smith for "£12 and divers good reasons" sold horses and crops to Samuel McCutcheon, Sr., while on the 17th John sold, for £3.10.10, cows to James and Samuel Clark, with William McCutcheon, Jr. as witness. Also on the 17th, Smith sold cows and horses for £27 to James Clark, Jr.*(3)* It may have been that this money was essential to meet the debt owed William English mentioned above. On 24 September 1770, Colonel Smith sold to his son, James, for £100, a tract of 100 acres on the south side of the James River.*(4)* This is the first mention of James Smith in the official records and would indicate that the probable date of his birth had been about 1750. In November, the Augusta County Court ruled on the suit, bill filed in May 1767, concerning the Colonel's claim for payment from the group granted the 100,000 acres on the James and Roanoke Rivers in 1741.*(5)*

Colonel Smith appears in the records only twice in 1771 and not at all in 1772. At an unspecified time in 1771, he began the action against McCall and Company to recover the equity he had been swindled of by William Crow. This, already mentioned above, did not come to settlement until 1773.*(6)* On 14 August 1771 there is a duplication of the deed made to Malcolm Campbell for the 400 acres of land comprising the Big Lick, now the site of Roanoke City.*(7)* In May 1773, his suit against McCall and Company was settled in Augusta Court.*(8)*

On 16 December 1773, he had the pleasure of receiving a warrant from Lord Dunmore, last of the Virginia colonial governors, for 3,000 acres of land for having served "as a captain of the two new levies in Fincastle County."*(9)* On 15 March 1774, he assigned one thousand acres of this warrant to George Skillern, his signature witnessed by William Crow (his old enemy), Joseph Looney, and his son, James Smith. On 9 August, he assigned another thousand of this to James, his youngest child. His son, Jonathan, and his friend, George Skillern witnessed this.*(10)*

But the long life of Colonel Smith was winding down. On 15 February 1775, he was exempted from paying any levies (i.e. taxes) to the County for the future.*(11)* Before he wrote his will, however, he did one more serv-

ice for his community. On 11 February 1778, John Smith, John Compton, and John Mills were ordered to "view the shore on William Anderson's side of James and report to the court the most convenient landing place for a ferry from Crow's land."*(12)* William Anderson had married the widow of Col. John Buchanan and lived at the Buchanan home on the north side of the river. As explained, William Crow had bought the old Looney home-place and ran a ferry there.

Colonel Smith wrote his will on 26 April 1779. As might be expected, it is a vigorous, sensible, no foolishness instrument. Some of the provisions are unexpected, however. Except for providing for his wife, Margaret during the remainder of her life, he left everything to his son, James, the youngest child, including the final thousand acres of the Dunmore warrant.*(13)* Though they lived nearby, Abraham, David and Jonathan, as well as equally distant Daniel and Louvisa were ignored. Though he wrote his will in early 1779, he did not die that year as some secondary writers have alleged. He made two court appearances in 1780, one on 9 March and the second on 13 April. The first was to ask that he be allowed the land warrant due his dead son, Joseph.*(14)* The last was to ask for the same thing for his own services.*(15)* At the time, he was 79!

On 19 October 1782, Andrew Boyd, a son-in-law of Col. Buchanan who lived near Col. Smith, wrote to William Preston about a suit of theirs and said in his letter that "Colonel John Smith would make a good witness for us, but he is a very ancient man."*(16)* This proves that Colonel Smith was alive near the end of October 1782, but he had died by early 1783 for his will was presented by George Skillern, the executor for probate on 13 March 1783. Since only one witness could then be found, it was not until 8 May that the will was accepted for probate by the court.*(17)*

Of the nine sons, three, as noted — Joseph, Patrick (if that were his name!), and John — were killed by the Indians in 1756. Daniel became prominent in Rockingham County and Abraham in his own county of Botetourt-Augusta. David was the least consequential of the nine and Jonathan merely better off financially than David. Henry disappears from the records before his father's death. Louvisa, as well known, married Rees Bowen and lived out her years at Maiden Spring in Tazewell County. James, the youngest, became a Captain in the Revolution serving with William Campbell on the expedition to the New River against the Tories in 1779 and being present at the surrender at Yorktown in 1781. Margaret survived her husband, but probably not for long, as she must have been very old at the time of his death in 1783.

Notes on Part One

i. Aug. Co., Va. Order Book One, p. 350, 20 Nov 1766, Plaintiff vs. Wm. Chandler, defendant: "The Plaintiffs attorney offered in Evidence the Deposition of John Smith which was objected to by the …defendant alledging that the said John Smith was able to attend in person, but the said objection was overruled by the Court they being of the opinion…that he (John Smith) is of the age of sixty-five years and lives at the distance of sixty miles from the court house that he is still able to attend in person but that is is unnecessary…"

ii. Orange County, Va., OB 2 205, 26 June 1740

iii. Aug. Co., Va. OB 1, p 1, 9 December 1745

iv. See note 2, supra: Howard M. Wilson, The Tinkling Springs, McClure, Va, 1954, p. 481, Draper Mss. 1 QQ 83; Journals of the House of Burgesses for 3 April 1758, the Memorial of John Smith.

v. Aug. Co., Court Judgments, Nov. 1770-A; Will of Col. James Patton, Aug. Co., Va. Will Book 2, pp. 131 ff.

vi. Aug. Co., Va. Deed Book 2, p. 250

vii. Original papers and petitions filed with the County Court of Augusta for year 1749

viii. Aug. Co., Va. DB 7, 341, 343, DB 20, 371; WB 2, 155

ix. Mortgage dated 28 May 1748 in Aug. Co., VA. DB 2, 50. Sale in Note 8 supra

x. Aug. Co., Va. DB 1, pp. 12, 102, and 120

xi. Aug. C., Court Judgments for dates indicated.

xii. Suit finally brought in Aug. Co. Court Judgments of May, 1750 - A

xiii. Aug. Co., Va. DB 2, 505

xiv. Aug. C., Court Judgments, September, 1747

xv. Aug. Co., Va. DB 8, 238

xvi. Aug. Co., Va. Survey Book One, p. 50-B

xvii. Ibid., pp. 66-A and 66-B

xviii. Aug. Co., Va. DB 5, pp. 303 and 490
xix. Ltr. Col. Edmond Pendleton to Wm. Preston, 1 Nov 1781, Draper Mss. 5 QQ 99
xx. Aug. Co., Va. WB 2, 155
xxi. Aug. Co., Va. DB 6, 223
xxii. Aug. Co., Va. DB 5, 490
xxiii. ACCJ (Aug. Co., Court Judgments), May, 1765-C, Looney vs Looney; Original Papers and petitions filed with Aug. County Court, August, 1764-B

Notes on Part Two

1. Various letters from the Governor found in Volume II "the Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie, 1715- 1758," 2 vols., Va. Hist. Soc., R.A. Brock, ed., Richmond 1883-1884. Letters are not listed separately since they are identified by date.
2. Draper Mss. 1 QQ 90
3. Draper Mss. 1 QQ 94; 96-123; 126-128
4. Draper Mss. 1 QQ 134-135
5. Draper Mss. 1 QQ 131-133
6. Draper Mss. 1 QQ 83 ff; Memorial of Captain John Smith in Journals of House of Burgesses, dated 3 April 1758
7. Aug. Co., Va. WB 2, 42,WB 3, 55, WB 4, 94; Bot. Co., Va. Orders for 9 March 1780 as listed in Summers' Annals, pp. 309 and 313; Aug. Co. OB 11, 349: and Draper Mss. 1 QQ 83 ff.
8. Journals of the House of Burgesses, 3 April 1758 (p. 499 in printed version)
9. William Pitt the Elder, 1st Earl of Chatham (1708-1778), also known as "The Great Commoner," the father of Wm. Pitt the Younger, acted as Prime Minister in 1756-1758, though the actual post was held by the Dukes of Newcastle and Devonshire. Pitt's actual rank when seen by Col. Smith was Secretary of State. Though he did not receive the status officially until 1766, he acted as Prime Minister then.
10. John Campbell (1705-1782), 4th Earl of Loudon, was given command in America in 1756 and removed in December 1757. Ray Allen Billington was the eminent historian who called him a "pompous windbag", an epithet more complimentary than that bestowed on the Earl by most.
11. See note 8, supra, and Draper Mss. 1 QQ 83 ff. Sons were Patrick, John and Joseph.
12. Aug. Co., Va. OB 6 223
13. Journals for the House of burgesses for 4 April 1758
14. Ibid, 12 April 1758 (P. 505 in printed version)
15. Journals for House of Burgesses for 1758, various entries
16. Journals for the House of Burgesses for 1757; Draper Mss. 6 QQ 140
17. Journal for the House of Burgesses for 1763
18. Aug. Co., Va. WB 3, 155
19. Aug. Co., Va. WB 2, 194
20. Aug. Co., Va. OB 6, 51 and WB 2, 220
21. Aug. Co., Va. OB 5, 371; OB 6, 43 and 51
22. See Notes 8,13,14, and 15 in this section of the monograph
23. Notes 16, 8, 11 above
24. Aug. Co., Va. WB 3, 28
25. Aug. Co., Va. OB 6, 223
26. Aug. Co., Va. Vestry Book, pp. 186 and 233
27. Draper Mss. 2 QQ 20
28. Draper Mss. 3 QQ 138
29. Aug. Co., Va. DB 9, 238
30. Aug. Co., Va. Vestry Book, pp. 263 and 264
31. Aug. Co., Va. WB 3, 24
32. Bot. Co., Va. OB for 10 March 1780
33. Various suits, ACCJ, October, 1765-B and D; November, 1766
34. Aug. Co., Va. OB 10, 350
35. ACCJ, John Hamilton vs. Co. John Smith, Aug., 1765
36. ACCJ, Kenny vs. Smith, November, 1762-A
37. Hening's Statutes, Vol. 7, pp. 489-493
38. Aug. Co., Va. DB 1, 357; DB 9, 277; WB 3, 24
39. Aug. Co., Va. DB 10, 405; DB 14, p. 100

40. ACCJ, Bingamin vs. Smith, May, 1763-B
41. Aug. Co., Va. DB 11, 149
42. Aug. Co., Va. DB 11, 42
43. Draper's King's Mountain and its Heroes, all editions, p. 406
44. Aug. Co., Va. Vestry Book, page 382
45. Bot. Co., Va., DB 2, 39

Notes on Part Two, Section B

1. Aug. Co., Va., WB 3, 220
2. ACCJ for August, 1764, May, 1765-C; and Aug. 1764 - C and B
3. ACCJ for August, 1765
4. Aug. Co., Va., WB 3, 394
5. Draper Mss. 2 QQ 94
6. ACCJ, May, 1765-C, Looney vs. Looney
7. ACCJ, May, 1773-A, Col. John Smith vs. McCaul (*sic*) and Co., Chancery, 1771. Note that "McCaul & Co" is Alexander Mc Call & Co., merchants from eastern Va.
8. Aug. Co., Va. DB 12, 392
9. Aug. Co., Va. DB 14, 303; DB 15, 246
10. Chancery suit, Augusta Superior Chancery Court, Boyd vs. Matthews, OB 152, NS 53
11. See first note in this monograph; ACCJ, Ray vs. Chandler, Nov., 1766-B
12. Aug. Co., Va. DB 14, 229
13. Note 5, part one of monograph
14. Aug. Co., Va. DB 13, 493
15. See Note 39, part two, section A, above
16. ACCJ, Wm. Ingles vs. Smith, May, 1768
17. Aug. Co, Va. WB3, 136
18. Aug. Co, Va. WB 12, 375; WB 4, 233; OB 13, 322
19. Bot. Co, Va. WB1, p. 3

Notes on Part Three

1. Summers: Annals of Southwest Virginia, Kingsport, 1929, p. 85. This reference hereinafter given simply as "Annals" and will be used in lieu of the original Order or Will or Deed books for convenience of the reader. The printed volume being simply copied from the original and published.
2. Bot. Co, Va. WB A, p. 4
3. Aug. Co, Va. DB 16, pp. 438, 439, and 498, in that order as in the text.
4. Bot. Co, Va, DB 1, 190
5. See note 5 at beginning of monograph
6. See note 7, part two, section B, above
7. Annals, 543, and note 15 first part of monograph
8. Note 6 immediately above
9. Pp. 2-3, Warrants issued by Lord Dunmore, bound in with Plat Book A, Montgomery Co, Va. (Really Fincastle) Also on Microfilm Reel 33, Mont. Co., Va. as issued by the Virginia State Archives in their counties series.
10. Same reference as previous note
11. Annals, 240
12. Annals, 266
13. Will Book A, p. 180, Botetourt County, Va.
14. Annals, 309
15. Annals, 314-315
16. Draper Mss. 5 QQ 111
17. Annals, 369 and 372

Old County Courthouse is 100 Years Old

by John Long

(Photo courtesy of the Salem Historical Society)

April 1st, 1910, was a red-letter day in the history of Salem and Roanoke County, a day that, a full century later, still impacts our memory of the local past. It was on that day that the second Roanoke County Courthouse in Salem was dedicated, with fitting tributes paid to those early leaders who laid the foundation for a remarkable community.

The first county courthouse had been built in 1845 on the same site, designed by William C. Williams, a hotel-keeper by trade but a notable builder on the side. It remained in use for 75 years, but by 1909 was in poor repair. Workers trying to tear out a wall discovered such decay that the county decided the most economical response would be to tear down the old structure and build a new one. A contract was given to H.H. Huggins, a Roanoke architect, to design a new one. His proposal, with a three-story ionic portico and prominent dome topped by a majestic eagle, met with enthusiastic acclaim. It was built, at the exorbitant cost of $50,000, over the next year.

A few offices had already moved in before the dedication took place. On April 1st, 1910, Judge W.W. Moffett called the court into session, then immediately set the day aside for the reading of historical material suitable for the occasion. No one knows who decided to turn the event into a celebration of the local past, but it may well have been Moffett himself, an avid history buff. Over the next several hours, more than twenty biographies of local settlers, military heroes, court officers and other notables were read, until the lateness of the hour necessitated postponing the last few. General Andrew Lewis, Congressman Robert Craig, State Senator John McCauley, two sets of brothers (Deyerles and Griffins) with stellar military records, and many others were among those honored. The transcripts of those speeches still form an important source for local history and biography.

Twenty-year-old attorney John P. Saul Jr., later a prominent barrister in the very building he was dedicating, gave the primary oration, calling for the courts to "go from her imbued with the idea of divinity of justice and its true relation to mankind; resolute to honor it and give it our sincere fidelity." Noted Roanoke College English professor F.V.N. Painter penned a dedicatory ode for the occasion, which also called for the courts in the new building to adjudicate cases fairly. A few months later, a monument to the Confederate soldiers of Roanoke County was dedicated on the front lawn of the courthouse. A clock was also placed in the dome. Moffett, with his keen sense of history, had also arranged to have a series of portraits of local heroes made for the courthouse. Those oak-framed portraits still grace the walls of the new county court offices and various library branches.

The 1910 Roanoke County Courthouse remained in use until 1985, when a larger, more modern building was contracted to the east, adjacent to the new county jail. Soon after, the retired courthouse was sold to Roanoke College. Today, the structure, one of the few in Salem listed on the national Register of Historic Places, is known as Francis T. West Hall, named for a Martinsville businessman. It houses three academic departments and more than a dozen classrooms, including those used by the history department. The old edifice, born in a celebration of the past, continues to educate the future.

John Long, executive director of the Salem Historical Society, teaches history at his alma mater, Roanoke College.

16th Century Spanish Invasions of Southwest Virginia

by Jim Glanville

INTRODUCTION

Spanish *entradas* (invasions) into Northeast Tennessee and Southwest Virginia (Holstonia) are documented to have occurred in 1541 and 1567. They predate the foundation of Jamestown by decades and are significant for Virginia history — not just for regional history.

The first *entrada* gave us the earliest two persons we can name who set foot within the boundary of the future state of Virginia. The second entrada produced the first ever recorded battle in Virginia, gave us the first named town in Virginia, the first woman*(1)* born in Virginia that we can name, and the earliest recorded marriage between a Christian soldier and an American Indian woman.

This article summarizes the events of the past twenty-five years that have allowed us to tell the story of sixteenth-century Spanish conquistadors in Southwest Virginia and the consequences of their arrival for the American Indians who inhabited the region. It describes and discusses the key publications about the story. The intent of the article is not to rehearse the actual story, but rather to tell how the story developed and cite the relevant references. Only during the past two or three years has the story achieved widespread recognition in popular magazines and newspapers.*(2)* in a Virginia history text book.*(3)* and in the online Library of Virginia state chronology.*(4)*

Unthinking persons assert that history is fixed and unchanging. However, the discovery of new evidence regularly causes history to be rewritten. With the present story, the recent, new, history-changing evidence has come from three directions: 1. Archeological confirmation of the Spanish presence at Morganton, N.C., in the mid-sixteenth century, at the Berry site. 2. Reconsideration of the Spanish archival records documenting the entradas, and the finding and translation in 1994 of an archival document written by a participant in the second entrada who was seeking a pension from the Spanish king. 3. Recent studies in American Indian artifact collections by this author that offer direct evidence for the presence of the large American Indian populations — in the right place at the right time — that the Spanish documents say were attacked in 1567.

The article begins with a brief description of the Mississippian*(5)* American Indians who lived in the region before the arrival of Europeans in the New World. It then moves on to a description of the Berry site and its story and connects that site to the de Soto entrada and the many-year studies of the de Soto entrada's route by Charles Hudson and his collaborators. Next, a brief summary is given of what the Spaniards did in Holstonia. The article concludes by discussing the collapse of American Indian societies in the region and the possible removal of some members of those societies to Sauratown in present-day Stokes County, N.C.

Mississippian American Indians in Southwest Virginia Before 1492

Virginia historians*(6)* and archeologists*(7)* (as first pointed out to me by Southwest Virginians Glenn Williams and Lawrence Richardson*(8)*) have long failed to acknowledge the existence of large settled Mississippian*(9)*

Jim Glanville of Blacksburg, a retired chemistry professor turned historian, is a native of London, England. He attended the Royal College of Science and earned a doctorate at the University of Maryland. He came to Roanoke in 1969, taught chemistry at Virginia Western Community College and worked as vice president of Wen-Don Chemical Corp. He was director of general chemistry at Virginia Tech from 1986 until his retirement in 2004.

Figure 1 (left): A 2-inch diameter Saltville style gorget with a unique center hole. It was recovered at the Chilhowie High School site in Smyth County circa 1757 by Kelly Berry. Photographed by the author at the Rankin Museum in Ellerbe, N.C., in 2006.
Figure 2 (right): A rare 3" diameter star style gorget said to be from a site in Holstonia in Tennessee. From a private Smyth County collection. Star style gorgets seem to be uniquely Holstonian in character. Photographed by the author in 2005.

American Indian populations in Holstonia. In large part, this neglect resulted from the dearth of formal archeological studies in the region. However, while unrecognized and unacknowledged by almost all professional archeologists.*(10)* Mississippian traits in the region are demonstrated by an abundance of what I have called "improper" archaeological evidence.*(11)* Most spectacular among the artifacts known through improper archeology are the highly artistic and distinctive engraved marine shell gorgets that shed light on the material culture of those populations and their links to people elsewhere in the Southeast.*(12)* Two hitherto unpublished engraved gorgets are shown in Figures 1 and 2.

