Historical Society of Western Virginia

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Historical Society of Western Virginia

Amor montium nos movet
(For the love of mountains inspires us)

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Table of Contents

Director's Message

Society is Busy with Renovations, Capital Campaign

2011 was a busy year for the Historical Society, and as we enter 2012 we are deeply involved in completing renovations at the History Museum and planning for the future. Currently the staff and board of directors are 75 percent finished with strategic planning and should have some exciting new developments by June.

As we continue renovations at the History Museum of Western Virginia and complete the final phase of our capital campaign, we want to set a course of action for the next three years, and will be reviewing all of our operations to see how we can sustain our steady growth and continue to be a good investment of your contributions.

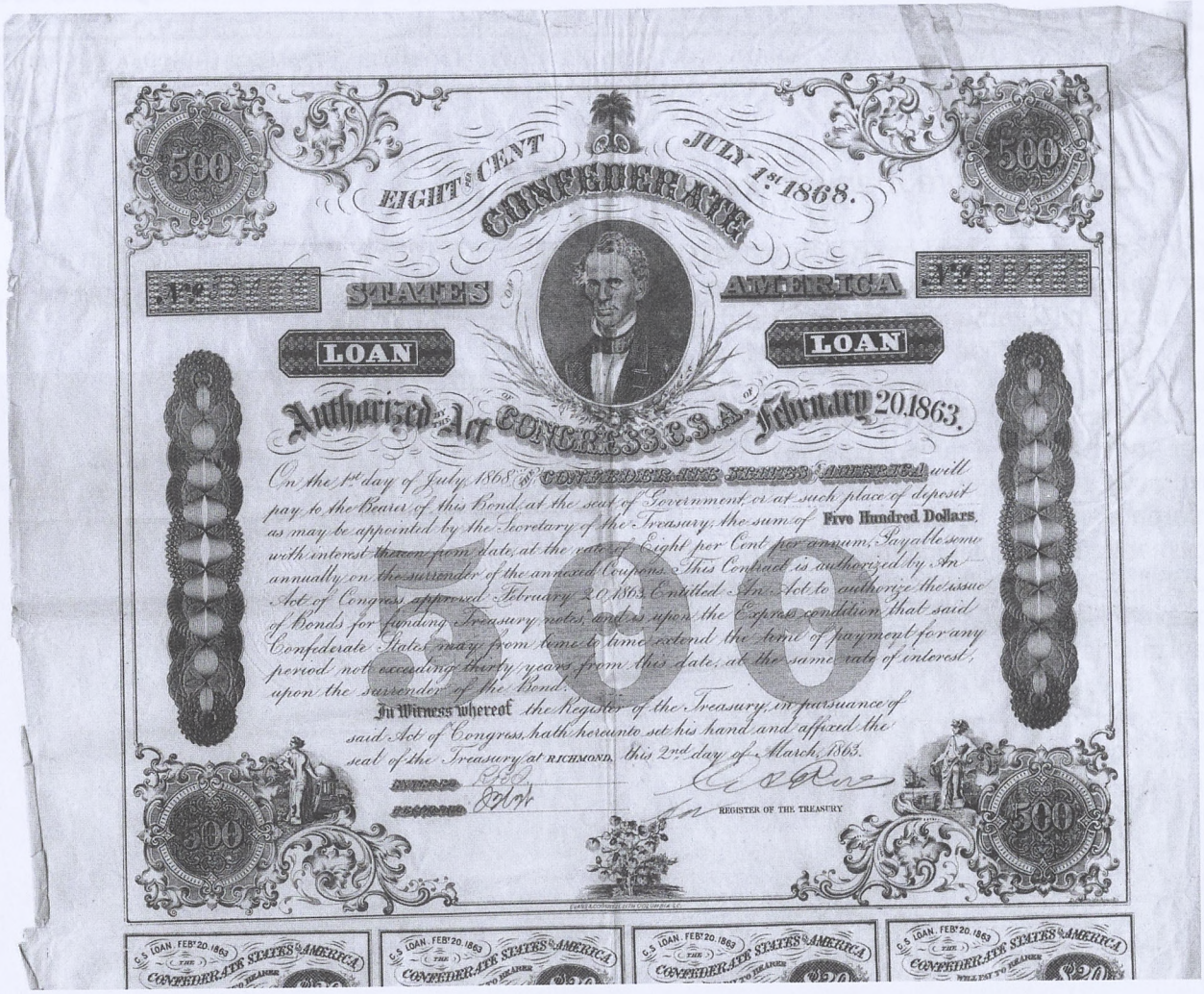
In June 2011 we relocated the History Museum to Hotel Shenandoah. This move will be temporary, through 2012, and the History Museum has maintained many programs, along with two special exhibitions called Hometown Stars and Hometown Heroes. We could not have made the move without the help of some very dedicated interns and volunteers, and soon we will be moving collections out of temporary storage and back into Center on Church.

There continue to be changes ahead, along with many new faces among the staff, and we certainly appreciate your patience as we work through these exciting times. There are dramatic renovations ahead for the galleries and displays in the History Museum, and we welcome your contributions to our continued fundraising efforts.

An integral part of our outreach includes technology. There is a new website for the History Museum — www.vahistorymuseum.org — and many of our publications are now available for purchase online; we have joined the social networking culture and are now on Facebook; and of course, we are still working tirelessly on the Virtual Collections project. In the coming months you can expect to see another new website — an independent web presence for the Historical Society that will provide more detailed information about Kegley Publications.
We looking forward to seeing you. Do drop in!

Jeanne M. Bollendorf
Executive Director

A recent acquisition of the Historical Society's Virtual Library is this 1925 photo of Mary Grace Trout and her sister, Elizabeth Trout, standing on McAfee Knob, a scenic peak on the Appalachian Trail in northern Roanoke County. The sisters married Roanoke brothers. Mary Grace married Marvin Lemon and Elizabeth married Glenn Lemon. The photographer was their father, Philip H. Trout.



A Call for Civil War Papers

For 2012, the Historical Society of Western Virginia plans to publish an issue of the Journal devoted solely to the Civil War during this 150th anniversary of that famous conflict which left a lasting impact on the north and the south.

We invite local and regional writers and historians to submit papers related to any facet of that important war. We are especially interested in the impact of the war on local and regional families, farms, companies, churches and any activities during the war years of 1861-1865. We invite papers of not more than five to 10 pages, preferably submitted by email to georgekegley@verizon.net. Related illustrations, sent as jpegs, will be helpful.

George Kegley
Editor, Journal of the Historical Society of Western Virginia

An Interview with Carter Burgess

by George Kegley

Carter Burgess wore many hats

Carter Lane Burgess held more high-ranking industrial, military and government positions than any other Roanoker. Born on Fifth Street SW, in 1916, he traveled the world in important posts until he came home in retirement in the 1980s and died in 2002 at the age of 85.

After graduation from Virginia Military Institute as a second lieutenant in 1939, he worked as an aide to Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower and rose to the rank of colonel. As administrative secretary of the Allies' Casablanca Conference in 1943, he made all of the arrangements for that historic meeting of Winston Churchill, Joseph Stalin and President Franklin Roosevelt. He was in charge of planning for the organizational conference of the United Nations in San Francisco in 1945.

Burgess worked in administration and the Foreign Service in the State Department and he later served as assistant secretary of defense for manpower, personnel and reserve forces. In the Defense Department, he played a leading role in integrating the armed forces in 1945. He was decorated by the United States, Great Britain, France, Belgium and Tunisia during his long service overseas.

He assisted the president of the University of South Carolina with expansion and modernization and held an honorary doctor of laws degree from that institution.

Carter Burgess, in retirement (From family scrapbook, courtesy of Jane Kelly)

In more than 30 years of executive service in international business, Burgess was chief executive of Trans World Airlines, American Machine & Foundry and the subsidiary operations of American Airlines and he held a high position at General Aniline Film Corp. He served on the board of Ford Motor Co. for 25 years and also was a corporate director of American Airlines, J.P. Morgan Bank, SmithKline Beechum Corp. and the former Roanoke Electric Steel Corp. In what Fortune magazine called "an extraordinarily diverse background," he also had worked at the former Stone Printing Co. in Roanoke and in the insurance and chemical industries. When Burgess left his Defense Department post to serve as president of Trans World Airlines at the age of 40, he became the youngest president of a major airline on record. The Kansas City Star said he was known as the "Boy Wonder" around the Pentagon and he was recognized for his aptitude for hard work, extending to weekends at his desk.

Burgess later served as U.S. ambassador to Argentina, founding chairman of the National Corporation for Housing Partnerships and chairman and president of the Foreign Policy Association. He raised $50 million for the housing organization.

He married the former May Gardner Smith, who died in 1990. She was the daughter of former Norfolk and Western Railway president R. H. Smith and his wife, Mary Wysor Smith, of Roanoke The Burgesses lived in 18 homes during his wide-ranging service. They had five daughters, including Jane Kelly of Salem, and a son.

* * *

INTERVIEW

GK: We're going to talk about Carter's beginnings in Roanoke and some of the things he did when he left Roanoke. Carter, what's your earliest memory of what happened around here? You grew up over on Fifth Street, didn't you? Where were you born?

BURGESS: I was born on December 31, 1916, in a home at 1404 Park Street, which is now known as Fifth Street SW.

GK: Your father worked for Railway Express, didn't he?

BURGESS: That's correct. I'm sure that wasn't the name when he started. My daddy was the 82nd student at the Miller School in Ivy. It was a school founded by the Miller brothers, who were poorly educated, in Albemarle County. They were the bastard sons of Ms. Miller, a single lady. The British talked her into letting a couple of their soldiers have the empty beds in her home because they weren't building any barracks back then. One of the soldiers got the affectionate best of Ms. Miller and gave her two sons, and they came to life as the Miller brothers. They became leading merchants of hemp and tobacco in the Shockoe area of Richmond, and they decided, after the Civil War, to take their sizeable fortune and put it into a foundation to found the Miller School in Ivy, for

Burgess home on Fifth (formerly Park) Street SW, Roanoke (Photo by George Kegley)

George Kegley interviewed Carter Burgess on March 1, 2002, at his home on Hemlock Lane in South Roanoke. Edited by Joellen K. Bland, George C. Marshall Foundation, August 2002. Kegley is distantly related to Burgess. Both came from a Wythe County heritage.

Jane Kelly of Salem, daughter of Carter Burgess, provided photos and information about her father.

the purpose of educating the orphans of Civil War soldiers from Albemarle County.

GK: What was your father's first name?

BURGESS: Joseph Hilleary. He was born in Charlottesville, but he came to Roanoke with the Express Company. He had been in Alexandria and Petersburg. He had a short tour in Charlotte, and spent quite a few years in Lynchburg. He was promoted to route agent in Roanoke, which was a minor official job of running the station for the Norfolk and Western Railway. Most of the agents that he had, their routes — the express routes — were also the Norfolk and Western agents in big towns. He was with them for 53 years. He retired at the Hotel Roanoke.

GK: Where did you go to school?

BURGESS: I went first to Highland Park School, over on Park Street, then I went to Lee Junior, which is now where the federal courthouse is. I spent my last two years at Jefferson High School and graduated in the class of 1935. I went to VMI from there.

VMI graduate Carter Burgess, commissioned second lieutenant (Family scrapbook, courtesy of Jane Kelly)

GK: How was VMI when you were there?

BURGESS: I hope we thought it was tough. Of course, everybody got the message that it was a lot easier then than it had been four years previously. But VMI is basically one of the secrets of whatever success I have had in life. I got a very close shave at VMI. Pinky Burress was the commandant. I think he later became a major general and commanded the 101st Division. He was from Salem and had one brother that had all this heavy equipment, Charlie Burress. Withers was his [Pinky's] first name — Withers A. Burress. He was my first commandant. [John A.] Lejeune was the superintendent when I entered VMI. He was at the end of his age trail when I entered and he only stayed one whole year after I got there. He had an injury on the parade ground and that pretty much closed him down. He was succeeded by Charles Evans Kilbourne, who was a Congressional Medal of Honor winner.

Pinky got to be commandant in '35, and I went back as a third classman in the fall of '36. I wasn't aware of it, and I don't think anybody else was terribly aware of it, but the state legislature that year, '36, in the first part of their session, passed a law that made it a criminal indictment for a state student to haze another state student in a state school. Pinky Burress, of course, was quite aware that he was the new commandant with that new piece of legislation, and he decided to make me the first example of the new state

hazing law. It was true that I had a private from Florida come to my doorway at what we called tattoo. Then I guess he had a 30-minute rest period at 9:00 to 9:30, where you could visit around and share your study thoughts with your lower classmen. I had this guy around to tell him that he had misbehaved badly in the drill squad that day and I made him stand on his toes. I didn't touch him. Fortunately, I didn't touch him, but from the time he got out of there a half-hour later, every other cadet in my class had been in that evening, and at breakfast there was a lot of conversation. He had a twin brother in the Corps, and I think he wrote an anonymous letter to Pinky Burress. That's the way I got caught. My dad came to see me and told the General that he hoped he would follow the philosophy of Mr. A.C. Needles, when he was president of the Norfolk and Western Railroad. He said there was a bad wreck where one train ran into the rear of another, and two days later somebody asked Mr. Needles what he was going to do about the engineer that had this wreck. Mr. Needles said he goes back on the payroll tomorrow because he had a good record. What's the use of a good record if it doesn't stand you in good stead when you have trouble? I always thought that I'd rather be tried by a VMI court rather than a criminal court.

GK: Because you had a good record?

BURGESS: I had a good record in high school and in VMI, up to that point, and that's what saved me. Of course, I got busted. I was a corporal, one of the lowest ranks of corporals at VMI at that time, and I got reduced to the grade of private. I got the maximum number of demerits and put under arrest for four months in my room. I couldn't go anywhere. But you know, Pinky Burress — I think his conscience preyed on him. At make-over — that's the time in your year of service that they re-rank the corps — where I had been the 73rd corporal in the fall of '36, Pinky Burress made me the 31st corporal in the Corps of '37, and gave me higher rank and a soldier's sword in my second class year. That's the sense of VMI.

Portrait of May Gardner Smith Burgess (Family scrapbook, courtesy of Jane Kelly)

I met my wife, May Gardner Smith, on Mill Mountain in the summer of '37, just as I was starting to be a second classman. I don't know who brought her to the top of Mill Mountain that afternoon or for the evening dance, but I know who brought her down.

GK: That was a dance up there at the Rockledge Inn?

BURGESS: It was the only place. The Rockledge Inn was fast disappearing because of the roads, but that road they put in at the last saved it for a while. You know that zig-zag road? It started down there where Mr. Whitesell's house was. I guess the Henritzes had their house half-way up the mountain. That's a little VMI story and, of course, General George Marshall comes on the scene. I took my last training at Fort Meade in 1939. General Marshall was deputy chief of staff of the United States Army. He came out one day when we were at Fort Meade just to see our class taking rifle training and tactical movements. That's the first time I saw General Marshall. Then when I got called to war, October 1, 1941, to report from Fort Meade to Fort Myer, I was assigned to the 730th Military Police Battalion. Why, I don't know. I was an infantryman, and a fairly high-ranking infantryman in my class at VMI, and I had no antagonistic marks against my infantryship. Unbeknownst to me at the time, General Marshall had decided that the MPs ought to stop worrying about traffic and arresting soldiers for too much whiskey and the wrong

part of life. He had ordered the MPs to set up special training programs to create intelligence, knowledge, and action among the infantry GIs to make them alert and aware that the enemy might be searching, through them, for certain inventory and movement questions, anything that was antagonistic to victory. Having been trained in fraud and broad investigations in Boston and New York right after VMI, I was selected because that was on my job resume.

GK: Who were you working for in the fraud investigations?

BURGESS: Liberty Mutual Insurance. I quit at the end of the early part of 1940. I was starving to death in New York. I was making $110 a month, but paying $60 a month for rent. I got so sick and tired of cottage cheese that I didn't know what to do! I came back home and went to work for Stone Printing. Old Franklin Moore had been a VMI man, and you know what he did with me? Every morning, he never got to work on time. He always got to work somewhere around 11:00. I had the little desk at the front of the office and he'd always come in and reach in his pocket and slam his change down on my desk. He'd say, Carter, will you go across to H.C. Barnes, or whatever that drug company was over there, and get me a package of Beechnut Chewing Tobacco? I said to myself, Brother, VMI certainly taught you how to handle a difficult job. *(Laughter)*

GK: You weren't too long at Stone?

BURGESS: I went in the early part of '40, or '41, and went to Fort Myer on October 1, '41. I was married to May Gardner Smith on November 8th. Exactly one month later, there was Pearl Harbor, and I walked guard duty that whole night. I had all the buildings that had the very secret code equipment in them. It was my job to keep the Japanese out. I didn't even know what a Japanese looked like. But that's the story. May Gardner and I were living in a little apartment in Arlington and we decided on that particular Sunday, December 7th, to take a tourist's tour of Washington. We decided to take the car and make a very steady tour of Washington. It was on Pearl Harbor Day, but we didn't know it was Pearl Harbor Day.

I didn't know there was a Pearl Harbor until 5:00 that afternoon. We came up Wisconsin Avenue to Massachusetts Avenue and turned right, and we were going down the hill and through the diplomatic offices and quarters. I didn't know anything about that, and we crossed the bridge at Rock Creek Park and immediately on our left is the Japanese Embassy. I didn't know it was the Japanese Embassy or anything about it, but in the front yard was the biggest bonfire I'd ever seen in my life. The next morning, after we got all the bad news, there was a picture taken by The Washington Post of the Japanese burning up all their codes and files right there in the front yard.

GK: That was history in the making.

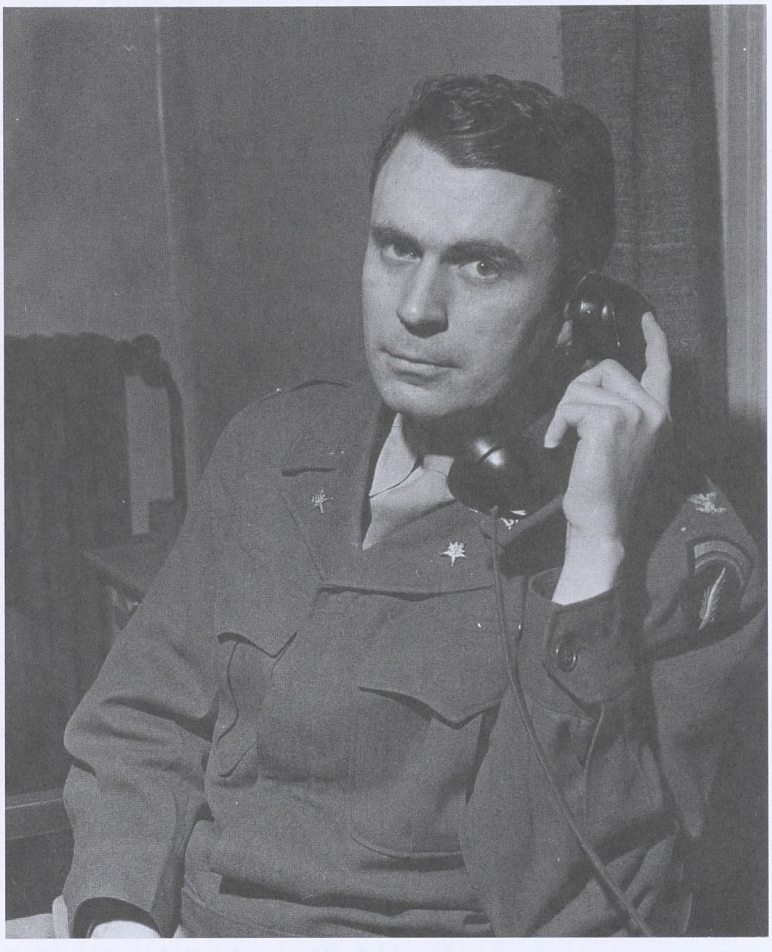
BURGESS: It was. And then — and this will wind up most of the VMI portion — one day I got my guard tour; I had some guards on Key Bridge and Memorial Bridge and along... you see, we didn't have the Pentagon then.

GK: What rank were you then?

BURGESS: Still a second lieutenant. I was housed during the war period in the barracks, so I guarded this area for about a week and a half. One day, around noontime, Colonel John called me to his office. I walked in and John said, "Burgess, do you know what you've done to this outfit?" I said, "No, sir." He said, "General Marshall was going across the Memorial Bridge today and he stopped his car and spoke to your soldier. He called out, 'For God's sake, tell Burgess to get shoes shined today!'" I knew I was back in the VMI family then. About all you did at VMI was get your shoes shined.

Then I had another interesting thing. One morning at Fort Myer, I brought my guard team back at 6:00 in the morning. We were staying in these buildings with the pot-bellied stoves. I just didn't feel like going to sleep with a pot-bellied stove by my bed, so I went up on the hill to the 703rd MP mailbox and picked up what few pieces of mail I had. I started back downhill, passed the headquarters building where the roof window went right up to the top, and this officer, first lieutenant, said, "Hey,

you, soldier!" So I said, "Yes, sir?" "Come over to the window." I went over. He said, "You have a good uniform on post?" I said, "I do, sir. It's just been cleaned." Well, he said, "You go down and put that new uniform on and shave. Shave good and put the uniform on and be back here in 20 minutes." I said, "I can't, sir, Mr. Adjutant. I've got to take my guard team back." He said, "We'll take care of your guard team, but you be up here when I just told you." Guess what that was? They took us to the Federal Reserve Building, which was the handsomest building on Constitution, and that was the first meeting between Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt. I never got back to the MPs. That's when I met Beedle Smith [Walter Bedell Smith, called Beedle] and I stayed home the whole war. Beedle Smith was chief of staff to General Eisenhower, no, he was to Marshall. What he had me do when he became Chief of Staff, and afterwards [was to be] secretary of the General Staff. That's where I finally got my ultimate job and my ultimate rank, which was secretary of the General Staff and full colonel. They got me out of overseas duty about a month before victory, because I was the only guy they could find in the military record that had ever carried out active duty in an international conference, so it was continuous. Marshall asked Eisenhower and Beedle if I could be relieved to take over the international administration of the conference in San Francisco.



Col. Burgess mans the phone. (Courtesy of George C. Marshall Foundation, Lexington, Va.)

GK: The United Nations?

BURGESS: Yes. I was the deputy international secretary of the United Nations. You know who the head man was, don't you? Alger Hiss. I came back to the State Department. Jimmy Byrnes was secretary of state, and I got all the top secret messages before they were sent up to him. That's when I found out that Hiss was under suspicion of communism. Hiss came to me, after we all got back to Washington, and wanted me to go to New York with him and be his right-hand man as the permanent representative to the United Nations.

GK: What was his office? What was his position?

BURGESS: At the time I was working for him in San Francisco, he was just running the conference. He was secretary.

GK: Of the U.N. Commission?

BURGESS: No. He was with the State Department. He was the highest-ranking civilian. He was not a confirmation. He wasn't a political appointee. He was just a civil servant. He later got caught, and about the time I knew he was going to get caught, he asked me to go to New York to be his number-two man and what was then the United States permanent secretary to the United Nations. I saved my life on that one, and I met the finest man I've ever known in my life, Donald Russell, Spartanburg, South Caro-

lina, who became a federal judge in the fourth circuit.

GK: He was a senator at the time, wasn't he?

BURGESS: He was later. He was a protege — I don't know whether Jimmy Byrnes was Donald's protege or vice versa — but Russell was an extremely brilliant guy. The reason Byrnes got him before the war was because Russell's little law firm in Lancaster, South Carolina, was beating Jimmy Byrnes's big law firm over in Spartanburg, and Jimmy just went out and made him an immediate partner and brought him into the firm. Jimmy went on to the Senate and then he became a Supreme Court Justice. Roosevelt asked him to please step off the Court and become his economic czar. Jimmy Byrnes was in the White House with Donald Russell as his right-hand man. He was the chief referee. He had the War Production Board and he had this and that, but Byrnes was the last court of claim before Roosevelt made some of the big decisions. If Byrnes made the decision, Roosevelt dealt with it. If there was total disagreement, then he was the only one that would get back into the act.

GK: I think I've heard you tell the story. Why was San Francisco chosen for the U.N. Conference?

BURGESS: Hotels. They had wonderful hotels and they were all over the place. The second reason, they had probably the best printing facility in the United States for languages. We had to deal with five languages at the United Nations — not Japanese and German, but Chinese, French, Spanish, Saudi Arabia, Arabic, I guess, is the proper word. That was the reason for San Francisco and it worked out well, because it would have been lost in New York.

GK: That was in '45?

BURGESS: April '45. I was the first man there and the last man home. I went out in early April. I got back from Europe at the end of March, went to the State Department and got my papers, and went west. I came back on V-J Day in Washington, which was in August.

GK: We skipped over a lot of time in the war here. Tell us some of the things you did during World War II, back at the beginning. When did you start out?

BURGESS: I started out as a second lieutenant in the 703rd MP Battalion at Fort Myer, and then I became the adjutant of the Combined Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Combined Chiefs of Staff. Then I got moved from the Federal Reserve Building to a building on Constitution, next door to the Federal Reserve, which was the Public Health Building. That's where the offices were. They took that building eventually and made it into the most miraculous War Room that you've ever seen. You could go into that room and just stand there and tell where the Marines were — some of them — and you could tell where the enemy was. If we'd had a room going like that [in 2001], we might have anticipated some aggravation over September 11th. It was the Public Health Building. It's still there, right across the street from the Munitions Building. Probably the most interesting thing I did at the Combined Chiefs of Staff in Washington was the big issue before this operation which got started around the first of February. As much as he could, Roosevelt would be up at Hyde Park, if he could get a free weekend.

GK: He went up on the train?

BURGESS: I guess so, but, of course, he was flying at that time, a lot. He got to North Africa, I believe in '42, by air. But what happened is, Churchill and Roosevelt or Marshall, I believe it was Churchill or Marshall, were not in agreement as to where the war was to start. The main job before the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Combined Chiefs of Staff in that spring and summer of '42 was to determine where were we going to do the first battle. Marshall thought we ought to go straight to Europe, and Churchill wanted to take a detour by way of North Africa. They finally hashed it out and I was called up there. They supplied a private airplane to fly me up to Hyde Park with the final documents from the Combined Chiefs of Staff for Roosevelt's final approval to go to North Africa first. I was the guy that carried the message to God, so to speak. You know how you hate to admit to your own countrymen that it was a better idea, but I think it was best that we had that delay and had our first battle in North Africa,

rather than get pushed back in a Dunkirk type of action. We at least got ourselves trained.

GK: We didn't lose as many lives?

BURGESS: No, we didn't, and it was decentralized.

GK: Did Roosevelt agree?

BURGESS: Oh, sure. I guess Marshall had called him up and said, "You now have my agreement to go this way," and we took the formal papers up there to him. They were sitting out on the front porch at Hyde Park on a nice bright, sunny Saturday afternoon, and everybody was having a good drink. On the way back, we had to land somewhere out on Long Island before we could get back.

