

Historical Society of Western Virginia

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



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In Memoriam

George Kegley

Editor of the Journal

Christina Koomen Production, Editorial Assistant The Journal, Vol. XXII, No. 1, chronicles the history of the Commonwealth west of the Blue Ridge. It is published by the Historical Society of Western Virginia, P. O. Box 1904, Roanoke, Va. 24008. The price for additional copies is \$5 for members and \$10 for others. The Society welcomes unsolicited material but submissions cannot be returned and the Society cannot be responsible for damage or loss.



Roanoke City Public Library

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On the cover: "Natural Bridge," 1808 engraving by J.C. Stadler, after William Roberts; image sourced from the Monticello website. For more about Natural Bridge, see page 36.

Message From the President

n behalf of the board of directors and the staff of the Historical Society of Western Virginia, we are privileged to share with you this present edition of the society's Journal. As the primary historical society for our region, we seek to celebrate and preserve the history of Western Virginia through exhibits, tours, special events, digital resources, archives, research and pub-

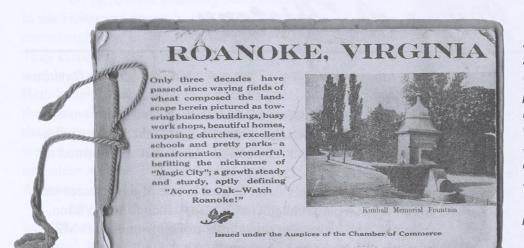
lications. The Journal has always been a primary benefit of membership in our society, as the articles reflect a wide range of historical interests in our region.

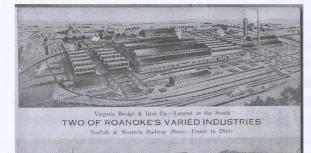
In this issue, various authors share about Jewish history in downtown Roanoke, slave coffles along the Great Road, a Colonial-era Franklin County church, and the first airplane flight to occur in Roanoke, plus much more. As always we are indebted to our longtime editor, George Kegley, for his enthusiasm and commitment in producing our Journal. In addition, Christina Koomen continues to do excellent layout work.

This year is exciting and promising for your historical society. We are in the preliminary phase of crafting a permanent and interactive children's exhibit that will help our History Museum complement the other family-oriented activities occurring regularly at Center In the Square. This summer, we will install a wonderfully designed stained glass window at the O. Winston Link gift shop depicting the famed Norfolk &Western J 611 steam locomotive. Current and future exhibits will focus on Appalachian artisans, "Trains Around the World," Roanoke weddings and a touring exhibit from the Library of Virginia.

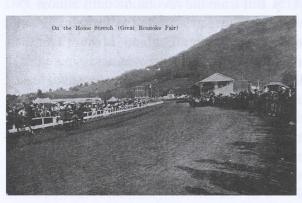
To make yesterday available today requires volunteers, donors and corporate citizens. To all those who partner with us, we thank you and hope you enjoy this edition of the Journal.

— Nelson Harris











Rands Hapta



These photos are a sampling from an early album of the Roanoke Chamber of Commerce, prepared by Hammond Printing Co. They were presented to the Society from the estate of Josephine Johnstone Slemp of Wytheville. They were apparently photographed about 1910-1912, a growth period for Roanoke, then known as the Magic City.

The 40-page album, which measures a pocket-sized 4 by 6 inches, contains dozens of images of businesses, churches, homes and landscapes from around the Roanoke Valley.

Pictured are (top to bottom, left to right) the introduction page, the Virgina Bridge & Iron plant and N&W shops; Jefferson Street; the old race course at Victory Stadium; three of Roanoke's early hospitals (Roanoke Memorial, Lewis-Gale and Jefferson Surgical Hospital); Crystal Spring Park; and Elmwood Park.

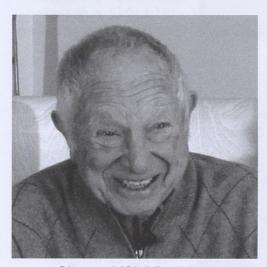


Roanoke Jews: A History

by Sig Davidson

I think the real place to start is when Big Lick became Roanoke. And at that time there was a publication by the state listing various merchants in the state and it listed four shops that were owned by Jewish people in what had been Big Lick and was now Roanoke.

One is a shoe store, two clothing stores and a dry goods store; at least ... one of those stores was owned by a man named Ike Bacharach, who lived in a place called Gish's Mill, which is now Vinton,



Sigmund "Sig" Davidson

Virginia. And he used to ride a little trolley from Gish's Mill to Roanoke where he had his stores.

THE EARLY YEARS

In 1889 it was publicized there were at least 18 Jewish families in Roanoke. And in 1889 they decided to have a place of worship which became Temple Emanuel. Now most of these Jews were from Germany and were Reform Jews. They were classic Reform Jews where they felt that most of their service should be conducted in the language of the country they were living in, rather than in Hebrew. And I think that was the case with the first Temple Emanuel.