A plausible thesis as to why historians failed to recognize these people perhaps lies in the terms of the 1744 Treaty of Lancaster*(13)* between the State of Virginia and the Six Nations. One matter the treaty addressed was the travel routes of Iroquois warriors from the New York region up and down the Great Warrior Trail (roughly today's Route 11/Interstate 81) to make war*(14)* on the Cherokees. The region had already by 1744 been long depopulated as the result of European diseases. Thus, the notion of western Virginia as a place passed-through but not lived-in lies deep in the collective Virginia subconscious. Neither the warriors nor the colonists knew about the thousands of burials from hundreds of years earlier that lay along the travel routes.

The life of the Mississippian Indians of Holstonia can perhaps be visualized best through two works of fiction that describe nearby contemporaneous people.*(15)* My own contribution to understanding them was presented in a paper I read in Richmond in 2007.*(16)* In summary, we can report that from 1200-1600 A.D., Native Americans in the Holston River valleys maintained a cultured society with abundant material goods; they achieved large and settled populations with unclear political arrangements; they exploited a wide range of foods including maize, beans, squashes, fish and game; they exchanged salt, copper, and shell, via trade networks; however, they did not build significant mounds.*(17)*

By 1450 A.D., they had become a people with a unique and distinctive cultural iconography. The quality and diversity of their shell gorgets are of the first rank and their tribal affiliation was Yuchi.*(18)* Their culture was one

of the many variants of the broader civilization that is conventionally labeled as Mississippian. It was their fate to have their societies destroyed by conquistadors and the European diseases they brought.

The Berry Site at Morganton, N.C., and Spanish Documents

Part of the charm of this story is the manner in which the archeological and archival evidence combine to enable its telling. At least three elements combined between 1982 and 1994 to bring the story of the Spanish invasion of Virginia into focus:

1. The discovery and interpretation of the Berry site;
2. Publication of a detailed study of the documents of the Juan Pardo entrada; and,
3. The finding and translation of an eye witness account of a battle and its aftermath by a Spaniard who had been in Virginia in 1567.

From these modest beginnings grew a minor revolution in Virginia history — a revolution that has shifted the earliest documented events in the state from Tidewater to Appalachia.

The first element in the minor revolution came from North Carolina archeology. About 1982, near Morganton, N.C., the North Carolina archeologist David Moore visited a "14-year-old kid" who "thought he had some Etowah pottery." The "kid" was Robin Beck who had been surface hunting on the farm of his aunt and uncle, James and Patsy Berry, about eight miles north of town. Not long after, Beck identified Spanish artifacts from the site and in the summer of 1986 excavations were undertaken at the Berry farm and the nearby McDowell site.*(19)*

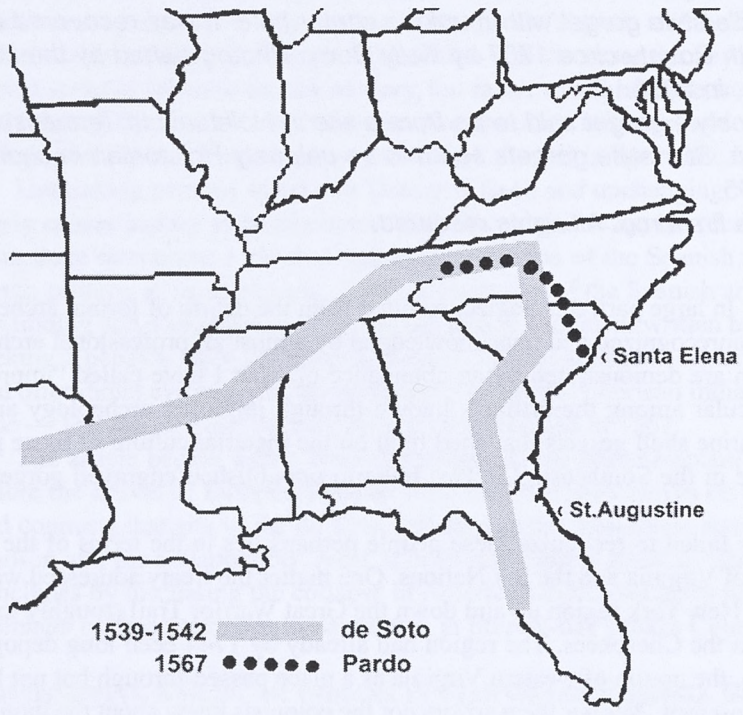


Figure 3: Sixteenth century Spanish routes in the Southeast. The gray line represents the approximate route of the de Soto entrada of 1539-1542. In the spring of 1541, two explorers or marauders from this expedition entered the future Lee County in the westernmost part of present-day Virginia. The dotted line represents the approximate route of the Pardo entrada. In 1567 an armed detachment from the Pardo expedition led by Hernando Moyano marched north from Fort St. Juan into present-day Smyth County, Virginia.

The second element in the minor revolution was the publication in 1990 by Charles Hudson of an analysis of the Juan Pardo entrada accompanied by definitive translations (by Paul Hoffman) of the related documents.*(20)* This book was an outgrowth of the lifetime work on Southeast American Indians by Charles Hudson.*(21)* and his collaborators, and in particular of Hudson's obsession with the route taken by the conquistador Hernando de Soto.*(22)* Pardo traveled from the South Carolina coast to eastern Tennessee and in part retraced de Soto's steps. The retraced route included the Berry site — at a place known as Joara to the Indians and Fort St. Juan to the Spanish.

A third element in the minor revolution was the translation (but not publication; it remains to this day unpublished) in 1994 by John Worth of the 1584 account of the pension-seeking request of Domingo de León who fought in Virginia in 1567.*(23)* The de León account proved to be very signif-

icant as it enabled the somewhat disjointed accounts of the Pardo expedition to be reinterpreted and fitted together in a new and comprehensive way.

Robin Beck, by now fourteen years older and an archeology graduate student, pulled these three elements together and presented them as a coherent story to an archeological conference in Knoxville in November 1995.*(24)* Beck told in his presentation that in 1567 conquistadors had attacked the future town of Saltville — for the very first time using documentary evidence to put Europeans on the ground in the future Virginia.

Fortuitously, Roanoke-based archeologist Tom Klatka attended this Knoxville conference and was in the audience for Beck's presentation. After Klatka returned home, he contacted Lawrence Richardson in Smyth County, knowing that Richardson was working on a manuscript based on the thesis that the American Indians of Holstonia had been Yuchi. Richardson was galvanized by what Klatka told him and promptly wrote to Beck. Richardson in his letter told Beck of his conclusion that Saltville had been a Yuchi town and asked Beck for copies of John Worth's Domingo de León translation and other documents.*(25)* The following year, in a 1997 issue of Southeastern Archaeology magazine,*(26)* Beck published the formal paper corresponding to his Knoxville presentation and wrote about the Spanish attack that had occurred in 1567 at the future site of the town of Saltville located on the South [*sic*] Fork of the Holston River. Saltville is actually on the North Fork and Beck's misstatement has subsequently confused a number of readers of his 1997 paper.

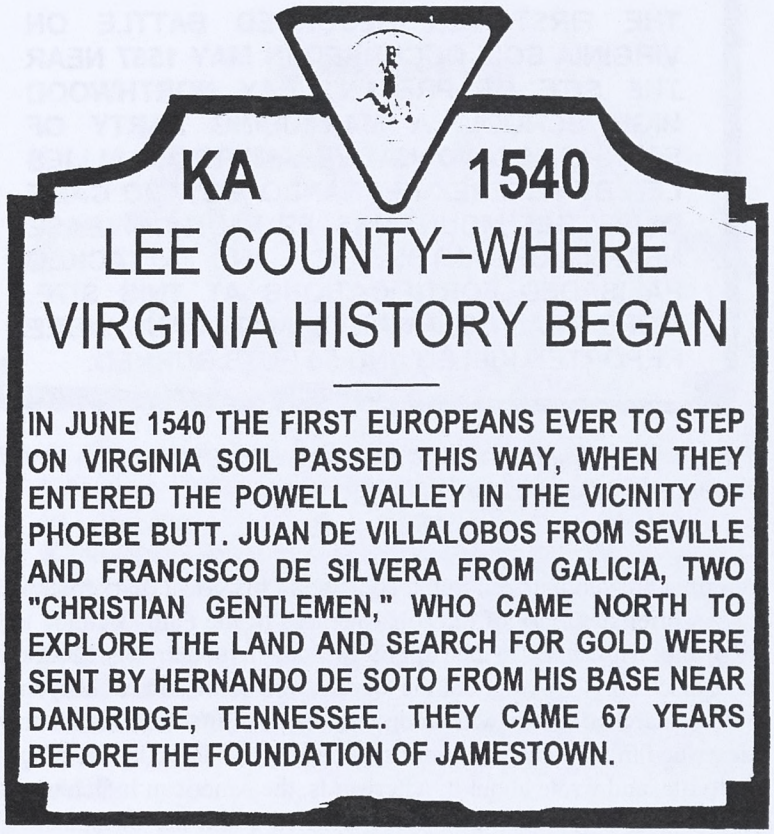


Figure 4. A conjectural historical marker describing the first documented event and named persons in Virginia history.

Berry site excavations have now been going on for almost 25 years and many formal and informal reports of the ongoing studies have been published. An account of the history of the site can be viewed at the Warren Wilson College web pages.*(27)* The site's excavators published a detailed formal account of their findings at the site and their analysis of its significance in 2006.*(28)* At the Berry site are the remains of a large American Indian town (perhaps one of the largest such towns in North America) that was occupied from 1400-1600 A.D. and where Spanish soldiers built a small fort and lived for eighteen months in 1566-67. The Spanish fort was burned in perhaps 1568.

The conclusion is inescapable that the Berry site is indeed Fort St. Juan, built by members of the Pardo expedition at the Indian town of Joara, and described in sixteenth century Spanish documents. One logical outcome of this conclusion has been the rewriting of Virginia history.

The Spanish In Holstonia

The story of early Spanish period of North American history has been described in a fine, popular manner in a well-illustrated article by Joe Judge.*(29)* Judge's article includes the story of the early Spanish Jesuit martyrs who

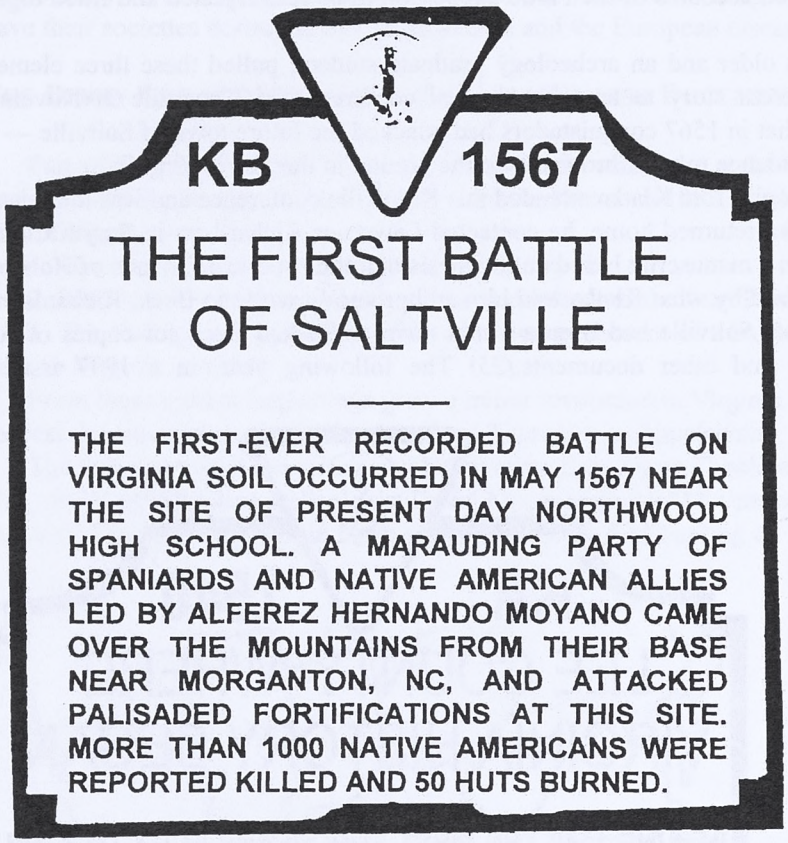


Figure 5. A conjectural historical marker describing the first documented battle in Virginia history.

died on the shores of the Chesapeake Bay in 1570,*(30)* but not the earlier Spanish military involvement in western Virginia. Paul Hoffman is the principal academic student of the early Spanish period.*(31)* The routes of the entradas that resulted in Spaniards being earlier in western Virginia are shown in Figure 3, which derives from my 2004 review article*(32)* describing the sixteenth-century conquistadors in Southwest Virginia. The conclusions of that article are briefly summarized and updated in this section.

In that 2004 review article I concluded from my reading of the de Soto documents*(33)* that members of the de Soto party were in the future Lee County in 1541. That conclusion had been anticipated by seventy years by Nathan Brisco, an amateur Smyth County archeologist and historian, who is almost unknown to Virginia history. Brisco wrote: "Although it is probable that De Soto reached here in 1540, it is not until the later part of the 17th century that we find specific mention of this section in the journals of the explorers."*(34)* The consequences of the de Soto expedition for Virginia are summarized in the conjectural historical marker shown in Figure 4.

A brief summary of the consequences of the Pardo entrada tells that in 1567, Juan Pardo detached Hernando Moyano, with about 20 men at Fort St. Juan in modern-day Morganton. While there, Moyano received a threat from a "Chisca chief" saying that the chief would come and eat Moyano and his dog. In consequence, Moyano preemptively marched north with Indian allies and attacked Indian towns. He found no gold. Moyano's attack was described in a pension petition, seventeen years later, by Domingo de León who was present during the attack on Saltville, and wrote about it. Afterwards, the American Indian woman Luisa Menendez from Saltville married Juan Ribas and thirty years later twice testified about her birthplace where salt was made by a "method using fire." Moyano's attack and the Luisa Menendez story are summarized in the conjectural historical markers shown in Figures 5 and 6.

The Cherokee scholar Raymond Evans has written that "The control of large salt springs near the present Saltville, Virginia and a knowledge of working copper gave the Yuchis in the Chisca area a tremendous economic advantage in dealing with their neighbors." Evans added that: "[the Spanish soldier] Ribas had married a Yuchi woman who had been captured in southwestern Virginia by Sergeant Moyano. The woman had the Christian name Luisa Menendez."*(35)*

In a significant development since my 2004 article, Charles Hudson has changed his mind to accept that Moyano's attack occurred in Holstonia, rather than farther south as he originally believed. Hudson wrote: "...the Chiscas [Yuchi] were located on the Holston River or its tributaries," rather than "...on the upper Nolichucky as I previously thought."*(36)* In an end note in the same publication the excavators of the Berry site reinforced that conclusion that the Berry site is "...the First European settlement in what is now the interior of the United States."*(37)* Taking a shot at English Virginia and Walter Raleigh, the Berry site excavators have recently taken to calling Fort

St. Juan "the first Lost Colony."*(38)* So doing is not necessarily particularly good history, but it's great public relations.

The Collapse and Departure of the Mississippian People of Holstonia

In the wake of the de Soto and Pardo/Moyano entradas the American Indian populations of Holstonia shrunk as a result of disease and departure. Eventually the region became emptied of people. This empty region was what was found by the first English-speakers who arrived in Holstonia beginning around 1735. Sadly, we cannot detail what caused depopulation because neither history nor archeology offer any direct evidence. What has been well-documented is that depopulation was widespread in the Southeast in the years after the Spanish were in the region*(39)* and that these reduced populations of Southwest Virginia relocated.*(40)* The evidence of improper archeology suggests that at least some of the American Indians of Southwest Virginia moved to Stokes County, N.C., in the wake of the Moyano attack.*(41)*

Conclusions

The principal conclusion of this article is that a powerful case has been made that the documentary history of Virginia begins in the Appalachian region of the state, not in the Tidewater region as traditional history asserts. This principal conclusion is supported by documentary evidence but not by direct archeological evidence. It is always possible that a site in Southwest Virginia will produce Spanish artifacts, but none has yet been found.*(42)* However, such an absence is not surprising, first the Spanish presence in Virginia was at best ephemeral, and second the diggers of the prime sites in the region were persons without formal archeological training, unlikely to recognize or record any of the Spanish artifacts that have been evident to the professional excavators of the Berry site.

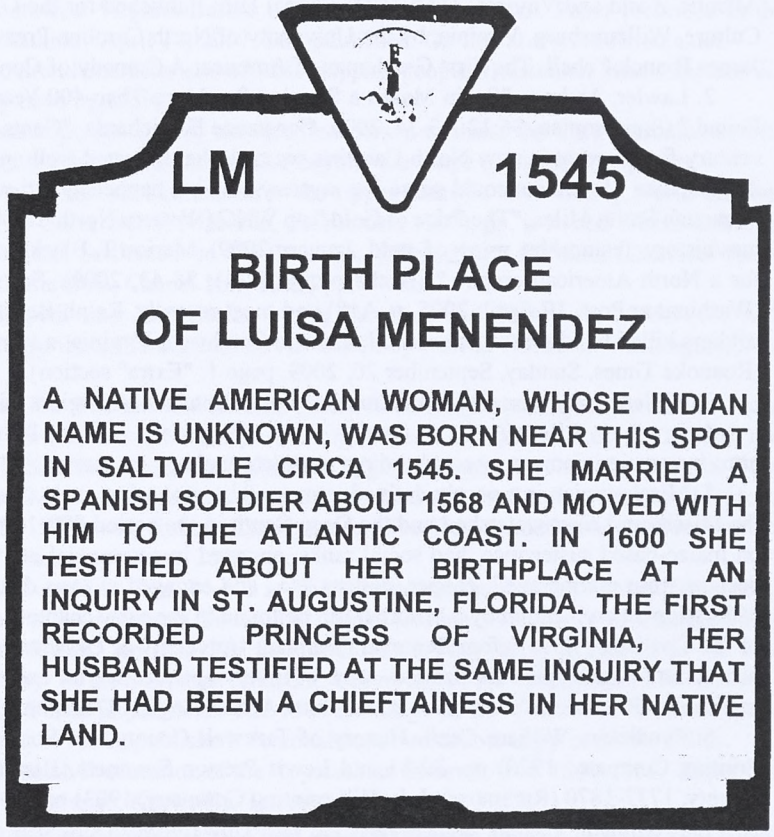


Figure 6. A conjectural historical marker describing the first documented woman in Virginia history.

An additional conclusion is that recent studies by the author demonstrate that pre-Columbian Southwest Virginia was the home to large settled populations of Americans Indians whose tribal affiliation was Yuchi. This conclusion adds plausibility to the Spanish documentary accounts of the Moyano attack.