GK: Did you have much conversation with him?

BURGESS: Not Roosevelt. We always said hello, but I'd seen Roosevelt when he came here to dedicate that Veterans' thing, and I waved to him. He had a private car when he was leaving town and I should have said, "Sir, you're going to be seeing a lot of me." *(Laughter)* No, he was pretty well surrounded. You know he was lame and couldn't walk at ease, and I'm the only guy on the military side that was permitted to be in the room when he was picked up and taken from this chair to that chair. There was a Secret Service guy who knew how to do it comfortably. Mr. Roosevelt always had a smile, but he never asked me which way I thought we should go into battle. I saw him quite a bit in the presence of Churchill when they were both living in side-by-side houses at the Casablanca Conference.

Col. C.L. Burgess (left) with Capt. G.W. Butler in the field (Courtesy of George C. Marshall Foundation, Lexington, Va.)

GK: They got to be close friends, didn't they?

BURGESS: Oh, sure. You know why Beedle Smith was chosen to be Eisenhower's chief of staff? Beedle Smith was the small ordnance fire expert. [Lt. Gen. Walter Bedell "Beedle" Smith later was ambassador to Russia, director of the Central Intelligence Agency and undersecretary of state.] He wrote all the manuals and training routines for small ordnance, and he was a senior officer at Fort Benning when Marshall was commandant there. He became sort of a protege of George Marshall, and when Marshall finally got asked to come to Washington, he took Beedle Smith with him as secretary of the general staff. Ike was in what they called a Louisiana maneuver at the end of '40, and Kruger, who was the commander of those little exercises, thought Eisenhower was a complete genius. Kruger told Marshall that he thought General Eisenhower was the best field commander that he had run into. The guy who headed Operations Division in Washington at the Munitions Building was a VMI guy named Leonard T. Gerow. Eisenhower was asked by Marshall, after Pearl Harbor, to come to Washington and take Gerow's place. Of course, Eisenhower wasn't there very long because of Pearl Harbor. When Eisenhower went overseas in the mid-part of '42, to get ready for whatever decision was made, guess who Marshall urged him to take as chief of staff? Beedle Smith. Why? Because Eisenhower

and Marshall had never served a day together in their whole military history, so he told Eisenhower, "If you want to know what and how much these Germans are thinking, get Beedle." That's the way Beedle got into that part of the war. Of course, Beedle was the first ambassador to Russia.

GK: You worked for him?

BURGESS: Not then. I was with the State Department, working for Colonel Russell by that time. Beedle came back in the late summer of '45, and asked me to go to lunch with him. I said, "General, what are you going to do?" He said, "Well, I'm going to go into the Park Service. Mr. Ickes wants me to run the Park Service." I said, "You sure that's what you want to do?" He said, "You got anything better to suggest?" I said, "How about a U.S. ambassadorship? You get a nice home, you have servants. You've got the brains for that." I went back and told Russell that he [Smith] would be amenable to an appointment to a good active embassy. He [Russell] immediately went up to see Byrnes and Byrnes said, "God, that's great!" But he didn't have a place to send him right that minute. That afternoon, Averell Harriman resigned his ambassadorship to Russia, and Beedle got it.

GK: That was fortunate timing, wasn't it? You had a lot to do with Yalta, didn't you?

BURGESS: No. Yalta was really the power conference. It was an offspring, but I never got to Yalta. My only connection with the power conference was around late December '44. That's the place where they decided on Eisenhower to come back to Europe to run the European phase. Eisenhower's British right-hand man was Jimmy Gault; I wasn't taking care of Churchill on that particular trip. Gault was. When this decision was made, Gault immediately made plans to go to Europe to re-receive Eisenhower. I got into the position with Churchill and I had him in Tunis and took him up to the Taylor Villa in Marrakesh. The Taylor Villa at Marrakesh is one of the more interesting stories of the war.

GK: Marrakesh? Where is that?

BURGESS: That's in Morocco, just south of Casablanca. It has no shoreline. The French Foreign Legion used it as a rest and recreation area. The Taylor Villa was the most magnificent home that has ever been built in the Sahara Desert region. Beautiful sand. It was built by the riches of the Taylor family who were notable railroad tycoons on the west coast. When the war came along and our military was so common in North Africa, the Taylor family made an offer to the United States government that the Taylor Villa would be operated by the United States Army, where the military meetings would be held, and for recreation purposes, with one understanding: it would never be used by Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

GK: They didn't like him?

BURGESS: And it wasn't. Those fellows agreed to let the Army have it on that condition, and that's where we'd park people like [Secretary of War Henry] Stimson. This is where we parked the prime minister because we could get Churchill down from there and he could paint in the afternoon in the courtyard. Before the war, Marrakesh was the prime minister's favorite painting place, and he would go to the Mamunya Hotel in Marrakesh. All the apartments had little porches. It was a nice apartment and he would paint the Atlas Mountains, which were the dividing line between North Africa and the Sahara Desert. He spent a lot of time there before the Second World War.

GK: What were some of the things you did for Churchill?

BURGESS: I'd get the security guard and the best chefs we could put our hands on for him. One night, Eisenhower had dinner with him at the residence. I was in charge of the visit. I had a very able lieutenant on duty to supervise the movements. Eisenhower called me up the next morning and said, "Burgess, who was in charge of that dinner at the Churchill residence last night?" I said, "I was, General." He said, "That's the worst meal I've ever found in the field in my life." I said, "Well, I'm sorry, General." He said, "I know there's a WAC [Woman's Army Corps] chef here in town, and you ought to get hold of her." She was a chef in charge of the mess halls, so we got her. But I got hold of that Jewish lieutenant I had in charge and I said, "Lieutenant, what in the hell happened over there last night?" He

said, "Major, the Prime Minister's aide came and ordered dinner at 8:10 for 18 people. The dinner was served at 1:30 in the morning. It wasn't for 18 people. It was for 36 people." I said, "What was one of the main courses you served?" He said, "Jell-O." I said, "Well, that's where you made your mistake. Don't you know Jell-O melts?" *(Laughter)* That's the kind of story from out in the middle of the desert.

GK: They didn't serve it until 1:30 in the morning?

BURGESS: Churchill would smoke and drink — big cigars and a carafe of rum. You never knew when you were going to eat with Churchill.

GK: So, it was the Casablanca Conference. I had it wrong.

BURGESS: I was their Casablanca man.

GK: You helped make the arrangements?

BURGESS: I made the whole thing happen. I was it. That's what got me loads of commendations. It far exceeded anything else I did at that particular time. It gave me an identity on the employment sheet. It had been a successful point on my resume.

Army Gen. Dwight Eisenhower pins medal on Col. Carter Burgess (Courtesy of George C. Marshall Foundation, Lexington, Va.)

GK: That was about '43? '44?

BURGESS: Early '43.

GK: How long did it last?

BURGESS: Only about two weeks. The most interesting thing about that conference to me was that the DC-4 had just become an airplane in the Air Corps. It wasn't the Air Force then. That plane had its passenger hull parallel to the ground. It didn't sit on its tail when it came in, it was parallel. That meant that we had to have a suitable ramp to take Mr. Roosevelt off that plane and put him back. Incidentally, that plane did not land at Marrakesh. He didn't stay at the Taylor Villa. We had to figure out how to make it so that the Germans wouldn't have any anticipation that Roosevelt was coming in on that plane. The problem was this hull parallel to the ground. You couldn't pull him off the airplane and you had no elevators on that thing. We had to build a three-part rig of a slanted staircase so we could roll his swivel-cart thing. I had to have that ramp made in three different geographical places in North Africa, and brought to Casablanca the day of his arrival. We had just enough time to test it to make certain that it would actually work. That's part of the procedure that we went through to avoid German Intelligence. Too bad we didn't do something like that on September 11th.

GK: Isn't it! How long before did you have to go over to set this thing up?

BURGESS: I spent about two weeks. I was the guy that sent the first five WACs to work. I re-

ceived five senior WACs.

GK: What was their job?

BURGESS: I eventually got them secretarial jobs. One of them became Beedle Smith's secretary then, but politically, she damn near beat that guy that was the permanent U.S. senator from Rhode Island. She almost beat him, but didn't quite. It was Ruth Briggs. There was a gal that worked for Intelligence. One or two of them were secretaries. One of them was in Eisenhower's outfit. Then we took them all up to Casablanca and used them in secretarial duty and let them do the paperwork for the conference. If you've ever been in a world conference — have some ditto machines and electric typewriters.

GK: Was that covered by the media?

BURGESS: Oh, sure.

GK: I've forgotten if there were any pictures.

BURGESS: I'm not sure whether Cronkite was there or not. He was overseas quite a lot then.

GK: Apparently that wasn't a big thing.

BURGESS: I don't think so. In fact, a general's name — I can't give it to you, the guy who was Eisenhower's chief media man — I know he was up there with us.

GK: You just had to see that everything ran well.

BURGESS: My whole experience with conferences, starting with that one, meant that you had to have language capabilities. You had to have machinery that operated all night. Everything was done at night. It was an immense amount of paperwork dealing with recommendations and solutions, and who'd get this job and who'd get that job. It was an immense amount of detail and you had to be going just as hard at it at 4:00 in the morning as you did at 4:00 in the afternoon. One of the most interesting jobs I had at the United Nations — to leave Casablanca a minute — one of the main jobs I had to organize in Casablanca... was [Gen. George] Marshall. They got me to do Marshall several times. Every now and then it would pop up on CBS.

GK: What about language at Casablanca?

BURGESS: I'm talking about language related to the United Nations. When I got that thing started, I had to put together a language commission of people who had undeniable expertise and competence in one language to another language. I had to have that all commissioned — an assemblage of about 14 people who could be arranged and supervised by the genius of all geniuses of that kind of people, who was to verify that there was nothing in French that negated something in English, or that there wasn't something in English that negated something in Arabic or Chinese. There had to be guarantees. One of the nastiest little fights during this took place in Algiers, but we had a great language expert in Georgetown named Leon Dostier. He was a lieutenant colonel in the military and a professor at Georgetown. Churchill ate his ass a lot. In a session one day between Churchill and deGaulle — Churchill knew enough French that he could disagree with a translation and it scared the heck out of me when he said that about Leon — it was about the imperfection of his interpretation. The point I want to make here is that there is always a place for some person that knows how to talk somebody else's language on translations, contracts, and negotiations. Some of that in business too, not as much now, but some of it.

GK: In the jobs you had, you weren't terribly close to the dirty work of fighting, were you?

BURGESS: No.

GK: Very important, high level?

BURGESS: Nothing was safe in London. I worked in a building that had a bomb land right beside it that could have taken the lives of a hell of a lot of people. That bomb did not explode, so we were on a terrible alert for 10 days until they got that bomb decharged. I didn't shoot anybody and nobody shot me, but I had a roommate, Temple Moore's brother, who succeeded in eventually going overseas. He was at our villa on the north side of Algiers one Sunday and the Germans flew a flight, and one of those planes got hit by antiaircraft fire. This God-damned German was landing his plane and he just let

all his guns loose and shot Temple Moore's brother's foot in half. That's the kind of exposure we had.

GK: He was from Roanoke?

BURGESS: No, they were from Richmond. We lost some great people. [Leslie] Howard, the movie actor — he was on a plane with one of the very senior British generals. He had worked a lot with us.

GK: You were in air-raids?

BURGESS: All the time. When they landed, they all believed just like that guy on these damn September 11th trips. They figured, gee, I got nowhere to go — bomb and die at the end of doing it. They couldn't get out of the airplane and land. This September 11th thing — you can thank God that you and I will miss the long-term aftermath of this.

GK: Terrible, terrible. You were working mainly for Beedle Smith?

BURGESS: Beedle Smith had almost everything to do with my call to the governmental side. He also had a big part to play in my business side. Beedle Smith was a guy that was in demand both militarily and corporately. Everybody thought he was a very bright guy. If he didn't know what the answer was, he knew the person that might have the answer somewhere.

GK: What was your first civilian job after the war?

BURGESS: My first civilian job was assistant to the president of Trans-World Airlines. I was selected to be the right-hand man to Jack Frye, who was one of the guys that built TWA and, along with [Howard] Hughes later on, was the inventor of pressurization, which made it so that you and I can travel so comfortably in an airplane at high altitudes. I worked for Mr. Frye for a year and a half, when he was the head of TWA, but he and Hughes fell out over an unbreakable understanding, and that was that nobody was to be on the TWA board unless he was mutually acceptable to both Hughes and Frye. Hughes decided that he wanted to get his father's old-time finance man, Noah Dietrich, to be on the board of TWA in '46, because TWA had just gotten its full ratings of international routes.

GK: Hughes had control then?

BURGESS: He had control in terms of stock ownership — 74 percent, or something like that. Hughes wanted Noah Dietrich on the board, and if there was anybody in America that Jack Frye didn't want to see one more minute in life, it was Noah Dietrich. They parted ways and then Frye took me to General Aniline Film (GAF), which was one of the government holding companies. Its ownership during World War II was in question as to whether it was a Swiss company or a German company. The United States government took the position that it was a German company, so the Department of Justice had to decide on its management, its board of directors, and the president. I stayed there for about five years.

GK: What was your job then?

BURGESS: Director of administration. They were getting ready to make me president of all of their photographic companies, including Ansco. That was in New York, but we had operations pretty much all over the country. Frye was there.

GK: He was the president?

BURGESS: He was the president and I was his director of administration. We got in all kinds of Congressional investigations, and one of the more interesting jobs at that time in my life was when I managed the company's position versus the government's, the Senate's investigations. And we won! Nobody got fired. *(Laughter)* Nixon was one of the strong cats in those days. I did that, and then my next job was when I went to the University of South Carolina. I was Mr. Russell's right-hand man at the University and we really put that place back together again.

GK: Was that administration?

BURGESS: He called me the assistant president, but I never referred to it that way. I was assistant to the president. Then — this is a little ugly part of the story — when Eisenhower became president

in '52, Beedle was named deputy secretary of state under John Foster Dulles. Beedle talked to John Foster Dulles and said I should be brought into the State Department as undersecretary of state for administration, security and all that sort of thing. Mr. Eisenhower promptly agreed and sent my papers forward to the Senate Foreign Services Committee or Foreign Relations Committee, to be undersecretary of state for administration, to be confirmed by the U.S. Senate. Mr.... he ran the Oakland Press in California. Senator...

GK: Knowland?

BURGESS: Knowland. He was from Oakland. He sent the papers back to Eisenhower, saying that I was persona nongrata. He was one of these Republicans on the double alert about communists in the government.

GK: One under every bed.

BURGESS: Yes, under every bed. He was sure that I had been working with Dean Acheson and that I had caught the disease. Eisenhower called me up and said he wanted to tell me about this breakdown by Knowland. I said, "Mr. President, you don't want to have a fight over me at this point in time about that damned issue. Just let me withdraw and if, at a less sensitive time in the future, I can serve you in some useful way, then I'm ready." Ike said, "Hell, I'm going to bring you into the White House and get this place organized the way you had it organized in Europe and North Africa." So I went and had an office in the White House. In fact, Sherman Adams, who used to come to work there every morning at 6:00, wanted the portrait painter to put another half-yard on the painting, and I'd take over about 7:00. I had a pretty fascinating presentation of how we should do this thing when they had it all illustrated with charts. The final presentation was to take place at Camp David in what was the president's office up there, and I went up and had everything in great shape. We had the best charts you've ever seen and fixed so that you didn't see any movement in the back of the screen. I finished and answered all the questions and suggested that everybody go out on the lawn and have a Coca Cola or something. Charlie Wilson, secretary of defense, came over and said, "Carter, I had experience of some of your work when you did the phone system in the Pentagon a year ago. Will you come and be my assistant secretary of defense?" I told him about this William Knowland thing, and he said, "Well, if I'm willing to have the fight, are you willing to have the fight?" I said, "You'd better add the president to that group." *(Laughter)* He went over to see Ike and Ike said, "By God, that's the best answer I've ever heard yet." Beedle Smith came over and said, "What the hell's going on over here?" Ike said, "We finally got Carter Bur-

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I said, 'Mr. President, you don't want to have a fight over me at this point in time ... Just let me withdraw and if, at a less sensitive time in the future, I can serve you in some useful way, then I'm ready.' Ike said, 'Hell, I'm going to bring you into the White House and get this place organized the way you had it organized in Europe and North Africa.'

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gess to take over this problem" — the Supreme Court had just made the decision on the minorities, the blacks. Equal treatment. Eisenhower said, "Two qualities that Carter Burgess has, he's a southerner and secondly, he likes black people. I want him to go ahead and get the letter of the law carried out, and I want it to be done in good spirit and good friendship." I think I did a hell of a job, because [Colin] Powell got to be chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

GK: You can't take credit for that, can you? That was a little later.

BURGESS: No, I was just kidding. I think we set the policies...

GK: Right. You set a trend... a pattern, maybe.

BURGESS: The first thing I did when I became assistant secretary of defense was have General B.O. Davis, the only black general in World War II, for lunch. His son became a lieutenant general in the Air Force, and he was the guy that ran the program for Nixon to see if we couldn't stop this business of hijacking. No, I didn't have anything to do with Powell, but I had some interesting times over that black issue. I had a hotline. There weren't many assistants in those days. I had a hotline, both in my office and in my home. If anybody saw anything that was going be injurious to the improvement of the minority amalgamation, they were to call me and tell me what it was, and report it to their commanding officer the next day.

I get a call one night from a Strategic Air Force base in Mississippi. They had an SAC lieutenant in town and linked up with a white girl. The white girl had the car and she was the driver. She's bringing him back to the SAC base and the sheriff arrests them. The black guy wasn't driving, and when they made them get out of the car and give their license and everything, the sheriff says to the black lieutenant, "Get in the car and take it over to the side of the road." He does it and the sheriff arrests him just in that period of time for driving under the influence of whiskey. The guy gets me on the phone, whoever was in charge of the base at that hour in Mississippi, and I said, "I'm going to tell you what to do, Colonel," or whoever it was. "You get an SAC airplane and get this black officer on that plane, and you fly anywhere from Ohio north — anywhere above — comfortably ahead of the Mason-Dixon Line, but no closer south than the state of Ohio." So they did that. About four days later, Secretary of Defense Wilson says, "Get Burgess in here." When I got to his office, his secretary gave me a heads up. Senator [John] Stennis was in the office, secretary of the Air Force. She said, "I think they've got you on something that happened in Mississippi." I said, "You got a clean piece of paper, Ms. McDonald?" I wrote my resignation and I didn't say why. I just said for personal reasons, just something to give to the secretary, and I folded it and put it in my pocket. I went into the office and Charlie Wilson said, "The secretary of the Air Force has been up all night, and Senator Stennis has called in and said he wanted the Air Force to return that black officer to Mississippi." I said, "Mr. Secretary, I think that's an unhappy phone call that you've had. I acted in your name the other night and I assumed that the reason you had me on this job was to take the right action in a number of situations. You don't have to worry about my position on this thing. I'll let you take the position since I took yours - one for you, you can take one for me now." He said, "I think we ought to agree, but since it's Senator Stennis..." [Stennis was the godfather of the military.] He was the No. 1 in this country and I liked him. I said, "Mr. Secretary, as I said, I regret you doing that. There was no reason for it. Here's my resignation." He just looked at everybody in the room and said, "I'm going with Carter Burgess." So, I won that one. They wanted to bring that poor bastard back to Mississippi and arrest him. It was just as simple as that.

GK: Your job was to integrate the military.

BURGESS: Yes, integrate it, and also create an occasion, sometimes, when the blacks won. They got a pretty good reputation for not winning too many in the past. But Senator Stennis never —we had a cold relationship for a while. He felt bad, but so did I.

GK: This would have been early in about '52 or '53?

BURGESS: No, I went to the Pentagon in '54. This would be around late '56.

GK: Were you there very long?

BURGESS: Over three years.

GK: This was after General Aniline Film?

BURGESS: Before it. I left the Pentagon to be president of GAF. When I left the Pentagon, this job that I had just been describing... the board wanted me to become president. Everything was fine until Hughes got back in the act.

GK: You were president of TWA for a little while, weren't you?

BURGESS: For over a year. I just got fed up with Hughes. He and I never had a fight on the phone or anything like that.

GK: You never met him, did you?

BURGESS: Never met him, but I talked to him thousands of times on the telephone and — well that's an exaggeration.

GK: Tell me that story about him calling you in the middle of the night and what happened.

BURGESS: May Gardner [Burgess's wife] and I had been out in Queens for a TWA mechanics' dance, and we got home about 1:00. Dean Burgess was upstairs and said, "Daddy, daddy, Mr. Hughes has to talk with you on the telephone. He couldn't reach you." I said, "Well, it's urgent. Thanks very much." I walked upstairs and called a guy named Bill Gray. He was a Mormon. Hughes never had anybody working for him unless he was a Mormon. I called him. You never called Hughes back. You always called the guy that was his chief of staff or whatever you want to call it. I got Bill Gray on the phone and he said, "Well, the boss wants to talk to you right away." I said, "Bill, please go in and tell Mr. Hughes that I sleep with my wife, and this call will be all over the neighborhood tomorrow. If it's all the same with him, why doesn't he get in touch with me at the office. He can get hold of me after 7:00 in the morning." I never got a midnight call from him again. *(Laughter)* I sent him... you know, I quit. He didn't fire me. He told me on the phone, "You're just awful to be doing this. I don't have anybody to replace you." I said — I called him Howard then — "Howard, you got the best man in the world to take my place." He said, "Who could it possibly be?" I said, "You." *(Laughter)* He said, "You smart guy?" I said, "No, you want to get into the act, so do it." He sent me a check for $100,000. I didn't cash it. I endorsed it back to him. I said, "I quit, you didn't." He re-endorsed it Howard R. Hughes.

GK: Where did you go from there?

BURGESS: I went to the American Machine and Foundry in Pittsburgh. Beedle Smith was the vice chairman, and Mr. Morehead Patterson, whom I had known at the State Department, was on the commission that I was staff director of. I was secretary of administration. This was a commission chaired by Walter Richton He was then president of Brown and America's number one diplomatic historian. Beedle Smith told him, "You're going to need a staff director, so get Carter Burgess."

GK: For most of these jobs you stayed in New York, didn't you?

BURGESS: My family did. May Gardner and I moved to South Carolina. When I was in the Pentagon we were in McLean. With a job I had right after the war, we lived on the corner of New Hampshire and 22nd Street. That was a rough part of Arlington. If you could find an empty piece of real estate in Washington right after World War II, it was a tough job.

GK: I can imagine. AMF, that was a big company.

BURGESS: That was a big company. It was a Fortune 500 company. My predecessor, Morehead Patterson, had invented the automatic bowling business. AMF had had a genuinely long-term history. It made all the tobacco equipment in this country — packaging, rolling, cover-tipping. They also made the kind that took the rough tobacco and created it in a form that made cigarettes and cigars. AMF was the inventor of the only automatic cigar maker. It also was the only maker of the automatic donut machine. Anytime I wanted to make a financial presentation, I would always take the automatic donut machine and it would work. That would convince everybody that we knew something about mechanics.

GK: These jobs, the heads of these big corporations, were largely administrative skills, working with people?

BURGESS: That's it.

GK: Working in management to see that they got their jobs done. That was your job?

BURGESS: Yes. It was also my job to see that the right things were financed. The firms that would go this way, I wouldn't agree to go that way. We kept our group of friends by not going into self-competition with customers.

GK: Was that at all unusual to have short tenure? As head of several of these places, you weren't there very long. I know for good reason, but is that unusual in the business world?

BURGESS: It's best to work your way up. Take R.H. Smith [father-in-law of Burgess], one of my lead examples and one of the finest men I ever met. He started at the bottom. You know how he got started at the bottom? He went to Princeton. I'm going to tell you something that I hope damn few people know, but he went to VMI for three weeks.

GK: Did he really? Where did he grow up?

BURGESS: He grew up on a ranch in Colorado.

GK: Went to VMI. He just didn't like the military?

BURGESS: I would guess that he said, "To hell with this." I never went through his record.

GK: He never told you? He didn't talk about it?

BURGESS: No. I was going into the army October 1, 1941, and I had to get to Washington. I had to be there on a Monday, October 1. May Gardner agreed to go up with me, and she was going to stay with her aunt who lived in an apartment at the corner of Massachusetts and Wisconsin. We got to town and I checked in at the Hotel Washington. We went up on the train, and I got a cab and took her up to her aunt's place. Then I went back to pick her up at about 6:00 for dinner, and I met her aunt. Her aunt, Ms. Clark, said, "Carter, where did you go to school?" I said, "I went to VMI." She said, "Well, Bob went there for three weeks."

GK: That's the first you knew about it?

BURGESS: That's the first I'd ever heard of it, and worse than that, it was the first May Gardner had ever heard of it.

GK: Oh, really? His daughter [May Gardner Smith Burgess] didn't know about it?

BURGESS: No. She came home that Monday and telephoned the next day and said, "I asked Daddy about going to VMI, and he said to me, 'We'll have no more conversation about that.'"

GK: *(Laughter)* And that was it. That was civil engineering at Princeton, wasn't it?

BURGESS: He was a genius. He taught before he graduated. You know how he got the job at Norfolk & Western, don't you? His roommate was Mr. Maher, M.B. Maher's son. He was president of the railroad, and Maher had a butler on his car who later was Mr. Smith's butler on his car, and his name was Carter. *(Laughter)* I never knew who was being called. Then I fell out with a couple of directors at AMF. Talking about what guys do with short-term jobs, I had been with AMF for over 10 years at this particular point and, at times, I want to do things that people find too unusual to consider. Having been in the Pentagon and several of the higher levels of overseas battling and so on, I was very disturbed about Viet Nam. We [AMF] were building most of the 500- and 750-pound bombs. We were building them in York, Pennsylvania, and in Brooklyn. I think the 750 was the most popular size. In any event, we did a hell of a job on these. My biggest job in the world was when I ran the missile program at AMF. We did all the launching equipment for the Titan and the Atlas missiles and installing them. The Atlas was parallel to handling the missile. The Titan missile was elevated 180 feet below the surface up to ground surface. Two 130-ton-apiece doors were planted underneath the missile, so that it would have a solid place to fire from. In those days, scientists wouldn't let you blast it from 160 feet down because they thought the result of an explosion would misdirect the missile. We got the contract. I told Mr. Pat-

terson, "You go back and be the president, I'm going to Western. We're off budget and off schedule. The Air Force is ready to tell us to vacate. If you finally get orders to vacate, you won't have any more problems with me." I said, I'll think it over. The best thing to do, I thought, was to live in a trailer on the site with some of the guys that were running this thing. There was practically no excuse to go where there might be a hotel or motel to stay in. That's performance. We brought those missiles in on time and below budget, and got decorations and all kinds of stuff

GK: You left being the president to run the missile program?

BURGESS: Right. I mean I wasn't in my office, but I was still president. During the time I was there, Mr. Patterson took over in my absence.

GK: He had been president?