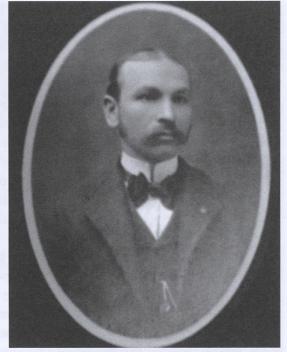
From the time of the revolution, there were quite a few Jews living in the U.S. But from the revolution until almost 75 years later there were very few Jews coming to America. Most of them were from Germany or from England. Most of them were classic Reform Jews. In 1881, a czar was assassinated in

Russia and the czar who took his place tried to blame the Jews for his assassination. He decreed at least one third of the Jews would be forced to leave the countries they controlled, one third would be killed and one third would be forced to give up their Judaism. This caused a great exodus of Jews in what is now Russia or the Baltic States or central Europe. And many of those Jews first came to New York City; in fact, so many of them remained in New York that the powers that be of the Jewish community there decided that there should be another port of entry for Jews to come and they opened the port of Galveston, Texas.

Most of the Jewish people who came to Roanoke evidently came from Baltimore. Baltimore was a place where a lot of the early tailoring industry in the United States was, and still some firms still started in Baltimore ... that's clothing firms. And a lot of these people that were tailors who were in Baltimore starting coming down the Shenandoah Valley into this area. Most of them came 10 or 15 years after they first came to America to Baltimore or New York.

This is an edited transcript of a video interview with Sig Davidson, longtime clothing merchant and community leader in Roanoke, presented on Feb. 3, 2011. The program was arranged by Amy Morris of Philadelphia, formerly of Roanoke. Most of the photos are screen-captured from the video courtesy of Melissa Kegley. So there were gradually Jews coming into this area in the 1890s and the early 1900s. The Rosenberg family came originally; before Roanoke they were in Lynchburg. They came in 1889. They were also part of the original temple group. And in 1904 when the Jews decided to have Beth Israel, to form what is now Beth Israel, still some of them remained members of Temple Emanuel. But most of them became members of Beth Israel Synagogue. They were a very large family. And had a store that was located on Salem Avenue. But also had an entrance to Campbell Avenue.

My grandfather, Simon Silverman, came to Roanoke in 1889 and was one of the founding members of Temple Emanuel. Mr. Bacharach was also one of those founders. In 1894 Mr. Bacharach, who was also involved in real estate and I understand made quite a bit of money in real estate because so many people were moving to Roanoke to work for the Norfolk and Western railway — he donated land that is now where our present cemetery is located



Simon Silverman, Sig's grandfather

In 1904 certain members of the Roanoke Jewish community decided they wanted to be more orthodox in

their religion, so Beth Israel was formed in that year. Beth Israel bought a piece of property on the corner of Third Street SW, Roanoke Street and Franklin Road. And they remained there until 1928 when the present Beth Israel was built. And of course it has been maintained in that location ever since. Temple Emanuel purchased a piece of property which was located on Franklin Road between Elm Avenue and Day Avenue. Where, as I recall as a child, my father and I would go to services at Beth Israel on a Friday night and then after services we would go down to where the temple was and pick up my mother and my sister and we'd all go into the American Theater in downtown Roanoke to see a movie following services.

Because so many of the Jews that wanted to be near Beth Israel, so they would not have to ride on the Sabbath, lived on Washington in Old Southwest and on Marshall Avenue, in one block there were probably at least 30, between 20 and 30 Jewish families living there, including the Masinter family. Milcha Masinter was the cantor, the melamid, the teacher and the shochet for Beth Israel. I remember him coming in and killing a chicken in my backyard. I don't exactly remember what the date was, but it had to be in the 1920s. Morris Masinter in the 1920s and 1930s was probably the outstanding member of the Jewish community. Morris served in WWI in the infantry, but in WWII he was head of the draft board.

Jake Brenner, who originally came from Latvia, had a horse and buggy and used to travel up and down the area buying and selling junk. And he started a scrap iron place at the corner of Campbell and Williamson Road.

A lot of the Jewish people had stores on Salem Avenue. There were half a dozen Jewish-owned shops, one right after another. They had to have their shops open before the N&W employees went to work, in case they needed some clothing, and then the weekends when the farmers would come in, they would stay open until after the farmers sold their wares and were ready to leave, then they would come shopping late at night on Saturday night.

I might comment that my grandfather, Simon Silverman, opened his store on Salem Avenue. And of course he brought his family which consisted of his wife, and his father and mother-in-law, and I think they are the oldest, first people to be buried in our cemetery, I'm not sure, and of course they had four daughters at the time, one of which was my mother. He had a store on Salem Avenue and the family lived over the store, which is very interesting. Now, Larry [Davisdon, Sig's son] is living over Davidsons. So what goes around comes around.