Acknowledgments

Thanks first to Lawrence Richardson who unbeknownst to this author knew about this story two decades before the author did. Thanks to Hugh Campbell for his ongoing support. Thanks, as always, to the staff of the interlibrary loan office at Newman Library. Thanks to the staff of Newman Library Special Collections. Thanks to George

Kegley for suggesting that I write this article. Special thanks to Professor Paul Hoffman who read and criticized an earlier draft of this article; the mistakes and errors that remain are solely the responsibility of the author. Last, but not least, particular thanks to Deena Flinchum for her strong and continuing support.

End Notes

1. The first Virginian we can name is very probably Paquiquineo (aka Don Luis de Velcaso) who slew the Jesuit missionaries on the shore of the Chesapeake Bay in 1570. I have concluded that the most probable birth year for Paquiquineo is 1544 and that the most probable birth year for Luis Menendez is 1553. For Paquiquineo see Clifford Merle Lewis and Albert J. Loomie, The Spanish Jesuit Mission in Virginia 1570-1572 (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1953). Francis Luca, "Re-Interpreting the Role of the Cultural Broker in the Conquest of La Florida, 1513-1600," (on line at http://www.kislakfoundation.org/prize/199901.html). Paul E. Hoffman, A New Andalucia and a Way to the Orient: The American Southeast During the Sixteenth Century, reprint edition with a new introduction (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004. Daniel K. Richter, "Tsenacommacah and the Atlantic World," (pp. 29-65 in Peter C. Mancall, ed., The Atlantic World and Virginia, 1550-1624. Chapel Hill: Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, by the University of North Carolina Press, 2007). See also the older, novelistic treatment by James Branch Cabell, The First Gentleman of America: A Comedy of Conquest (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1942).

2. Lawler, Andrew. "Spain Makes a Stand: After More Than 400 Years a Fort Built by Conquistadors Has Finally Been Found," (Smithsonian, 36:12: 33-34, 2006. Constance E. Richards, "Contact and Conflict: Spain's attempt to establish a 16th-century fort in what is now North Carolina seems to have started well and then ended disastrously. A site at the foot of the Appalachian Mountains could solve the mystery of what happened and why" (American Archaeology, 12(1): 12-18, 2008). Suzannah Smith Miles, "The Price of Gold," np WNC [Western North Carolina] Magazine, http://www.wncmagazine.com/feature/history_feature/the_price_of_gold, January 2009). Marion T. Blackburn, "Spain's Appalachian Outpost: Failed ambitions for a North American empire," (Archaeology, 62(4): 38-43, 2009). See also Jim. Glanville "Virginia Before Pocahontas" (Washington Post, 19 April, 2005, p. A18) and most recently, Ralph Berrier Jr., "The slaughter at Saltville: In 1567, Spanish soldiers killed hundreds of American Indians in Southwest Virginia, a story few knew until a retired professor uncovered it," (Roanoke Times, Sunday, September 20, 2009, page 1, "Extra" section).

3. Wallenstein, Peter. Cradle of America: Four Centuries of Virginia History. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2007.

4. Library of Virginia, "Virginia Memory Chronology" http://www.virginiamemory.com/reading_room/chronology_by_period.

5. Mississippian is a poorly defined term used by archeologists to described the American Indian societies that occupied the Mississippi river watershed and the Deep South in the period 800-1600 AD. They were generally mound builders, relied on maize-based sustenance, had social ranks, engaged in ceremonial activities, produced highly artistic objects with iconic designs from marine shell, copper, pottery, etc., and engaged in long distance trade and exchange. A useful introduction to Mississippian civilization by a historian can be found in the early chapters of R. S. Cotterill's The Southern Indians: The Story of the Civilized Tribes before Removal (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954). There is a huge archeological literature about Mississippian civilization, some of it very opaque. See for example "Parsing Mississippian Chiefdoms," Chapter 4 in Timothy R. Pauketat's Chiefdoms and Other Archaeological Delusions (Lanham: AltaMira Press, 2007).

6. Pendleton, William Cecil. History of Tazewell County and Southwest Virginia: 1748-1920 (Richmond: W. C. Hill Printing Company, 1920) pp. 30-31 and Lewis Preston Summers, History of Southwest Virginia, 1746-1786, Washington County, 1777-1870 (Richmond: J. L. Hill printing Company, 1903) pp. 24-25.

7. Prominent Virginia archeologist the late Howard MacCord was adamantly opposed to the notion of large settled Mississippian American Indian Populations in Southwest Virginia. Author's interviews with Glenn Williams, Abingdon, Va., 17 March 2004, and Lawrence Richardson 18 March 2004, Saltville, Va. Around 1982, Richardson heard Howard MacCord say about the Indians of the region that "we don't know who they were, we don't know where they came from, we don't know how long they were here, when they left, and where they went to." Hearing that statement led Richardson on a twenty-year quest for the Yuchi Indians (Lawrence Richardson, The Yuchi Indians, Unpublished manuscript, 2004, copy in author's file).

8. Lawrence Richardson has lived for many years in Adwolfe in Smyth County. Now retired, he was a dairy farmer by vocation and an historian and archaeologist by avocation. He was one of the excavators of the Fox archeological site in Smyth County in 1974. In the author's opinion, he is by far the most important living amateur archeologist of the region and the only one who has understood its significance.

9. Virginia archeologists conventionally call the Mississippian Period the Late Woodland Period and have been reluctant to concede that Mississippian people lived in Southwest Virginia. That situation is finally changing.

10. To my knowledge, the only professional archeologists who have commented on the richness of the Mississippian arti-

facts recovered over the years in Southwest Virginia are Mike Barber and Gene Barfield. See: Michael B. Barber, "Saltville and Environs: The Woodland period," pp. 39-50 in Eugene B. Barfield and Michael B. Barber. eds. Upland Archeology in the East: Symposium Number Five, (Richmond, Virginia: Archeological Society of Virginia, 1996). In this article Barber describes Saltville as the center of a "salt powered chiefdom." Barber at the time of this writing is the State Archeologist of Virginia.

11. Glanville, Jim. "Improper Archeology, 'Fabulous Saltville,' and the Ancient History of Southwest Virginia." The Smithfield Review, Volume IX, pages 55-100, 2005.

12. Glanville, Jim. "The Space Farms Museum Collection of Southwest Virginia Artifacts," (Quarterly Bulletin of the Archeological Society of Virginia, 62(1): 7-30, 2007) and "Richard G. Slattery and the History of Archeology in Southwest Virginia" (Quarterly Bulletin of the Archeological Society of Virginia, 62(2): 86-106, 2007).

13. Robinson, W. Stitt, Early American Indian Documents: Treaties and Laws, 1607-1789. Washington, D.C.: University Publications of America, 1983.

14. One objective of these so-called "mourning" wars was to take captives who could be adopted by the New York tribes to replenish those tribes' ever depleting populations. Tribal adoption was a common practice; even Europeans would occasionally be adopted.

15. Hudson, Charles, M. Conversations with the High Priest of Coosa (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003) and A. Gwynn Henderson, Kentuckians Before Boone (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1992).

16. Glanville, Jim. Unknown Holstonia: Southwest Virginia Before the Settling of Jamestown. Paper presented at the Virginia Forum, Library of Virginia, Richmond. Saturday April 14, 2007. Self published. On line at www.holstonia.net.

17. Mound building is usually considered a cultural characteristic of Mississippian people. Holstonian Mississippians did not build mounds and that is one reason that they have been overlooked.

18. Lawrence Richardson (unpublished manuscript, see above) was the first person to make the Yuchi association with Holstonia. I believe this association is correct, but the detailed arguments lie beyond the scope of the present paper.

19. Beck, Robin A., Jr. The Burke Phase: Late Prehistoric Settlements in the Upper Catawba River Valley, North Carolina (Master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, The University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, 1997), pp. iv-v, and David G. Moore Late Prehistoric and Early Historic Period Aboriginal Settlement in the Catawba, Valley, North Carolina (Doctoral thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1999) pp. v-viii.

20. Hudson, Charles, M. The Juan Pardo Expeditions: Exploration of the Carolinas and Tennessee, 1566-1568. With Documents Relating to the Pardo Expeditions Transcribed, Translated, and Annotated by Paul E. Hoffman. Washington, D.C: The Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990.

21. A few of Hudson's many works include: The Southeastern Indians (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1976); editor, Black Drink: A Native American Tea (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1979), with Roy S. Dickens, and Roy C. Craven, Of Sky and Earth: Art of the Early Southeastern Indians (Atlanta: High Museum of Art and the Georgia. Dept. of Archives and History, 1982), Knights of Spain, Warriors of the Sun; Hernando de Soto and the South's Ancient Chiefdoms (University of Georgia Press: Athens and London, 1997), with Robbie Ethridge, eds., The Transformation of the Southeastern Indians, 1540-1760 (Jackson: The University of Mississippi Press, 2002), etc.

22. Hudson, Charles. "The Hernando de Soto Expedition," pp. 74-103 in Charles Hudson and Carmen Chaves Tesser, eds., The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521-1704 (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994), "The Historical Significance of the Soto Route," pp. 313-328 in Patricia Galloway, ed., The Hernando De Soto Expedition: History, Historiography, and "Discovery" in the Southeast (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), etc.

23. Worth, John E. "Recollections of the Juan Pardo Expeditions: The 1584 Domingo de León Account." Manuscript on file, Fernbank Museum of Natural History, Atlanta, 1994. Unpublished. Personal communication, copy in author's files.

24. Beck, Robin A. "From Joara to Chiaha: Spanish Exploration of the Appalachian Summit Area, 1540-1568." Paper presented at the 52nd Southeastern Archaeological Conference, Knoxville, Tennessee, November 1995.

25. Richardson, Lawrence. Letter written from Marion, Virginia, to Robin Beck, 8 February 1996. It tells that Tom Klatka was in the audience when Beck presented his "From Joara to Chiaha" paper at the Knoxville conference and that Richardson had learned from Klatka about Beck's presentation. Richardson says that he is elated to learn that the Chiscas were living in Saltville in 1567 and comments that they are the Yuchi. Richardson asked for copies of John Worth's translation of the de León account and other Spanish archival documents and enclosed a $25 check for Beck's copying expenses, adding that if for any reason Beck found himself unable to do this favor then Beck should "keep the check and treat yourself to a dinner." Beck in fact replied, but later Richardson misplaced Beck's reply and cannot now find it. Copy of Richardson's letter in author's file. Used with permission.

26. Beck, Robin A., Jr. "From Joara to Chiaha: Spanish Exploration of the Appalachian Summit Area, 1540-1568." Southeastern Archaeology 16(2): 162-169, 1997.

27. http://www.warren-wilson.edu/~arch/berrysite.

28. Beck, Robin A., Jr., David G. Moore, and Christopher B. Rodning. "Identifying Fort San Juan: a Sixteenth-Century Spanish Occupation at the Berry Site, North Carolina." Southeastern Archaeology, 25(1): 65-77, 2006.

29. Judge, Joseph. "Exploring Our Forgotten Century." National Geographic Magazine, 173(3): 331-363. March 1988 issue.

30. Lewis, Clifford Merle, S. J., and Albert J. Loomie. S. J. The Spanish Jesuit Mission in Virginia 1570-1572. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1953.

31. Hoffman, Paul E. Spain and the Roanoke Voyages. Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1987; Florida's Frontiers. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002; "Spanish and French Exploration and Colonization." In Boles, John B. ed., A Companion to the America South. Oxford (UK): Blackwell Publishers 2002; A New Andalucia and a Way to the Orient: The American Southeast During the Sixteenth Century, reprint edition with a new introduction, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004.

32. Glanville, Jim. "Conquistadors at Saltville in 1567? A Review of the Archeological and Documentary Evidence." Smithfield Review, VIII: 70-108, 2004.

33. Clayton Lawrence A. Vernon James Knight, Jr., and Edward Moore. The de Soto Chronicles: the Expedition of Hernando de Soto to North America in 1539-1543. 2 Volumes. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1993. These two volumes contain all known records of the entrada of Hernando de Soto and his army through North America.

34. Brisco, Nathan. "Archeological Notes On Smyth County, part 4 [of six]." Marion Democrat, Tuesday June 26, 1933.

35. Evans, Raymond. "Prehistoric Metal Workers in the Eastern United States." Published on line at www.itslt.org/prehistoric_metal_workers.doc.

36. Hudson, Charles, M. The Juan Pardo Expeditions: Exploration of the Carolinas and Tennessee, 1566-1568. With Documents Relating to the Pardo Expeditions Transcribed, translated, and annotated by Paul E. Hoffman. Reprinted edition Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2006 (originally, Washington, DC: The Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990). New foreword by Charles Hudson pp. ix-x.

37. Moore, David G., Robin A. Beck, Jr., and Christopher B. Rodning. "Afterword: Pardo, Joara, and Fort San Juan Revisited." Pp. 343-349 in Hudson, Charles, M. The Juan Pardo Expeditions: Exploration of the Carolinas and Tennessee, 1566-1568. With Documents Relating to the Pardo Expeditions Transcribed, Translated, and Annotated by Paul E. Hoffman. Reprint edition. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa, 2006 (originally, Washington, DC: The Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990).

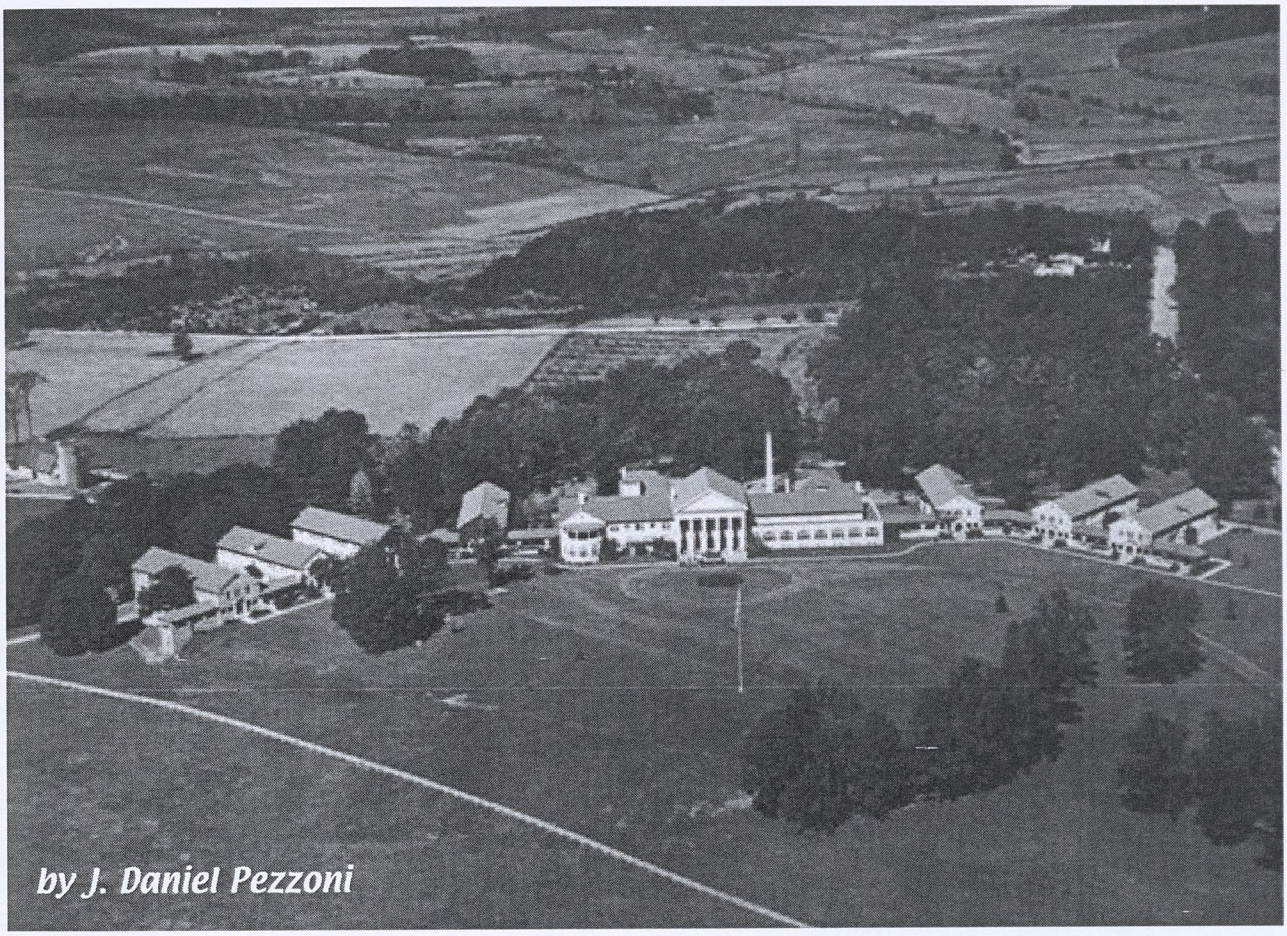
38. http//:www.unctv.org/exploringNC/episode405.html.

39. Dobyns, Henry F. Their Number Became Thinned: Native American Population Dynamics in Eastern North America. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1983. Ann F. Ramenofsky and Patricia Galloway, "Disease and the Soto Entrada," pp. 259-282 in Patricia Galloway, ed., The Hernando De Soto Expedition: History, Historiography, and "Discovery" in the Southeast. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997.

40. Smith, Marvin T. Archaeology of Aboriginal Culture Change in the Interior Southeast. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1987 and "Aboriginal Population Movements in the Early Historic Period Interior Southeast." Pp. 43-56, in Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast, (revised and expanded edition) Peter Wood, Gregory Waselkov, and Thomas Hatley, eds. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006.

41. Glanville, Jim. Unknown Holstonia. See note 16.

42. The author has been vigilant about pursuing hints of the existence of Spanish artifacts in Holstonia, but to date the only promising object turned out to be of African origin and dated three centuries later than the conquistadors. See: Jim Glanville, "The Blade from Glade" (The Smithfield Review, Volume X: 33-37, 2006).



by J. Daniel Pezzoni

An aerial view of the Elks National Home in 1924 by Underwood & Underwood.

The Elks National Home never fails to impress a first-time visitor. Stucco gate pillars mark the entry to the grounds off of leafy Ashland Avenue in Bedford, Virginia, and as one travels down the winding drive the Elks Home comes into view. A main building fronted by a classical portico anchors the complex, which extends to left and right as a series of dormitories, or cottages as the Elks call them, linked by a continuous arcade over 800 feet in length.*(1)*

The Elks Home has its origins far from Bedford, and under unlikely circumstances. The Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks (BPOE) was the brainchild of a young English comic singer and dancer named Charles A.S. Vivian, who left his native England in 1867 to further his career in New York. According to one account, "Vivian's charming wit and personality quickly endeared him to a close-knit group of actors and entertainers in the city." The friends enjoyed food and spirits but found themselves inconvenienced by New York's blue laws, which shut down their favorite watering holes on Sundays, the one day of the week entertainers had off.