BURGESS: He'd been president. He had about 65 very unusual patents. He was a lawyer — Morehead Patterson. His mother was a Morehead. In any event, that job on the missiles is what got us doing jobs on the bombs. We didn't have to put in any kind of study and we had met the military's price. We were building these things, and upon its success, with no complaints about delivery, I wanted to renegotiate before the Viet Nam victory. In other words, go to the government and say, "This is what our record is. Do you want to negotiate now, and if you say we owe you this or owe you that, we'll negotiate a settlement." Do you know that that damned board wouldn't let me do that? All the people that went to jail after World War II, you know, the renegotiations took place after the peace was signed. I wanted to renegotiate before the peace was signed.

GK: For what? To get a better deal for the company?

BURGESS: A better deal for the government. It would have been a very useful thing for the Pentagon and they very much wanted me to do it. It would have been a very useful thing to show that since they weren't winning very much, this would be a sign of some help.

GK: They wouldn't let you do it. That's when you moved on.

BURGESS: Later on, I had a couple of guys write me and say that it was the biggest mistake they ever made, and I think it was. It would have been an ingenious thing to do. I did that, and then after AMF, I ran the Foreign Policy Association. Then my wife came down with Alzheimer's. That created a need for me to get back here, and that's when you took me over. As I've told you once, if you'd taken me over earlier, I'd have been president of the United States.

GK: *(Laughter)* Indeed. Now, you didn't mention the one thing in there about American Airlines. Did you do something there?

BURGESS: As soon as Mr. Hughes and I parted and I sent his check back to him, C.R. Smith was having some enmity between two very senior people at American Airlines.

GK: Was he president or chairman?

BURGESS: He was the founding chairman. He had been president. He was a major general in the Air Force Reserves, the Air Corps Reserves, and one of the finest friends I've ever had. He and I both had somewhat comical senses of humor. He was a remarkable guy. He called everybody "dear." I said, "C.R., why do you call all these men 'dear'?" He said, "Well, I write them, 'Dear,' why can't I say it?"

GK: He tried to get you at American, but you didn't go.

BURGESS: He tried to get me at American a year after I left TWA, to be the president, and I said, "C.R., I can't do that. Beedle Smith has always had an interest in me. I'm just gonna go through with it." About three days later, he said, "Carter, since you won't take the presidency, will you become a director?" I said, "I sure will." At one time, I did work there when I was laid off, because I ran that hotel division for a while.

GK: Hotel division?

BURGESS: Hotels and catering, and gift shops and airport management. Even then we were making people go through machines that read knives.

GK: What we left out was this — how long were you the U.S. ambassador to Argentina?

BURGESS: Not long. I went in '68, flew back in '69.

GK: That was right before the Foreign Policy Association?

BURGESS: I'll simplify that by saying that [President Lyndon] Johnson hired me and [President Richard] Nixon fired me. That was one of the best jobs I ever had, and I would have loved to stay another two or three years.

GK: Did Nixon have somebody else he wanted to put in there?

BURGESS: I always thought that Nixon wanted to keep me, because in the Eisenhower years, I was probably the most friendly confirmed Senate candidate for him. Nixon wasn't like Ike. Ike didn't like Nixon. You remember somebody said one time during one of the campaigns, "What's Mr. Nixon done?" Ike said, "Give me three weeks and I'll think of something." I went through special care on Nixon, to keep him briefed. Charlie Wilson was a hot shot at General Motors, but he did not like to make speeches. He didn't like to go to the Business Council and tell all the right stories, so I was his spokesman. If he had something to do in Virginia, he'd send me. But where were we?

GK: We were talking about Argentina and Nixon.

BURGESS: I thought Nixon wanted to keep me. The guy that wanted to make damn sure I got let out of there was Rogers. I beat the hell out of Bill Rogers when I was assistant secretary for defense. I took a very strong stance on the National Guard. I said, "We're paying them, so I think we ought to get them to do what we want them to do." That's the same way I feel about VMI. Mr. Rogers totally disagreed with my position.

GK: What was he doing then?

BURGESS: Bill Rogers was the deputy attorney general. Herbert Brownell was the attorney general, and I called for Mr. Brownell and Mr. Rogers to hear me out. I think the general counsel was Vance Craig at the Pentagon. I went down there and put on a presentation as to why I thought the Pentagon and the Defense Department were right, and Brownell sided with me. The reason I think he did is because he knew that Eisenhower personally got me to take that job. In any event, by the time I get to be continued or not continued in Argentina, Rogers was secretary of state and he had every right in the world to disagree with my appointment. He and I got to be good friends later on

GK: What you said about the Guard — we pay them and they ought to do what you tell them to do. What was his position? Why did he oppose?

BURGESS: He's a politician. He didn't want anything to be construed against states' rights.

GK: What was the Argentina job?

BURGESS: Johnson and C.R. Smith were the ones that cooked this job up for me because C.R. knew that I was parting — and Johnson liked me. One time, when he was Senate leader, when Eisenhower was president, Johnson was a big shot in the Senate. He was over one day in the Oval Office and Ike was having a military presentation put on there. I was the head of the presentation. Johnson asked the president if he could ask me a question, and the president said, "By all means, Mr. Leader." Johnson says to me, "How in the hell are you getting those charts to stick together and move them and they don't move? I don't understand how you're doing that." I said, "Mr. Leader, it's very simple. It's galvanized chicken-house tin."

GK: He appreciated that, I guess.

BURGESS: He appreciated that. I framed it that way too. Magnetized, galvanized tin. I thought Johnson always had an eye out for me. He wanted me to be the head of the CIA and I just turned him down flat. I said, "Mr. President, no." He said, "Why did you turn me down?" I said, "Mr. President, I don't know a damn thing about intelligence. I don't have the background you want. John McComb would be great for that job. One of the great things about John McComb being the head of the CIA is that he can afford it. I can't."

Carter Burgess talks with President Gerald Ford at a Business Council meeting. (Family scrapbook, courtesy of Jane Kelly)

GK: What did you do as ambassador in Argentina?

BURGESS: One of the main reasons that Johnson and Smith agreed on my going to Argentina was that Argentina was suffering a bad trade imbalance with the United States. Everybody else had a favorable trade balance. They had hoof and mouth disease problems in Argentina. The borders were covered with hoof and mouth disease problems. I had a couple of ideas on solving that and I think a couple that we put into effect lowered the loss of beef cattle. The main thing that I tried to do was get Argentina back to having a good balance sheet in diplomacy and international banking. We had a brilliant economic minister, an Argentinean guy, and we got it back in the good neighborhood. I told them they had to stop using a grade of leather on ladies' purses. That was the worst metal work I've ever seen in my life. I said, "You've got to get the quality of your metal ornamentation in comparable shape to the nature of your leather." We did things like that. Of course, if Humphrey had won that fall, I'd have been there for a full two years.

GK: That has a history, doesn't it? *(Pointing to a piece of art)*

BURGESS: I said, "Stedman [Oakey, a Roanoke interior decorator], why in the hell can't you work it so that May Gardner and I can go to New York and get some Chinese antiques?" He sent me to a great big store at the corner of 23rd and Fifth Avenue. May Gardner was with me and she didn't find a damned thing that set her on fire. As we were going out of the store, I looked up through the hollow part

of the store and this damned thing was hanging on the wall. It was hanging up there at about the third floor. I said, "I don't know what that is, but take us back up there to look at it." That's what we bought. You know what we paid for that damned thing? $800. The people who have been in here to appraise it say it's an unbelievable price.

GK: What was the housing thing? Nixon named you to it?

BURGESS: I was the founding chairman of the National Housing Partnership. We were financed by businesses and unions. I had to raise $50 million.

GK: Did you do it?

BURGESS: I did it, and I can't give you the exact figure right now. I'd be glad to call up and find out, but I think that unit has built over 300,000 really modern houses.

GK: It's still going?

BURGESS: Yes, but I don't think anybody ever hears about it. I just don't understand why my friend, Lloyd Tucker, has let the publicity die on this because I think what they should have done is marry this up with Habitat for Housing *(sic)* [Humanity]. It makes money. It pays good salaries.

GK: You say it was financed through banks and unions?

BURGESS: No, businesses and unions. General Electric, big unions like the AFL-CIO. We raised $50 million between those two years. To get in business, the government had to make sure that the legislation for subsidy was somewhat favorable to our being approved in that part of the picture. That was a very interesting job. NHP got a lot of praise. It was tied into Fannie Mae, too.

GK: There was government money in it?

BURGESS: Oh, sure — not to the unit itself, but to the person liening or buying the home. He had to get something to make up whatever the differential was, but the housing itself was built out of the capital finance of the company, which was the financing of it.

GK: It could have been compatible with Habitat, couldn't it?

BURGESS: Oh, sure. Had I been there, I would have given an endowment to the Habitat to help them with their administrative side. You've always got to have somebody there to get some papers and, in fact, I think that's what's wrong with American kids today. There's too much money being spent on administration. The Habitat — I've just never understood, with Jimmy Carter being sort of the president of Habitat... and with Nixon and Johnson. Henry Kaiser was the head corporate guy on this. He created the Housing Partnership. Kaiser is the guy who found me to do the chairmanship. Nobody quite saw where the income was going to come out of — the salary. But he had a lot to do with me in Argentina, and so did his head man in Argentina. Kaiser ran one of the best automobile factories in Argentina.

GK: All your corporate contacts helped a lot.

BURGESS: Oh, sure. Old Nixon got a lot of letters about me, but I guess Rogers was his problem.

GK: The foreign policy thing — it didn't take a lot of time, did it?

BURGESS: It took a lot of time. I did some traveling and some speech making, but I had to go out and raise money. That's what takes time. We had all kinds of ways of trying to make that interesting. The Foreign Policy Association [FPA] is a rare historic organization. It got started as a result of the fears that many people had at the end of World War I that our country was going to go back to isolationism. You know who were the co-signers to the FPA's revised charter in 1926? John Foster Dulles, an old pal of Roosevelt's. It was interesting for those two people to find the same tent.

GK: These boards that you said you were on, American Airlines and Ford Motors?

BURGESS: Yes, and I was on Smith-Kline. At other times I was in and out on boards. I got brought back by General Aniline Film later in my career, once they began things with the government.

GK: Did that take much time, board service? Going to the meetings?

BURGESS: Sure. At Ford, you left mid-afternoon — through Dearborn, and the evening ses-

sions, dinner, breakfast the next morning, board meetings that lasted until 1:00 to 2:00 the next day. Smith-Kline was usually the better part of a day, once a month. I was also on Roanoke Electric Steel. Incidentally, Wyndham Robertson, who's the namesake of this media library at Hollins, she caught on to me, because she happened to be on a commission that Bob Claytor asked me to run. Bob Claytor asked me, "Will you head the commission to select the next president [of Hollins]?" I said, "Bob, there's one thing I want to get straight with you. I fire, I don't hire."

GK: I expect you enjoyed being on boards, having been on the other side.

BURGESS: Yes. Well, that's an action that came earlier in my life. You know, when you get elected to be a director of J.P. Morgan Bank before you're 40, then you're doing pretty good.

GK: You did that before you were 40?

BURGESS: Yes, sir. I was still in my 30s when I worked for TWA.

GK: J.P. Morgan. I'd forgotten about that.

BURGESS: I went on that board after I became president of TWA. I went down to see Henrietta Sanders at the Whitney and I said, "Ladies and gentlemen, I accepted your invitation to the Morgan board, and I want to tell the young lady at TWA here that I thought you all ought to give me the opportunity to resign now rather than later." They said, "Absolutely, you're not going to resign now." I stayed on that board. I was on there — it was '56 that I went on the Morgan board and I retired around '85 or '86.

GK: That and Ford were probably your biggest boards, weren't they?

BURGESS: I went on Ford in '62 and retired in '87.

GK: Weren't they probably the most important?

BURGESS: I think Smith-Kline was important, not dramatic or a damned old company, but they had invented a medicine called Tagamet, probably one of the most successful medicines in my lifetime. It had to do with keeping your stomach in good shape.

GK: Was it J.P. Morgan Bank?

BURGESS: It was then. Later, quite a bit after I was on the board, it merged with Guaranty and became Morgan-Guaranty

GK: Morgan-Guaranty Trust?

BURGESS: I don't know whether they left the word Trust in there. They probably did, but it wasn't Morgan Trust before. It was Guaranty Trust when they merged, but it was J.P. Morgan before.

GK: J.P. Morgan Bank, when you were there?

BURGESS: Yes. The Morgan survived in the first place with this latest merger with Chase.

GK: Have any trouble keeping up with going to all these meetings?

BURGESS: I just went there. When I hear about all this crap down at Enron, boy, do I say to myself, Burgess, how in the hell can any group of people be as ignorant as that bunch was?

GK: It doesn't seem possible, does it?

BURGESS: How in the hell did an outfit like Arthur Anderson let this crap go on wholesale? Didn't that ring a gigantic bell somewhere? You hire this profession just like you hire lawyers. You want honest people. The whole profession hangs on honesty. Sometimes you want it to be brilliant honesty, but this business of taking partnerships and having them cover up bankruptcy, or deficits or whatever the hell it is — I don't understand it. But I would have understood it if I was there. I raised hell with the public auditors at Morgan one day. I said, "One of you hot-shots took me to the bank vault the other day to see some new piece of equipment, and everybody had their coats hung in the vault room. Who in the hell is so dumb as to let somebody do that?" You don't ever want to put an empty pocket in a vault room. It's like the top-secret code room. You can't let somebody come in and take their coat off in a top-secret code room in wartime, because you never know what's going to come out on just one little slip of paper. It's like this guy in the Secret Service, or one of these FBI guys who was giving all this paper to the Russians.

How in the hell could we have the destruction of two of the tallest buildings in class and cost — and the Pentagon — and not have any pre-suspicion or pre-evidence that something bad was about to happen? I've never seen anybody do anything about this outfit that's up here at Fort Meade, Maryland. It was built to invade phone calls, to invade transmissions, questionable transmissions of international monies. I always thought they could intercept any phone call they wanted to intercept. It's a billion dollar operation, but nobody has even mentioned them.

GK: Is it military?

BURGESS: No, I think it's just an independent. I think it's probably tied in somewhere with the CIA. No, I don't think it's run by the military, but it was a communications system that was supposed to have had access to anything that we want to have access to.

GK: Too many people were asleep at the switch, weren't they? This is going down as a much, much bigger thing in that vein than Pearl Harbor, isn't it?

Carter Burgess (right) and Henry Ford II leave 10 Downing Street offices of English Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in London, England. Burgess served on the Ford Motor Co. board for 25 years. (Courtesy of George C.Marshall Foundation, Lexington, Va.)

BURGESS: To me it's a hell of a lot more dangerous than Pearl Harbor. You know what happened at Pearl Harbor. Marshall sent a message that morning to [Lt. Gen. Walter] Short about some suspicion he had about something happening. He sent it over the Army's top-secret code-book, that night or early the next morning, except that the damned machinery wasn't working or the message would have been sent that way. They had to decide. Someone in the Adjutant General's Department sent it in a higher code via Western Union in Honolulu. It got to Honolulu, but there were no delivery boys on duty that day. Marshall was chief of staff.

GK: Warning them that something was going to happen?

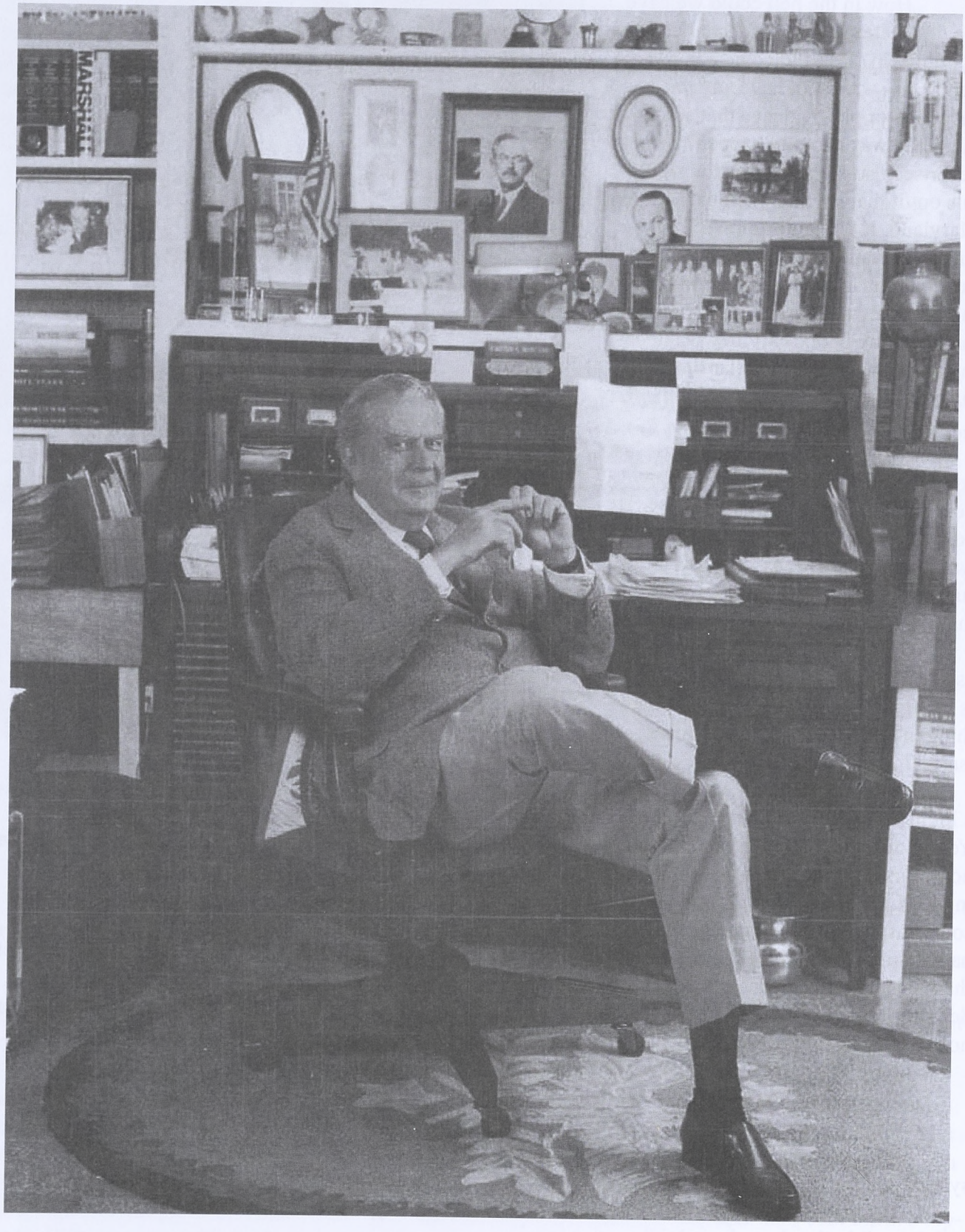
BURGESS: Yes, sir. Warning them that something was going to happen.

GK: No delivery boy?

BURGESS: No delivery boy. But Marshall, the next morning, took that whole communications system and put it under his own office, and that's where it was when I was an assistant to Eisenhower.

GK: It goes back to the old adage about the battle being lost because of the horse and the rider and the nail in the shoe, doesn't it?

BURGESS: Right. Of course, we've had some other little mishaps. The Battle of the Bulge was a good one.



Carter Burgess relaxed at his South Roanoke desk after a long career of military, government and corporate service. (Family scrapbook, courtesy of Jane Kelly)

GK: Maybe you mentioned it and I didn't catch it. What were you doing at the State Department?

BURGESS: I was the right-hand man to the assistant secretary of the Foreign Services Administration. My first boss was secretary of state and my immediate supervisor was the Assistant Secretary of State Julius Holmes. They both got elected out by Mr. Truman. I'll have to go back a little bit. In 1944, when Roosevelt had to make some decision about what his political destiny was going to be in terms of the vice president, he didn't want Wallace as vice president. Jimmy Byrnes had come off the Supreme Court at his request and he had been a very successful manager of the economy, the direction of the economy. Roosevelt didn't want the military getting far too much and the general economy, the general people, getting far too little. I've always understood it that Mr. Byrnes achieved a sensible balance. He did that job well and had been a very popular secretary of state. While he was secretary of state, there was no fellow senator who arrived on the Senate scene that had more respect for Jimmy Byrnes than Harry Truman. Byrnes taught him how to be a senator. In '44, Roosevelt asked Jimmy Byrnes if he would join him and be the vice president. Some of the young cats in there weren't too happy about that idea, and I think probably the key one was a lawyer — he was from St. Louis. Together, they talked Roosevelt out of taking Byrnes as the vice president. Why? Because Byrnes was an ex-Catholic. He left the Catholic Church and became an Episcopalian, and they thought that was politically dangerous. Mr. Roosevelt had to ask him to step aside and he named Truman, and the way Truman equaled out Byrnes was when he got to be president, he replaced Stennis with Jimmy Byrnes. That's where Donald Russell came in.

Now comes the interesting part of the story. Mr. Truman, after he appointed Jimmy Byrnes and all the other cats were replaced, a very vital concern at the White House was that Mr. Byrnes was acting like the president of the United States instead of Truman. He was always saying that he did this, and he did that, and never mentioned that the president asked him to do this or the president would sign this order, and the word got around: "For Christ's sake, get rid of Byrnes." That's when General Marshall became secretary of state, I think. Now, Byrnes was free and gone and hadn't made up his mind about what he was going to do yet, but he went out and made some speeches. One of them was at Washington and Lee, where everybody interpreted it as being critical of what Truman was doing — aid and welfare. Jimmy made a speech over there and Truman got hold of the speech. He wrote Byrnes a little note down in South Carolina, criticizing him on his speech and added his own inference in this thing by signing the letter "Et Tu Brutus." This all got printed up. I've got the whole damned thing somewhere here. Byrnes wrote him back and told him that he thought it was his job to say what he thinks legitimate and appropriate on serious matters. He ended his little pique with an "as you well know, I don't consider you Caesar."

GK: What was your title there at State?

BURGESS: I was just an assistant to secretary of state. That's back before I went to South Carolina. I was assistant to the assistant secretary of state. When Russell was president of the university and I went down there, I guess I was his assistant. He and I never got into the title thing. If he was introducing me to somebody, he'd always say, and I don't know why he did this, but he'd always say "the assistant president." Russell was a gigantic friend of mine. He wrote a letter about me to somebody, and he wrote a gigantic letter.

GK: It's hard to look back over all these many jobs. What's the best job you've had?

BURGESS: The one I liked the most in terms of structure and people and the chance to do some good and thoughtful work was being an ambassador. I think it's the greatest damn job in the world. The best job I ever had was being ambassador to Argentina. I felt like I did my best and enjoyed it the best. The Argentines — you know, there is 98 percent literacy in Argentina. They even have educated cows there. (Laughter) It was such a high mix of Spaniards and Germans and Italians. Argentina is an example of living in some class and dignity. It's too bad that they've had a lot of political problems. I didn't sense

much of that while I was there. They were getting better at it, but the guy who was president there — he was a hell of a nice guy. He's young. He trained at West Point. He made a mistake one day, right after I left, in saying out in public that he was looking forward to continuing to be president of Argentina for another 25 years. I don't know, but he might not have made 10 weeks.

GK: What was the toughest job?

BURGESS: I guess my last two years at AMF was the toughest job.

GK: When you had your differences with the board?

BURGESS: Morehead Patterson had stayed just as a director by that time and had stopped being chairman, but was director, 100 percent. I went there, I guess, in '58, and I think he died in '61.

GK: You had the knowledge and the skills to get through these complications.

BURGESS: I've tried to be useful and sincerely meaningful in my life, and made the effort to be thoughtful.

GK: Not everybody does that.

BURGESS: Henry Ford was a useful guy in that department and I learned a lot from him. He had sort of a jet-set playboy habit, but I don't know of anybody that was more insistent on being on time for appointments and trips. He was a genius at that. He was bright. When he took hold of that company in late, I guess, '44, early '45, he had to be taken out of the Navy to do it because the old man, Henry Ford II, was out of the picture. He had some bum he had brought in there — I can't think of his name right now. He had to get Henry back on the scene to put that company back into full business.

GK: He was the grandson of the founder?

BURGESS: I guess his father's name was Edsel. He had a son named Edsel, Henry did, but Bill Ford, Henry the second's brother, it's his son that's now the boss. Bill Ford. I'm going out there on March 13th to attend a retirement dinner for one of the older boys.

GK: You still keep in touch with them?

BURGESS: Yes.

GK: As the years stack up, it's kind of tough to give up associations with these folks, isn't it?

BURGESS: I'm cutting back though. You know, it's sad, but it's damned hard for me to get out of a chair nowadays.

GK: You've got some mileage there. Think of all the rest who didn't make it to 85.

BURGESS: I'd like to be back on the tennis court, too.

GK: You did some of that in your time, didn't you?

BURGESS: I just gave it up a couple of years ago. I fell once in a while — or twice.

GK: Overall, you've had pretty good health though, haven't you?

BURGESS: George, I'm moving in danger now. I have prostate cancer. I've had it for a number of years. I take a thing called Lupron assigned to me by Nelson Teague. Do you know what they cost a shot? $3,200. I get four to six of them a year.

GK: Does that hold the PSA down?

BURGESS: Evidently. I get by every examination.

Where Was Totera Town?

A Review

by Jim Glanville and Ryan Mays

INTRODUCTION

In this article the authors summarize and assess the many writings that attempt to answer the question "Where was Totera town?" Totera town (with various spellings *[1]*) was the place where the Tutelo (also with various spellings) Indians were encountered by the Virginian explorers Thomas Batte and Robert Hallam*[2]* on the 9th (the 20th new style) of September, 1671. *(Ed. Note: Early historians spelled the names as Batts and Fallam, but later research has called them Batte and Hallam. This article uses both spellings, depending on the sources.)* That Totera town was somewhere in today's southwestern Virginia is accepted by all writers. However, as we will see, many different specific locations have been proposed and we summarize them in Table 1. *(See page 43)*

The difficulty faced in answering the question as to the location of Totera town was well-stated over 100 years ago by the pioneer ethnologist James Mooney:

> The tribes between the mountains and the sea were of but small importance politically; no sustained mission work was ever attempted among them, and there were but few literary men to take an interest in them. War, pestilence, whisky and systematic slave hunts had nearly exterminated the aboriginal occupants of the Carolinas before anybody had thought them of sufficient importance to ask who they were, how they lived, or what were their beliefs and opinions.*[3]*

Danville writer John Brubaker added in 1973:

> The primary difficulties encountered in dealing with the story of the American Indians — finding them idealized as noble savages or rejected as uncivilized heathens...are magnified in Southside Virginia and the Carolina Piedmont because the natives were removed by the Europeans before they could make a real impression on the conqueror's mind. Substantial records of contact with the Indians by whites in this general area cover a span of less than 60 years. The Indians did not speak for themselves, so Europeans' accounts, as reinforced by limited 20th Century archaeological discoveries, are the sole sources of information.*[4]*

Jim Glanville of Blacksburg, a retired chemistry professor at Virginia Tech and Virginia Western Community College, has done extensive research and writing about early Spanish exploration and other subjects in Southwest Virginia.