To get around the restrictions and to manage the growing size of the gatherings, Vivian suggested the creation

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Hotel Bedford in a photograph taken at the Elks National Home dedication on May 21, 1903. (Elks National Home Collection)

of an informal organization, the Jolly Corks. Shortly before Christmas 1867, a member of the group died, leaving his family without financial support. This misfortune prompted the group to reorganize as a benevolent society for the aid of its members and their families. At a meeting on February 16, 1868, the Jolly Corks adopted the name, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks—the mascot said to have been inspired by a stuffed elk's head in New York's Barnum Museum. The organization grew slowly during its first decade of existence but by 1900 the B.P.O.E. had achieved a national presence with 75,000 members in 600 subordinate lodges.*(2)*

At the Grand Lodge session of 1898 the Elks resolved to "establish a home for the aged and needy members of the order." A search for a suitable location concluded in 1902 with the purchase of the Hotel Bedford on the western outskirts of Bedford. The rambling Queen Anne style hotel was constructed in 1890 at the height of the development boom that Bedford, Roanoke, and other cities and towns of western Virginia experienced during the 1880s and early 1890s.

The original owner, the Bedford City Land and Improvement Company, built the hotel as the centerpiece of a large residential addition to Bedford, with a circular drive known as Crescent Avenue around the hotel, radiating streets, and hundreds of building lots. The scheme was poorly timed; the regional development bubble burst by the end of 1893 and few if any lots were built upon.

The hotel passed through several owners before it was purchased by the Elks. The Hotel Bedford probably appealed to the Elks for a number of reasons, chief among them its availability while the Elks were searching for a facility of the requisite size. Also, Bedford possessed good railroad connections, and the hotel stood just uphill from the location of the Norfolk and Western station at the time. What a period promotional brochure touted as

Bedford's "delightful and healthful climate" was undoubtedly an added inducement in an era of unhealthy cities, malarial lowlands, and an absence of air conditioning.*(3)*

The Hotel Bedford was a sophisticated building, the work of an accomplished although as yet unidentified architect. The 200-foot-long three-story building had many of the hallmarks of the Queen Anne style, the style of choice for the grand railroad and resort hotels of the era. Above a stone first story rose a wood-shingled second level and an attic story that bristled with turrets, dormers, and elaborate brick chimneys. The dominant feature was a five-story observation tower of gradated cylindrical form. The rounded form was repeated by a corner veranda gazebo with columns and latticework. In a photograph taken at the Home's dedication on May 21, 1903, the hotel appears to be in good condition. By 1909, however, the Elks leadership had decided the building was inadequate. "As elegant as the former hotel was," wrote one historian, "it lacked the modern conveniences and safety considered necessary to a properly run establishment for older gentlemen."

Various committees considered options such as remodeling or moving to a new location, but in 1911 it was decided to replace the hotel with a new facility on the same site. By March 1912 the Chicago architectural firm, Ottenheimer Stern and Reichert, was selected to develop conceptual plans for the new Home.*(4)*

The work of demolishing the hotel began in 1913 and the residents were moved to temporary lodgings in the Jeter Institute, a former college building located a short distance to the east. Salt Lake City contractor Patrick J. Moran headed construction of the new facility, which was dedicated on July 8, 1916, with Governor Henry C. Stuart as the featured speaker.

Another event of note occurred in 1920 when President Elect Warren Harding — an Elk — was invited to visit the Home by an old acquaintance who lived there. Harding had lunch at the Home and addressed a crowd out front of what the New York Times called an "imposing, white-pillared building set down among the Blue Ridge Mountains." The Home was estimated to have "100 or more" residents at the time. In 1921 the resident population was 135 and three years later it was 174.*(5)*

The building that so impressed the New York Times was a prototype of the retirement homes that would become more common in America during the second half of the 20th century. Its architect, the firm of Ottenheimer Stern and Reichert, had a wellestablished working relationship with the Elks hierarchy in Chicago, one of the capitals of Elkdom. (An architect at the firm during the period was Rudolph Schindler, who would become one of the leading modernist architects of the 20th century, but whether Schindler was involved in the design of the Elks Home is unknown.)

The blue print room in the basement of the Home's Administration Building preserves drawings and specifications that include what appear to be the Ottenheimer firm's earliest conceptual designs, dated March 1912. The form and basic interior layout of the Administration Building, the chief building and architectural focal point of the complex, were determined at the outset. The monumental portico, for example, was ultimately built with only minor departures from the 1912 design, such as the substitution of a clock for a terra-cotta cartouche in the pediment. Otherwise the 1912 Administration Building design had a stronger Mediterranean character and more elaborate detail than the final version. Art Nouveau influence is seen in some details, such as the sinuous ogee surround of the doors to the building's dining room balcony.

As the Ottenheimer design evolved, more reserved classical elements were substituted for the overtly Mediterranean features. The Mediterranean-Baroque-Art Nouveau flavor was preserved, however, in forms and finishes such as Spanish tile roofs, stucco walls, and the elliptical vaulting of the dining room. Later buildings constructed in the 1920s and 1930s perpetuated the Mediterranean theme. An Elks promotional publication from about 1940 described the Home as "a beautiful structure, most effectively combining classic and Spanish mission features of architecture."*(6)*

Site planning also evolved during the period. An early Ottenheimer site plan shows the Administration Building with essentially its present form but situated closer to the intersection of Ashland Avenue and College Street, near the former hotel location. The concept of the dormitory ranges had been established, but rather than having the present crescent arrangement the ranges and main building defined three sides of a large rectangular space open on the south side. A section drawing shows that the enclosed space had a rolling, valley-like topography with the main building and dormitories overlooking it from higher ground. A driveway approached from the rear, entered the rectangular space through an arched underpass, and curved around to an elevated forecourt in front of the Administration Building portico.

Administration Building with Elk statue.

Adding to the drama of topography and approach was to be an intermittent stream that flowed southward to a pond at the foot of the hill, near the Norfolk and Western Railway station. Instead of this picturesque arrangement the complex was shifted northward so that the elevated hotel site became — presumably with extensive regrading — a level and spacious lawn. Rather than coming from the rear the driveway approached at an angle from the front. The new location sloped on the north side rather than the south side so that the views from the dormitory rooms were directed to the farmland and mountains to the north.*(7)*

Both the original and final designs of the Elks Home featured ranges of buildings connected by arcades and focused on a central porticoed main building, an arrangement that calls to mind the plan of the Lawn at the University of Virginia. The solution of incorporating the arcades or connecting elements into the fronts of the original six cottages also evokes the University of Virginia plan, specifically the form of pavilions such as Pavilion VII. These similarities seem too strong to be coincidental and suggest the architects involved with the project were inspired by Jefferson's campus.

Other aspects of the Home's plan derive from functional and constructional logic. The concept of multiple dormitories, rather than a single large consolidated building, allowed for incremental construction according to need and finances—a method put into practice with the construction of a seventh dormitory, now known as Cottage A, in 1923. The multi-building approach may also have been motivated by health and safety concerns. Multiple smaller buildings permitted resident rooms to have ample light and natural ventilation, and, in addition to the masonry and stucco construction, helped limit the threat of devastating fire. Earlier, the Elks leadership had worried about fire when the Home was housed in the mostly frame Hotel Bedford.*(8)*

Circulation was solved by the arcaded walkways. Period accounts emphasized the fact that the floors of the arcades were on the same level as the communal spaces of the main building, an important consideration since many of the residents used canes or crutches. It may be that shifting the buildings to the most level part of the site

Administration Building dining room.

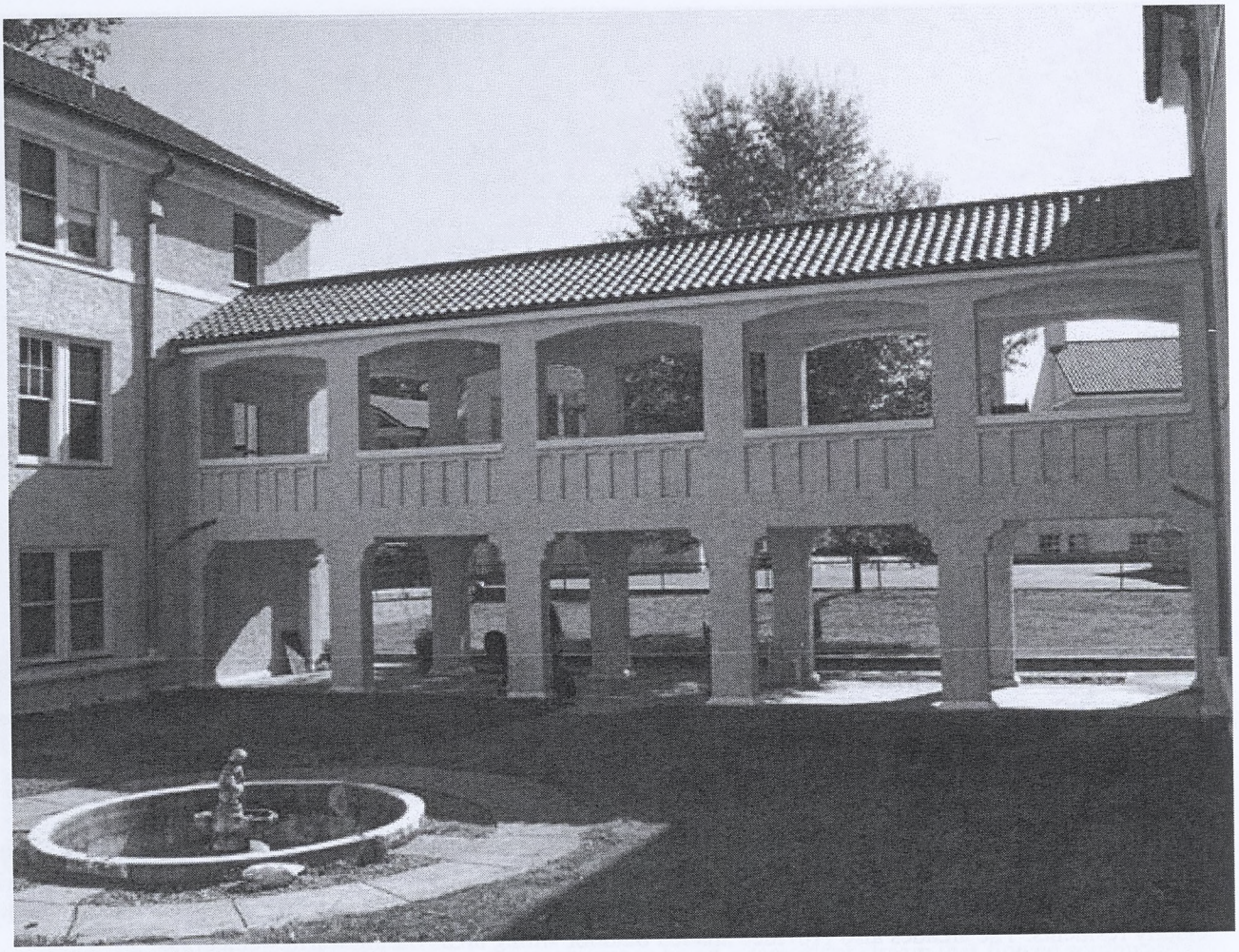
during the design development phase reflected in part the need for one-level circulation. The openness of the arcades is consistent with the premium placed on fresh outdoor air for respiratory health, a feature of the sanitariums and summer resorts of the era. The south-facing orientation of the arcades made them suitable for sunning by elderly residents. The arcades also provided shaded outdoor sitting areas during warm weather.*(9)*

The Elks Home continued to expand in the late 1920s and early 1930s. The growth was fortuitous when national events in the 1930s increased the number of elderly members who needed care. The depression precipitated by the stock market crash of 1929 strained the ability of aid agencies nationwide to assist the elderly. The Elks Home addressed the crisis among its membership by providing for over 400 residents, the largest enrollment in the history of the institution, and the building campaign of the era created the additional space to house the influx.

Since the increase in capacity began with the construction of Cottage A in 1923 and Cottage H in 1926, it is likely the Elks leadership was responding to the demographics of its organization, as the wave of members who joined in the late nineteenth century reached retirement age, rather than anticipating the economic downturn of the 1930s. The Home's population peaked somewhere over 412 residents in 1934 and slowly declined to about 300 by 1940. Social Security, which went into effect in 1935, probably eased the pressure.

Cottage H, built to designs by the New York architectural firm of Clinton and Russell in 1926, inaugurated a second range of buildings behind the 1916 complex. Cottage H has a courtyard form with a two-tier arcade that links the two ends of the U. Like the 1916 arcades the Cottage H arcade has a southern orientation for the comfort of residents. Lynchburg architects Clark and Crowe replicated the courtyard form with the construction of Cottage I, built next to Cottage H in 1930-31, and linked to it by a two-tier arcade. A power house and laundry were also constructed as a part of the back range, in 1926-27, and the Fred Harper Theatre was added in 1938. The theater was built behind the arcade that links cottages H and I, in essence creating a third courtyard.*(10)*

Two talented artists have left their mark on the Elks Home. The bronze Elk that stands in front of the Administration Building was cast to a design by Ohio-born artist Eli Harvey (1860-1957). Harvey was known for his animal art, which included ornaments for the lion house at the New York Zoological Park and the brown bear that is the mascot of Brown University. In 1904 the Elks leadership commissioned Harvey to produce a sculpture



Cottage and its arcade.

of an elk. The Elks Home elk was cast by the Gorham Manufacturing Company of Providence, Rhode Island, apparently the source for many of the Elks statues around the country.

An artist of a different sort was resident Tom Sidonia, whose colorful career included stints as a tightrope performer and as an artist for the Barnum and Bailey Circus. Sidonia painted four of the six murals in the Administration Building dining room, including a picture of a wounded World War I soldier being assisted by a comrade and a Saint Bernard dog to illustrate the Elks virtue of "Brotherly Love," and one of a Patriot soldier at picket duty in the snow to illustrate "Fidelity." Sidonia's 1942 library mural, titled "On the Eve of Discovery," depicts Christopher Columbus's 1492 fleet on the high seas. His mural in the recreation room shows a wagon train and pioneers. Tom Sidonia also took on projects in the community, painting murals in Greens Drug Store in Bedford, and he also illustrated a 1942 scrapbook, presented to a retiring Home employee, that survives in the Elks Home collections.*(11)*

Over the years various commentators have recorded their impressions of the Elks Home. In 1931 Ralph Hagan, a former chairman of the Board of Grand Trustees, remarked to the Elks' national convention, "You have an administration building there which contains a large sun parlor, for the guests, and a billiard hall and card room, library, and the general offices. You have then 11 other buildings known as 'Base Units' [the cottages] housing about 40 guests each, and in each one of these units, every three or four doors, you have showers and baths . . . We have many features there to entertain our guests, such as a ninehole golf course, a fishing pond and a croquet green." Hagan also commented on the Home farm, noting that a large percentage of the property's 123 acres were under cultivation. "I am happy to say that this year we have had large crops and are going to be able to take care of our

dairy herd, and raise many commodities for the table."

The Home farm remains an important part of the complex, although it is no longer used for agriculture. Its dominant building is a three-level dairy barn of frame and stuccoed masonry construction. Its gambrel roof encloses a capacious hay mow—in which hangs part of the hay fork apparatus—and two glazed tile block silos rise on one end. The basementlevel cow stalls were aired by an ingenious set of ventilation shafts and openings. Ralph Hagan concluded his account by stating, "The Home was founded as a home, in all that that word implies, for worthy, aged, and indigent Elks. The welfare of our Brothers in their declining days is a solemn obligation."*(12)*

In an Elks promotional booklet published in the mid-20th century, possibly ca. 1940, Mildred Masters provided a detailed account of daily life at the Home and the functions of its various buildings. Masters was among the first to emphasize the resort-like character of the Home, now a major component of its program, while she acknowledged the necessarily relaxed pace of the activities. "This magnificent resort is a top-notch residential club . . . Some of the guests are playing a round of golf on the nine-hole course stretching out across the front lawns; others are resting on the benches and swings under the big trees, and many are nodding contentedly as they sit in the warm sunshine on the front veranda."

Masters referred to the lobby as the "main lounge . .cheerfully decorated with growing plants . . . a fine place to congregate." The Administration Building basement contained "dining and rest rooms for the help, as well as the tailor's shop, carpenter's shop and clothing rooms." In the library, "Every morning one of the men reads aloud to all those whose eyesight is not quite up to the fine newspaper print." The hospital contained "laboratory apparatus, physio-therapy machinery, and X-ray equipment" as well as a "special dining room, with a diet kitchen" for residents in the wards. A venerable aspect of life at the Home is the Elks National Home Lodge, housed in a lodge room on the second floor of the Administration Building. According to Home Lodge historian Gilbert Fitzgerald, entertainment during the early years featured "musical sessions and variety shows, billiards, cribbage, pinochle and other recreation room tournaments. Sometimes people came from Bedford, Roanoke and Lynchburg to assist."*(13)*

The Home opened its doors to younger guests during World War II. In the early phases of the war the Elks leadership offered members who lived in American territories that were or were thought to be at risk, such as Hawaii, the Canal Zone, and Puerto Rico, the opportunity to send their children to the Home where they would be boarded for free during the hostilities. Eight Puerto Rican boys were housed in Cottage I, among them present resident Sheridan Besosa, who remembers swimming in the pool formerly located in the garden and attending movies in the Fred Harper Theatre. Besosa recalls the formality of meals in the dining room, which were served by waiters wearing white coats and black ties. Other guests of the Home during the war were four Royal Navy sailors whose boat was being repaired at the Norfolk shipyards.*(14)*

Important in the yearly doings of the Home is the Christmas Display. During the hotel years the Superintendent's wife managed floral decorations in the dining room, and lodges around the country sent boxes of cigars and other presents to the residents. In 1953 the Home began to decorate with electric lights along the roof line and a sleigh and reindeer out front. The new approach was the inspiration of George H. Buck, the Home's maintenance engineer, who added features through the 1950s. Buck was assisted by Tom Sidonia and local sign painter D. H. Pinion.

"By 1955, large crowds were coming from Bedford and the surrounding areas to view the displays," writes the Home's executive director, Dr. Ronald L. Plamondon. A "complete rearrangement" was made in 1965 when religious scenes illustrating the Christmas story in sequence were added. The display garnered national attention. During the 1972 illumination over 22,000 vehicles drove through the grounds to view the "yule-time brightening." In 2004 an estimated 100,000 people in 27,000 vehicles viewed the display.*(15)*

The decline in membership that had begun by 1940 has continued into the 21st century, although recent changes in the Home's program will likely result in future increases. From 235 residents in 1975 the Home's population had decreased to 117 residents in November 2007. (The present licensing capacity is 230 residents.) One important recent development was the decision in 1995 to admit women to the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, reflected in the admission of female Elks members and Elk couples to the Home beginning in 1999. "You can imagine," writes Elks Home Director of Admissions Nellie Martin, "that the addition of women as residents made many of the 'old time' residents apprehensive, but it has proven to be one of the most beneficial changes of all. The ladies are a positive influence on all aspects of life at the Home and they are taking an active part in the Home and

Elks Home Farm.

Home Lodge activities."