Ryan Mays, a staff biologist at Virginia Tech, is a student of early settlement of Southwest Virginia, using primary documents.

Figure 1. "Indian Relics from Totera Town" as pictured in F.B. Kegley's well-known book.[5] It is difficult to be certain, but the object on the lower far right appears to be a marine shell gorget—such objects are known from the Roanoke vicinity, and one of us (JG) has seen and photographed an engraved specimen in the Smithsonian collection in Suitland, Maryland. Shell was a valued, durable material in prehistoric American Indian cultures and one that endures archeologically.

The sum of the evidence for the location of Totera town is the journal kept by Robert Hallam in 1671, the account of the journey of Gabriel Arthur in 1673 as described in a letter written by Abraham Wood in 1674, and the limited archeological studies of southwest Virginia.

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE FOR THE LOCATION OF TOTERA TOWN

Documentary evidence for the site of Totera town comes from the period 1670-1674. The first European known to be in the vicinity of the town was John Lederer and Lederer's notes of his travels in 1670 are the earliest written record of southwestern Virginia. Robert Hallam (in the journal he kept of his explorations with Thomas Batte in 1671) speaks specifically of being at Totera town twice in September that year. A letter from Abraham Wood to John Richards England in 1674, which reported the explorations made for Wood by Gabriel Arthur and James Needham, tells incidentally that Arthur's friend, the king of the Tomahitans, passed along by "Totero" on his way to visit Wood at Fort Henry (modern day Petersburg, Virginia).

John Lederer

The first European whom history records as a possible visitor to Totera town was John Lederer, a German, born around 1644, who arrived in Virginia about 1669. For unclear reasons he was selected to prospect for an overland route to the "East India Sea," a project which had become important to Gov-

ernor William Berkeley. Lederer made three "marches" to the west. Sir William Talbot, the secretary of the colony of Maryland, translated Lederer's travel notes from Latin to English, and published them in London in 1672.*[6]* Exactly where Lederer went remains speculative. Maps showing the many proposed routes that he might have taken on his marches have been published by the historian Alan Briceland.*[7]* The most westerly of the proposed routes*[8]* places Lederer in the Roanoke Valley in May of 1670. The best evidence that Lederer (via Talbot) provides comes from the map *(Figure 2)* that was published by Talbot that shows western Virginia extending to the Blue Ridge Mountains.*[9]* On Lederer's map, the town named "Nahissan" has been identified by Hale*[10]* as a town of the Tutelos. So while Lederer tells us nothing specifically, the location of Totera town is probably somewhere on Talbot's map.

Thomas Batte and Robert Hallam

Thomas Batte and Robert Hallam were at Totera town. They set out from Fort Henry on 1 September 1671 carrying a commission from Abraham Wood "in order to the discovery of the South Sea" and explicitly to test "the Ebbing and flowing of ye water behind the Mountains" in the expectation that this would indicate an approach to the Pacific Ocean — Virginians had a poor understanding of North American geography at this time. Robert Hallam kept a journal of the trip which is presumed lost. However, there were at least four near-contemporary copies made,*[11]* two of which have been frequently published in the literature: one by Daniel Coxe which he sent to the government in England in 1687, the other by Reverend John Clayton which was sent by him to the Royal Society in London and read there in 1688.

The Coxe transcription of Hallam's journal was copied in London around 1850 by agents of the New York state government who had been commissioned to obtain in England documents relevant to the early history of New York and the Coxe transcription was published as a printed version by the state of New York in 1853.*[12]* The Clayton transcription of Hallam's journal was copied in London by David Bushnell in 1906 and published by him shortly later with his annotations and a discussion of the differences between it and the New York printed version of the Coxe transcription.*[13]* At about this same time the Canadian author Agnes Laut read the Clayton transcription in London and made a copy along with some notes. Then, in 1912 Clarence Alvord and Lee Bidgood reprinted the Bushnell version of the Hallam journal, reviewed Laut's copy and her notes, made their own comparisons of the versions, and published*[14]* what remains to the present day the definitive compendium of sources on early Virginian westward exploration, as it included a comparison of the Clayton and Coxe versions along with reprint copies of many of the other documents relevant to the expedition of Batte and Hallam.

Here's the description of the arrival at Totera town in the full Hallam journal entry dated 9 September 1671 in the Clayton version taken from Alvord and Bidgood with a Coxe version difference (cited in Alvord and Bidgood's footnotes) included herein in brackets:

> Sept. 9. We were stirring with the Sun and travelled west and after a little riding came again to the Supany River where it was very narrow, and ascended the second mountain which wound up west and by south with several springs and fallings, after which we came to a steep descent at the foot whereof was a lovely descending Valley about six miles over with curious small risings… [*New York Colonial Documents*: read in the hiatus "sometimes indifferent good way, their course etc."]. Our course over it was southwest. After we were over that, we came to a very steep descent, at the foot whereof stood the Tetera Town in a very rich swamp between a branch and the main River of Roanoke circled about with mountains. We got thither about three of the clock after we had travelled twenty-five miles. Here we were exceedingly civilly entertain'd.

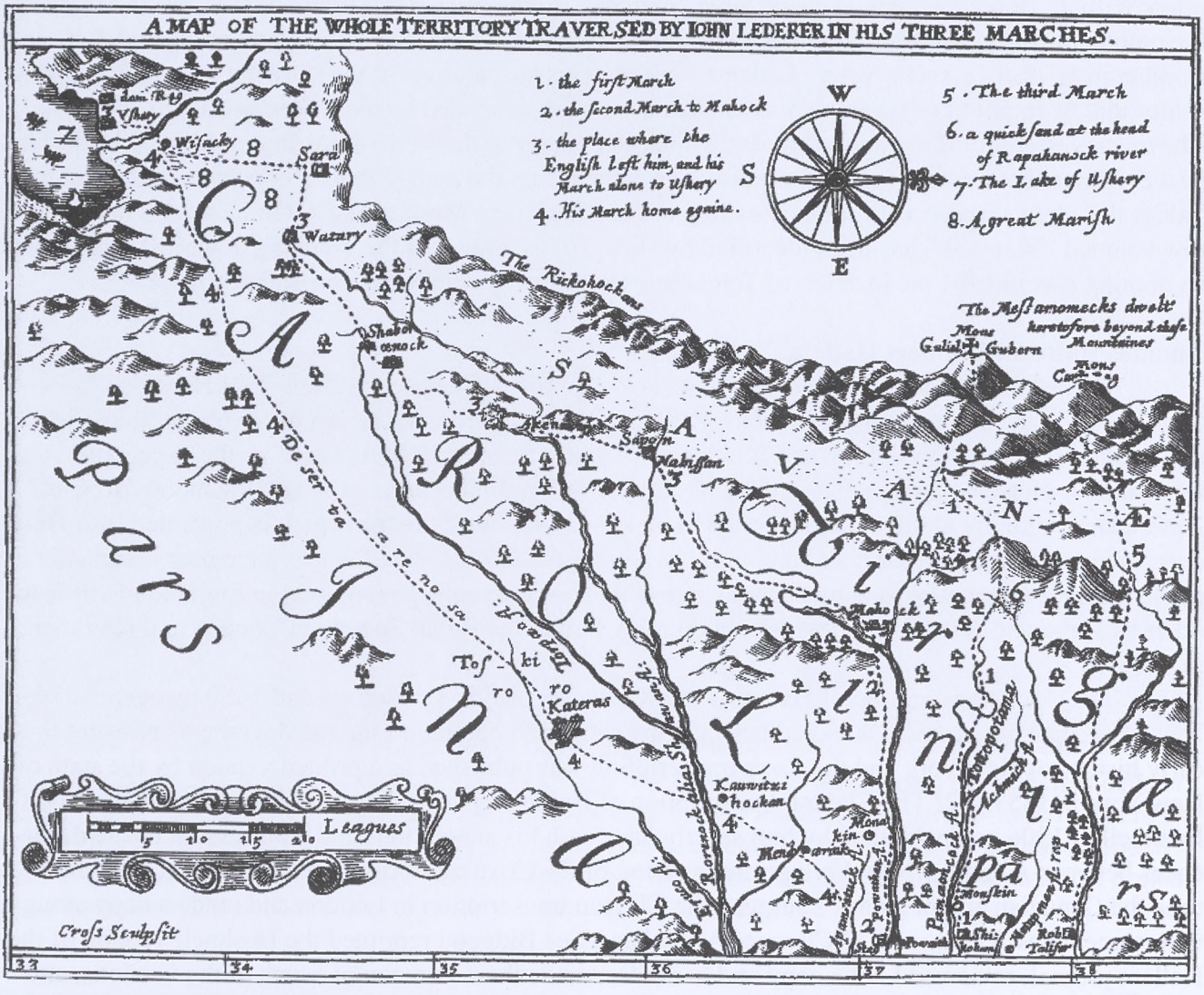


Figure 2. The map published in London by William Talbot in 1672 showing the marches of John Lederer. It is uncertain as to precisely what modern territory this 1672 map corresponds to, but broadly speaking it shows western Virginia. Note that the direction north is to the right and west is upward. The scale of the map is roughly 300 miles from left to right, i.e. from south to north. Totera town would probably have been somewhere on this map.

Obviously, it requires considerable interpretation to convert Hallam's journal entries such as the one above to actual lines of routes on a map. Many writers have speculated about the route to the mountains taken by Batte and Hallam and about the location of Totera town, beginning with John Mitchell in 1755.*[15]* Archeologist Carl Miller drew a map of the route in 1957,*[16]* as did historian Alan Briceland in 1989.*[17]* Roanoke area archeologist Tom Klatka has summed up as follows the difficulties in interpreting the route of Batte and Hallam:

> Fallam's journal is an intensively studied, yet problematic, document relating to western Virginia's early history. Although various interpretations of the route taken by the Batts and Fallam expedition have been advanced, no consensus has emerged. This lack of consensus stems from the recognition that Fallam's brief journal of the expedition contains little detail in its descriptions of distance traveled, direction taken, or terrain traversed.*[18]*

The King of the Tomahitans

James Needham and Gabriel Arthur with accompanying Indians and horses were sent westward by Abraham Wood in April 1673 and, after a false start, again on 25 June 1673 as part of Wood's ongoing campaign to open the western Indian trade from his base at Fort Henry. Wood told their tale in a letter to England written in August 1674.*[19]* These explorers soon fell in with a group of Tomahitan*[20]* Indians who apparently offered to escort the Englishmen to "ye Tomahitans towne," probably in today's east Tennessee.*[21]* On the way there Needham was killed by one of the accompanying Fort Henry Indians and Arthur began an epic solo year during which he underwent many hardships and undertook long-distance journeys with the Tomahitans that covered hundreds, maybe thousands of miles. Indians were great foot travelers. After many adventures, Arthur eventually returned to Fort Henry on the 18th of June 1674. A month later the king of the Tomahitans arrived at Fort Henry. Abraham Wood recorded in his letter to England that the route that the king took to Fort Henry "was along by Totero under the foot of the mountains, until they met with James river and there made a canoe of bark and came down the river to the Manikins. From thence to Powetan by land, and across the neck and on the 20th of July at night arrived at my house and gave certain relation how Mr. James Needham came by his death."

This brief reference to Totera town adds a little more geographic information to its possible location in the 1670s: at the foot of mountains as stated, and south of the James River as can be inferred because of the Tomahitan king's town probable location in east Tennessee.

The Tutelo Indians

Roanokers have traditionally considered their city to have been home to the Tutelo Indians at the time that the first English-speaking explorers arrived at its location. That conclusion is probably correct, though it does not necessarily mean that Roanoke was Totera town. Here is the description of the Tutelo people in the period 1607-1740 taken from Raymond J. DeMallie's article "Tutelo and Neighboring Groups" in the conventionally regarded-as-highly-authoritative, and relatively recent, Smithsonian-published *Handbook of North American Indians* of 2004:

> The Tutelo and their neighbors were poorly documented in the written record of European explorers and settlers. Never very populous, they were rapidly decimated by European diseases, alcohol introduced by European traders, and warfare — particularly by Iroquois attacks. It was a period of dislocation and continual social and cultural change. Most of the survivors of these groups came together and ultimately sought the protection of their former enemies, the Iroquois. *[22]*

The American Indian neighbors of the Tutelo included the Monyton Indians of present-day southern West Virginia, the Monacan Indians of central Virginia, and the Saponi Indians of southside Virginia.

Figure 3 is a much-modified version of a small portion DeMallie's map titled "Locations of the Tutelo and neighboring groups, with dates of known occupancy" taken from page 287 of DeMallie's article. Totera town was probably located near the place labeled "Tutelo 1650-1674." The place labeled "Tutelo 1676" is near present-day Clarksville, Virginia, on the Occaneechi trading path where the Tutelos were (probably) attacked that year there by forces commanded by Nathaniel Bacon.*[23]* The place labeled "Tutelo 1701" is where a party of Tutelo Indians was encountered on the Yadkin River by the traveler John Lawson in January of that year.*[24]* After 1701 the Tutelo wandered for many years before being finally absorbed at the end of the nineteenth century into the Cayuga tribe in Canada.

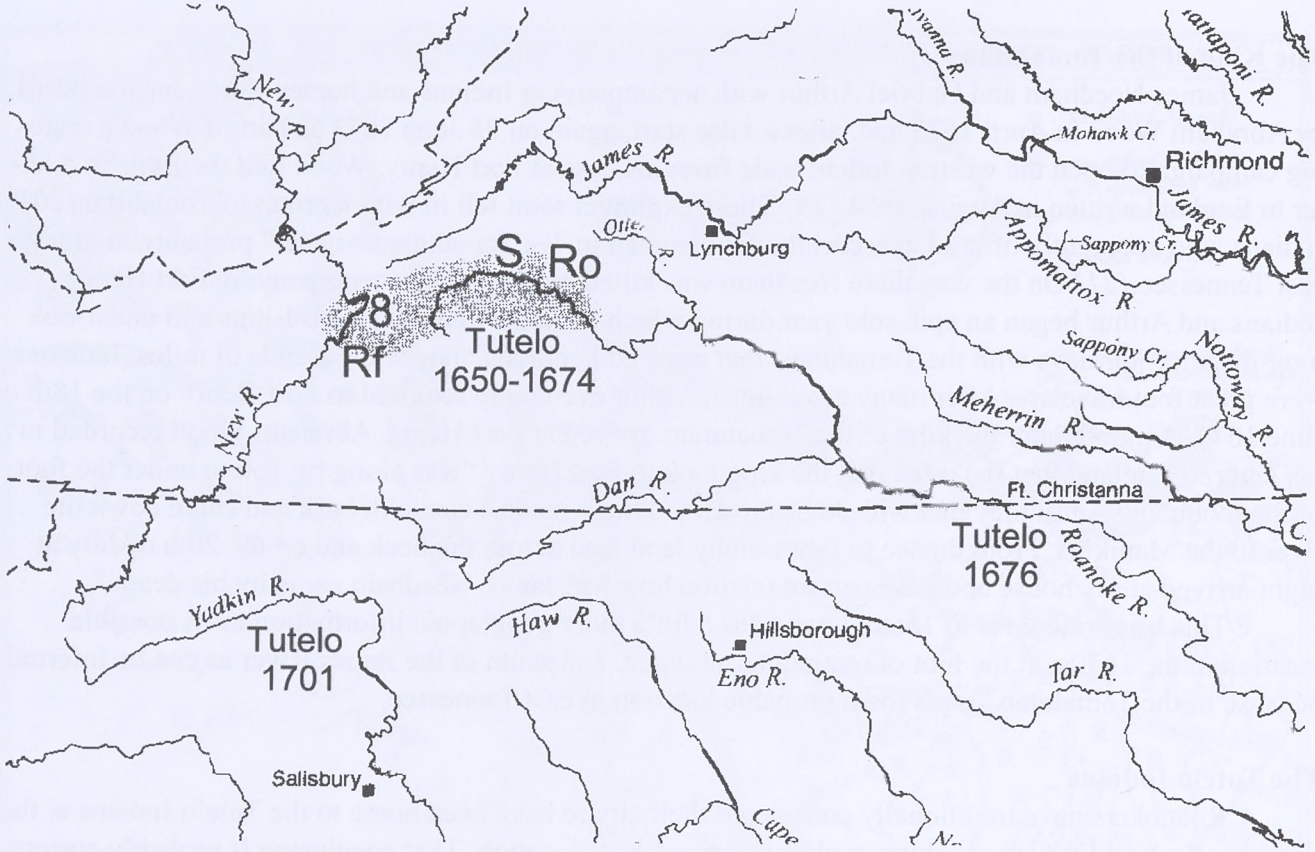


Figure 3. Locator Map. A modified [25] detail from Raymond DeMallie's 2004 map published on page 287 of the "Handbook of the American Indian," volume 14. The number "8" on the map is Totera town as it is numbered by DeMallie and said by him to be "Totero (1671, 1674); placed at the Trigg site." Actually, site "8" is at the big horseshoe bend on the New River, about five miles from downtown Radford labeled by us "Rf." In our modifications, "S" is the approximate location of Salem and "Ro" is the approximate location of Roanoke. The scale of the map as shown is approximately 300 miles west to east and approximately 200 miles north to south.

THE LOCATION OF TOTERA TOWN REVIEWED

In this section we review in more-or-less chronological order the statements of the various writers who have speculated about the location of Totera town. The narrative in this section is then summarized at the end of the section in Table 1, using selected quotations. We have restricted the entries in this section to ones that are more-or-less independent judgments about Totera town's location and have omitted references that are merely restatements of one of those already included here.

Obviously Hallam himself in the journal gives the first statement of Totera Town's location when he wrote in 1671: "After we were over that [the Supany River], we came to a very steep descent, at the foot whereof stood the Tetera Town in a very rich swamp between a branch and the main River of Roanoke circled about with mountains." This comes from the journal entry of 9 September which is quoted in full above.

The earliest suggestion of the site of Totera town on a map comes from Hale in 1883.*[26]* At the end of his long essay about the Tutelo Indians and their peregrinations he shows the path of Tutelo Indian migrations between 1671 and 1780. Hale places the starting point of this path on the north side of the Roanoke River not far from its headwaters. The earliest statement that we have found telling a specific

modern place as the location of the town is "probably near the site of Salem in Roanoke County." This quotation comes from an 1893 book*[27]* which reproduces the journals of the frontiersman Christopher Gist (1706-1759) and in the context of a discussion of the Hallam journal. In 1894 the pioneer ethnologist James Mooney wrote of Totera Town's location: "The site was probably about the present state line southwest of Stuart, in Patrick County, Virginia, or possibly within the limits of North Carolina."*[28]* Alvord and Bidgood, in their discussion of Hallam's journal (in their important work on the early explorations of western Virginia) concluded that Totero town was in the Roanoke Valley and "…not far from the modern city of Roanoke."*[29]*

F. B. Kegley in his 1938 book *Kegley's Virginia Frontier* wrote:

> Some writers place this [Totera] town on the flat land south of present Salem, others on the south side of the Blue Ridge. Taking the journal [Fallam's] at what it says we are favoring the route up the east side of Staunton River coming into the trail followed by the first road from Philadelphia through Virginia to the Yadkin Valley in North Carolina. In all probability this town was situated between Tinker Creek and the main Branch of Roanoke River.*[30]*

However, notwithstanding the above statement, Kegley in his book also published a map that shows what purports to be the exact site of Totera town; a detail from that map is reproduced in Figure 4. The map shows the earliest land grants in Roanoke City and the depiction of Totera town seems incidental. Kegley acknowledges in his introduction "Mr. J.R. Hildebrand and Miss Elizabeth W. Wilkins for their faithfulness and skill in the preparation of the maps." We have no idea if it was Kegley or one of the map makers who chose this precise location for Totera town, nor on what evidence it was chosen.

John Swanton, writing in 1943, implied that Totera town was in the Roanoke Valley rather than in the New River Valley when he wrote "…before coming to New River and the 'Moneton' oldfields, Batts and Fallam visited the Totera or Tetera town."*[31]* Richard Morton in 1960 in his well-known, two-volume work on the history of colonial Virginia wrote "Following the Staunton River, they [Batte and Hallam] reached the Roanoke Valley (where the name of the Staunton River is changed to Roanoke). Here lived a group of friendly Indians in Totero Town, near the modern city of Roanoke."*[32]* Raymond Barnes in his *History of Roanoke* wrote "One of the most interesting things about this particular tract lying on a great bend of the Roanoke is that the Indian Village Totero Town lay about where the Viscose Corporation built its plant in 1916."*[33]* The Viscose Corporation plant closed in 1958 and the great bend that Barnes mentions is today the site of the Roanoke Industrial Center at GPS coordinates 37.253774, -79.921247.*[34]*

The University of Virginia historian Alan Briceland has written extensively about the early explorations in western Virginia and has written more times about the location of Totera town than any other author. His writings include his 1987 book *Westward from Virginia*,*[35]* a 1991 essay in a book about preindustrial Appalachia,*[36]* and a second essay in a book about North American exploration. *[37]* Because of Briceland's status as the most comprehensive analyst of western Virginia exploration we quote from his book at some length:

> Having reached the crest, Hallam recorded, "we came to a steep descent at the foot whereof was a lovely descending Valley about six Miles over, with curious small risings. ...Our course over it was South West." West of Blacksburg and Christiansburg, midway between the two, is Price Mountain. North and south of Price Mountain are valleys broken by several little intermittent ridges. The two valleys descend steadily for six miles before finally dropping sharply into the New River. Batte and Hallam probably crossed the northern valley.

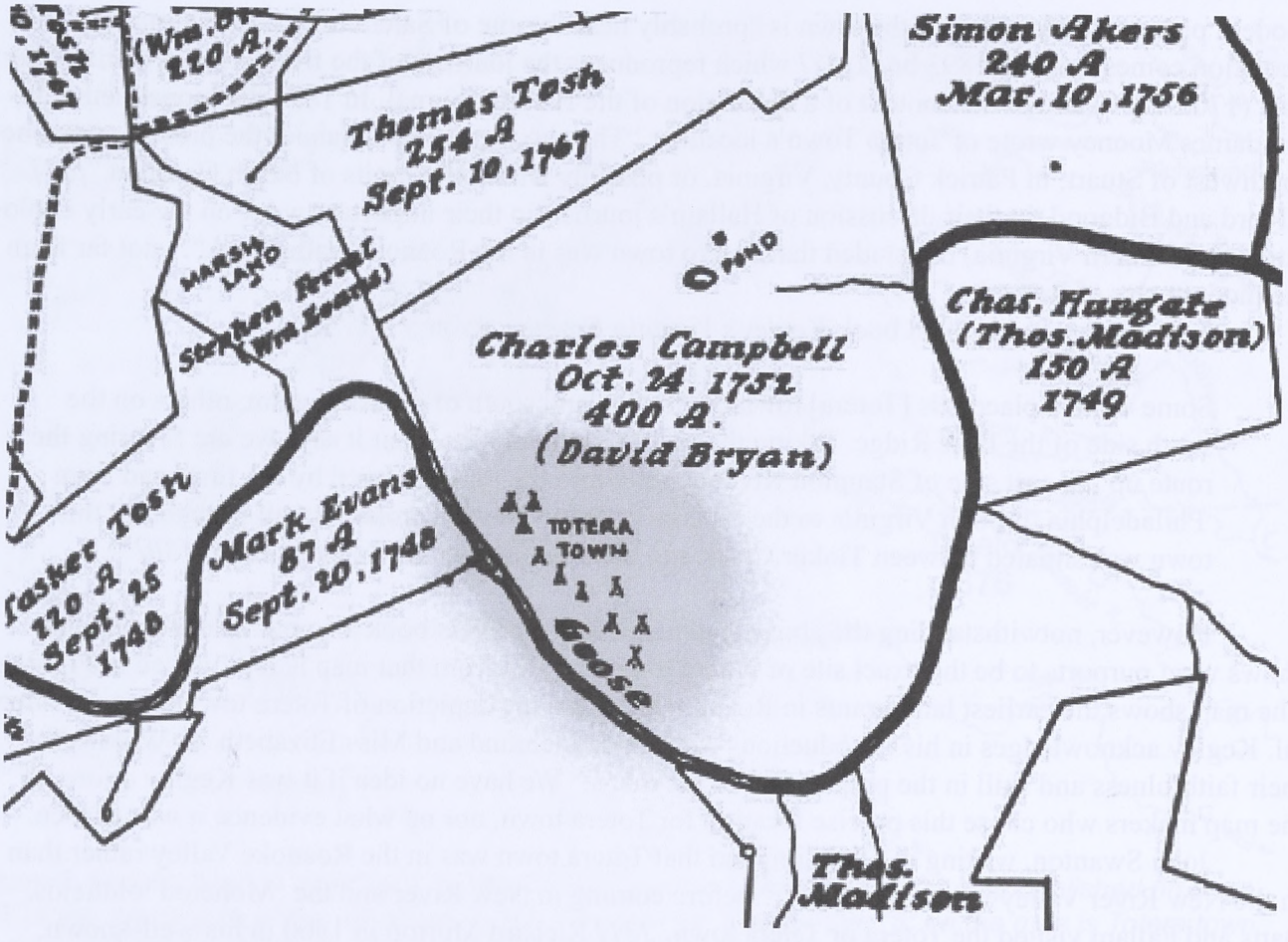


Figure 4. Map showing Totera town. This is a detail taken from "Map Showing the Original Land Grants of the Roanoke and Vinton Community" published in 1938 by F.B. Kegley in his book, "Virginia Frontier," between pp. 522-523. The grey-shaded (by us) region on Goose Creek (an early name for the Roanoke River hereabouts) is at the intersection of present-day Sixth Avenue and Morrill Avenue SE in Roanoke at GPS coordinates 37.259405, -79.931315.

> Hallam recorded that at the west end of the valley "we came to a very steep descent at the foot whereof stood the Tatera Town in a very rich swamp between a branch of the main River of Roanoke, circled about with Mountains." At the west end of the northern valley the United States Army Radford Arsenal is set around a huge horseshoe bend in the New River. A steep descent leads down to the river. The swamp is no longer there, but there are several small, swampy areas along the New River south of Radford. Mountains surround the location on all sides. From Shawsville to Radford is a little over twenty miles. Hallam recorded a distance of twenty-five miles.
>
> The only discrepancy between Hallam's description of Totero and the geographic setting at Radford is the name of the river. The river is not the Roanoke but the New. It should be remembered, however, that Hallam had a very limited knowledge of the region's geography and of its river systems. He could see that the river flows toward the mountains. But it would have been difficult for him to believe that this river could pass through the mountains to their west side. (Briceland 1987: 139-140)

Later in his book (on page 185) Briceland writes of "...the Totero Village at present-day Radford."

In his 1991 essay Briceland expresses the same opinions as he does in the quotation cited above. In his 1997 essay, he writes of "[T]he village of the Totero or Tutelo Indians, 'circled about with Mountains,' at present-day Radford." It is not clear to us from our reading of his work if he intends to place Totera town on the horseshoe bend in the New River at the present-day arsenal location or at downtown Radford. The horseshoe bend is about five miles north of downtown Radford.

In the mid-1990s archeologists began to speculate about the site of Totera town. In 1995 the Roanoke-based archeologist Tom Klatka wrote:

> Using historical and archaeological information to determine conclusively the location of Totera Town is a difficult if not impossible task. With our current level of knowledge, the majority of contemporary scholars believe that the Batts and Fallam expedition of 1671 passed through the Roanoke Valley, and that Totera Town was located along the Roanoke River. Albeit inconclusive, the best evidence for Totera Town's location in the Roanoke Valley is at the Graham-White and Thomas-Sawyer sites in Salem.*[38]*

The many-year "Dean" of Virginia archeology, the late Howard MacCord, wrote in 1996: "The Tutelo had lived along the Dan River, although their Contact period villages have not yet been identified. One group seems to have moved westward and lived at Totera town in 1671, in the Roanoke-Salem area or near Radford. The others moved eastward to the Meherrin River, where they lived at several sites for short episodes, finally merging with the Saponi at Fort Christanna."*[39]*

MacCord added in 2001:

> Historical references to a 1671 Totera Town have not yet been corroborated through archeology. Some historians place the town in the vicinity of Roanoke or Salem, but to date, no suitable site has been found in that area. European items found at the Graham-White and the Thomas-Sawyer sites date to the first half of the seventeenth century and cannot date as late as 1671, because of the lack of late-seventeenth century trade goods. Briceland (1987) puts Totera Town on New River, probably on the Radford Arsenal reservation. To date, only limited archeological work has been done there, and no site with quantities of European goods has been found. Totera Town remains "lost."*[40]*

The third archeological assessment of the location of the site of Totera town came in 1977 from two archeologists working at the time*[41]* for the Forest Service of the United States Department of Agriculture, Michael Barber and Eugene Barfield. They wrote:

> The recovery of the snaphaunce rifle part from the Graham-White site is indicative of the acquisition of highly desirable English goods within the Valley. It may be that more such goods were desired but appropriation was prohibited by distance. Although the absolute ethnicity of the peoples of the Roanoke Valley is difficult to establish, a strong case can be made that they were of the Siouan-speaking Tutelo tribe. As related by the diary of the Batts and Fallam expedition in 1671, the town of Totero of the Tutelo Indians was visited near the end of the journey. Whether in the Roanoke Valley or along the New River in Radford, the Tutelo tribal group was located in proximity to the Roanoke Valley. If one accepts that the Tutelo were the occupants of the Salem sites, a portion of that group reported moved to the juncture of the Staunton and the Dan Rivers in the late seventeenth century and to the headwaters of the Yadkin by 1701.*[42]*

The North Carolina archeologist R.P. Stephen Davis, Jr. favors the Roanoke Valley over the New River Valley as the site of Totera town. He wrote of "[A] Totero, or Tutelo, village further up river, probably in the vicinity of Roanoke," and on an accompanying map placed the highlight showing the location of the Tutelo on the Roanoke River, not the New.*[43]*

In closing we note that the definitive, modern study of the Tutelo Indians in the Smithsonian-published *Handbook of the American Indians* by Raymond J. DeMallie places Totera town at the Trigg site on the New River in downtown Radford *(see Figure 3)*. DeMallie specifically states in a footnote "Totero (1671, 1674); placed at the Trigg site."*[44]* As far as we can ascertain DeMallie is the only author to identify the Trigg site as Totera town.

The narrative in this section is summarized in Table 1.

OUR CONCLUSION: WHERE WAS TOTERA TOWN?

Based on our above review, and absent the discovery of some hitherto unknown documentary evidence or some remarkable new archeological find, our answer to the question is easy. Totera town was doubtless in southwest Virginia and likely within 15 miles of the present path of Interstate 81 corridor somewhere between Pulaski and Buchanan.

Plausible specific locations for Totera town include downtown Radford, the nearby horseshoe bend of the New River, or somewhere along the Roanoke River in either the City of Salem or the City of Roanoke.

Acknowledgments

We thank Michelle Babyok and David Lenk who got us started on this project. Our thanks to the staff of the Interlibrary Loan office and the professional research staff at Newman Library at Virginia Tech. Thanks to our editor George Kegley. Author JG as ever thanks his wife Deena Flinchum.

Endnotes

1. The alternate spelling "Totero" is common and there are other variant spellings, particularly in the early documents.
2. These names have traditionally been written as Batts and Fallam and we use those spellings in this article for the purpose of making citations. For their correction see George Kegley: "Names of Batte and Hallam Misspelled for Centuries." Journal of the History Museum and Historical Society of Western Virginia, XVI: 42, 2005. A definitive article laying out the spelling issues is under preparation by one of us (RM).
3. James Mooney. The Siouan Tribes of the East (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 22). Washington: US Government Printing Office, 1894. The quote comes from page 6. On line at http://www.archive.org/details/siouantribeseas00moongoog. Mooney in this long essay writes of the "Monacan confederacy" of people and includes in this category the "Monacan proper" along with the Saponi and Tutelo. As "collateral tribes" he lists the Mahoc, Nuntaneuck or Nuntaly, Mohetan, and the Meipontsky or Meipousky. Hererafter cited as Mooney, Siouian Tribes.
4. John H. Brubaker, III. "History and Culture of the Indians of the Danville Area, Virginia." Quarterly Bulletin of the Archeological Society of Virginia. Volume 28(1): 41-47, 1973. This little-known article is well worth reading.
5. Frederick Bittle Kegley. Kegley's Virginia Frontier, the beginning of the southwest, the Roanoke of colonial days. Roanoke: Southwest Virginia Historical Society, 1938, page 13. Hereafter cited as Kegley's Virginia Frontier.
6. William Talbot, collector and translator. The Discoveries of John Lederer, In three several marches from Virginia to the West of Carolina, And other parts of the Continent. Begun in March 1669, and ended in September 1670. Together with A General Map of the whole Territory which he traversed. Collected and Translated out of Latin from his Discourse and Writings.London: Samuel Heyrick, 1672. On line at http://rla.unc.edu/Archives/accounts/Lederer/Lederer.html.
7. Alan V. Briceland, Westward from Virginia: The Exploration of the Virginia Frontier, 1650-1710. Charlottesville: The Uni

Table 1: Suggested Locations for Totera Town

Citations for the authors listed in the left had column are in the accompanying discussion.

Hallam's Journal, 1671	"[A]t the foot whereof stood the Tetera Town in a very rich swamp between a branch and the main River of Roanoke circled about with mountains."
Hale 1883, map on page 47.	In a map showing the path of Tutelo Indian migrations between 1671 and 1780, Hale places the starting point on the north side of the Roanoke River not far from its headwaters. To our knowledge this is the earliest map to hint at the town's location.
Darlington 1893, page 18.	In his book about Christopher Gist, when discussing the Hallam journal Darlington adds the parenthetical comment that Totera Town was "probably near the site of Salem in Roanoke County." This is the earliest reference to a modern place as the location of the town.
Mooney 1894, page 35.	"The site was probably about the present state line southwest of Stuart, in Patrick County, Virginia, or possibly within the limits of North Carolina."
Alvord and Bidgood 1912, page 72.	"…not far from the modern city of Roanoke."
Kegley 1938, footnote page 11.	"[T]he Totera town, the exact location of which cannot be determined. … In all probability this town [Totero] was situated between Tinker Creek and the main Branch of Roanoke River."
Kegley 1938, map page 522.	Shows "Totera Town" at the location of the intersection of present-day Sixth Avenue and Morrill Avenue SE in Roanoke.
Swanton 1943, page 58.	"[B]efore coming to the New River and the 'Mohetan' oldfields, Batts and Fallam visited the Totera or Totera town"
Morton 1960, page 203.	"Here lived a group of friendly Indians in Totero Town, near the modern city of Roanoke."
Barnes 1968, page 20.	On the bend of the Roanoke River where the Roanoke Industrial Center presently is situated at the foot of Mill Mountain in Roanoke City.
Briceland 1987, pages 139-140 and 185.	Totera town was likely "At the west end of the northern valley the United States Army Radford Arsenal is set around a huge horseshoe bend in the New River." and "…the Totero Village at present-day Radford'"
Briceland 1991, page 31.	"The only discrepancy between Fallam's description of Totera and the geographic setting at Radford is the name of the river." (Repeating what he had written in 1987: 140.)
Briceland 1997, page 290.	"at present-day Radford."
Klatka 1995, page 26.	"Using historical and archaeological information to determine conclusively the location of Totera Town is a difficult. if not impossible task. With our current level of knowledge, the majority of contemporary scholars believe that the Batts and Fallam expedition of 1671 passed through the Roanoke Valley, and that Totera Town was located along the Roanoke River. Albeit inconclusive, the best evidence for Totera Town's location in the Roanoke Valley is at the Graham-White and Thomas-Sawyer sites in Salem."
MacCord 1996, page 72.	"Totera Town in 1671, in the Roanoke-Salem area or near Radford."
Barber & Barfield 1997, page 146.	"Whether in the Roanoke Valley or along the New River in Radford, the Tutelo tribal group was located in proximity to the Roanoke Valley."
MacCord 2001, page 22.	"Totera Town 'remains lost."
Davis 2002, text page 149, map figure 5.	"[A] Totero, or Tutelo, village further up river, probably in the vicinity of Roanoke. On the map the Tutelo are placed on the Roanoke River, not the New.
DeMallie 2004, footnote page 286 and map page 287.	"Totero (1671, 1674; placed at the Trigg site)"

versity of Virginia Press, 1987. Maps on pp. 104-107. Hereafter cited as Briceland, Westward from Virginia.
8. By Dieter Cunz in 1942. Briceland, Westward from Virginia, p. 214.
9. A high resolution copy of Talbot's map of Lederer's three marches is on line at http://rla.unc.edu/Archives/accounts/Lederer/Image13.gif.
10. Horatio Hale. "The Tutelo Tribe and Language." Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, 21(114): 1-47, 1883. On line at http://www.archive.org/details/cihm_04399. Hereafter cited as Hale, Tutelo Tribe.
11. Coauthor Mays has examined all four of these original, handwritten copies of Hallam's lost journal, as well as other relevant primary documents from archives in Great Britain. His in-progress article reviewing the Batte and Hallam surnames will also include, for the first time, a complete study of the four journal transcripts and related documents.
12. Robert Fallam. "The Journal & Relation of a New Discovery made behind the Apuleian Mountains to the West of Virginia." Pp. 193-197 in Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York, Volume 3. Eds., John R. Brodhead, Berthold Fernow, and Edmund B. O' Callaghan. Albany: Weed, Parsons and Company Printers, 1853. On line at http://books.google.com/books?id=YmtAAAAAcAAJ.
13. David I. Bushnell, Jr. "Virginia from Early Records. [Annotated transcription of the Clayton version of the journal of Robert Hallam]." American Anthropologist, New Series, 9(1): 31-44, 1907. On line at http://books.google.com/books?id=AIF0AAAAIAAJ.
14. Robert Fallam. "Journal," pp. 183-193 in Clarence Walworth Alvord and Lee Bidgood. The First Explorations of the Trans-Alleghany Region by the Virginians 1650-1674. Cleveland, Ohio: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1912. On line at: http://books.google.com/books?id=49-eAAAAIAAJ. Hereafter cited as Alvord and Bidgood, First Explorations.
15. John Mitchell. "Remarks on the Journal of Batts and Fallam in their Discovery of the Western Parts of Virginia in 1671 [About 1755]." Appendix C pp. 231-240 in Berthold Fernow, The Ohio Valley in Colonial Days. Albany, NY: Joel Munsell's Sons, 1890.
16. Carl F. Miller. "Reevaluation of the Eastern Siouan Problem, with particular emphasis on the Virginia branches – the Occaneechi, Saponi and the Tutelo." Pp. 115-212 in Anthropological Papers 49-56 (Bulletin 164 US Bureau of Ethnology), 1957. Map on page 178.
17. Briceland, Westward from Virginia. the map is on page 134.
18. Thomas Klatka. "Totera Town Reconsidered." Journal of the Roanoke Valley Historical Society, 13(2): 23-29, 1996. Hereafter cited as Klatka, "Totera Town Reconsidered."
19. Abraham Wood. "The Travels of James Needham and Gabriel Arthur through Virginia, North Carolina, and Beyond, 1673-1674, contained in a letter from Abraham Wood to John Richards, August 22, 1674" edited by R. P. Stephen Davis, Jr., Southern Indian Studies 39: 31-55, 1990. On line at http://rla.unc.edu/Archives/accounts/Needham/NeedhamEdited.html.
20. Also spelled by Abraham Wood (version Alvord and Bidgood) as the Tomahittans, Tomahaitans, Tomahittns, and the Tomahitons.
21. Robert Rankin, personal communication 2009. Many authors have speculated as to the location of the Tomahitan town, Rankin has reviewed the speculations.
22. Raymond J. DeMalli, "Tutelo and Neighboring Groups." Pp. 286-300 in William C. Sturtevant, General Editor. Handbook of North American Indians Volume 14 Southeast. Raymond D. Fogelson Volume Editor, Jason Baird Jackson Associate Volume Editor. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 2004. The quote comes from p. 288. Hereafter cited as DeMallie, Tutelo and Neighbors.
23. DeMallie, Tutelo and Neighbors, p. 292.
24. John Lawson. A New Voyage to Carolina. Ed., & with an introduction & notes by Hugh Talmage Lefler. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967, page 53.
25. In addition to adding the locations of Salem and Roanoke, our modifications have been principally to eliminate many of the details not relevant to our topic here, and to increase the size of the labels for easier reading.
26. Hale, Tutelo Tribe, page 47.
27. William N. Darlington, Christopher Gist's Journals with Historical, Geographical and Ethnological Notes and Biographies of his Contemporaries. Pittsburgh: J. R. Weldin and Company, 1893.
28. Mooney, Siouian Tribes, page 35.
29. Alvord and Bidgood, First Explorations, page 72.
30. Kegley's Virginia Frontier, page 11.
31. John R. Swanton. "Siouan Tribes and the OhioValley." American Anthropologist, 45(1): 49-66, 1943.
32. Richard L. Morton. Colonial Virginia (2 volumes). Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press (Published for the Virginia Historical Society), 1960. Volume 1 page 203.
33. Raymond P. Barnes. A History of Roanoke. Roanoke: Commonwealth Press, 1968. Page 20.
34. The Roanoke Industrial Center web site at http://www.roanokeindudustrialcenter.com shows an excellent map of the present state of this property.

35. Briceland, Westward from Virginia.
36. Alan V. Briceland. "Batts and Fallam Explore the Backbone of the Continent," pp. 23-36 in Appalachian Frontiers: Settlement, Society, and Development in the Preindustrial Era, Robert D. Mitchell, ed.. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1991.
37. Alan V. Briceland. "British Exploration of the United States Interior," pp. 269-327 (essay) and 419-423 (notes) in John Logan Allen, ed., North American Exploration: A Continent Defined (North American Exploration, Volume 2). Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997.
38. Klatka, "Totera Town Reconsidered."
39. Howard A. MacCord, Sr. "Prehistoric Territoriality in Virginia." North Carolina Archaeology (formerly Southern Indian Studies), 45: 57-77, 1996.
40. Howard A MacCord,. Sr. "Dan River Culture and Its Expansion West of the Blue Ridge." Quarterly Bulletin of the Archeological Society of Virginia, 56(1): 18-25, 2001.
41. At the time of present writing Barber is the State Archeologist of Virginia and Eugene Barfield is retired.
42. Michael B. Barber and Eugene B. Barfield. "Native Americans on the Virginia Frontier in the Seventeenth Century," pp. 134-158 in Michael J. Puglisi, ed., Diversity and Accommodation: Essays on the Cultural Composition of the Virginia Frontier. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press: 1997. Page 136.
43. R. P. Stephen Davis, Jr. "The Cultural Landscape of the North Carolina Piedmont at Contact," pp. 135-156 in Robbie Ethridge and Charles Hudson, eds., The Transformation of the Southeastern Indians, 1540-1760. Jackson: The University of Mississippi Press, 2002.
44. DeMallie, Tutelo and Neighbors, p. 286.

Lake area development isn't new idea

Since at least 1818, an area near today's The Waterfront development has been eyed by entrepreneurs, The Town of Lawrence was proposed there 187 years ago. A hundred lots were to be offered for sale in Lawrence, the proposed seat of a new county to be carved from Franklin, Bedford and Pittsylvania counties. The new county plan didn't materialize but the area was at Merriman's Run on the Staunton River, south of Hale's Ford. Edwin Price sought to develop Lawrence.

Researcher Virginia Greer Williams found that more than 40 lots were sold in 1818 at prices between $150 and $200. Names of the buyers are familiar: Booth, Callaway, Cundiff, Dillon, Early, Ferguson, Hancock, Holland, Leftwich, Saunders, The "town" is now under Smith Mountain Lake. Whether these purchasers were ever able to live on their lots has not been discovered.

(From The Times of Franklin, a publication of the Franklin County Historical Society, Before & After 1786, June 2005)

Ridgewood Farm, S. H. McVitty's home for almost 50 years. (Photo by George Kegley)

S.H. McVitty's Collection of Presidential Signatures

by Walter Dixon

In February 1968, my first visit to the McVitty Ridgewood Farm mansion house in Salem was overwhelming. The high-ceiling home itself was stunning, with terra cotta tiles, fountains, flowers everywhere, decorated with European collections and medieval artifacts: coats of mail, lances and pikes, crossbows, ancestral portraits, dark and heavy period furniture. As a young bank trust officer, newly arrived in the Roanoke Valley, I was dazzled by such splendor.

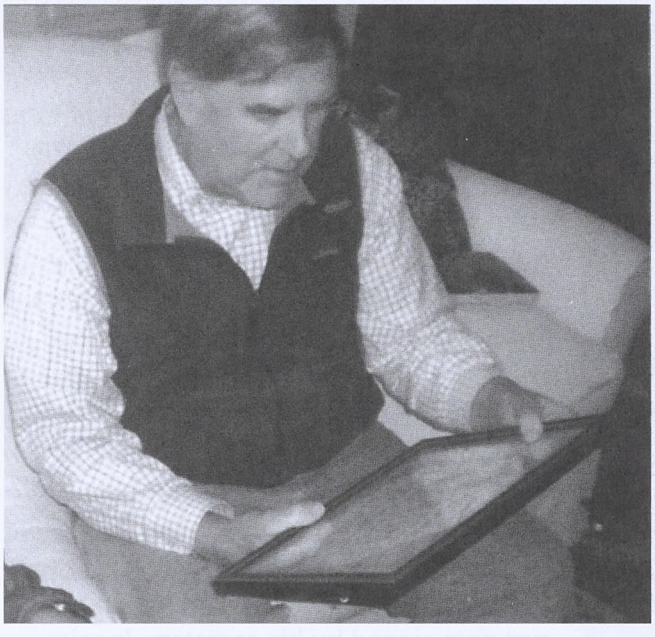
Alice C. McVitty, recent widow of Samuel Herbert McVitty – Salem industrialist, connoisseur and collector extraordinaire – appeared in the hall to welcome me. Thus began my long friendship with a most gracious and delightful lady.

Mr. McVitty's collections, at least those not already given away during his long lifetime, were to go to various colleges and universities. Mrs. McVitty was amply provided for in the will, and she soon bought a smaller home on High Street in Salem, much more suited to her taste and lifestyle.

Walter Dixon is a former board member of the Historical Society of Western Virginia.

Before moving, she offered to Edward, Mr. McVitty's son by his first wife, and to Edward's wife any personal property that Mr. McVitty had brought into Ridgewood. They protested that they were interested only in the two portraits that were already in their possession. Mrs. McVitty made the same offer to their daughter Lucy W. McVitty, who took a few articles of minor value. To her new High Street home Mrs. McVitty moved things she and her husband had bought during their marriage, as well as other items that had not been left to the schools.

Alice McVitty died on July 25, 1989, at the age of 87. For the last 20 years of her life, I had helped manage her financial affairs; and several years before her death, she asked me to serve as executor and trustee of her estate. Although not something I normally did, I readily agreed, provided that she also would appoint an attorney as co-executor to take care of legal matters. Joe Logan, a friend born and raised in Salem and now practicing law in the Valley, agreed to serve.



Walter Dixon reads an historic document from the McVitty collection. (Photo by Sissy Kegley)

In her will, Mrs. McVitty again offered to Mr. McVitty's granddaughter Lucy any and all tangible personal property, brought by her from Ridgewood, that Lucy might desire for her own personal use. Any such items that Lucy did not choose for personal use, the executors were to sell and add the proceeds to the estate residue.

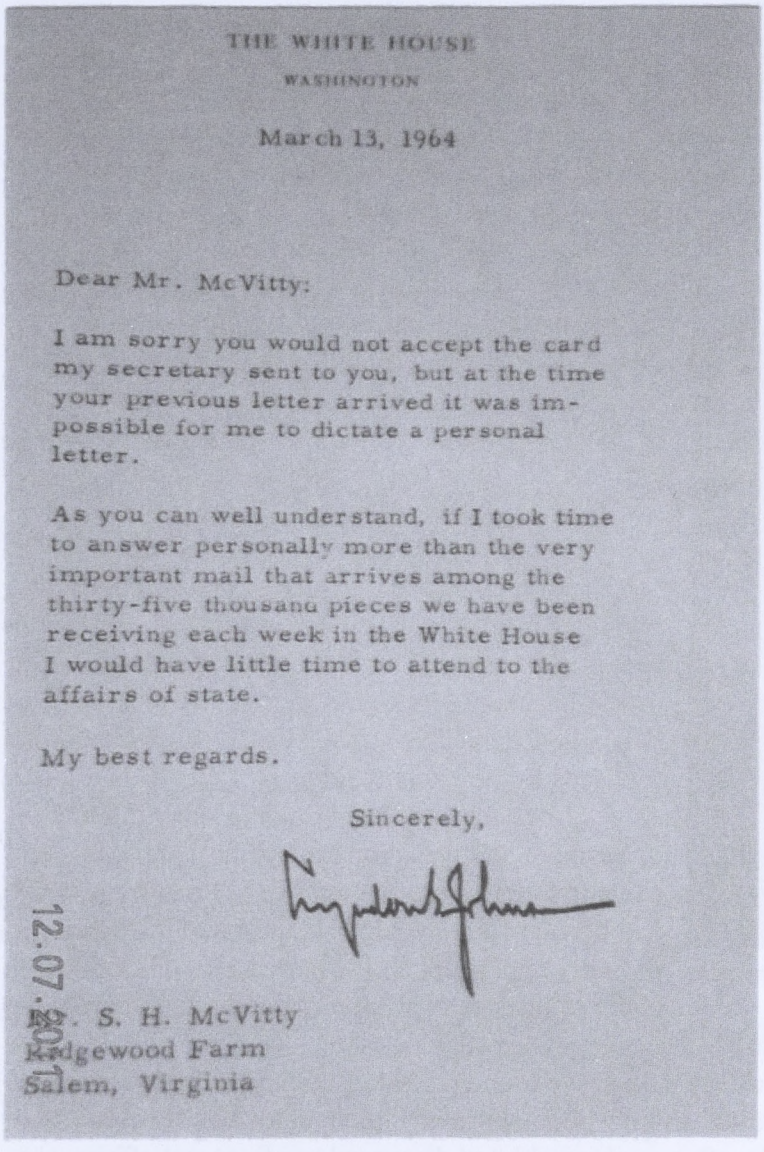
Lucy recently had bought a second home in Vermont and was preparing to furnish it, so she came to Salem and selected some furnishings that had been at Ridgewood. Joe and I had the personal property appraised, and we hired Mrs. Gloria Balander to dispose of what remained after Lucy had made her selections.

Meanwhile, in going through Mrs. McVitty's desk, we found a small receipt stub from Farmers National Bank in Salem, dated 1969, for rental of a safety deposit box. On the receipt Mrs. McVitty had written the words "presidential signatures." As often as she and I had discussed her financial affairs, she had never mentioned anything about this collection. (George Kegley told me recently that, during a visit with Mr. McVitty a year or two prior to his death in 1967, he had been told of some presidential signatures, but that Mr. McVitty was vague about details.)

A call to the bank confirmed that Mrs. McVitty had no safe deposit box in that bank and no accounts of any kind. They gave me the name of a long-retired bank officer who they thought might have been in charge of the safe deposit area in 1969. We contacted this gentleman, and he recalled that Mrs. McVitty indeed had had a safe deposit box that he understood contained a McVitty collection of some nature, but that Mrs. McVitty had gotten at odds with the bank and had closed all her accounts, including the safe deposit box. We had already surveyed other likely banks in the area for McVitty accounts and found no evidence of the collection.

Mrs. McVitty was a very generous lady, so I thought she might have given away the collection during her lifetime. Nevertheless, we asked Mrs. Balander to be on the lookout for it as she went through the home.

A few days later, as she was finishing up, Mrs. Balander called, saying that she had just found a hand-made leather scrapbook, embossed in gold with the words "Letters of the Presidents of the United States," in the bottom of a trunk in the attic. Here were the letters! They had probably lain in the dry



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 13, 1964

Dear Mr. McVitty:

I am sorry you would not accept the card my secretary sent to you, but at the time your previous letter arrived it was impossible for me to dictate a personal letter.

As you can well understand, if I took time to answer personally more than the very important mail that arrives among the thirty-five thousand pieces we have been receiving each week in the White House I would have little time to attend to the affairs of state.

My best regards.

Sincerely,

Lyndon B. Johnson

12.07.2001

Mr. S. H. McVitty
Ridgewood Farm
Salem, Virginia

Copy of Lyndon Johnson letter (Photo by Sissy Kegley)

attic trunk ever since Mrs. McVitty had retrieved them from Farmers National 20 years earlier.

With great anticipation, Joe and I went through them in my office. They were in chronological order, beginning with George Washington through Richard Nixon, each president's material separated by stiff dividers. In most instances, there was a personal handwritten letter signed by the president; and for a few, there were two or more autographed items. William McKinley's note of August 31, 1896, was the first to be typewritten and then signed, as were all the others thereafter.

There was evidence that most of the early letters had been purchased from firms that specialized in valuable autographs, although several probably were gifts. Beginning with Franklin D. Roosevelt, Mr. McVitty wrote to each president requesting a personal letter and signature. The presidents responded with sharply varying degrees of graciousness.

LBJ replied testily, sending only a curt note signed by his secretary Juanita Roberts. Mr. McVitty wrote back to President Johnson saying that his autograph collection had letters from all the presidents and contained a valuable handwritten letter from George Washington, as well as a very gracious note from his predecessor President Kennedy. He sent copies of these letters to LBJ, saying that it would be embarrassing to him and to the President to have only a signature from Ms. Roberts. Johnson responded with a signed note, sarcastically upbraiding Mr. McVitty for wasting his valuable time when he had such important affairs of state to attend to.