The indigence requirement was dropped in the second half of the 20th century and members with financial means have been encouraged to apply to the Home. Many residents remain participants in the activities of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, which today numbers over a million members in over 2,000 lodges, making it the largest fraternal organization in the nation. The Elks continue their tradition of philanthropy, contributing to health-related causes and scholarships (the Elks rank second only to the federal government in the awarding of grants to students). At present the Elks National Home is studying options for converting additional rooms to the "independent style of living" that was introduced by renovations in the 1980s and given added impetus by the admission of women in 1999.

The Home was recently listed in the National Register of Historic Places and the Virginia Landmarks Register, and rehabilitation tax credits are being considered for future rehabilitation work. The changes of recent years will help ensure that the Home remains a vital part of the Elks organization.*(16)*

End Notes

1. This article is adapted from J. Daniel Pezzoni, "Elks National Home" (National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, 2007). A number of individuals assisted the preparation and review of the National Register nomination, foremost among them the Elks Home administrative staff: Executive Director Dr. Ronald L. Plamondon; Controller Kim J. Snow; Director of Admissions and Marketing Counselor, Nellie Martin; and Security Guard Barry Schubert. Assistance was also provided by Home resident Sheridan Besosa, City of Bedford Commissioner of Revenue Valerie N. Wilson, architectural historian Betty Gereau, and John R. Kern, Michael Pulice, Jean McRae, Kelly Spradley-Kurowski, and Marc Wagner of the Virginia Department of Historic Resources. Contemporary photographs used in the article were taken by Dan Pezzoni in 2007.

2. "BPO Elks—How it began and how it grew;" "The Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks."

3. The Elks National Home Program; "From Bedford Hotel," 3; Bedford City Land and Improvement Company plat; Bedford County Deed Book 83, 26; Bedford County grantee indexes; Viemeister, Historical Diary of Bedford, 37-38.

4. The Elks National Home Program, 1, 3, 25, 41; "From Bedford Hotel," 3, 12.

5. "From Bedford Hotel," 12; Bedford Bulletin, September 16, 23, 30, 1915; New York Times, December 6, 1920; Hagan remarks on Elks National Home.

6. Ottenheimer Stern and Reichert drawings; "Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks."

7. Ottenheimer Stern and Reichert drawings.

8. Elks Magazine, July 1938; Hagan remarks on Elks National Home.

9. Elks Magazine, March 1928.

10. Wells and Dalton. The Virginia Architects, 87-88, 90; Clinton and Russell drawings; Chambers, Lynchburg, 432.

11. Nellie Martin and Betty Gereau personal communication; Clinton County Historical Society Museum website; Smithsonian Institution Research Information System website.

12 Hagan remarks on Elks National Home.

13. Masters, "The Elks' National Home;" Fitzgerald, "A History: The Elks National Home Lodge."

14. Sheridan Besosa personal communication; Viemeister, Historical Diary of Bedford, 73.

15. Gaenger, "Christmas at the National Elks' Home;" Jackson, "Elks Home Engineer Retires;" "History of the Elks National Home Christmas Display;" Plamondon, "Welcome to the Elks National Home!"

16. Personal communication with Kim Snow; Elks Magazine (June 1975), 27; Martin, "First Hundred Years," 1-2; Plamondon, "Welcome to the Elks National Home!"

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Salem's East Hill North: A cemetery in the shadows

by John Long

On a hot July afternoon in 1869, the residents of Salem, Virginia, white and black, gathered on a hillside east of town. Their purpose was to pay tribute to a well-known African American Salemite, George Washington Thomas. The deceased was only thirty-three but had left quite a mark in a short life. The local paper affectionately described Thomas as "a highly respectable colored citizen…esteemed by all who knew him."

No record of the eulogies survives, but surely his neighbors would have praised his industry, affability, and popularity with both races. His white friends, a substantial number of whom were present, may have remarked on the support Thomas showed them during the recent Civil War, and how he used his new franchise to vote an "out and out Conservative ticket"—referring to the pro-Confederate Democrats of the Reconstruction era. His fellow black citizens would have remembered him for other attributes, no doubt, and they may have whispered about the suspicions of murder, a charge that the local white physicians had dismissed when they ruled the cause of death as a natural "congestion of the lungs."*(1)*

The cemetery in which they prepared to lay their neighbor was only a few months old, and perhaps Thomas was the first to be interred there. At the end of the services, perhaps Thomas's African-American friends left a rough stone marker or some form of "grave good" as a remembrance. But soon the grave was marked by a more lasting tribute, an upright stone marker "erected by the white people of Salem…in honor of an honest, industrious colored man." That stone, featuring two hands shaking under the epitaph "Peace to his ashes," still stands today, the oldest marker in East Hill Cemetery North, Salem's primary African-American burial ground for generations.*(2)*

For much of its history, East Hill North (hereafter EHN) has attracted little positive attention. Ignored by many, though off of Main Street only a few blocks away from downtown Salem, EHN was neglected and overgrown for long periods of time. Vandals have desecrated grave markers, others have disappeared or been displaced by time and neglect. Records of those buried there, if accurate ones were ever kept, have mostly vanished. Only in recent years has any effort been made to preserve the cemetery and memorialize those who lie there.

This report is the product of the latest such effort, and represents the most complete accounting of the history of and burials in EHN ever compiled. It cannot be considered a complete one, however, nor a finished product. Further research already has and will continue to uncover names of burials in EHN, and both the Salem Historical Society and the Salem City Manager's Office plan to maintain an evolvable and correctable database of names.

East Hill Cemetery traces its origin to an 1868 land auction. Nathaniel Burwell, one of the valley's largest land- (and slave-) holders, had died two years previous, and his heirs were selling off parts of his estate to the south and east of the town of Salem (then a community only a few blocks long and deep). Some of the land south of town was purchased by former slaves of Burwell, and became the genesis of the Water Street Community, Salem's main African-American neighborhood for the next century. But another two-acre tract north of the main road, just to the east of the town, was purchased by a wealthy white farmer and businessman,

John Long, executive director of the Salem Historical Society, teaches history at his alma mater, Roanoke College.

Graves in East Hill North Cemetery are marked by a variety of stones.

Bernard Pitzer, for $11 an acre. According to a newspaper account of the day, Pitzer immediately granted the land "to the colored people for a burying ground."*(3)*

The reason for Pitzer's benevolence was never explained. A former slave owner, perhaps he felt a noblesse-oblige responsibility to the black community to provide them a resting place. Whatever the reason, the cemetery was put to use at least within the next year, as the aforementioned George W. Thomas was interred there in 1869. If there are older burials, no records or evidence survive today. Nor can we know if the ground was already in use as a burial place prior to Pitzer's purchase, as some have suspected.

The deed between the Burwell estate and Pitzer, however, was not recorded until 1871,*(4)* leading to some confusion as to the date of EHN's founding. A landscaped sign at the entrance, now behind the memorial wall, bears the date 1871, though 1868 is the better attested founding date.

It is interesting to note that the larger East Hill Cemetery for whites across Main Street was established in 1869, though some burials date from the Civil War. EHN is, then, the older of the two as an active public burial place.

Little of the early history of East Hill North survives. The graveyard appears on an 1883 map as "African Cemetery" and an 1891 map as "Colored Cemetery," but almost no other documentary evidence has been found.*(5)* Other than extant gravestones, there are no burial records prior to the 1890s. Thus, we have to look to other similar cemeteries to make assumptions about the history of EHN.

Perhaps no organization in the U.S. has done more work in preserving African American cemeteries than the Chicora Foundation of Columbia, S.C. On its webpage, Chicora lists several answers to the question "what makes African American cemeteries different?" The conclusions, based on extensive research, certainly apply in several points to EHN. The italicized comments after each feature describe the extent to which EHN reflects that point.*(6)*

• These cemeteries typically have very long use—meaning that they have many more burials than immediately meets the eye (we "see" only the most recent burials, many others have been filled in and are no longer easily recognizable). *This certainly describes EHN, with nearly 800 known burials in 2 acres, and untold numbers unknown. In a phone conversation with Chicora, a representative added that the tradition in black cemeteries was for no one to be turned away and the space never considered filled.*

• They are maintained differently—being cleaned up only yearly or only when a new burial is interred (often resulting in cleaning up only the access and burial site). Consequently, the look "abandoned" to Anglo eyes. *This was certainly true of EHN in the past, though less so now under city maintenance.*

• Graves are often marked differently—because of both tradition and poverty many graves were marked using "living" memorials, such as bulb plantings, cedar trees, and yucca plants. Other graves were marked using impermanent markers, such as wood planks or stakes. And some graves were marked with unconventional items, such as iron pipes or even sections of railroad iron. *EHN features many historic plantings, and almost certainly featured such impermanent markers as described here, though few survive. Fieldstone markers are obvious, and some examples of bricks or building block can be found.*

• Traditionally graves often had grave goods—items ranging from bottles to shells. These funerary objects, while on the surface of graves, are not abandoned. Those discovering these objects have no right of ownership and can't confer a right of ownership to others—they were intended to remain with the deceased. Removing these objects is the same as looting a grave. *Perhaps this has been true of EHN, but there is no ready evidence, physical or documentary, of such today.*

• These graveyards are typically not deeded or otherwise identified or recorded as cemeteries. Since most of these locations go back to slavery and have "always" been associated with the Black community, there has been no feeling that any legal deed or paperwork was necessary. They are rarely shown on maps and almost never appear on plats from antebellum days. *True of EHN to a degree. While it dates to post-slavery period, administration seems to have been always left to the black community of Salem. But that community has never held a clear title to the property, and today it is not on the property rolls of the City of Salem with an owner of record. It has historically appeared on property maps, however, and has always been recognized as a cemetery.*

• Even urban graveyards for African Americans remain different from adjacent white cemeteries. There is a strong tradition of mutual aid and cooperation. Burial associations and fraternal organizations both played major roles in more urban African American communities. *Though we cannot know the extent to which fraternal organizations acted in this part, the Citizen's League, black churches, and earlier civic groups have certainly taken responsibility for EHN.*

Not until 1936 do we get any evidence of the caretaking efforts of EHN by the local community. In August of that year the African-American community planned a benefit concert to "make several much-needed repairs," including grading the driveways, "some grubbing and weeding," and adding a retaining wall at the main entrance, which at that time seemed to be the Monroe Street opening.*(7)* Interestingly, the newspaper account also mentions that an application had been made to the WPA and PWA for funds to pay for the repairs, but that since there was no "satisfactorily cleared" title to the land even then, the government would not grant any money.*(8)*

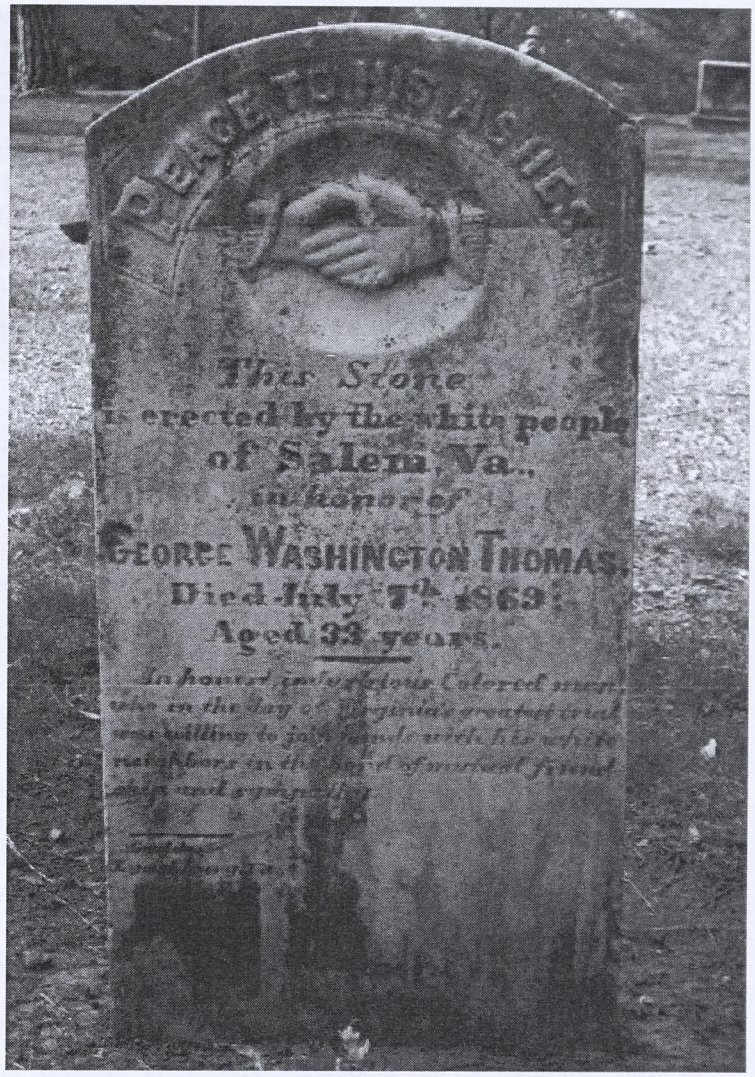
A second benefit was held the following September 28, raising $7.00.*(9)* A letter of thanks for the benefit was signed by William R. Wilson, a local music teacher, who was secretary for the "Trustees of Colored Cemetery," indicating an organized group to oversee the administration of the graveyard.

The following year, in November 1937, a local African American Boy Scout troop under the direction of George Bowles, sponsored another fundraising drive to "put the local Colored Cemetery in proper condition." Once again William Wilson headed the drive, with the assistance of Henry Hill, longtime bell-ringer at Roanoke College. A newspaper story noted that prior fundraising efforts (presumably those of 1936) had achieved some repairs, but others were still needed.*(10)* No specific accounting of what work was accomplished survives, but it is clear that even in the midst of the Great Depression, Salem's African American community made preservation of their historic burial place a priority.

Oral history also provides some clues of the cemetery's past. Henry Bellinger, today a resident of Odenton,

MD, grew up in Salem's Government Hill neighborhood, an area, once predominantly black, behind East Hill North and Longwood Park. Bellinger well recalls watching gravedigger Paul Pate open graves in the 1940s and 50s, an activity that always caught the attention of neighborhood boys. He adds that frequently wooden remains of coffins and even human bones could be seen, evidence of the tradition of reusing burial sites in black cemeteries (see Chicora point number 1 above). When a funeral was held, he often joined the mourning party, and so witnessed many burials in EHN.*(11)*

Bellinger also recalls his grandfather's role in marking graves. Edward Morrison crafted concrete gravestones for local families who could not afford a commercially produced marker. The stones were molded in the front yard of the Morrison home on Monroe Avenue.*(12)* Many of Morrison's stones are still evident in EHN, though the inscriptions have often eroded past the point of readability.



George Washington Thomas stone features hands shaking and "Peace to his ashes" epitaph.

The gravediggers of a small town fill an unusual but necessary niche. Though no one desires his services, all eventually require them. Very often in the south, the arduous labor was performed by African-Americans. At least three gravediggers of the East Hill Cemeteries have been identified. Richard Gholston served the Salem community as gravedigger for nearly three decades as an employee of undertaker John M. Oakey. Oakey credited him with interring nearly 600 bodies in both East Hill cemeteries, and his obituary noted that Gholston "almost made East Hill" through his efforts at beautification. In tribute to his lengthy service, Gholston was buried in the white section of East Hill, in the plot of Oakey's own family. His grave marker displays a pick and shovel above a heartfelt inscription penned by Oakey. Gholston seems to be the first African American buried in the white cemetery, unknowingly crossing an important color barrier generations before the Civil Rights movement began in earnest.

Later, the role of gravedigger was filled by one George Leftwich (died 1911). His burial record at Oakey's lists his residence as the cemetery, perhaps indicating the there was a caretaker's shed at that time. Finally, Paul Pate handled the necessary duty in the mid-20th Century. A WWI veteran, Pate would one day himself be laid to rest in EHN. In more recent years, of course, the task of grave-digging has fallen to professional representatives of funeral homes or vault services, typically using mechanized earth-moving equipment.

By the mid-20th century, burials in EHN were becoming less frequent and the condition of the cemetery was again suffering. In the early 20th century, an African American cemetery known successively as Midway, Lincoln, and Williams Memorial opened between Roanoke city and Salem.*(13)* As the use of Williams grew,

EHN saw fewer and fewer burials. It seems that EHN became more of a pauper graveyard for families who could not afford to buy a plot in Williams, which was considered a more prestigious cemetery. Soon the graveyard was again overgrown and neglected.

In 1963, an African American civic group named the Citizen's League of Salem was formed for the purpose of encouraging good citizenship, civic participation, and active voting within the black community. Local pastors Enos Glaspie and C.J. Smith (of Salem's Shiloh and First Baptist Churches, respectively) were among the founders, and within a few years they were joined on the board by local resident John H. "Billy" Branson, who still serves as an officer of the group. Among their other priorities, the Citizen's League sometime later, apparently in the 1970s, took an interest in the maintenance of East Hill North.*(14)* Working with local churches, the Citizen's League hired a caretaker to provide mowing and other services, but the ongoing needs soon proved too expensive.

In 1974, a local veteran, Charles Ballentine, visited EHN to try to record the names of veterans buried there. He found the cemetery "a briar patch" and decided better maintenance was in order. Salem's African American community determined to take their case to City Council.