Not all were signatures during their terms as president. For instance, William Henry Harrison was president for only 32 days in 1841, having contracted a cold on inauguration day, which developed into pneumonia. "Old Tippecanoe's" letter was written in 1812, when he was serving as commander of the North Western army in Indiana, fighting Indians. Mr. McVitty's Harrison letter, though highly interesting, was much less valuable than one of the scarce few signed during his presidency.

There also were notes and correspondence included with some letters. In the "Tippecanoe" letter cited above, Mr. McVitty had hand-written a note, dated April 4, 1952, stating that he had received it as a gift from Alice and Mary Izard, when they discovered that Harrison's was the only autograph lacking in his collection.

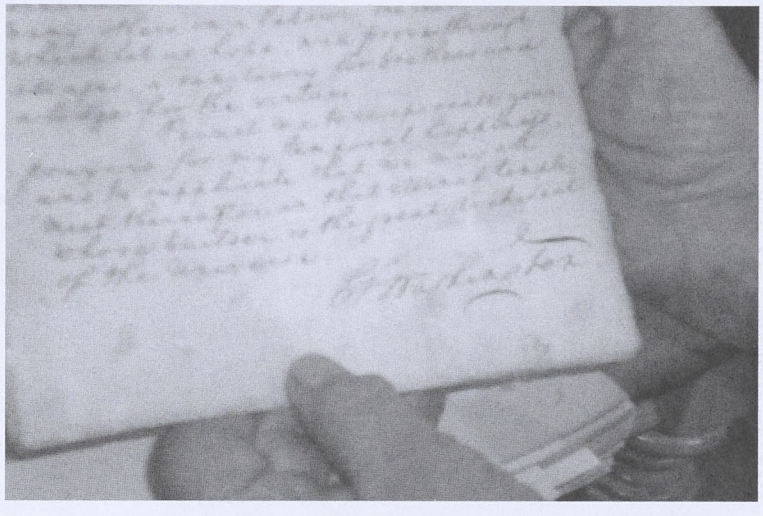
Of course, Mr. McVitty did not live to see Nixon elected president. However, he wrote a note of condolence to Nixon shortly after he lost the 1960 election to Jack Kennedy. In it he congratulated

Nixon on "the record of your Popular Vote," suggesting that the law should be changed to elect our presidents by popular vote, not in the Electoral College. He also noted that "the campaign as conducted by Kennedy was patterned after Khrushchev's procedure of promising free countries a virtual paradise if they would join the Communist Party." In reply, he received a most gracious response signed "Dick Nixon," which stated, in part: "A message of congratulations after winning an election is of course always appreciated although not unexpected. But nothing could have meant more to us than to receive such a warm and thoughtful message after losing."

Of special note was his Washington letter, undated, and addressed to the brothers of the Grand (Masonic) Lodge of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, thanking them for their good wishes. The last paragraph is particularly noteworthy in light of speculation regarding Washington's spiritual beliefs: "Permit me to reciprocate your prayers for my temporal happiness, and to supplicate that we may all meet thereafter in that eternal temple, whose builder is the great architect of the Universe."

It was written on apparently very old paper attached to fine linen. However, there was some question as to its authenticity: The Grand Lodge itself claimed to have the original. Included with the letter was a note from Mr. McVitty, dated 1964, that reads: "Mr. Callahan wrote a book about 1940, mentioning both, but I have had my copy much longer than 1940."

Many of the other letters made highly interesting reading, especially those from Jefferson, Lincoln, and Grant. Mr. McVitty had more than one autograph from each.



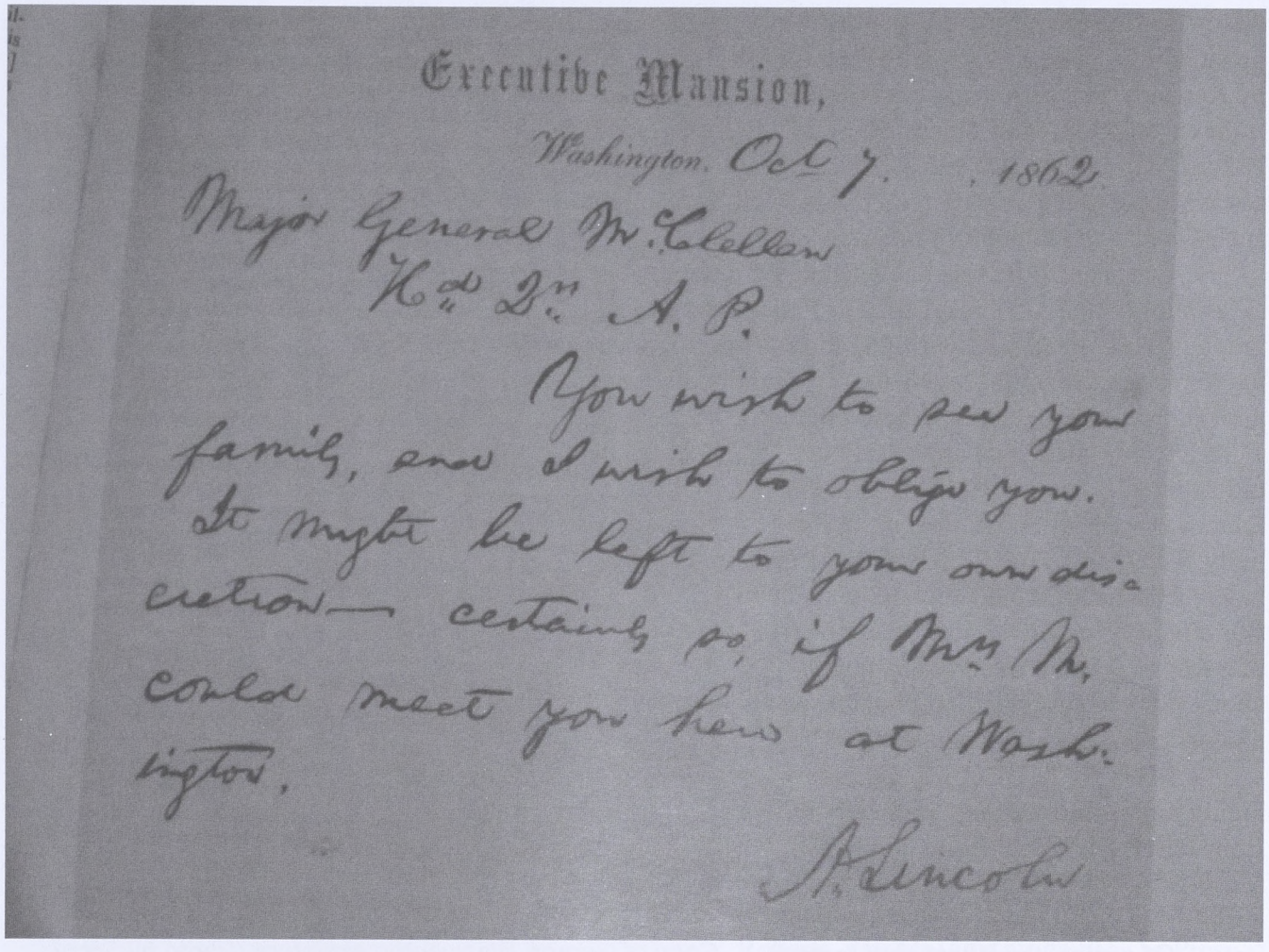
Copy of George Washington signature (Photo by Sissy Kegley)

Of course, the letters now seemed to belong to Lucy McVitty, if she wanted them for her personal use. However, she said that she was not interested in having them. I suggested to co-executor Joe Logan that possibly she could take them and give them to our History Museum of Western Virginia and thereby claim an income tax deduction. However, Joe rightly pointed out that such action was not consistent with Mrs. McVitty's desire, as stated in her will, that anything Lucy took had to be only for her personal use. If Lucy did not want to keep them, we were directed to sell them and add the sale proceeds to the estate residue. We so informed Lucy, and she again declined to take them for her personal use.

We therefore contacted Sotheby's Books and Manuscripts Department in New York, asking them to appraise the letters and possibly to sell them at auction. I spoke to Mary-Jo Kline, head of the department, and described them as best I could. In particular I mentioned the questionable Washington letter. She was familiar with the letter and told me that the original was in the Grand Lodge of the Masons in Philadelphia. I said that Mr. McVitty claimed that he owned the original. Mary-Jo asked, "What's the color of the ink?" I responded, "Black." She then replied that ink made at the time the letter was written always aged as brown and that our letter had to be a copy, and therefore was valueless.

However, she was interested in appraising the collection and possibly auctioning the letters in the spring of 1990. We made an appointment for her to come to Roanoke to view them personally

On a cold December day in 1989, Mary-Jo Kline and I spent what was for me a fascinating day in my office going over all the letters. After looking at the Washington letter, she again told me it was of no interest or value.


Executive Mansion,
Washington, Oct 7. 1862.
Major General McClellan
Hd Qrs A. P.
You wish to see your family, and I wish to oblige you. It might be left to your own discretion — certainly so, if Mrs. McC. could meet you here at Washington.
A. Lincoln

Copy of Abraham Lincoln signature (Photo by Sissy Kegley)

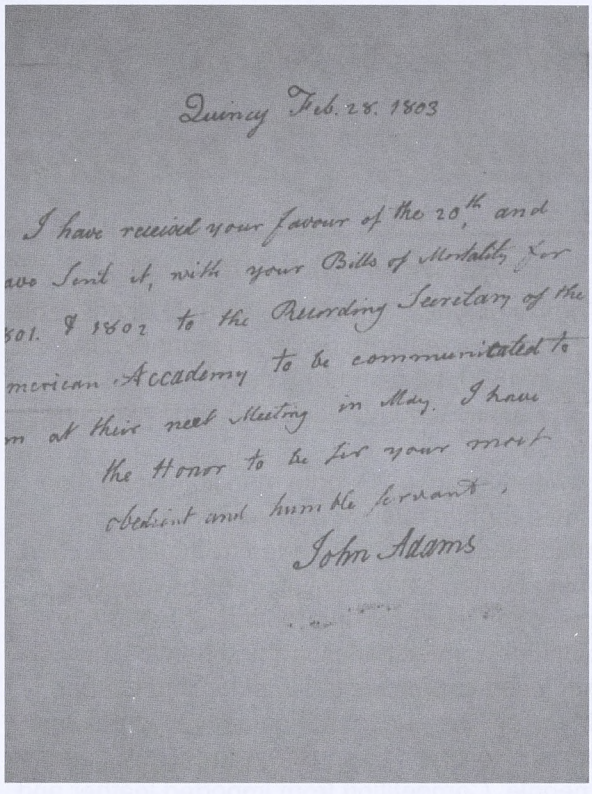
The longest and most interesting of the Jefferson letters, she said, was written by his great nephew but signed by Jefferson. She laid side by side the three James Madison letters to compare the penmanship. Two of them, she told me, were written by the president, but the third was the work of President Madison's cousin, also named James Madison, who was then president of William and Mary College. The handwriting of the cousin's letter was obviously not the same as that of President Madison.

Mary-Jo had comments on all the letters, but she was particularly interested in Abraham Lincoln's letter to Major General George McClellan, written October 7, 1862, just days before he relieved McClellan of command of the Army of the Potomac. Lincoln scholars were unaware of the existence of this letter.

Lincoln's patience with McClellan obviously was wearing thin. McClellan had done a superb job of organizing and training the Union armies, but he never lived up to his promise as a field general. On October 6, 1862, Lincoln had ordered McClellan to launch a new offensive across the Potomac.

The McVitty letter responds to a request from McClellan written just before or just after the day McClellan had received the order to attack across the Potomac. Lincoln responded October 7: "You wish to see your family, and I wish to oblige you. It might be left to your own discretion – certainly so, if Mrs. McC. could meet you here at Washington."

A week later, when McClellan still had done nothing toward an attack, Lincoln asked: "Are you

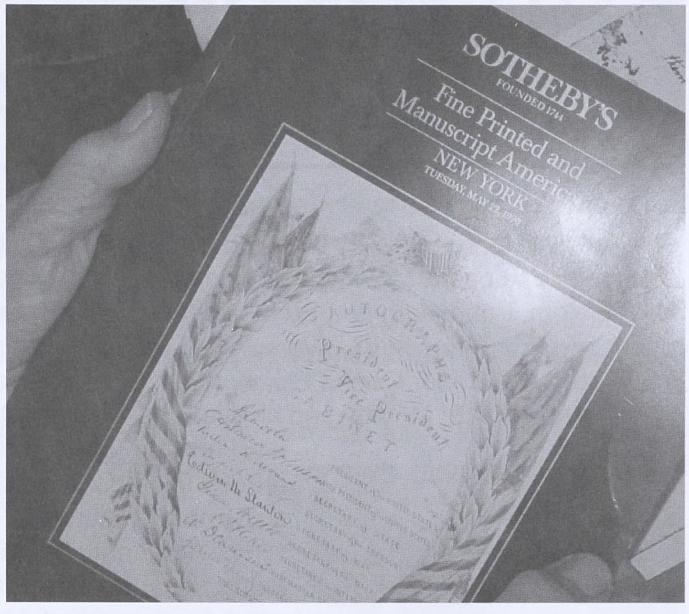


Quincy Feb. 28. 1803

I have received your favour of the 20th and have Sent it, with your Bills of Mortality for 1801. & 1802 to the Recording Secretary of the American Academy to be communicated to them at their next Meeting in May. I have the Honor to be for your most obedient and humble Servant,

John Adams

Copy of John Adams signature (Photo by Sissy Kegley)



Sotheby's catalog listing the McVitty presidential signature collection (Photo by Sissy Kegley)

not overcautious when you assume that you cannot do what the enemy is constantly doing?" And on November 7, General McClellan was relieved of his command. Now he would easily find time for his family, for he never again served in the field.

Mary-Jo receipted for the letters and took them with her to New York. The 46 separate letters were to be auctioned in 27 different lots, less valuable ones combined with those more valuable, to assure best price for all items. For example, the William and Mary James Madison letter was sold along with another of President James Madison. The sale took place on May 22, 1990, and was highly successful, bringing more than twice the total appraised value. The prize was taken by the Lincoln note to McClellan, which went for several multiples of Sotheby's estimate.

Several weeks after the sale, Mary-Jo called to tell me the net sale proceeds, after all expenses. I asked, "What must I do with the George Washington letter?" She replied immediately, "Into the trash can!"

Hmmm. Just maybe……

* * *

Closing note: The two gracious notes from Nixon and Kennedy were combined for sale with the sarcastic letter from LBJ. Sotheby's noted that Mr. McVitty apparently never was aware that the latter had been signed by an aide, probably Bruce Thomas, an assistant skilled in imitating Johnson's signature.

S.H. McVitty: Industrialist, Philathropist, Collector

Samuel Herbert McVitty left a legacy of philanthropy during his 65 years in Salem where he directed his family's Leas & McVitty Inc., a company once producing leather soles and belting at tanneries in Salem, Pearisburg and Buena Vista. Born in Philadelphia in 1880, he came to Salem in 1902 after graduating from Princeton University. S.H. McVitty died at 86 on Easter Sunday, March 28, 1967, while on a cruise aboard the liner Queen Elizabeth, in the Mediterranean Sea.

About 1918, McVitty and his first wife, Lucy, built Ridgewood Farm, a 20-room mansion located on a hill above McVitty Road, named for him later. The manor house, now divided into apartments, is on an 84-acre tract converted from gardens and a chestnut orchard to a shopping center, condominiums and townhouses.

S.H. McVitty
(Photo courtesy of Roanoke College archives)

The tanneries were located in Virginia by the Philadelphia McVitty family because of the once plentiful supply of chestnut and hemlock trees which furnished bark for tannin, used to process cattle hides into leather. In a 1911 photo album, McVitty wrote that the tanneries annually furnished 9 million pounds of leather, enough to cover 15 square miles. The Salem tannery once employed 300 people. Competition from imported leather and synthetics forced the company to close and an auction was held in September 1973.

McVitty was a benefactor of Roanoke and Hollins colleges and many Roanoke Valley causes. He was a trustee of Roanoke College. In 1932, Lucy McVitty helped found Mercy House as a home for unwed mothers, the poor and elderly. This evolved into McVitty House and Richfield Retirement Community today. After his death, a Salem Times-Register editorial said McVitty "was a man of sensitive social consciousness who believed in sharing his means and his talents for the benefit of his fellow man... The public does not know the extent of Mr. McVitty's generous gifts to humanitarian, education and civic causes...because he did not wish his good works called to attention." He "set an example as the custodian of private wealth, for he had a keenly developed awareness of the responsibility of wealth toward the community and state in which he lived."

McVitty was a consummate collector of rare books, such as a 15th century Book of Hours from France and a 10th century book of sacred Buddhist writings. In addition to his signatures of presidents, he had collections of stamps, coins, guns and Benjamin Franklin memorabilia. He once donated early crossbows to the Roanoke Historical Society, a forerunner of the Historical Society of Western Virginia. He gave Roanoke College a book with a fine example of fore-edge painting -- an artist took a bound volume, with edges fanned out at an angle, and painted a watercolor miniature on the margins of the exposed pages.

McVitty, an active tennis player until he was 81, had the first indoor clay tennis court, built in 1924. The Ridgewood Tennis Club, started among his friends, continues today. When he died, McVitty was survived by his third wife, Alice Clark St. Clair McVitty, and a son, Edward McVitty.

Sources

Salem Times-Register, March 30, 1967; Roanoke Times, September 23, 1973; The Roanoker, May 1984

The Late, Great Cattle Battle

by Beth Macy

Hundreds of people crowded Roanoke City Council chambers. They held private strategy meetings. Officials don't give a hoot about history or tradition, they complained. Put the question to the populace, they urged.

The council finally did just that. When the ballots were tallied, it came down to a single vote. It sounds a bit like the recent Victory Stadium brouhaha, but it's not. It's a summary of events that unfolded 100 years ago this week.

Headline writers called it "The Cow Question." During Roanoke's rough-and-tumble beginnings, loose cows meandered frequently in and out of the civic consciousness. Over more than two decades, it grew to become one of the city's sharpest growing pains.

One of the longest-running debates in city history, The Cow Question was so fiery — and at times comical — that newspapers in Richmond and New York followed it.

It seems a homeowner awoke one morning to find his prized geraniums trampled and his roses chomped to a stub. Dismayed by the sight — not to mention the smell of the bovine calling card — he demanded the city take action.

Another citizen, fuming that a neighbor's cow had destroyed his potato patch and Marechal Nell roses, complained in an Oct. 2, 1902, letter to The Roanoke Times that "the man who turns his cow loose to depredate is interfering with my rights."

It was a time when Williamson Road and Raleigh Court were the sticks, not the suburbs, and you couldn't motor the minivan to Kroger when your kid drained the milk jug dry.

Even the milkman was considered too newfangled: Roanokers weren't sure they trusted the quality of his milk — or, as one cow owner exclaimed, "I would rather buy from my next-door neighbor than to buy from someone I know not."

Instead, families kept cows. While many in the anti-free-range camp could afford to have somebody walk their cattle out to the South Roanoke hinterlands to graze for the day, most Roanokers let their cows roam free.

And roam they did. They befouled city streets, caved in the wooden sidewalks and slept willy-nilly on downtown thoroughfares after dark — causing many a saloon-hopper to stumble on his way home. (Imagine tripping over a cow on your way out of the Metro Restaurant.)

In one 1899 incident, a cow wandered into a Campbell Avenue plumbing store and refused to budge. Efforts to oust Bessie only agitated her until she got so scared she climbed the steps to the second floor.

A crowd gathered. Lawyers and city employees left the courthouse to gawk, guests of the Ponce de Leon Hotel crossed the street and those who remained opened their windows, according to an account in Raymond Barnes' History of the City of Roanoke. Someone finally thought to corral her with stovepipes and grates, at which point she was lassoed and pulled down the stairs.

Anti-cow activists built their case on such incidents. Cows feeding on garbage and sewage water

Beth Macy is a veteran Roanoke Times reporter. Belinda Harris, Roanoke Times researcher, contributed to this report.

produced unsafe milk, they argued, trotting out a doctor who certified that 20 percent of the city's typhoid fever cases were caused by such impure milk.

Even Norfolk & Western Railway weighed in on the debate, refusing to build a new depot for a "cow town" that still allowed livestock to run at large.

It was a public relations nightmare for the fledgling city of 25,000, which regularly drew national media comparisons to boomtowns of the Wild West. The local media had a field day with The Cow Question, casting it as a battle of rich vs. poor.

The first time Councilman Blair Antrim proposed his ordinance to ban roaming cows, in 1902, the pro-cow camp called it "class legislation," and claimed it would hurt the needy, especially widows and orphans.

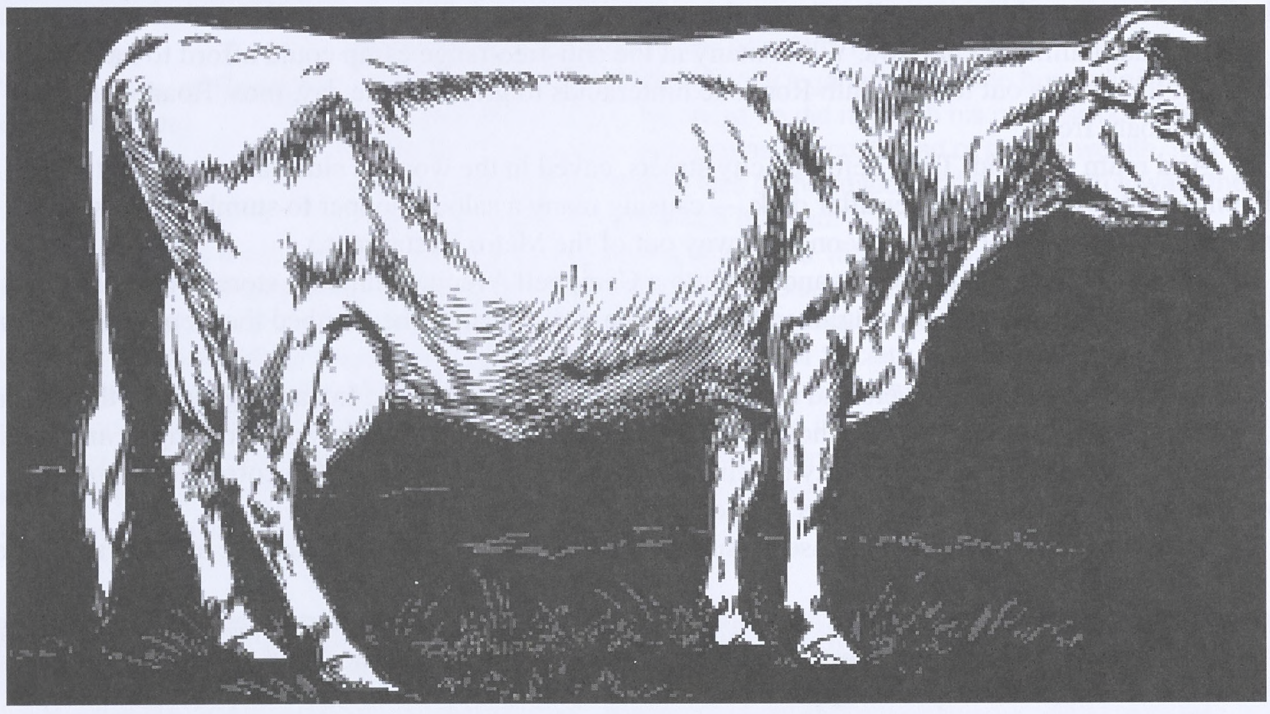
"Does Mr. Antrim or anyone else suppose that I would vote to impose a hardship on my neighbor by forcing him to hire a boy...and pay pasturage on a cow?" one cow owner asked in a letter to the editor.

"We will watch the councilmen who vote for this ordinance and when his head pops up again for office will relegate him to a seat way back where he can sit serenely and live on milk at 32 cents per gallon."

After months of wrangling, council passed the issue on to the voters. Antrim threw up his hands, saying it was up to the residents to "declare whether Roanoke was so unprogressive, so rural in its inclinations, that it has yet" to write the ban into the city code.

On Nov. 5, 1902, the front page blared: "Cow Wins By One Vote." It was a squeaker, with 953 citizens voting for the ordinance and 954 against. Four times more voters came to the polls for The Cow Question than would turn out for the next presidential election. The cows continued, unfettered.

Antrim demanded a recount. He brought in sworn affidavits by three ordinance opponents who admitted — bragged, even — that they lived in Roanoke County, not the city, and had therefore been ineligible to vote. Council tabled the issue, hoping to settle the citizenry down.



The following August, Antrim managed to push the ordinance back onto council's agenda. This time, a majority of council was on his side.

On Aug. 13, 1903, the newspaper reported: "City Daddies Decide to Exclude Cattle From Streets January 1st."

The pro-cow contingent was furious. On a vacant lot between First and Second streets, 700 residents gathered to protest. Councilman G.W. Crumpecker, who'd voted against the ban, said: "What right do we have to hear the sentiment of the people and then trample upon it?"

On Aug. 18, Mayor Joel Cutchin refused to sign the ordinance — in effect vetoing it and extending the cows' free rein. (That would be like Mayor Ralph Smith overturning council's approval of the new stadium plan, Grandin Theatre support, civic center improvements.)

But the anti-cow people were bulldogs. The following July, citing public health considerations and a change in public opinion, Antrim proposed the ordinance again, just two months before a newly elected council was to take office.

"Let the ordinance stand," Mayor Cutchin harumphed as he signed the legislation. "For the new Council will doubtlessly approve it." (Ten years later, Cutchin was impeached for failing to rid the city of its red-light district — and for partaking of the attractions there.)

Passage of the anti-cow ordinance was resented by many cow owners, who continued to meet under the resplendent name of "The Independent Order of Freeman Organized."

But before the month was out, the city was up in arms over another critter issue. A Bedford County farmer had brought a long, mean-looking, wormlike creature to the Roanoke City Market, where he exhibited it as a "cabbage snake."

Word of the reptile's viciousness spread, more snake sightings were reported, and soon cabbage farmers were feeling the economic sting. The Cabbage Question was eventually put to rest when someone thought to send a specimen to Virginia Tech (then V.P.I.), where it was identified as a mere worm, damaging to cabbage but harmless to men. Proper sprays were counseled and the scare gradually died — though for years, Barnes reported, Roanokers continued to prepare cabbage by pulling it apart carefully, leaf by leaf.

In a welcome break from the Victory Stadium issue, modern-day city attorney Bill Hackworth was only too happy to look up the old cow ordinance for The Roanoke Times. It turns out that Section 6-6 of the city code, prohibiting livestock from running at large, is still very much on the books.

Hackworth noted that very few such "quaint" ordinances still exist, though he did point out his personal favorite, Section 24-98, which makes it against the law to give animals tobacco in city parks.