On June 10, 1974, Ballentine, the Reverend James Braxton (of First Baptist Church and a member of the Citizen's League) and other black Salemites appeared before City Council to petition for the local government to take over maintenance of EHN. Braxton reported that they had recently spent $1000 in cleaning up the property, but could not continue to give the cemetery the attention it deserved. Council requested city manager William Paxton to prepare a report on the projected costs.*(15)*

At a subsequent meeting, Paxton reported that clean-up and repair of the cemetery would cost $3000, and continued maintenance after that $2000 annually. Council then approved the motion to assume custodial maintenance of EHN.*(16)* Apparently at that time the city government asked the Citizen's League to assume or continue administration of the cemetery, a task it still performs today.*(17)* City care kept the cemetery grounds in presentable shape, and various improvements were made through the years. In 1989 the road through the cemetery was paved, and an entry sign (with the aforementioned error in the date) situated in an attractive flower bed was added.*(18)* Such laudable custodianship has not, however, prevented further vandalism of the already threatened site.*(19)*

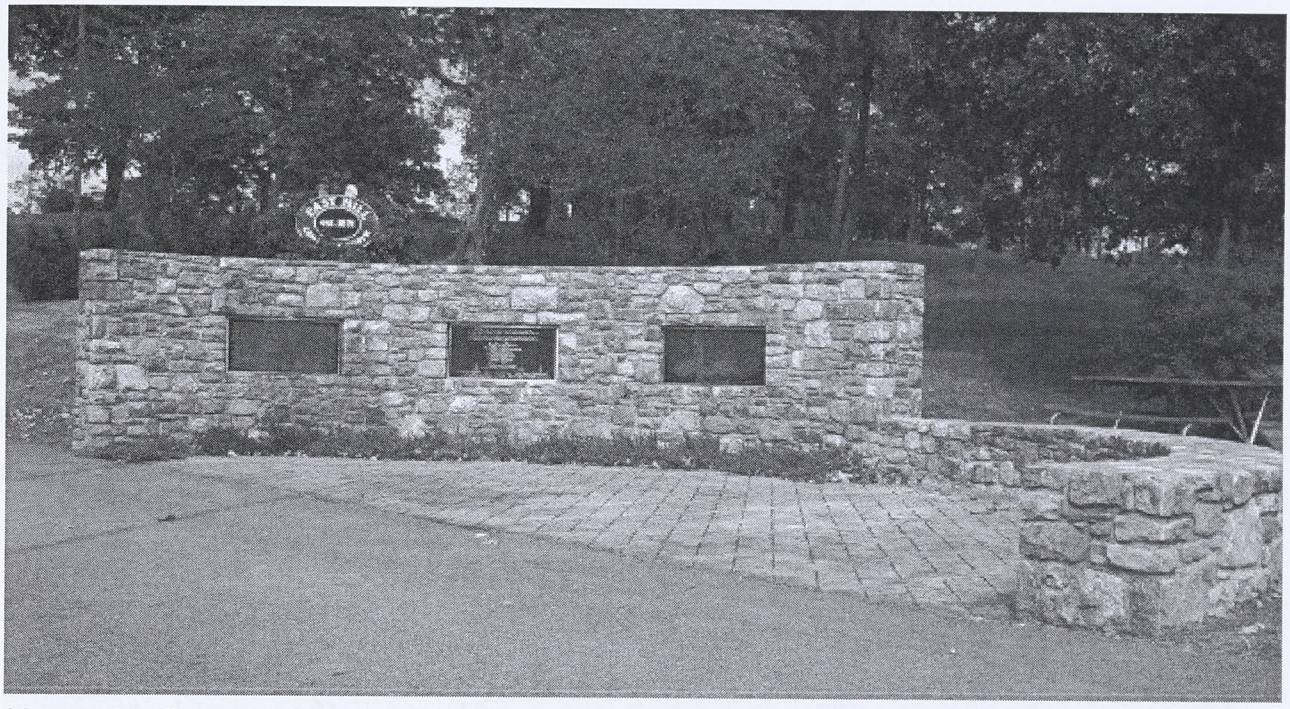
As the administrators of EHN, the Citizen's League grants permission for burials in the cemetery. But well aware that the available space is full, and probably overfull, the League typically only grants permission if the deceased has family already buried there.*(20)* As a result, there are few burials in EHN today, but it remains an active cemetery.

Another task the Citizen's League took on was compiling the first list of burials in East Hill North. This list of 214 names was produced, according to Branson, "a long time ago," but the document gives no clue as to the date of compilation or the sources of the information.*(21)* Apparently a survey of existing gravestones and the memories of the black community were the main sources. The completed list, the only one until recent years, proved an important source in researching the cemetery, but was not without problems. Some names were misspelled or duplicated, and many hundreds were missing. The list was not alphabetized and included few dates. Still, the value of the Citizen's League's list cannot be ignored, and provided a starting point for the more exhaustive project described below.

About 2003 Branson, as head of the Citizen's League, conceived the idea of a memorial in East Hill North listing the names of those known to be buried there, most of whom lie in unmarked graves. The above-mentioned Citizen League's list would be the main source of the names. With a basic concept in mind, Branson approached the City of Salem and the Salem Historical Society to explore the feasibility of such a project. Both entities were receptive to the effort to pay tribute to these forgotten citizens of Salem. However, all agreed that as many names as possible should be identified, since the Citizen League's existing list was obviously only partial.

Conducting the necessary research was a task adopted by Roanoke College history major R. J. Warren of Covington.. As a project for the college's Summer Scholar program in 2006, Warren worked with his advisor Dr. John Selby (then a member of the Salem Historical Society board of directors), Branson, and the Salem Museum to compile as many names as possible.

Warren's research began with the obvious sources: the Citizen League's list and observable grave markers.



Memorial wall was dedicated at East Hill North Cemetery in Salem in 2006.

He also made an effort to record any oral history of local residents who may recall a certain person buried there (it should be noted that such information was accepted at face value—no particular effort was made to verify such recollections).

But the most fruitful source of information turned out to be funeral registers at John M. Oakey's and Sons in Salem. Established in business in 1866, Oakey's provided services to both the black and white communities in the 19th and 20th centuries. Their records go back to 1893 and include detailed information on burial place, interment date, and often even a cause of death.

Warren's methodology for the Oakey's registers was to scan the burial records for interments in East Hill North—usually called East Hill Colored or some variation. Since there were about 300 names known prior to searching the Oakey's records, it was believed another hundred or so may be found. Instead, Warren uncovered evidence of more than 500 additional burials in the two-acre cemetery.

It should be noted that the nearly 800 names ultimately compiled by Warren's research cannot be considered a definitive list. Oakey's records begin only in 1893, while the cemetery was in use since at least 1869. Furthermore, the registers obviously include only those buried by Oakey's establishment. Other funeral homes were active in Salem, including an African American firm operated by the Hofflar family, the records of which are not extant. It seems reasonable to assume that as many as 1000 people are buried in EHN, in keeping with the tradition mentioned in the Chicora point number 1 (above) that black cemeteries were never considered full.*(22)*

While Warren's research proceeded, Branson's plan for a memorial continued to take shape. The original idea of a simple brick column with an inscribed aluminum plaque evolved, with help of the City of Salem, into a grander vision. Local architect Robert Frye was hired by the city to design a memorial wall, fitted with brass plaques, to serve as the entrance to the cemetery from Main Street, via a parking lot that now serves the adjacent park, tennis courts, and the Salem Museum. Frye's plan called for a curved stone wall with a sitting wall. The stone would match that of a retaining wall to the larger East Hill Cemetery across Main Street. Stonemason Frank "Jimmy" Francisco was hired to construct the wall.*(23)*

Although the city agreed to pay for the wall's construction, the Citizen's League needed to raise the money to pay for the memorial plaques listing the names. Over the next year enough was raised from the local commu-

nity to cover the costs, and the memorial wall was dedicated with a fitting ceremony on August 26, 2006.*(24)*

Since the townsfolk gathered to eulogize George Washington Thomas in 1869, similar scenes have played out on the hillside east of Salem hundreds of times. Former slaves, leaders of the freed community, pastors, teachers, laborers, unidentified paupers, unnamed infants, all were laid to rest under the shade trees of East Hill North. Due to neglect, much of that history was subsequently lost, but greater attention has helped and will continue to help bring some of the forgotten past of the cemetery back from the shadows.

Notes

1. This account of the funeral is taken from Thomas' obituary in the Roanoke Times (Salem weekly paper), 10 July, 1869. Copy in the Virginia Room of the Roanoke Public Library.

2. Some have theorized that the two hands represent the two races joining in mutual amity. Perhaps that was intended by the donors of the marker, but it should be noted that this design was a standard offering of the Gaddis gravestone company of Lynchburg, and appears on other stones in both East Hill Cemeteries. The full inscription reads "Peace to his ashes. This stone erected by the white people of Salem, VA in honor of George Washington Thomas, died July 7th, 1869, aged 33 years. An honored, industrious Colored man who in the days of Virginia's greatest trial was willing to join hands with his white neighbors in the bond of mutual friendship and sympathy."

3. Roanoke Times, June 13, 1868.

4. Roanoke County Deed Book H, page 473.

5. Gray's New Map of Salem, 1883, and Baist's Map of Salem and Vicinity, 1891.

6 Chicora Foundation, "African American Cemeteries," 2003. Found on http://www.chicora.org/african_american_cemeteries.htm, accessed January 23, 2007.

7. "Colored Citizens Plan Program for Cemetery Benefit," Salem Times-Register, August 7, 1936. Earlier plat maps show a road or path from the southwest corner of the cemetery to Main Street, just to the west of the current Salem Museum. That was perhaps the main entrance in the 19th Century.

8. Ibid.

9. "Salem Colored News: Letter of Thanks" by William R. Wilson, Salem Times-Register, October 9, 1936.

10. "Colored Cemetery Drive to be Made," , Salem Times-Register, October 29, 1937.

11. Conversation with Henry R. Bellinger, May 4, 2001.

12. Ibid.

13. Roanoke County Graveyards through 1920 (Roanoke, VA: Roanoke Valley Historical Society, 1986), 245

14. Conversation with Billy Branson, June 7th, 2007. Records of the Citizen's League are limited, and no exact accounting of when such decisions were made, why, and by whom seems to exist.

15. "Council Approves Fair Housing Plan," Salem Times-Register, June 13, 1974.

16. "No Action on Commission Matter," Salem Times-Register, July 11, 1974.

17. Conversation with Billy Branson, June 7th, 2007. Mr. Branson's memory is not clear on whether the Citizen's League was already acting in an administrative capacity at this point, or if they took over that task at this time. The Citizen's League has also in the past contributed resources to preservation of the Cain Cemetery in West Salem, another African American burial ground.

18. Handwritten notes by Norwood C. Middleton in his research file on cemeteries, in possession of the Salem Museum. These notes were presumably taken by him while he observed the process over the course of about three weeks. Some have theorized that the road construction obliterated some graves in East Hill North, a reasonable assumption given the poor records and many unmarked graves.

19. See, for instance, "Old Cemetery Vandalized," Salem Times-Register, September 21, 1989.

20. Conversation with Billy Branson, June 7th, 2007.

21. Ibid. Again, there seems to be no record concerning the details of the creation of this crucial source of information. The omission from the list of Thomas Glenn, a World War I veteran who died in 1976 and who was well known in the community, may indicate its compilation prior to that date.

22. Chicora Foundation, "African American Cemeteries," 2003. Found on http://www.chicora.org/african_american_cemeteries.htm, accessed January 23, 2007.

23. "Historic Cemetery Getting a Facelift," Salem Times-Register, Oct. 27, 2005.

24. It should be noted that a few names had to be deleted from the plaques for space considerations, and other names have been uncovered since the plaques were cast. The evolvable list kept by the Salem Historical Society should be considered the most up-to-date record for researchers, with the obvious caveat that many names will never be known.

Three other William Flemings

Our William Fleming, who lived on Tinker Creek in Botetourt County (present-day northeast Roanoke), was one of four men bearing that name in the 18th and 19th centuries. The others were all lawyers who served in Congress.

❖ William Fleming of Cumberland, County, Va., born 1736, served in the Continental Congress in 1779-81; served on the State Supreme Court for 35 years; was president of the court in 1809; and died in office in 1824 at his country home in Chesterfield County. A photo of his painting once was mistakenly published in Cavalcade magazine with an article about William Fleming of Botetourt County (of whom there is no known image).

❖ William Fleming of Liberty County, Ga., born in 1803, served in Congress in 1879, also was judge of county superior court, and died in 1886.

❖ William Fleming of Richmond County, Ga., born in 1856, was a school superintendent, speaker of the Georgia House of Representatives, and served in Congress from 1897-1903.

William Fleming of Botetourt was born in Scotland on Feb. 18, 1728, and moved from Staunton to Tinker Creek in 1767. A surgeon, he also was Botetourt County lieutenant, county justice, commander of Botetourt forces in the Battle of Point Pleasant, state senator, and acting governor, as senior member of the state Council in June 1781. He died in 1795.

Source: Biographical Directory of the American Congress 1774-1927, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1928

From Indian slavery to freedom

by Mary Kegley

Rachel Findlay won two lawsuits 47 years apart and both of them set her free. The first was in the General Court at Williamsburg on 4 May 1773 when she and her daughter Judy, brother Samuel, and Grandmother Chance, "Indian plaintiffs," were declared "to be free and not slaves." They were awarded £5. The second was in Powhatan County at the May term of 1820, giving Rachel and 42 descendants their right to freedom from John Draper Sr., and his family of Wythe County.*(1)*

Indian slavery was practiced in all of the colonies at some time in their history. Indians, taken in war, could be killed or sold into slavery. Often they were kidnapped and perhaps served as guides, interpreters, field hands or house servants. They could also be used as barter for such things as munitions, rum and woolens. South Carolina was involved more than other colonies and over a longer period of time. Over the years laws of colonial Virginia were written and rewritten and freedom cases were heard in the highest court to settle the procedures and reconfirm the laws.*(2)*

The first court decision tied Rachel to the time in Virginia when Indian slavery was no longer legal. About 1712 her grandmother, Chance, and an Indian boy named James were captured by Henry Clay and his partner, Peter Womack, Indian traders, and brought into what is now Powhatan County, from one of the Southern Indian Nations, possibly from the Choctaw, Chickasaw or Catawba tribe. In August 1712 the children were taken to the court by Henry Clay to have their ages adjudged. Chance was believed to be born about 1706 and James about 1704.*(3)* After 1691 (some authorities say 1705) the Virginia law ruled that the custom of holding Indians as slaves was no longer acceptable. Clay and his family continued to ignore the law.*(4)*

There are records of other persons of Indian extraction suing in the General Court in Williamsburg beginning about 1772 in a "multitude of cases," called freedom suits. In many of these cases parole evidence was allowed, taking the facts of the cases back many years. According to Hening, "thousands of descendants" were deprived of their freedom, an injustice corrected many years later when they or their descendants brought suit.*(5)*

The remnants of one such case were found tucked into a rare book purchased by the Library of Virginia in 1988. The volume was owned by the library of the Council of Colonial Virginia, the members of which were also the judges who decided such cases. Much later, John Brown, Clerk of the General Court, made a copy of the original judgment which was dated 2 May 1772. The General Court, held in Williamsburg, heard the case of Robin, Hannah, Daniel, Cuffie, Isham, Moses, Peter, Judy, Autry, Silvia, Davy and Ned against John Hardiway for trespass, assault and battery and false imprisonment, and declared that they were free and not slaves and assessed their damages at one shilling.*(6)*

One of the General Court lawyers was Thomas Jefferson, early in his practice in Williamsburg. He left his record of the detailed arguments of the counsel on both sides when the case was being heard. His abstracts were published after his death. His preservation of the case and Brown's copy of the result give a picture otherwise impossible to imagine as the General Court's records were burned in a fire in Richmond in April 1865. (7)

It is probable that Chance and her family heard of these cases. It is also likely that she had several children, but the two who are concerned with this story of Indian slavery are Nann (or Nan) the mother of Rachel and Sam, and Judy, mother of Hannah. Rachel was born about 1754, probably in what is now Powhatan County, and may be the Rachel listed with Hannah, and Sam among the mulatto slaves mentioned in Henry Clay's inventory

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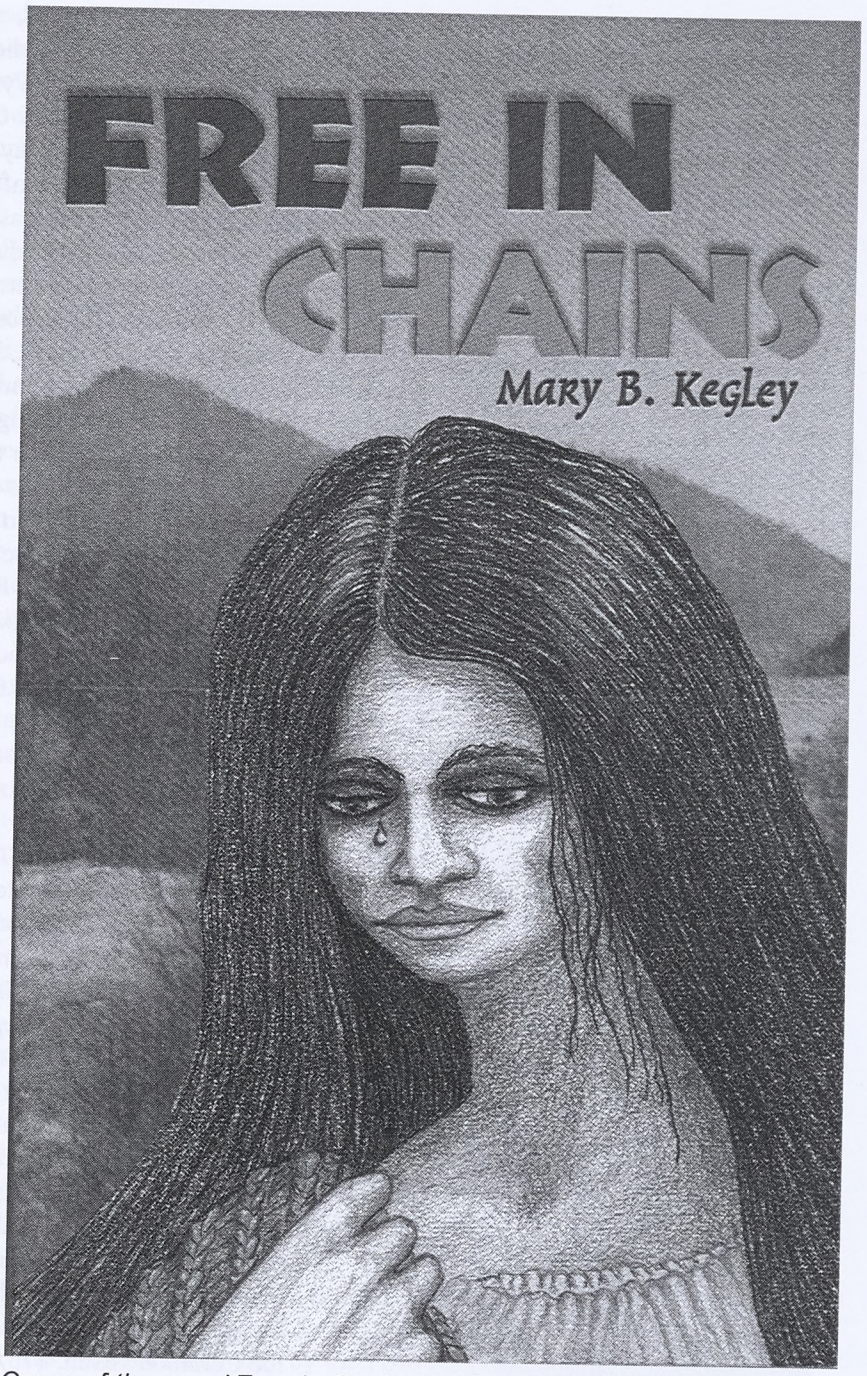
taken in 1760. Nan was apparently a victim of poison and died when Rachel was about six months old and was therefore not involved in the freedom suit. Nan's sister, Judy, is mentioned below.*(8)*

Following Henry Clay's death in 1760, the slaves were divided among his widow, some of the grandchildren and his four sons according to the terms of his will. When it seemed inevitable that Rachel and the others would win their suit in Williamsburg, the Clay family sent Rachel, now age 19, and her daughter Judy, age six, to the frontier of Virginia with Mitchell Clay, the grandson of the Indian trader, Henry Clay. The purpose was so she would not know she had won her freedom. They settled on the Clover Bottom of the Bluestone River, a branch of the New River, in the present county of Mercer County, West Virginia, in 1773.*(9)*

The following year John Draper and Mitchell Clay made an agreement that Draper would forego any claim to land Clay was using on New River in return for the two women, Rachel and Juda, as he called Judy. A bill of sale was signed warranting that they were Negro slaves, and the transfer was made. Mitchell Clay did not mention their Indian heritage.*(10)*



Cover of the novel Free in Chains*, about Rachel Findlay, written by Mary B. Kegley, 2002.*

Draper came from a notable frontier family and his name was prominent in the early history of the New River. He was the brother of Mary Draper Ingles and the husband of Bettie Robinson Draper who were captured by the Shawnee Indians on 30 July 1755, from their homes at Drapers Meadow, now known as Blacksburg, in Montgomery County. His mother and a son were among those killed. Although his sister walked back home from captivity on the Ohio River shortly after her abduction, his wife spent six years in the Indian nation. Upon her return the couple chose a location at the foot of Peak Knob in what is now Pulaski County for their new home. Today the mountain, valley and the town nearby all bear the name of Draper. It was here that Rachel Findlay and most of her children and grandchildren would live in slavery.*(11)*

Meanwhile, in Henry County, Hannah Finley (also noted as Fender), a first cousin of Rachel Findlay, brought her freedom case against one Mr. Marr. The jury awarded a verdict in her favor and 40 shillings in damages in August 1788, many years before Rachel's case was brought in Wythe County. According to the evidence, Hannah was the granddaughter of two Indian children brought by Henry Clay, the elder, from the Indian nation in 1712. Testimony in her case taken in 1786 indicated that the elder Clay gave to his son, Henry, the younger, a mulatto, or Indian girl by the name of Judy, who was Hannah's mother of this case. The grandmother was named Chance, the same person who was Rachel's grandmother. Used in this case for Hannah's benefit was the same record that would be used in Rachel's case years later. It was a copy of the written document from the General Court in Williamsburg dated 4 May 1773.*(12)*

Being a woman in slavery and without financial means, the law allowed Rachel to bring her case in forma pauperis, that is as a pauper. She did not have to worry about costs and expenses, and furthermore an attorney was to be appointed for her at no charge.

According to the depositions, Mary Clay, the widow of Henry Clay, then aged 85 years, declared that her husband had brought in three Indians, two of whom he kept, a boy and a girl. He named the girl Chance. According to Mary she understood that her husband had purchased them from a white man and it was "as far beyond Carolina as it was to it," and that the Indians were Chuctaws [Choctaws]. On this trip, Henry Clay was gone 18 months from home. These statements were made in a case in which Ned, Lucy, Silvia, Bristol, Chance, another Ned, Frank, Peter, Sam, Rachell and her children, (also descendants of Chance, Rachel's grandmother) filed against Charles Clay, Millie Clay, Thomas Clay and Richard Newman. Another witness, John Clay, believed that Henry Clay told him that the Indians were either Chickasaws or Choctaws and their names were James and Chance, and they were bought of other Indians. It is clear that Hannah of Henry County was a granddaughter of Chance, the same as Rachel Findlay.*(13)*

Twenty-five years later, in 1813, Rachel Findlay brought suit again for her freedom from Indian slavery, this time in the Wythe County Court against John Draper, Sr. She claimed that she was the granddaughter of an Indian woman named Chance and although she had been kept in slavery upwards of her 60 years, she realized that if she did not act now, being "old and very infirm" and knowing that her "living cannot be much longer," her 30 or 40 descendants would have little chance of proving their case in the court. Their liberty depended upon her bringing a successful lawsuit against her master, John Draper, Sr.*(14)*

Suits for freedom had specific rules and regulations like any other. In Rachel's case she sued for trespass, assault and battery, and false imprisonment. She stated that she had been assaulted by Draper and detained in slavery "against the peace and dignity of the Commonwealth."*(15)*

Being a woman in slavery and without financial means, the law allowed her to bring her case in forma pauperis, that is as a pauper. She did not have to worry about costs and expenses, and furthermore an attorney was to be appointed for her at no charge.*(16)* Granville Henderson, a Wythe County attorney, who two years later would marry the daughter of General Alexander Smyth, was selected and filed the required papers on 10 June 1813. Rachel was taken into protective custody by the sheriff awaiting the appearance of John Draper before the court. He was required to post a $500-bond promising he would not "beat or misuse" Rachel, and would allow her to obtain her evidence without interference. The bond was dated 11 August 1813.*(17)* On 10 November 1813 the court granted Rachel permission to go to the eastern part of the state to "take testimony to prove she is of Indian extraction and a free woman."*(18)*

In order to win her case Rachel had to prove through her maternal line that she was descended from an Indian who was brought into Virginia after 1691 when the law clearly stated that no Indian could be held in slavery. Because she originally came from Powhatan County, Virginia, this "large yellow woman" traveled there "riding a man's saddle," to gather her evidence. In addition to several depositions which give us the story, there was a copy of a record from the General Court "held in Williamsburg 4th May 1773." The document showed that Chance, Samuel, Rachel and her child, Indian plaintiffs, sued Thomas Clay and on that date were declared "to be free and not slaves."*(19)*

Testimony of George Radford of Powhatan County showed that the Clay family had held several slaves of Indian extraction but that all who remained in the county had recovered their freedom by "regular suits at law." This included Rachel's brother, Samuel Findlay, mentioned above. The story that Rachel was conveyed out of the county was well known among the neighbors and was understood to be a way "to prevent her from the opportunity of obtaining her freedom." John Langsdon's testimony was similar. Fanny (Frances) Langsdon remembered Rachel, her mother, Nan, and her grandmother, Chance, "who was taken from the Indian nation," which she identified as the Catawba Nation. Other witnesses named Rachel's mother as Judy. As noted previously, the Indian Nation was said to be other than Catawba.*(20)*

In 1814 at the house of John Dean in Powhatan County, Rachel obtained the deposition of Edward Moseley. According to Moseley, Rachel had the appearance of a being of Indian extraction, and came to the house with a "free man of colour" named James Findley who was said to be her cousin. Other relatives named were slaves called James and Bess (who were brother and sister), and the four children of Bess who had obtained their freedom in Powhatan County in 1788 and 1790, and were of the same Indian extraction as Rachel. No exact relationship was stated, but it seemed likely that they were cousins, if cousin James was the same one who was brother to Bess. These other cases were used to help prove Rachel was entitled to her freedom.*(21)*

After gathering her evidence Rachel appeared before the justices of the court of Wythe County in March 1815 requesting to have her trial set in the county court before the "Gentlemen Justices." The court refused, and as her documents recite, due to "unjust and oppressive restrictions imposed by the county court." She was more specific, stating that John Draper, Jr., intermarried with the sister of Captain Joseph Crockett and that it would be difficult "to procure a court of justices that were no way related to said Draper." Crockett was one of the justices on the court at that time. As a result, Rachel's attorney requested and received a writ of certiorari for the purpose of removing the case to the Superior Court of Law, because of the unnecessary delays. Judge Peter Johnston of Abingdon signed the request on 22 March 1815. But the case was continued and continued, and as we shall see, for five more years.*(22)*

Rachel's daughter Judy or Juda also began her case in Wythe County in 1813 and in August of that year, Henley Chapman was appointed as her attorney. He was from a prominent family of Giles County and began his law practice in Wythe County and Montgomery County in 1801. Entering politics he served as senator in the General Assembly and was the Giles County representative at the Virginia Convention of 1829-1830, and his portrait appears in the painting of that group done by George Catlin.*(23)* Juda brought the suit on behalf of herself, Locky, Rhoda, Sam and Abram, all of whom were detained in slavery by Draper. They too had the protection of the sheriff until Draper posted his penalty bond in the amount of $1,000 on 25 September 1813.*(24)*

Rachel's case was eventually transferred to Powhatan County, probably because many of her witnesses were elderly and unable to travel to Wythe County, a distance of more than 200 miles. At the May Term of Court in 1820, Rachel won her freedom suit and was awarded one penny by the Powhatan County jury.*(25)*

In Montgomery County, Polly, another daughter of Rachel, brought suit for herself and two of her children, Sally and Maria. Based on Rachel's case, the court found them to be free on 1 August 1820 and determined their damages at one cent. Polly's other children were Lucy, Lockey, Rachel and Harvey, and they were also included in the court's decision.*(26)*

Based on the decision in Rachel's case, Judy (Juda) and her family also obtained their freedom on 9 August 1820. On the same day in Wythe County, Tom and Robbin, "people of colour" who had been permitted to sue their master John Draper, Jr., for trespass, assault and false imprisonment were found to be free. The jury recited that they were the children of Rachel Findlay who had obtained her freedom in the May Court in Powhatan County, and that Juda was the same person sold into slavery in 1774 by Mitchell Clay.*(27)* The recovery of the freedom of Rachel's extended family affected not only the elder John Draper but also the younger John Draper,

and as will be noted below, Ally Draper, his sister.*(28)*

In 1821 John Draper, Sr., filed suit against the executors and their securities of the estate of Mitchell Clay, then deceased.*(29)* At the time Rachel and her children and grandchildren received their freedom, John Draper stated that of the 44 (later changed to 42) persons who were Rachel's descendants he owned eight as his own property, and the remainder, except for a few held by Henry Patton, were in possession of his children by way of advancement. The Draper children were not named in the suit, but further research revealed that the elder Draper by two wives had sons, George, John, Jr., Silas, and James, and five daughters, Mary, wife of David Love, Elizabeth, wife of Joseph Montgomery, Rhoda, wife of Thomas Huey (Hughey), Nancy, wife of Samuel Patton, and Ally Draper, who probably never married.*(30)*

Draper declared in his suit that Mitchell Clay knew that Rachel and Juda were of Indian extraction and not Negroes, and had committed a fraud upon him by selling them as Negro slaves. Clay's estate was sued for reimbursement of the value of those 42 persons at the time they obtained their freedom. The persons the elder Draper had in his personal possession were Rachel, Juda, Locky, Lucinda, Charlotte, Rhoda, Sam, and Abraham.*(31)*

Before the case was decided, John Draper, Sr., had died, and the suit was carried on by his son, John Draper, Jr., and grandson, Joseph Draper, a Wythe County attorney, who later served as Senator in the Virginia General Assembly and as Representative in Congress. There was testimony given by James Sayers and Thomas Huey as to the value of the Finleys. Because Rachel was old she was not given any value but the others ranged from $200 to $500. The average price as it turned out was $275. The award to Draper could have been as high as $11,550.00 based on these figures, but in 1828 the court awarded only $1,228.31 plus interest from the 26th of May 1812. According to Johnston in his book, Middle New River Settlements, the Draper suit brought against Clay's executors and their securities, resulted "in the bankrupting of Captain William Smith and the estate of Colonel George N. Pearis, who were the sureties of the executors of Clay."*(32)*

Although many of the names of the 42 persons who were freed are known, there are still some missing names in spite of extensive research in the Wythe, Montgomery and Pulaski County records. With the exception of Polly and her children who lived with the Henry Patton family in present Pulaski County, the others were living with the elder Draper or his children. However, some of the married children left the area, perhaps taking some of the descendants of Rachel with them or selling them at some unknown location. Of these families, Mary and David Love moved to Tennessee, and the Montgomerys and Hueys (also Hugheys) to Park County, Indiana.*(33)*

Milly, daughter of Juda, and her infant child, Harvey, and Anna, daughter of Juda and her infant children, Malinda, Eliza, Randal and Franklin, obtained their freedom on 13 March 1822 from Ally Draper, daughter of the elder Draper. Immediately following the decision, the clerk added these names to the register of "free persons of colour:" Milly, Harvey, Anna, Malinda, Eliza, Randal, John, Lucinda, Abraham, Sam, Charlotte, and Rhoda, but with no surnames mentioned. On 13 July 1824, Malinda, Eliza, Randal, John and Sam, children of Anna, and Lucinda, a child of Locky, "free persons of colour" were to be bound out by the overseers of the poor, as apprentices. None of them had surnames listed, although all claimed to be Rachel Findlay's descendants.*(34)*

Jenny or Jane Findley, another daughter of Rachel Findlay, also obtained her freedom, not in Virginia, but in Madison County, Alabama. According to the testimony of Sarah Foster, taken in Franklin County, Tennessee, Jenny was born in Virginia about 1795 and was known to Foster in Wythe County. She knew that she had been living in Alabama for many years. Foster also knew that Rachel had obtained her freedom as a result of the case against John Draper. In the Madison County Deed Book evidence from the cases held in Wythe and Powhatan counties, Virginia, was filed in Alabama, with the latest date of April 30, 1835. When and how Jenny arrived there is not known at this time. Sometime before 1830 Jenny was apparently declared to be a free person of color as the census of that year showed that she was head of the household, age 24-36, and had living with her one female slave age 10-24.*(35)*

In subsequent decades the names of many free persons of color named Findlay or Findly appear in local records of Wythe and Pulaski counties. They were often described as "copper colored." According to Linda Killen's book, *These People Lived in a Pleasant Valley, A History of Slaves and Freedmen in Nineteenth Century, Pulaski County, Virginia*, most of the Finleys (all spellings) had disappeared from the area by 1860.*(36)* They were probably descendants of Rachel.

Rachel Findlay was one of many who obtained freedom in Virginia because of Indian heritage. Although she

was freed from Indian slavery with other members of her family in 1773, the Clays were determined that her Indian heritage and her right to freedom would be kept a secret. As a result, when she and her daughter, Judy, were sold to Draper, they were described as Negro slaves. Rachel spent 47 additional years in slavery, as her children and grandchildren were given as advancements to the Draper children. Seven of those years Rachel waited for the courts of Wythe and Powhatan counties to free her and her children. The trail to family freedom began with Rachel Findlay and took a lifetime to accomplish in spite of great difficulties. Although there were 42 descendants at the end of the freedom trail, only a few have been documented by name.

NOTES

1. The bill of sale dated April 28, 1774, was found in the Wythe County Chancery case, Draper vs. Clay et al, 1828-39-SC, hereafter Draper vs. Clay and Rachel, a woman of colour vs. John Draper, 1818-01-SC hereafter Rachel vs. Draper. Because the case was transferred to Powhatan County many of the case papers can also be found in Chancery Box 12, May 1820.

2. Barbara Olexer, The Enslavement of the American Indian, Monroe, New York: Library Research Associates, Publishers, 1982, pp. 90-92; 237-239; Amy Ellen Friedland, Indian Slavery in Proprietary South Carolina, Masters Thesis, Emory University, M.A., 1975, pp. 4, 7; William Robert Snell, Indian Slavery in Colonial South Carolina, 1671-1795, a dissertation, University of Alabama, PhD, 1972, pp. 16, 25, 76; see also, Almon Wheeler Lauber, Indian Slavery in Colonial Times Within the Present Limits of the United States, hereafter Lauber, Indian Slavery, Columbia University, NY, 1913, pp. 185-187, 312-314.

3. Henrico County Court Orders 1710-1714, p. 161.

4. Lauber, Indian Slavery, pp. 312-313 footnote discusses the acts and noted that it was not until 1806 that it was discovered that the Act of 1705 was a repetition of the Act of 1691; Peter Womack is mentioned in the deposition of Frances Langsdon March 22, 1816, Rachel vs. Draper.

5. Helen Tunnicliff Catterall, Judicial Cases Concerning American Slavery and the Negro, hereafter, Catterall, Judicial Cases, Vol. 1, New York, Octagon Books, Inc. 1968, p. 64, footnotes 89, 91.

6. Records of the General Court, Record Group 104, Accession Number 33,700, Library of Virginia. Thanks to Brent Tarter; Hardaway is also mentioned in Catteral, Judicial Cases, p. 91.

7 Jefferson, Reports of Cases Determined in the General Court of Virginia, from 1730 to 1740; and from 1768 to 1762, Charlottesville, VA, 1829, pp. 109-123.

8. Rachel vs. Draper, Powhatan County Chancery, Box 12, 1820, the deposition of Susanna Sayers, May 5, 1817, discusses Rachel's mother and the suspected poisoning. Others called her mother Judy, but I believe that it was Nan. Inventory of the estate of the late deceased Henry Clay, Senior, who died in 1760 lists 26 slaves who were to be divided among his wife and children under the terms of the will. Chesterfield County Will Book 1, pp. 350a-353; 544-546; also recorded in Will Book 2, pp. 244-247.

9. Will of Henry Clay as recorded in Chesterfield County Will Book 1, 1749-1763, pp. 544-546; David E. Johnston, History of the Middle New River Settlements, hereafter Johnston, Middle New River, p. 397, states Clay was living on the Bluestone Creek, Clover Bottom, then Fincastle County, "now" Mercer County, West Virginia.

10. Draper vs. Clay; Johnston, Middle New River, p. 397 stated that the Clay land had obtained as an assignee of Lieutenant John Draper a tract of 800 acres on the Bluestone Creek, Clover Bottom, then Fincastle County, "now" Mercer County, West Virginia. He mentioned the Negro woman and her daughter without naming them.

11. Mary B. Kegley, Early Adventurers on the Western Waters, Vol. 2, pp. 379-382 has information regarding the Draper family.

12. Peggy Carswell Peacock, "Choctaws in Virginia in 1712!, an Adventure 'Beyond Carolina'" The Virginia Genealogist, Vol, 29, Number 1 (January-March 1985), pp. 3-8. This article is based on the Henry County case, Fender Vs. Marr; see also, Henry County Loose Papers, determined cases 1788-1790, folder 66, Library of Virginia, Archives.

13. Ibid.

14. Rachel vs.Draper, deposition of Rachel.

15. Code of Virginia, 1849, Chapter CVI, "of suits for freedom," pp. 464-465. [Probably in earlier editions but this was the one available to me].

16. Ibid.

17. Rachel vs. Draper; Marriage Book 1, p. 48.

18. Mary B. Kegley, Abstracts of Court Orders of Wythe County, Virginia, 1811-1820, Vol. 2, pp. 33, dated November 10, 1813, and page 44, dated August 11, 1814 when she specifically named those persons she was going to depose in

Powhatan County.

19. In Rachel vs. Draper she was physically described by several witnesses and one mentioned that she rode a man's saddle. The Williamsburg document was entered into evidence; see also footnote 3 above.

20. Rachel vs. Draper.

21. Deposition of Edward Moseley, Rachel vs. Draper; see also, Powhatan Order Book 1, pp. 187, 242 where it is stated that James Fendley, an Indian, and Bess, and Indian had leave to sue Elijah Clay for their liberty. Dated February 21, 1782; see also Powhatan Deed Book 3, p. 442 where James Fendley purchased two acres on the Buckingham Road below the house where said Fendly now lives in 1807 and Deed Book 6, p. 218, 1815 where he sells the same land.

22. Rachel vs. Draper. It is my understanding that there is a portrait of Peter Johnson in the Courthouse in Abingdon.

23. Wythe County Case, Juda vs. Draper, 1820; Kegley, Early Adventurers,Vol. 4, pp. 94-96.

24. Juda vs. Draper

25. Powhatan Chancery, Rachel vs. John Draper, File Box 12, May 1820.

26. Montgomery County Order Book 20, pp. 66, 68, 111, 151,195, 221; Book 21, pp. 9, 42,79, 95, 96.

27. Mary B. Kegley, Abstracts of Court Orders of Wythe County, Virginia, 1811-1820, Vol. 2, pp. 127, 128.

28. Kegley, Early Adventurers…, Vol. 2, p. 380 notes that there were unnamed daughters of John Draper, Sr.; Samuel Patton and, wife vs. Joseph Draper's Execs.., hereafter Patton vs. Draper's Execs. Wythe County Chancery case 1844-13-CC gives further details about the family.