The last time a wandering cow hit the local news was in 1998, when a Blue Hills Golf Club duffer drove his tee shot out of bounds — only to have the ball ricochet off a cow and bounce back into play.

The cow happened to be grazing on the neighboring property of George and Louise Kegley. Louise Kegley happens to be the granddaughter of former Roanoke Times publisher J.B. Fishburn, who in 1903 lived on 13th Street Southwest, where he just happened to have kept a family cow.

Decades later, she recalled, her grandfather "was still complaining" about the city making him tie up his cow.

The Two Michael Kinsers

by Mary B. Kegley

In the early days of settlement in Southwest Virginia two Michael Kinsers established themselves in two different areas. The earliest one came from Pennsylvania with his parents about 1771 to what is now the western part of Wythe County, and the other came from Rockingham County and purchased land on Tom's Creek near Blacksburg about 1803.*[1]*

Because Wythe County was part of Montgomery County for many years prior to 1790 the records of the two Kinser men have been intermingled and have caused some confusion for those researching the Kinser family.

The researcher looking for information often discovers that there are two (sometimes as many as three or four) men in the records with the same name. Analysis of the findings, including county formation, family information, and with close attention to dates, often reveals that they are two different people. That is the case here.

The name itself has many different spellings including Kintzer, Kincer, Keenzer, Kinser and Kinzer. The Montgomery County family, for the most part, kept the Kinzer spelling but this one soon disappeared from the Wythe County records. Although the spellings Kinder and Gunder have been also suggested as alternate spellings for Kinser, these two names, Kinder and Gunder, and other strange spellings, belong to the Kinder family.*[2]*

Michael of Wythe County was one of 10 children of Jacob Kinser of Pennsylvania. He and many members of his family settled near Crockett in the western end of Wythe County. Because of lawsuits recently discovered and research in Pennsylvania on this particular family, the records are numerous and all are not pertinent to this article. However, the service records, wounds and actions in the war are well documented for Michael, a Revolutionary War soldier of Wythe County. On September 11, 1780, he was listed on the Chesterfield Register, enlisting in the army. His age was given as 22, his height 5 feet 4 inches, and he reportedly had dark hair, black eyes and a fair complexion. His occupation was a planter. His birthplace was Pennsylvania.*[3]*

Michael of Rockingham and Montgomery counties owned several tracts of land, operated mills and stills and had a carding machine to process wool. These designations help to identify him as a miller. His land was located on Tom's Creek near Blacksburg. This Michael had a wife Hester (sometimes Esther)*[4]* and children John, Katherine, Phillip, Michael Jr., Elizabeth, Susanna, George, Christian and Jacob. His will was signed on May 5, and probated a few months later in August 1826. The elder Michael was buried in the Broce Cemetery in Montgomery County, near Blacksburg. Several of the marriages of his children are recorded at the courthouse in Christiansburg. Many of the family records and a family Bible can be found in the special collections at Virginia Tech.*[5]*

On March 29, 1786, about four years before Wythe County was formed, the Montgomery County Court ordered that Michael Kinser (of Wythe County in 1790), "a pensioner have a certificate that he is an object of charity and ought to receive the same." Proof of his service in the war was presented to the

Mary Kegley of Wytheville is the author of more than 50 books on regional history and genealogy.

court on May 24 when he proved by the oath of Samuel Sadler that he was wounded at Camden and that he belonged to Captain "Besitlys" [Bentley's] Company of the Regiment and that the wounds he received were in the "service" of the United States. Kinser was so disabled that he was excused from personally attending court because it would be "too burdensome." Thomas Huff, the surgeon, was ordered to examine his wounds and report to the Governor. It was certified to the court that Michael Kinser, age 27, late a private in the 1st Virginia Regiment, was paid 40 shillings a month. He was disabled by wounds which occasioned the loss of all fingers of the right hand except the forefinger. He was allowed a pension of £12 yearly by January 1, 1786. Signed by Edmund Randolph, April 28, 1787.*[6]*

Michael Kinser of Wythe County filed a petition in the General Assembly in 1806 claiming that he was called to perform the duties of a soldier for the term of eighteen months, and while in service in the company of Captain Bentley and in the Regiment of Colonel Harris, he was at the second Battle of Camden. There he was "cut to pieces and taken prisoner by the enemy." While a prisoner he was "plundered by the British soldiers of his money and a Tobacco note which had been given to him on the part of the Government of Virginia, in consideration of his services." He lost the "evidence of the debt" and stated that although he had a pension of 40 shillings annually "yet it is a very inadequate compensation for five sword cuts on his head, the disability of his left arm and one of the fingers on his left hand and the entire loss of three of the fingers on the right hand." He added that he was the father of nine children, and further "begs leave to state that being wholly illiterate the proper mode of proceeding relative to his claim was long unknown to him." He prayed for "such relief as his case requires."*[7]*

On April 4, 1788, Michael Kinser appeared personally in the Montgomery County Court and "exhibited his certificate" which was compared with the pensioners' list and he was found to be entitled to a pension. The sheriff was ordered to pay him the sum of £24 and his certificate was recorded.*[8]*

In further statements made later by his widow, Elizabeth, it was noted that her husband served under General Greene and in 1780 marched south and was engaged at the Battle of Camden where he lost his fingers. His left arm was also disabled. He received a pension as did his widow, a resident of Wythe County. Michael Kinser married on September 4, 1783, after his return from the war, to Elizabeth whose maiden name has not been determined. The Reverend Peter Srader (probably intended for Shrader) performed the service. Michael died in November 1823 according to his widow's statement. On June 10, 1844, Elizabeth reported that she was 78 years, 11 months and 21 days old. She died on February 22, 1848, leaving three children, Anna, Peter and Esther [Jonas]. Lewis D. Crenshaw was appointed to collect arrears in her pension and on February 10, 1849, collected $37.33.*[9]*

Michael Kinser of Wythe signed his will in April 1819. It was probated on December 10, 1822 (not 1823 as Elizabeth stated). He left all land purchased from Jacob King and George Kinser to his son Peter. All other land was devised to his sons Christian and David. He named five daughters, Barbara Moyers, Anna Hillenberg, Elizabeth Moyers, Mary Kinsler, and Esther. His friend, John Stanger, was the executor. Jacob Hilton and Robert Mills were witnesses to the will.*[10]*

By comparing the will of Michael of Toms Creek with this one which lists the five daughters, and three sons, it becomes apparent that there were two Michael Kinsers.

The widow, Elizabeth Kinser, of Wythe County signed her will in 1837 and it was probated in March 1848. She named her daughter, Esther Jonas, who was to receive a tract of land of 32 or 33 acres, adjoining the Loyal Company survey made for Jacob Kinser. Esther was also to have all of the household and kitchen furniture. Elizabeth left a "horse beast" to her grandson, David Kinser Jr., who was then under age 21. She did not name all of the children. Her friends, Parker A. Wright, and son-in-law, Jacob Jonas, were to act as executors.*[11]*

Some of the records of the children of Michael and Elizabeth Kinser appear in the Wythe County marriage and land records. The name is still well known in the area.

When the records are analyzed we find that Michael of Montgomery County was still in Rock

ingham County at least as late as 1789 when their son John was baptized. He first appears in the Montgomery County records about 1803, so if he served in the Revolutionary War his records would probably refer to Rockingham or some other county where he might have lived at the time of the war.

The second proof of soldier Michael being from Wythe County is made clear by the fact that when he filed his petition to the Virginia Assembly in 1806 it came from Wythe County, not Montgomery County. There is no evidence that Michael of Toms Creek moved to Wythe County.
One very helpful proof shows that the widow, Elizabeth Kinser of Wythe County, also had a pension and it states she was from Wythe and the widow of the soldier Michael. The widow of Michael of Montgomery was named Hester or Esther. The names of the wives and, in each case the children, were important clues and helped confirm that Michael of Wythe was wounded at the Battle of Camden during the war and that he was a pensioner.

Endnotes

1. Montgomery County Deed Book D, 11. A recent article from the Montgomery New Messenger of 1976 published in the Journal of the New River Historical Society, vol. 23, no. 1 (2011), 8-10, states Michael bought land in 1754 from James Patton. It is true that James Patton once owned the land, but he died in 1755. The deed was dated 1803. The article also mentioned Captain Doak's Company, which was a Fincastle County militia unit comprised of men who lived in what is now the west end of Wythe County. The county Augusta and the date 1742 are in error.
2. The News Messenger article suggested the names Gunder and Kinder belonged to the Kinsers when in fact they belong to the
Kinder family. One of the other strange spellings is Gunter. See Mary B. Kegley, Early Adventurers on the Western Waters, vol. 5 (Wytheville, VA: Kegley Books, 2004) for sketches of the Kinder and Kinser families.
3. Mary B. Kegley and F.B. Kegley, Early Adventurers on the Western Waters, vol. 1 (Orange, VA: Green Publishers, 1980) 131; see also, Kegley,
Early Adventurers,vol. 5, 330-339.
4. Other researchers state that Esther's maiden name was Zanger/Songer/Sanger and that they were married in 1788. Their son John (Johannes) was baptized 10 April 1789 at Friedens Reformed and Lutheran Church in Rockingham County. (Courtesy of William T. Buchanan Jr.)
5. Montgomery County Will Book 4, 233; Kegley and Kegley, Early Adventurers, vol.1, 233-234.
6. Montgomery County Orders of Court; Montgomery County Deed Book 2, 504; Kegley and Kegley, Early Adventurers, vol. 1, 128, 129; Lewis Preston Summers, Annals of Southwest Virginia (Kingsport: Kingsport Press, 1929), 812, 822 states he was granted a certificate for his pension on April 25, 1786, and produced his pension certificate to the court on April 4, 1788. See also, Montgomery County Order Book 1, 4, 272. See also Mary B. Kegley, Revolutionary War Pension Applications (Wytheville, VA: Kegley Books, 1997) 197-198.
7. Wythe County Legislative Petition, September 9, 1806.
8. Montgomery County Order Book, 4, 99, 313.
9. Widow's Pension Application, W8001, National Archives; Alycon Trubey Pierce, Selected Final Pension Payment Vouchers, 1818-1864, vol. 1 and vol. 2 (Athens, GA: Iberian Publishing Company, 1996), 327; Mary B. Kegley, Abstracts of Court Orders of Wythe County, 1841-1852, vol. 5 (Wytheville, VA: Kegley Books, 2000), 48, 114 where it shows that on June 10, 1844, Elizabeth the widow of Michael filed her declaration and on January 9, 1849, where it states she died February 22, 1848, and names her three surviving children.
10. Wythe County Will Book 3, 23.
11. Wythe County Will Book 6, 596.

Goose Creek: A Lasting Rsource for Bedford County

by Mary Collier

Goose Creek is truly a Bedford County resource. The north and south forks are born in the Blue Ridge Mountains, just below and to the east of the ridge crest that defines the boundary between Bedford and Botetourt counties. The forks develop rapidly from over a hundred drainages that descend from the Blue Ridge, McFalls, Campbells, Taylors and Porter mountains onto the Goose Creek Valley floor.

This article is part of a book, Goose Creek, A Corridor of Bedford County History, *by Mary Collier. (Goose Creek, Bedford County, photo by Ries Collier)*

At the valley's southeastern corner, these two forks merge and the main body of the creek begins its passage, coursing southeast, until the fully developed waters exit the county near Huddleston to join the Roanoke (Staunton) River and flow to the sea.

The frontier farmers who settled Virginia's piedmont in the 18th century quickly recognized Goose Creek's value for both irrigation and milling. For almost two centuries, the creek waters were used to power a corridor of mills. At first, these were grist mills and as the county developed, sawmills and carding machines were added. The most active mill sites included Coffer's on the north fork, Buford's on the south fork and on the main body of the creek, Wilkerson's, Buford's, Dickerson's and Joppa. Names long associated with the corridor include Luck, Otey, Huddleston, Overstreet, Goggin, Nance and Bays.

Goose Creek was also an integral support to the iron ore mining industry boom of the late 19th century in western Bedford County. Today's village of Villamont was formerly called Ironville, and a network of underground mines crossed below the Goose Creek Valley farmland to the north of that community. Material extracted from the mines was first washed in the creek before being shipped by rail to manufacturing centers. Washing removed the waste and exposed the ore, but this operation caused difficulties for millers downstream. The waste washed from the ore silted the millponds and mill owners filed suits seeking compensation for damages from the mining companies.

A third enterprise that developed along the banks of the creek was the Virginian Railway line, a brilliantly engineered and equipped rail project designed to efficiently move coal from the mountainous Deepwater, West Virginia, to a shipping port at Sewell's Point in Tidewater Virginia. The track followed Goose Creek from Stone Mountain to the creek's mouth at Leesville and the creek supplied the water necessary to fill the tenders of the great steam engines. The line opened in 1909 and provided both freight and passenger service.

Business activities other than milling and farming have been concentrated on the south fork, at the western edge of the county and in the area immediately surrounding Huddleston, at the county's eastern development. The creek flows for many miles between hillsides that rise up abruptly to 800 feet on each bank. This feature has resulted in the banks being left in a natural state and has thereby protected flora and fauna. The woods are home to white-tailed deer, fox and opossum and the creek is home to muskrat, otter and beaver. Eastern phoebes nest in the cavities of rock outcroppings along the creek, eagles nest on the tall snags and kingfishers chatter noisily as they swoop down for a meal.

The steep banks are filled with cascades of white-flowered mountain laurel and wild yellow, red and orange flame azaleas hang over the edge of the stream. It is no wonder the mill site on Goose Creek at the center of the county was named Joppa. In its origin, the word "Joppa" meant "beauty."

As quiet as the creek normally appears, it can also be a torrent of destructive force when swollen by rains to flood stage. Mills and bridges are the most vulnerable due to their necessary proximity to the water. The southern sector of the county is also the most vulnerable because the volume of water continues to increase as it rushes from the mountains through the piedmont.

In the major floods of 1926 and 1987, both Haden's Bridge and Huddleston Bridge were swept away. Today's Smith Mountain Lake Parkway crossing at Huddleston stands high above Goose Creek waters below and appears unlikely to follow its predecessors downstream.

Patience, Persistence, and Preservation:
The Valley Railroad Bridge over Gish Branch in Salem

by John Hildebrand

This story is dedicated to Dorothy Jennings, self-appointed curator of the Gish Branch Bridge. Her home on North Mill Road adjoins the site of the bridge and for many years she monitored its gradual deterioration, sharing with the writer her hope that one day the bridge would be repaired. That day arrived and her hope realized.

The history of any civilization is reflected in part by the buildings its people create over a given period of time. Likewise, an insight into the history of the Roanoke Valley between the mid 18th century and the early 20th century is provided by the remaining buildings and structures constructed during that period. These buildings and structures are historically and architecturally significant. Local historians Whitwell, Winborne, Pulice, Long and the late Lon Savage among others, have written and published excellent articles and books identifying and cataloging many of these structures, some of which no longer exist.

For those which remain, it is crucial that every effort be made for their preservation so the Valley's future generations will have the same insight into their heritage that today's generations now enjoy. To emphasize this imperative, the Roanoke Valley Preservation Foundation annually publishes a list of the historical and architecturally significant structures worthy of preservation but endangered by development or neglect. The Foundation hopes that awareness of these situations will lead to individual or collective efforts which preserve these endangered structures.

This then is the story of one such effort, the collaborative endeavor organized by the Salem Historical Society to repair and preserve the Valley Railroad Bridge over the Gish Branch in Salem. The bridge was on the Roanoke Valley Preservation Foundation's 2004 list of endangered structures. It is located south of North Mill Road on the property of the Mel Wheeler Incorporated organization, headed by Leonard Wheeler, president.

After the bridge was placed on the Virginia Landmarks Register and the National Register of Historic Places, it was repaired by the City of Salem.

The bridge is constructed of dark gray limestone masonry, forming a 15-foot diameter arch supported by vertical side walls. Built in 1873, it is approximately 105 feet long, a part of the Valley Railroad, a failed project intended to connect the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad at Salem to the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad system at Harrisonburg. Gish Branch had gradually undermined the foundation of the

John Hildebrand, Salem historian, is the author of Iron Horses in the Valley, *a history of the construction of two railroads in the southern Shenandoah Valley,* The Life and Times of John Brown Baldwin *and* A Mennonite Journal. *(Gish Branch Bridge in Salem photo by John Hildebrand)*

Gish Branch Bridge

bridge's northeast wingwall and a portion of the east wall of the arch proper. Unless repaired, this condition would eventually have caused the wingwall and arch wall to fail.

The construction of the Valley Railroad in Roanoke County was one section of a larger project awarded to the Mason Syndicate in May 20, 1873, for the construction of a railroad from Staunton to Salem. The Mason Syndicate was a railroad construction firm formed in the early 1850s by Claibourne Rice Mason, one of the extraordinary men of that period. Born about 1810, he had no formal education. His firm, now Mason and Hanger, remains active to this day and is one of the nation's oldest general contracting organizations.

One of the most challenging projects built by Mason's firm was the 19-mile crossing of the Blue Ridge at Rockfish Gap for the Virginia Central Railroad. The project featured the 1,300-foot Blue Ridge Tunnel. Under the direction of Claudius Crozet, the Gap was tunneled simultaneously from each end by Mason's team, at that time a daring and unusual engineering feat. Mason divided the Staunton-Salem project into six sections, personally directing the first section south from Staunton. The remaining five sections were assigned to men who had worked together on projects far more difficult than the Staunton-Salem section. The Gish Branch Bridge was part of the 14-mile section assigned to Thomas K. Menifee.

The Salem section began at the Botetourt County line and proceeded through north Roanoke County to a connection to the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad at Salem. Like Mason, Menifee was a self-made man without a formal education. He was born in 1833 or 1834 and his father died when he was 11. He went to work for a railroad contractor as a cart driver. By age 16 he had become a superin-

tendent for that company and in 1858 was sent to Brazil as superintendent of the company's railroad construction project for the Brazilian government.

In 1861 the Confederate government appointed Menifee superintendent of the iron mines in Botetourt County. Following the war, he returned to railroad construction, working with Mason on the Cumberland and Tennessee railroad and the Chesapeake and Ohio extension from Covington to Huntington, West Virginia. Menifee and the other members of the Mason Syndicate began work on their assigned sections immediately on award of the contract by the Valley Railroad's chief engineer. By late November 1874, Menifee had made excellent progress. The roadbed had been brought to grade from the Botetourt county line to where it crossed present-day Thompson Memorial Drive. Masonry drainage structures and bridges for the completed portions of the roadbed had been completed at all but the major stream crossings, Carvin, Peters and Mason Creeks.

It was at this time that the Valley Railroad's officers were forced to suspend work. The company was insolvent, a victim of the September 1873 financial panic and resulting nationwide depression. The work between Salem and Lexington was abandoned.

Today there are few remaining evidences of Menifee's work. Many of the completed masonry arches, drainage structures and roadbed were destroyed by development and the widening of Route 117 between Interstate 581 and Williamson Road, U.S. Route 11. The Gish Branch Bridge, the largest of the three remaining Valley Railroad arch structures located in Salem and Roanoke County, is an important part of Salem and the Roanoke Valley's railroad heritage. The bridge is also a reminder of the effort by the people of Roanoke County who partnered with their fellow citizens in Staunton, Lexington, and Rockbridge and Botetourt counties to build a railroad which would assist in the economic recovery of their communities from the devastation of the Civil War.

The Salem Historical Society believed it imperative that a special effort be made to prevent the bridge from falling into complete disrepair. The Society appointed the writer to organize the preservation effort.

Discussions with Salem City Manager Kevin Boggess and Assistant City Manager Jay Taliaferro resulted in the city agreeing to support the project, provided the Gish Branch Bridge was placed on the National Register of Historic Places. Michael J. Pulice, architectural historian for the Roanoke Regional Office of the Virginia Department of Historic Resources (DHR), reviewed the history of the structure, surveyed its physical condition and agreed to assist the Society in nominating the bridge for the national and state registers of historic places. Concurrently, Herm Reavis, a local radio personality, obtained permission from Leonard Wheeler, owner of the bridge, for the Society to proceed with the nomination.

By June 2008, the Society had prepared and submitted to Pulice the DHR Property Information Form, describing the architectural and historical significance of the bridge, accompanied by photographs and maps. This information was for the DHR's preliminary consideration of the bridge's eligibility for nomination. The Society's application was reviewed and edited by Pulice and submitted to the DHR Richmond office for review by its Evaluation Committee.

In late August, Pulice told the Society that the Evaluation Committee had given its application a high rating, in effect making the bridge eligible for nomination to the state and national registers. The DHR officially advised Wheeler of the bridge's eligibility on November 21, 2008. Included was its recommendation that the Society proceed with the preparation of a nomination to place the bridge on the

National Register of Historic Places and the Virginia Landmarks Register.

The official nomination for the Gish Branch Bridge was prepared by Pulice, submitted to the Department of Interior, National Park Service, and approved by that office on June 25, 2009. On August 21, 2009, the DHR notified Pulice, Wheeler and the Society that the Valley Railroad Bridge over the Gish Branch had been placed on the National Register of Historic Places and the Virginia Landmarks Register, effective August 12, 2009.

With the registration process completed, the Society and the City of Salem moved immediately to begin repairs to the bridge. By the end of August permission had been granted by Wheeler to access the site through the Newman Drive entrance to the WSLC radio antenna farm. Michael Tyler, the city's director of public works, and his staff determined that the best way to stabilize the undermined foundation walls was to pump concrete into the voids beneath the foundation walls created by the flow in Gish Branch.

Water flow was diverted to the west side of the bridge to provide a dry working space for the construction of forms and access for the concrete pumping equipment. By early September 2009 the repairs were complete. The undermined spaces had been filled with a dark colored concrete to blend with the color of the bridge's walls and arch roof, forms and equipment removed and the site restored to its original condition. The deterioration of the structure had been reversed and its possible failure averted.

The Valley Railroad Bridge over the Gish Branch was preserved, its architectural and historical significance recognized and recorded on the National Register of Historic Places and the Virginia Landmarks Register. It stands as a tribute to the people of Staunton, Lexington, and Rockbridge, Botetourt and Roanoke counties who organized and committed their financial resources to the success of the Valley Railroad and to the engineers, contractors and workmen committed to its construction. Theirs was not a failed enterprise but a worthy example of a willingness to undertake a daunting task during the difficult times following the Civil War.

The Gish Branch Bridge also provides a unique insight into railroad planning, design and construction practices of the late 19th century. The accompanying sketches illustrate railroad construction of that era. Many workers, aided by horses and mules, were required; most were Irish immigrants and freed African American slaves using construction techniques dating to the days when Caesar's legions were constructing roads, viaducts and aqueducts across the Roman Empire.

The preservation of the Valley Railroad Bridge over the Gish Branch in Salem was the result of the collective efforts of Leonard Wheeler, the City of Salem and the Salem Historical Society. It was a job well done, one to be appreciated by the Roanoke Valley's preservationists and historians.

Blacksburg Foundation Takes Ownership of Smithfield

After more than a half-century, Preservation Virginia (formerly the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities) has transferred ownership of Smithfield, the 1774 home of William Preston at Blacksburg, to the local Smithfield-Preston Foundation. This comes with Preservation Virginia's change in philosophy from ownership of historic sites to ensuring that sites and structures are preserved for future generations.

Beginning in 1961, the late Janie Preston Boulware Lamb, a fifth-generation descendant of William and Susanna Preston, donated the Smithfield House, outbuildings and surrounding 12 acres of land to APVA, now Preservation Virginia. The historic property adjoins the Virginia Tech campus.

As part of the distinguished heritage, Historic Smithfield News, the quarterly newsletter of Historic Smithfield Plantation, printed this statement about the Preston family:

Gubernatorial Family

Descendants of William and Susanna Preston created a legacy of gubernatorial achievements that is unmatched. In Virginia, three descendants served as governor and three other descendants as first ladies of Virginia.

James Patton Preston (1774-1843), the eighth child of William and Susanna Preston, was the 20th governor of Virginia. The gubernatorial story, however, goes well beyond his accomplishment. In addition to James Patton Preston, Letitia Preston, the tenth child, married John Floyd, who became the 25th governor of Virginia. Granddaughter Susanna Smith Preston married James McDowell, who became the 29th governor of Virginia. Granddaughter Sarah Buchanan Preston married John Buchanan Floyd, who became the 31st governor of Virginia. An interesting aside is that John Buchanan Floyd was born at Smithfield, the son of John and Letitia Preston Floyd.

The gubernatorial connections also continued beyond Virginia. First ladies of Maryland and South Carolina, as well as a governor of Missouri, can also be found in the first three generations of the Preston family. This aspect of the Preston family will continue to be researched and published in the years ahead.

The River with Two Names: Roanoke/Staunton

by Kenneth E. Crouch

In 1757, when John Lynch established his ferry on the James River it became an important shipping and trading place for citizens farther to the southwest in what was later to become Franklin County. These distant settlers in order to reach the Lynch ferry had to cross a stream whose history was as equally important, a stream that is unique in history because of its dual Roanoke/Staunton name.

The old trade road was later to become known as the Lynchburg-Rocky Mount Turnpike and its course followed Route 122 north from Rocky Mount, crossing the river at Hale's Ford through present Moneta. Some traders followed the turnpike route which today is Route 731 or another route, present Route 24, eastward where these roads later joined. After that junction, they traveled roughly present Route 711 where it intersected with Route 460 at New London Academy and on into the new village.

These travelers had stops along the route to rest teams and one camp became well known because of the bawdy camp that was located on the route. Through the years, this bawdy camp was discussed, in due time a post office was established, just east of the present Route 122-24 intersection, and given the name, Body Camp.