29. Draper vs. Clay et al, Wythe County Chancery Case 1828-39 SC

30. Kegley, Early Adventurers, Vol. 2, pp. 380; Patton vs. Draper's Execs also names many of Draper's children.

31. Draper vs. Clay et al.

32. Ibid.; Johnston, Middle New River, 397; Patton vs.Draper's Execs., answer of the executors, Robert and John T. Sayers reveal that Joseph Draper was involved in the cases in Wythe as well as Powhatan and filed a list of his legal expenses as an exhibit in the case; see also, Mary B. Kegley, Early Adventurers in the Town of Evansham, Vol. 4, pp. 110-113 for more information and a picture of Joseph Draper.

33. David B. Trimble, Montgomery and James of Southwest Virginia, Austin, Texas, 1992, p. 377; Hughey family information from descendant, Pat Knutson.

34. Kegley, Abstracts of Court Orders of Wythe County, Virginia, 1821-1830, Vol. 3, pp. 21, 57.

35. Madison County Deed Book P, p. 270 and following. Madison County, Alabama, Census of 1830, p. 103.

36. Linda Killen, These People Lived in a Pleasant Valley, A History of Slaves and Freedmen in Nineteenth Century Pulaski County, Virginia (Radford: Radford University, 1996) , pp. 31-33. See also, Witness Book No. 2, County Court, Pulaski County which includes the Register of Free Blacks (1851-1864), filed at the Wilderness Road Regional Museum. Each free person is numbered. For example see No. 2, Russell Birdwell Findly, No. 5, Jane Findly, and second number 4, Sally Floyd Findly among several others.

Early Bedford Ordinaries

by June Goode

Among colonial records, the word, "ordinary," was commonly used to designate a tavern or an inn. At some point by the mid-1800s, "tavern" became the more common term, replacing the name, "ordinary."

Ordinaries were for the most part kept in private homes across the county. With primitive roads and much wilderness, some early ordinaries ma not have provided beds or meals, in which case travelers were expected to supply these for themselves.

Around an ordinary, wagons might pull up to prepare their own meals over camp fires, while horses and oxen were fed grain purchased at the ordinary. Frequently, these families drove with herds of cows, pigs, sheep or even geese. These were driven into a fenced area to feed and stay until morning. One person slept in the wagon, while the others carried their bedding into the ordinary to sleep on the floor if there was no room left in the beds. (*Old Roads of Bedford County*, by Nora Carter)

Each ordinary keeper was required to pay a license fee which was good from May of one year until May of the following year. If the license began after the month of May, charges were prorated for the remaining months. Ordinary keepers were required to be persons of honesty, probity, as well as persons of good behavior, not addicted to drunkenness or gaming. If liquor was served, the ordinary had to have another license to retail ardent spirits.

Taverns, on the other hand, usually were on the main roads and offered a tap room, parlor and dining room with bedrooms above. Those for men were generally separated from those for women. Taprooms were well stocked and noisy.

A "House of Private Entertainment" was another place to accommodate travelers in a private home. These were not as frequently used as ordinaries or taverns. The keeper had to have a license to keep a House of Private Entertainment and also a license to retail spirits. It appears optional whether spirits were provided here. Webster's American Dictionary of the English Language defines a tavern as a house of entertainment of travelers as well as the sale of liquors if licensed for that purpose. Entries in the court order books at the courthouse denote approval of an ordinary as "a useful house of entertainment."

Bedford County, formed in 1754 from Lunenburg County, was a vast wilderness, with few settlements and fewer ordinaries. The largest village of consequence in this area was New London, the county seat.

There were people living in different parts of Bedford County, even before New London was chartered as a town in 1761. Many were from the east and north, traveling south and west, who were encouraged to settle the western lands. The large county called Bedford included what in 1782 became Campbell County, Franklin County and Bedford County. Northeast Bedford County was bordered by the Fluvanna (now the James River).

One of the earliest ordinaries in Bedford County was kept by John Thompson at the foot of Long Mountain, in or near New London. He opened his first ordinary in 1754 and maintained it until 1762. He did not keep it again until 1778 and 1780. In other years, 1768, 1771 and 1781, William Thompson kept the ordinary. In 1781, the records show that "Jack, a negro slave, the property of Thomas Jefferson, was charged with breaking into John Thompson's mill and still house and stealing whisky." (Bedford Deed Book 323) In 1780, Andrew Thompson was licensed to keep the ordinary for one year at his house. It is probable that these were all family members. This activity must have been a pleasurable one for the ordinary keepers because so many generations

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seemed to keep it going until it became a tradition among families.

Another early tavern keeper was John Otey in the Town of Liberty. Otey came to Bedford about 1779-71, before the Revolution, during which he served as a captain. Otey was a man of large stature, commanding presence and one of moral firmness, yet a humble Christian who opened his home as an ordinary. With the exception of Armistead, the youngest son, his children were men of powerful physical strength, activity and bravery. They occupied positions of service and confidence among the people who lived in the village of Liberty. Until 1970, an old brick home known as the Otey House, stood on Washington Street , facing the back parking lot of the Methodist Church. It has been said that this house was John Otey's home. We know that he is buried not far away in the Otey cemetery on Otey Street. John Otey Sr. died in 1807, the father of seven children. (Hopkins of Virginia, p. 104)

To own and keep an ordinary in colonial times was to render a valuable service to the community.

To own and keep an ordinary in colonial times was to render a valuable service to the community, but with Otey it was only one of his many acts of benevolence. In 1784, John Otey opened his first ordinary and kept it until 1789 at which time his son, Isaac, kept the ordinary in 1786 and 1787. James kept one in 1798 and 1799; Walter kept one in 1800-1810 and Armistead kept an ordinary from 1813 to 1820. This appears to have been a family affair. The records state "the ordinary was at his house" with each of these keepers, so it may not have changed addresses, although each may have have owned the original house at different times. There is also a possibility that the house may have become a communal one shared by all family members and used for this specific purpose. John Otey owned five lots in the Town of Liberty in 1784. (Deed Book W: 116)

While most residents of Liberty purchased one lot in the new town in 1782, William Holley and John Otey each purchased several lots. Holley, who purchased 13 lots in town, must have found this to be a good business for "he kept an ordinary at his own house" in 1780, before Liberty became a town and continued in 1802, with some exceptions. In 1784, he kept his ordinary at the house of Joseph Fuqua, who lived in what is now called Bell Town but he was back in town with his ordinary by 1785.

John Hewitt and William Lowry, both of whom lived between Little Otter and Big Otter near Bramblett's Road (now Rt. 460) were commissioned by the County Court to build a bridge over Little Otter River in November 1812. The bridge was completed, inspected and accepted in 1813.

Stephen Hewitt, a brother of John Hewitt, was one of the commissioners to approve the bridge and in 1820

(OB 17: 787) to let a contract for keeping the bridge in good repair and fit for public use. In July, 1820, the bridge over Little Otter on the main road was open to bidders. Stephen Hewitt was the lowest bidder at $125 for seven years under a bond of $500. (Deed Book 16:338) Stephen Hewitt kept an ordinary nearby from 1810 to 1838 when he died. His wife, Nancy, continued to keep the ordinary periodically until 1843. Stephen Hewitt probably lived between Big Otter and Little Rivers, very close to the highway, if not on it, as was customary for most ordinaries.

Amon Updike was born in New Jersey in 1749, the son of John Updike, a tailor. The family moved to Loudon County where Amon married Hannah Harris, a Quaker. He next migrated to Bedford County where he was a farmer and an innkeeper on his Crab Orchard Creek farm. After he had been here some time, he went back to Loudon County to visit his family and returned home with his half-brother, Rufus. When they got to the James River crossing, they found the ferry boat gone from Lynch's Ferry, with no means of crossing the river but to ford. Rufus turned to go back home, but Amon caught him by the arm and his horse by the bridle and dragged him over. Amon lived in the quiet community of Lone Gum. It has been said that he entertained many of the old Revolutionary heroes with whom he was very popular and intimate. (*The Virginia Updikes*, by Robert Craig, pps. 71, 72, 73)

In 1815, Amon Updike opened his first House of Private Entertainment at his house in the county and continued to operate there until 1827. Hannah, his wife, kept it from 1829, when Amon died, until 1835. The following year, Eady (Edith) Updike opened a House of Private Entertainment and kept it until 1846. Milly Updike kept the house again from 1847 until 1855. It is interesting to note that in 1848 Milly produced a sheriff's receipt for the tax imposed by law before leave was granted for her to keep the house at her home in the county. In all, this family kept accommodations going from 1815 through 1890.

Even though Amon Updike did not keep an ordinary, he did keep a storehouse and in 1890 he applied for a license to retail ardent spirits from the storehouse. You will find it interesting to read the requirements placed upon liquor retailers:

"License was granted to Amon T. Updike on his application to sell retail liquors only in quantities of up to five gallons at any time to any one individual, i.e. wine, ardent spirits, malt liquors or any mixture thereof, alcoholic bitters or fruits preserved in ardent spirits at his house at Lone Gum in the county. Liquors may not be drunk in the house or cartilage (surrounding) where sold. Liquors shall be delivered to the purchaser in bottles, jugs, demijohns or other vessels removed from place of purchase. License begins June 26, 1891 and expires April 30, 1892. The court is satisfied that the applicant is a fit person and the place of business is suitable, convenient and appropriate. Also, that the specific tax required by law has been paid to the proper officer. The applicant executed a bond required by law with good security, payable to the Commonwealth of Virginia in penalty of $500 conditioned according to law." (OB47:88)

Robert St. Clair also kept an ordinary in the town of Liberty from 1790 to 1794. He was a Quaker patriot who furnished supplies to the army. He lived in Liberty and was appointed surveyor by the county.

Another early ordinary was located at a small settlement on Goose Creek. In that neighborhood lived Isham Talbot, who erected a grist mill on Goose Creek in 1767. He kept an ordinary at his house from 1767 to 1770. In 1782, Isham Talbot sold his plantation to James Buford, who sold it two years later to William Scott, who kept an ordinary there in 1785 and continued to operate the mill on Goose Creek. In 1793, Scott sold a 10-acre tract to William Vannerson at the top of the hill on the left side of the west-bound lane of present Rt. 460, just before Mt. Zion Church. On this site was the location of Vannerson's store. In 1795, William Powell kept an ordinary at Vannerson's house. Vannerson sold the tract in 1796 to William Hopkins Otey and moved into the Upper Goose Creek Valley (*Beford Villages*, Vol. 3, pps. 6, 7).

The town of Liberty began to grow rapidly and soon had a number of ordinaries available, as did the county. This was a way to learn news of the state and beyond from travelers, to meet new people with new ideas and learn the latest fashions. In Bedford County, it was a popular business and/or pastime.

Wearing hand-me-downs in the 1920s

by Helen Abbott Looney

I had a short conversation with my parents one time about their life during the Depression so I am lucky to know a little from their first-hand experience as children. Their experiences were very different; not because one had any more money than the other but because there was such a difference between country life and city life.

Daddy was born in 1917 in Craig County. Mama was born in 1920 and spent her early years in Roanoke City. Mama's family had a very hard time before, during and after the Great Depression. Her stepfather was a painter but jobs were few and far between at that time when very few businesses and no individual had money to buy paint or to hire a painter. Her mother worked all her life in a sewing factory so she must have taken in some laundry and sewing jobs during the Depression when she had small children and couldn't work outside the home. Being only about 10 at the time, Mama didn't remember going hungry but she was little and didn't eat much anyway.

Mama's job was to go down to the railroad with her brothers and sisters to pick up bits of coal from the tracks to burn in their cook stove. They didn't have any other stove for heat. They also got wooden crates from the store next door to bust up for fire wood. On very rare occasions her mother gave her a few pennies to go to the store to buy a piece of candy or a drink, which had to be divided five ways and shared with her brothers and sisters. There were no other treats. No presents for birthdays or Christmas from her parents. They didn't have it to give. They maybe got an orange or candy cane from the church or school, The only toy she ever got for Christmas was a tiny pink doll from the Salvation Army. Mama always had the highest regard for the Salvation Army because it was the only charity group she could ever remember helping people. They gave food and clothes. Mostly good "hand-me-downs" which in turn were handed down to their next smaller sibling. They also wore hand-me-down shoes until they were so worn out they had to put cardboard in them to cover the holes in the soles.

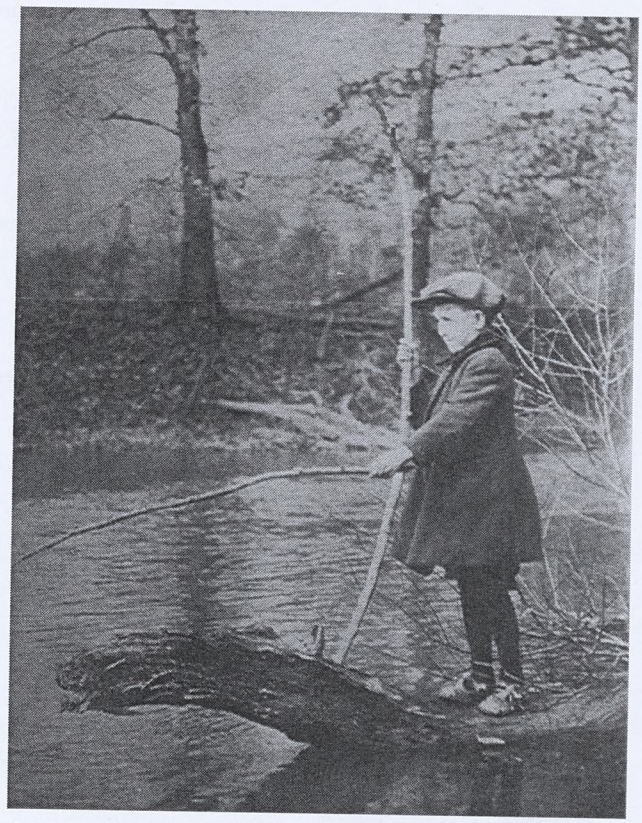
Mama remembered one time she had to stay home from school because she had no shoes to wear. She was a very good student and hated to miss. Her teacher must have liked her because she found a good pair of "hand-me-downs" somewhere and gave them to her so she could come back to school. The only positive experience she had back then was going to school. She enjoyed learning and it was the only thing she had to feel good about.

To the contrary, my daddy said he had a wonderful childhood and Depression made no difference that he ever noticed. His home had been in the family for generations so there were no payments to make. His father was a photographer and a door-to-door salesman. That work was hurt by the Depression but they still lived well off the land the way all country people did. They had a garden, chickens, a couple of hogs and a cow for milk. His father fished, trapped and hunted small game. (There were only a few deer in the whole county back then.) They had sweets made by his mother from things they found, like nuts, berries and apples. His father made a special box to catch a honey bee which he took to the woods and turned loose to watch which way it flew so he could find its hive in a "honey tree." They marked their name on the honey tree and no one else in the neighborhood would take honey from it. How's that for honesty and integrity? Daddy's life was probably a little better than that of average poor people because his neighbors for miles within walking distance were all relatives who helped each other. They had community food harvesting, such as making apple butter, molasses and syrup. The neighbors also helped each other with the children. Mothers sent their children out in the morning and didn't have to worry about them until dark. The older kids looked after the younger ones.. They and all the cousins got together to swim or play every day when the weather allowed. When it was time for lunch they went to whichev-

Helen Looney is president of Craig County Historical Society and the founder of the organization in 1980. This article first appeared in the Summer 2009 issue of Our Proud Heritage, *the newsletter of Craig County Historical Society.*

er home was closest and all were welcomed to eat. (When you have 10 or 12 kids of your own to feed, a few more don't matter.) Daddy's home was like a resort in the summer when his uncles came back to vacation at their homeplaces. One was a doctor, two were lawyers, one owned a lumber company and one was a famous evangelist equal to Billy Graham today. All had started out preaching. They didn't pay to stay but they brought needed supplies that came in handy all year. They also left games such as marbles, checkers, chess and playing cards. They all gave each other books for Christmas presents. They were a very close, happy family.

I don't think my daddy was affected by the Depression at all but Mama surely was. Daddy graduated from high school and always had a good job or two.. Mama quit school at 16 and went to work in a sewing factory. She worked in a few sewing factories, at Radford Arsenal and retired from General Electric. She always worked on a job to make sure that we never had to wear "hand-me-downs" and she worked like a dog at home, gardening and canning so that we would always have food even if there came another Depression. Not that anyone ever thought there would ever be another Depression in the United States of America.



Luther Abbott, 6, fishing in Craig's Creek about 1923. (Photo courtesy of Helen Looney, his daughter)

Well, we may not be in a total bankrupt "depression" but we are most certainly up to our ears in financial "disaster." And in a way, it is worse for us in 2009. We aren't on the point of cardboard in our shoes yet but we have a lot more material things bought on credit to lose than the average family had in 1929. Only rich people had money in the bank or investments in the stock market back then. Now, most everyone had investments in IRAs, 401-ks, mutual funds and other retirement savings tied in with banks and the stock market.Younger people have time to see the economy and their investments get better. Those who have at least a high school education to be able to get a good job will be all right in time.

Life will never be the same for old people.. Older folks who worked all their life to save for a comfortable retirement have lost thousands upon thousands of dollars and they don't have enough time left in their life to recover, as younger people do. Old people are lucky in that they get a Social Security check every month, which is one good thing that the government learned from the last Depression. But when one dies before the other, the remaining spouse won't draw enough Social Security to buy food, let alone pay the bills. And many still have big payments like house and car because they were lured into debt by a false sense of security, having all that money in savings to cover the debt. Greed caused them to buy on credit rather than using their savings. They thought they could buy and pay off, and still have their savings. Greed from trying to "have their cake and eat it too," got in the way of good, sound, financial judgment. Greed! Greed, top to bottom. All wanting more, bigger and better, at higher prices.

What goes up has to come down, usually in the form of a fall. And the fall into this financial disaster started crumbling at the top with bad management and lack of ethics, crossing over into plain stealing! The only thing we little folks can do is learn from it for the future, and never, ever fret or worry over material things. You can't take anything with you when you die, so our relationship with others is all that matters. Everything else will work out in time.

Support our History

April 2010

Dear Friends:

Many of you remember that the Historical Society began a Capital Campaign on our 50th anniversary. What you may not know is that we have one more phase to finish. Now that we have completed the Watts Library and the Education Gallery, we are hard at work raising funds to renovate the exhibition galleries at the History Museum of Western Virginia. This final phase is scheduled to be completed congruently with Center in the Square's building renovations.

Unfortunately, as we strive to produce meaningful programs and exhibitions as well as raise capital funds, we are faced with significant financial obstacles. We are challenged to sustain the History Museum's day-to-day operations during temporary relocation and renovations at Center in the Square.

As a longtime friend of the Historical Society, we are reaching out to you for your financial assistance to help us complete our renovations. With your support, you can help preserve the investment we have made in promoting the rich heritage of this region.

Please, help us by contributing to our Capital Campaign today.
Sincerely,
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Executive Director

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