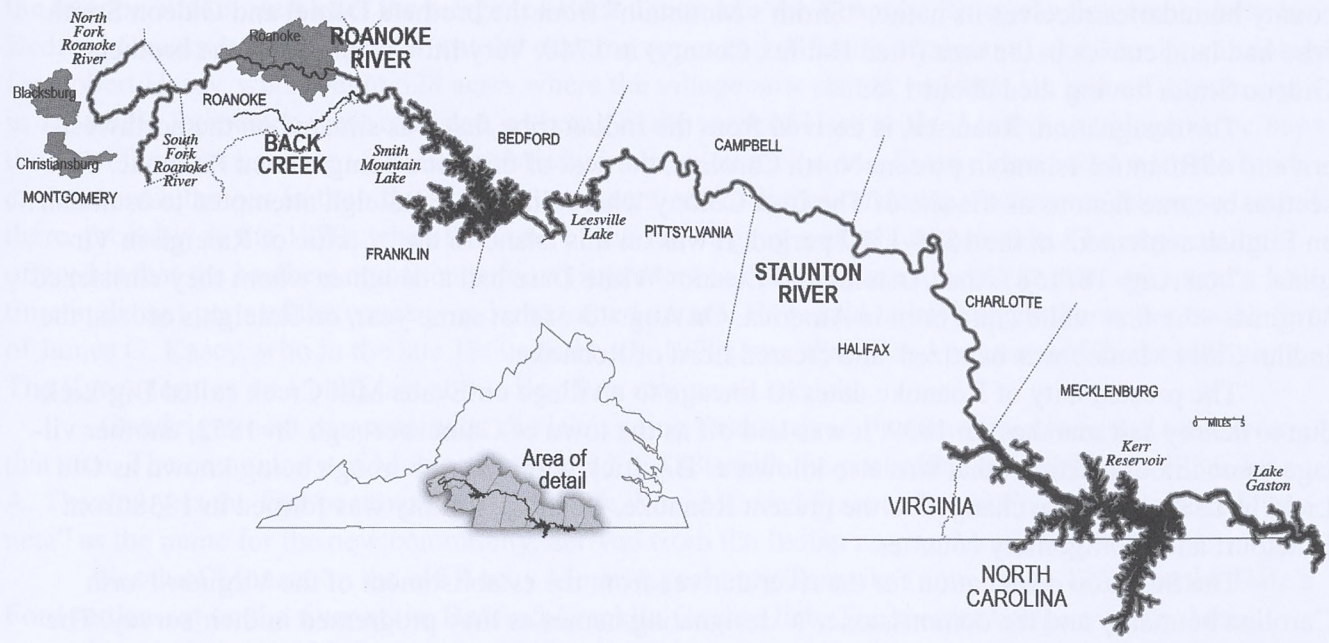
It is the Roanoke/Staunton River that has a rich history of its own from its beginning or origin in the mountains of Montgomery County and terminating near Mackeys, North Carolina, as it enters the Albemarle Sound of the Atlantic Ocean.

The Roanoke River begins with the merger of its north and south forks near Elliston. Some refer to that junction as near Lafayette, just west of the Montgomery-Roanoke County line. The north fork of the river has its headwaters in the western end of Catawba Valley in Craig County between Catawba, Paris and Brush mountains. The south fork of the river has its headwaters in Floyd and Montgomery counties.

Back Creek in Roanoke County enters the Roanoke River near the Bedford-Franklin-Roanoke County lines and it is from this point that the stream has the official dual name of Roanoke (Staunton) River. The Board of Geographic Names of the Department of Interior at its meeting June 11, 1959, so established this dual name. The board's decision regarding the name reads:

"Roanoke River: stream formed by the junction of its North Fork and South Fork, in Montgomery County, Virginia, and flowing generally southward, across Virginia and North Carolina, to Albemarle Sound; it is often locally called Staunton River in the section extending upstream from the reservoir impounded by the John H. Kerr Dam to about the mouth of Back Creek where the Bedford, Franklin and Roanoke county boundaries join; for this section of the stream the name Staunton River may be used parenthetically after decision name if desired; North Carolina and Virginia; 35 56' 20" N., 76 41' 45" w."

The late Kenneth E. Crouch, a Bedford newspaperman and historian, wrote this paper for a history class at Central Community College in Lynchburg, in 1985.



Map by Rob Lunsford

The journal of the German physician John Lederer, who came into this section of Virginia in 1670, lists the stream as the Rorenock. Lederer was with a party that came from the present area of Richmond up the James River to what is now Lynchburg and Amherst County, turned south and journeyed south to the Saponi Indian village located between Otter and Staunton rivers near present Altavista. Lederer is the first white man, on record, to enter what is presently Bedford and Campbell counties. His diaries, in Latin, as to the Saponi Indian village read, "..scituate upon a branch of the Shawan, alias Rorenock River."

The following year (1671) Thomas Batts, Thomas Woods and Robert Fallam (Batte and Hallam, according to later research) came from Fort Henry, near the present city of Petersburg, to the vicinity of what is now Brookneal and followed the stream on its westward course then as far west as present Narrows and the discovery of New River. In their journey they thus came into what is now Bedford County at the gap of Smith's Mountain, passing through the county as they followed the stream westward.

In 1698, Col.Cadwallader Jones drew up a map of the area and designated the stream Occoneechee River, giving it the name of the Occoneechee Indian tribe who had their village on an island in the stream near present Clarksville.

The Occoneechee tribe was one of the most cultured tribes in Virginia. They are thought to have fortified the river bluffs around 1250 and dominated the area until colonial forces stormed their settlement, killing their chief, Rossechee, in 1676.

The site of the Occoneechee settlements is now the area of Occoneechee State Park in Mecklenburg County and Staunton River State Park in Halifax County, both on the land of John H. Kerr (or Buggs Island) Lake.

The 1750 map of "…the inhabited part of Virginia…" by Peter Jefferson and Joshua Frye, published in London, England, in 1751 and regarded as the first official map of Virginia, gives no name for the stream west of the Blue Ridge Mountains. At that time, the area was part of Lunenburg County, that county having been formed in 1746. Their map shows from the gap of Smith's Mountain to the Blue Ridge Mountains it is designated "Staunton;" from Smith's Mountain east it is designated as "Smith's' or "Staunton" River. The same map shows the Little Roanoke River north of the "Occoneachy Island" settlement.

The map where the river passes through the gorge at the present Bedford-Franklin-Pittsylvania county boundaries receives its name, "Smith's Mountain" from the brothers Daniel and Gideon Smith who had land entries in the area (then Halifax County) in 1740. Very little is known of the brothers, Gideon Smith having died about 1755.

The designation, Roanoke, is derived from the Indian tribe that was situated on the northwestern end of Roanoke Island in present North Carolina, the seat of this tribe being named Roanoac. This section became famous as the site of The Lost Colony where Sir Walter Raleigh attempted to establish an English settlement in the 1585-1587 period. It was on this island in the "…citie of Raleigh in Virginia…" on Aug. 18, 1587, that Ananias and Eleanor White Dare had a daughter whom they christened Virginia—the first white child born in America. On Aug. 13 of that same year, on Raleigh's orders, the Indian Chief Manteo was baptized and created Lord of Roanoke.

The present City of Roanoke dates its lineage to a village on Evans Mill Creek called Big Lick due to nearby salt marshes. In 1839, it was laid off as the town of Gainesborough. In 1852, another village came into formation , that was also known as Big Lick with Gainesborough being known as Old Lick. In 1882, the name changed to the present Roanoke. Roanoke County was formed in 1838 from Botetourt and Montgomery counties.

The Staunton designation for the river derives from the establishment of the Virginia-North Carolina boundary and the commissioner's designating names as they progressed in their survey. The term,"Staunton," is derived from Lady Rebecca Staunton Gooch, wife of Sir William Gooch of Virginia. Governor Gooch named a group of commissioners to run the boundary line. One of the commissioners was Col. William Byrd.

The name, "Staunton," was applied to the river when the commissioners came upon it, Colonel Byrd so designating it in honor of the wife of the Virginia governor. Colonel Byrd kept a diary of their progress, titled "Histories of the Dividing Line betwixt Virginia and North Carolina." His entry for Oct. 10, 1728, reads "…We call'd this South Branch of Roanoke the Dan, as I had call'd the North Branch before."

Lady Rebecca Staunton Gooch was born in 1690, the daughter of William Staunton of Hampton, Middlesex, England (now part of the London borough of Richmond upon Thames). Sir William Gooch was born Oct. 21, 1681, in Great Yarmouth, Norfolk, England, and bore the position of lieutenant governor of Virginia, 1727-1740 and 1741-1749. He died Dec. 17, 1751, and was buried in the east wall of the north chancel aisle of St. Nicholas Parish Church in Great Yarmouth.

A tablet to the memory of Sir William Gooch, surmounted with military emblems, was placed on the wall of St. Nicholas Church. Unfortunately this tablet was destroyed when the church was bombed in World War II. This memorial tablet lists his wife as Mrs. R. Staunton. In Palmers Periustration, the inscription states that Sir William Gooch married Mrs. R. Staunton but farther down the page in the same book, his wife is referred to as Rebecca, daughter of William Staunton, which would make her Miss R. Staunton, of course. Goochland County, formed in 1727 and 1728 from Henrico County, was named in honor of Sir William Gooch and the city of Staunton in the Shenandoah Valley was named in honor of Lady Rebecca Staunton Gooch.

Donald J. Orth, executive secretary, domestic geographic names of the U. S. Board on Geographic Names, stated, "To my knowledge, the Roanoke River/Staunton River decision of the Board on Geographic Names is the only case where two names were officially recognized for the same part of a stream. I am not sure of this, but it is the only one that I or the staff can remember. Short of going through about 100,000 decisions, we have to rely on our memories. There are, of course, cases where the same stream or body of water changes its name after crossing a state line. The Chattahoochie River becomes the Appalachicola River in Floria and Tramperos Creek in New Mexico becomes Punta de Agua Creek when it flows into Texas. There are others."

Communities, individuals and events, along with place names along the stream add color to the historic stream. Just after the merger of Back Creek into the Roanoke River, the first community in Bedford County is Hardy, which is at the extreme upper end of Smith Mountain Lake. Hardy was named for Robert Hardy, who bought 528 acres where the village now stands, in 1803. He laid off a town and in 1818 sold lots which were recorded as being in the town of Hardyville. According to legend, perhaps the most famous person to visit, or live briefly in the community, was Frank James, who with his brother, Jesse, was famous in their days. Older residents tell of James, under another name, having wintered there, probably in the 1870s when the fame of the James gang was still nationwide. The explanation offered is that the brothers and friends found it prudent to disband for a time, to scatter and spend a little time in distant parts of the country under assumed names. He is said to have spent the winter on the farm of James G. Kasey, who in the late 1860s and early 1879s was sheriff and treasurer of Bedford County. The Kasey farm is on a bluff just above Bay Roc marina on the lake.

Goodview, next community on the lake, going east, derived its name from the good view from that area. The community of Moneta was settled in 1880 with the post office established in 1886. John A. Thaxton was the first postmaster and his wife, Mrs. Mildred Frances Board Thaxton, suggested "Moneta" as the name for the new community, derived from the Indian name, "Moneton."

South of Moneta on the old Rocky Mount-Lynchburg Turnpike (now Route 122) was the Hale's Ford settlement on the river at the Bedford-Franklin County line. The present bridge over the lake, opened in 1962, is a 1,035-foot span, 137 feet above the old normal water level of the stream. Nicholas Hale Jr. and his son, Nicholas Hale III, had large holdings along the river and the ford over the river and Hale's Old Mill Creek, nearby, took their name from this father and son. The earliest Bedford County deed for the Hales was in 1758. By marriage, the Hale family is related to the Claiborne family which has played a part in the political life of the eastern United States since the late 1700s.

Nathaniel Herbert Claiborne was born in Sussex County in 1777 and lived at his estate, Claibrooke, near present Route 220, north of Rocky Mount. He served in the House of Delegates in 1809-1812, in the State Senate from 1821 to 1825 and in the House of Representatives in Washington from 1825 to 1837. He was a brother of W. C. C. Claiborne, who served in the House of Representatives, as governor of the Territory of Mississippi, governor of the Territory of the Orleans, governor of Louisiana and served in the U. S. Senate. Nathaniel H. Claiborne died near Rocky Mount in 1859 and is buried at his Claliborne estate. Descendants of the Claiborne family now serving in Congress are Rep. Corinne (Lindy) Boggs of Louisiana, (widow of Rep. T. Hale Boggs) and Senator Claiborne Pell of Rhode Island.

About a mile below Hale's Ford is the Powell farm, now owned by Dr. Warren Moorman of Salem. This was the farm of Llewlyn H. Powell, a former treasurer of Franklin County. The slaves owned by the Powell family assumed the Powell name when they were set free. Adam Clayton Powell Sr. was born on this farm on May 5, 1865 and his father is buried in a plot behind the Powell/Moorman home. Adam Clayton Powell Jr., was born in 1908 in New Haven, Conn., and served in Congress from 1945 to 1971 from New York State. He died in 1972 in Miami, Fla.. and his ashes were scattered over Bimini Island in the Bahamas, which was his home in his last years.

A few miles north of the Powell/Moorman farm is the birthplace of Booker T. Washington, black educator. He was born April 5, 1856, on the plantation of James and Elizabeth Burroughs. His mother was Jane Ferguson. After slaves were set free, the family went to Malden, West Va., where he worked in the mines. He was educated at Hampton and founded Tuskegee Institute in Tuskegee, Ala., in 1881. He died Nov. 14, 1915, in Tuskegee and he was buried on the campus of the school he founded. In 1957, his birthplace was established by the Department of Interior as Booker T. Washington National Monument. James Burroughs is buried on a knoll above the visitor center at the monument; his wife is buried some 20 miles away, northeast of Body Camp, near the old turnpike. Route 122, running from Big Island on

Back Creek (right) flows into the Roanoke (Staunton) River below the former Explore Park at the intersection of Roanoke, Franklin and Bedford counties. At this point, the Roanoke River becomes the Staunton River. (Photo by George Kegley)

the James River across Bedford and Franklin counties to Rocky Mount, is designated the Booker T. Washington Memorial Highway.

Downstream on the Bedford County side of the lake was located Ivy Cliffs, the Saunders home, which is now under water.This was the home of Daniel Green and Frances Boone Leftwich Saunders, who had previously lived across the river in Pittsylvania County. While living in Pittsylvania, a son, W. Boone, was born Sept. 12, 1878. While he was a small child, his parents moved to the Ivy Cliff estate where he spent his childhood. He resided in Gillette, Wyo., and was engaged in lumber business in Wyoming, Montana, South Dakota and Nebraska. He was active in the Democratic party and served in the Wyoming House of Representatives and State Senate, where he was president and served as acting governor. He was on a committee of three members of the Wyoming legislature appointed to inform Mrs. Nellie Taylor, elected governor in 1924, that the House was organized and ready to meet and hear her message. Mrs. Ross replied to the committee, "You are making history. The first committee to notify the first woman governor." Saunders died Aug. 23, 1968 in Gillette, Wyo., and was buried in that city.

A neighboring farm to Ivy Cliffs was The Big House, known as the Cunningham-Saunders farm. Among those buried in the family cemetery, now in the Smith Mountain Lake State Park, is James Goob Saunders and his wife, Mattie Dudley Saunders. J. Goob Saunders was a Confederate veteran of the War Between the States and a Franklin County surveyor. In 1883, when the Northern Pacific Railroad was built through the Dakota Territory, he moved his family to that section, homesteading in Dickinson County. He was deputy U.S, surveyor for government lands in Dakota Territory and surveyed the boundary that separated what later (1889) became North Dakota and South Dakota. He served as clerk of Stark County, N. Dak., from 1897 until his retirement in 1913. He was born July 26, 1841 and died Oct. 15, 1914.

In the gap of Smith's Mountain is the dam creating Smith Mountain Lake, the largest lake within the state. The idea of a dam in the gap dates to 1924 and it reached reality with its completion in 1966. The dam in the gorge is 227 feet high, 816 feet long, 2 feet thick at the base and 10 feet thick at the top. It has a 500-mile shore line and covers 20,000 acres. Smith Mountain Lake State Park, on the Bedford County side of the lake, was opened in 1983. It covers 1,227 acres with a 16-mile shore line.

Just below the gap was located the Saponi Indian village, with the chief's residence at Pintakoe, near present Leesville. It was through this gap on Sept. 1, 1671 that Capt. Abraham (Abram) Wood led an exhibition of four white men—Thomas Batts, Thomas Woods, Robert Fallam and John Weason—their guide, Chief Perecute, an Appomattox Indian, and seven other Indians into the wilderness, which resulted in their discovery of New River (later research discovered the names were Thomas Batte and Robert Hallam).

The last community in Bedford County in the lower lake area is Huddleston. In desiring to honor the man for whom it was named, his name was misspelled. The village on Goode Creek was first known as Claytor and it grew with the construction of the Virginian Railway (later acquired by the Norfolk and Western Railway, now the Norfolk Southern Railway). A post office was opened Aug. 28, 1909, known as Updike, with David Updike as postmaster. The community name was changed Feb. 24, 1910, to Huddleston to honor Henry Huttleston Rogers, builder of the Virginian Railway.

The Virginian Railway had the distinction of being the only relatively large railroad ever constructed via the personal means of one man. Rogers built a fortune with the Standard Oil Co., in oil production, transportation, copper, gas, railroad and banking interests. With the coal developments in West Virginia, he became interested in a rail line from the coal fields to the seacoast and from this came the old Virginia Railroad Co. The Deepwater Railway Co. was entered in West Virginia court records Jan. 25, 1898; in 1902 the charter was amended to go to the Virginia state line. On. Feb. 13, 1904, the Tidewater Railway Co. was chartered in Virginia. The Deepwater and Tidewater lines were merged March 8, 1907, becoming the Virginian Railway Co. Thus Rogers' dream of a rail line 443 miles from from Deepwater, W. Va., through Southside Virginia to Sewell's Point at Norfolk became a reality.

The first passenger service on the Virginian line from Roanoke to Norfolk began July 1, 1909, and the last passenger service on the line was on Jan. 29, 1956. On Dec. 1, 1959, the Virginian line was merged into the Norfolk and Western Railway System. Henry H. Rogers, the founder, was born Jan. 29, 1840 in Mattapoisett, Mass., son of Rowland and Mary Eldridge Huttleston Rogers, being a descendant of Thomas Rogers, one of the 101 passengers on the Mayflower. He was twice married. His first wife, who died in 1894, was Abbie Palmer Gifford, the mother of his five children. In 1896, he married Mrs. Emelie Augusta Randel Hart. He did not live to see passenger service put into operation on his railroad although he was through the area on an inspection trip April 5, 1909. As he was preparing to go to his office on May 19, 1909, he suffered a heart attack at his New York City home and died. He is buried in Riverside Cemetery in Fairhaven, Mass.

The eastern-most Campbell County community on the river is Leesville. The village near the junction of Goose Creek into the river derives its name from John Lee, who bought land in 1793 from Capt. Jacobus Early and in 1818 laid off lots for building a town. It is just upstream from the village that the Leesville Lake dam was built, completed in 1964. The dam is 90 feet from the riverbed, 920 feet in length, with an area of approximately 3,400 acres and a 100-mile shoreline. The waters of Leesville Lake back up to the base of the Smith Mountain Lake dam.

Between 1845 and 1848, efforts were attempted in the Virginia General Assembly to create a new county to be named Staunton, with Leesville as the county seat. This county was to be composed of sections of Bedford, Campbell and Pittsylvania counties in that area. In the 1845-1846 session of the House of Delegates, a petition from the Committee of Propositions and Grievances presented a report on the petition which in its conclusion read, "that the prayer of said petitioners be rejected for failure to comply with the requisites of the law in relation to the formation of new counties." In the 1847-1848 session, the matter was again brought before the House of Delegates. Del. James Lanier of Pittsylvania County remonstrating against the formation of a new county. Del. William P. Burwell of Bedford County also presented a memorial from citizens of Bedford County remonstrating against the formation of a new county. At the Feb. 3, 1848 session, on motion of Del. Lanier, it was ordered that the Committee of

Propositions and Grievances be discharged from the petition of the citizens of the three counties for the formation of a new county and the issue was laid on the table.

The Southern Railway operated a line that passed through the present site of Altavista and it was the construction of the Virginian Railway that started the growth of the community. The Lane Brothers Co. in 1905 was awarded a contract for a section in Bedford and Campbell counties. Noting the Virginian would cross the north-south Southern line, they purchased land in the area and began the development of Lane Siding, which was later changed to Altavista because of the high view. Across the river, south of Altavista, was the settlement known as Staunton River Valley, which was developed by John I. Hurt and the name was later changed to Hurt to honor his family.

Farther downstream in Campbell County is the Long Island community whose name comes from an island in the river.

Near the Halifax and Charlotte County lines is Brookneal, situated between Falling and Staunton rivers. Its name is derived from the intermarriage of the Brooks and Neal families in the area.

A major engagement of the Civil War was fought June 25, 1864 at the railroad bridge over the Staunton River near Wylliesburg in Charlotte County.The bridge was held by a body of Confederate reserves and veterans from Charlotte, Halifax and Mecklenburg counties against Union cavalry forces raiding to destroy railroads.

The names "Roanoke" and "Staunton" vary in use, especially in Charlotte County. One particular instance is the two churches on Route 678, about two miles apart. They are Roanoke Presbyterian Church, established in 1848, and Staunton River Baptist Church, established in 1893. The land they are on is regarded as once having been part of the vast Staunton Hill estate of the Bruce family.

Red Hill, the estate and burial place of the statesman, Patrick Henry, is just east of Brookneal. Another of his estates was Seven Islands, across the river from Brookneal in Halifax County. Henry was born in 1736 in Hanover County and was a delegate from Virginia to the Continental Congress in 1774-1776. He had served in the House of Burgesses in 1765, as Virginia governor twice, 17761-1779 and 1784-1786, and in 1794 declined appointments to the U.S. Senate as well as secretary of state, chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court and minister to France. In 1799, he was elected to the State Senate but he did not take his seat. He moved to Red Hill in 1796 and died there on June 6, 1799.

The Bruce family estate, Staunton Hill, a replica of the Bruce ancestral castle in Scotland, was one of the largest estates in Virginia and the home of state, national and international leaders. It sits on a bluff above the river, east of Brookneal. The mansion was built in the early 1800s by Charles Bruce on lands he had received from his father, James Bruce. William Cabell Bruce, a son of Charles Bruce, was born at Staunton Hill on March 12, 1860, and was educated in Nelson County, the University of Virginia, the College of William and Mary and the University of Maryland Law School in Baltimore. He served in the Maryland State Senate in 1894-1896 and the U.S. Senate from Maryland in 1923-1929. He died May 9, 1946, in Ruxton, Md., and is buried in St. Thomas Episcopal Church Cemetery in Garrison, Md.

His son, David K. E. Bruce, was one of the nation's most distinguished diplomats. David Bruce was born Feb. 12, 1898, in Baltimore and was educated at Princeton University and the University of Virginia. After service in the Army in World War I, he studied at the University of Maryland, entering public life in 1924. He was a member of the Maryland House of Delegates in 1924-1926. He was assistant secretary of Commerce in 1947-1948, ambassador to France in 1949-1952, undersecretary of state in 1952-1953, ambassador to West Germany in1957-1959, ambassador to Great Britain in 1961-1969, representative to the Vietnam peace talks in Paris in 1970-1971, liaison office to the People's Republic of China in 1973-1974, and ambassador to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1971-1976. David Bruce was a member of the Virginia House of Delegates, representing Charlotte County, in 1940-1942. He was awarded the Medal of Freedom by President Gerald Ford. He suffered a heart attack

and died Dec. 5, 1977, in Washington and is buried there. His son, David S. Bruce, owns and resides at Staunton Hill.

Downstream was the Roanoke estate of John Randolph, another national political figure. He was born in Prince George County in 1773 and educated in Orange County, the College of William and Mary, College of New Jersey (now Princeton University), and Columbia College in New York City. He served in the House of Representatives at various times, 1799-1813, 1815-1817, 1819-1825, when he resigned after he was appointed to the U. S. Senate, and again in the House, 1827-1829. He also served in the U.S. Senate from March 4, 1833, until his death two months later in Philadelphia. He was buried on his Roanoke plantation and later reinterred in Hollywood Cemetery in Richmond.

As the stream enters the John H. Kerr (Buggs Island) reservoir, the last community on the river in Virginia is Clarksville, named for Clark Royster, who was a land owner in the area when Clarksville was founded in 1818.

The John H. Kerr Dam, often referred to as Buggs Island reservoir and lake because of the 169-acre island just downstream from the dam, is in Mecklenburg County as the stream enters North Carolina. Construction on the dam began in 1946 and was completed in 1953. The lake covers 50,000 acres, extends 39 miles upstream and has a 800-mile shoreline. It was named for John H. Kerr of Warrenton, N.C., who was active in the construction efforts. Kerr, who lived from 1873 to 1958, served in the House of Representatives from North Carolina from 1923 to 1953.

As the river enters North Carolina, the Roanoke name is resumed and the water of the reservoir is known as Lake Gaston as the stream approaches Roanoke Rapids.

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Christmas Eve on the Norfolk & Western in Rural Retreat

by David R. Stephenson

O Winston Link was busy during the days surrounding Christmas 1957. The clock was running out for steam on the Bristol line passenger trains and the last runs through that part of Virginia were scheduled for Dec. 31. Link did not have a lot of time to spare for photos or recordings.

On Dec. 18, he was in Rural Retreat, recording Train 17. No photos were taken. From Dec. 19 through Dec. 23, Link was in Max Meadows and took lots of pictures but he didn't make any recordings.

On Dec. 24, Link started by recording Train 46 at Wytheville and Train 42 at Max Meadows. Late Christmas Eve, he worked his way south to catch the chimes of Grace Lutheran Church in Rural Retreat. The recording at Rural Retreat wasn't to his liking. He noted, "Auto sounds should come out. Not good for anything."

Still, Link must have heard and seen something worth remembering, because on Dec. 26 he was back in Rural Retreat and took four pictures. (In his numbering system these were photographs NW 1628-1631). He concentrated on the photo setup , and no recordings were made.

He posed Dallas Newman and his daughter, Elizabeth, on the station platform and photographed westbound Train 17. He requested a slow order past the station for eastbound Train 42, with lots of white steam and smoke. Engineer W.W. Rickey, fireman Doug Wohlford and Class J603 delivered on that request; Link captured it all! The photo published here for the first time, may be the most visually dramatic of all Link's photos at Rural Retreat. Better yet, Mr. Wohlford is clearly visible in the cab window.

However, Link was still not satisfied. He had one more idea in mind before he had to move on to other locations. There were only five days left.

Link returned to Rural Retreat on Dec. 27 with a plan to put all the pieces together: chimes, train and people. There were seven artists at work that night: Link (cameras), Roy Zider (recorder), Mrs. J.E. Dodson (chimes), J.L. Akers (lantern), C.H. Hartshock (the passenger who got off the train) and the crew on Class J 603. Those combined forces gave us what is likely the most memorable steam railroad recording ever made.

David R. Stephenson, a retired engineer who worked on railroad cases for the Interstate Commerce Commission, is a devoted railroad history follower who lives at Reston and often works with the Norfolk and Western Railway Historical Society in Roanoke. He wrote this article about famed railroad photographer O. Winston Link, for the society's publication, The Arrow.

Train 17, the Birmingham Special, was racing away from the depot at Rural Retreat on Dec. 27, 1957, when O. Winston Link took this famous picture. (Photo courtesy of O. Winston Link Museum)

But wait a minute. This recording has always been "9:39 p.m. on Christmas Eve 1957 in Rural Retreat, Virginia" in the liner notes for all versions of The Fading Giant, yet it was made three days later. Did Link try to put one over on us? I don't think so.

Okay, so it wasn't recorded on Christmas Eve; that's a matter of history in Link's own handwriting. But the recording is much more than just a day on the calendar. Link's "Christmas Eve in Rural Retreat" is what he wanted us to remember: carols from the nearby church, the distant whistle and approach of The Pelican, and the wonderfully long departure as 603 continues into the night. The sounds are transcendent. It's really Christmas Eve anywhere we want it to be. The recording doesn't need a location or a date or a time. Listen and you're there.

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