Most of the Jewish stores in the early years were on Salem Avenue. They included clothing stores, there were jewelry stores. Morris Harrison had a jewelry store there for years. And for a while after he died, it was owned by another person still under the name of Harrisons. After that, Jerome Barr



Morris Masinter

moved into that location and operated Barr Brothers and was there for many years. Charlie Rosenberg, one of the Rosenberg brothers, operated a soda shop or a cigar shop where they used to post all of the baseball scores on the windows and people would watch the baseball scores there.

In those early days in the 1890s and in the 1900s there was also a little soda shop where they sold ice cream and sodas. That was operated by Dan Moss. That was a place for a lot of Jewish people to gather on weekends. Members of both houses of worship. Most of these shops that were located on Salem Avenue moved into the market area about the time of World War I.

There was a Mr. Izzie Kahn who came to Roanoke to work for N&W as a tailor. People asked him why he was making the clothing for the N&W. Conductors would ask him if he would make them suits. So he started the clothing business known as I. Kahn and they remained in business until they had a fire in the early 1950s

Irving Saks had originally started his business in the

American Theater building on the west side of Jefferson Street. He

moved over to Smartwear-Irving Saks, which actually got national fame and acclamation because it was such a very lovely store.

Following World War I, a lot of the Jewish-owned stores moved into other locations, both on the Market where Sam's, the Shapiro family, started in 1916, I believe, and Jake Halperin, whose son, Poachie Halperin, had the Army-Navy Store — of course that was eventually bought out by Sam's. Fox's Bargain Store — Issie Fox came from Russia and he started the store, Fox Bargain store, which is on the market.

Fink's Jewelers came to Roanoke. Nathan Fink served in World War I and came to Roanoke in the middle of 1920 and opened Fink's jewelry store. Of course that stayed in downtown Roanoke and moved to its present location out on Route 419. There were two Foreman brothers who had a ladies' shop, the family had a ladies' shop on Jefferson Street for many years. They also opened up a theater in the early 1900s and that theater remained open until 1911 or 1912, at which point the American Theater had opened and was much larger and much greater competition, so they stopped that in the 1950s, up until the end of the 1960s when all the shopping centers came here.

Downtown Roanoke, as far as clothing was concerned, especially ladies clothing, was mostly Jewish. I mean there was Foreman's, Spiegels, there were two Spiegels. There was one, a fashion Spiegels. You'd come in, Sam Spiegel would put you down on the sofa, bring the merchandise out for you. Then there was Joe Spiegel on the corner of Campbell and First Street, two stories or three stories. He sold to every teacher in town, ... Then there was another little shop, for a while it was a shoe store on the corner of Jefferson and Kirk Avenue, right across Kirk Avenue where the theater was. Joe Goldstein had the family shoe store there. And then when he sold his business or whatever happened to it, Nat This photo was taken contemporaneously with the grand opening of the Smartwear-Irving Saks store at 210-212 S. Jefferson Street on April 19, 1948. The image features bridal fashions in the bridal salon.

(Photo courtesy History Museum of Western Virginia)



Spiegel, who was the third Spiegel, had the Natalie shop there. There were at least eight or nine or more ladies' clothing stores on Jefferson Street, owned by Jewish people.

And I remember in the 1950s, as a merchant, on a busy Saturday, you needed a machete to get through the crowds on Campbell Avenue and Jefferson Street. Then the shopping centers came, different story.

THE CEMETERY

The fence divided Temple and Synagogue. ... Actually the cemetery was owned by the membership of Temple Emanuel until 1912, at which point the membership of BI [Beth Israel] bought the piece of property they have their plots on now.

The fence was right between that natural dividing line. But the fence is no longer there, because when I was on the board of Temple Emanuel I insisted and finally got them to remove that fence and I don't think there should be a fence between the two. I think if anybody objected to it, it was me. Because my father's father, Samuel Davidson, who died in 1936, is buried in BI, as he was a member of BI, and my father. In fact, I'm a child of mixed marriage, because my family has belonged to both congregations almost all my life.

WORLD WAR I

Incidentally, there were actually 12 members of the Jewish community that served in World War I. Izzie Kahn was in the Air Force, believe it or not, in World War I. I don't know if he flew or not, but he was in the Air Force. There were two members of the Jewish community, one a Mr. Sam Halperin and the other Mr. Harry Thames, who were in the infantry and their division served with the British in northern France, and were exposed to gas, to poison gas, and they suffered through their lives as a result of that. Morris Masinter also served in the infantry in World War I, as did Ruby Rosenberg, I think. The rest of the Jewish participants from the Roanoke community in World War I were in the Navy.

ANTI-SEMITISM IN ROANOKE

There was a good bit of anti-Semitism in the community in the1920s and 1930s. Now one of my personal experiences which really brought that out was the fact that there were a lot of areas where Jews were not allowed to buy or build property. Of course this eventually disappeared but in the 1920s and 1930s this was very prevalent.

There were also signs, and I never saw the signs, but I'm told they existed on two of the public swimming areas in the city of Roanoke that said "no Jews, niggers or dogs allowed." I never saw them. My aunt, my mother's sister, had a little country home out on Peters Creek. She had 10 acres there with a little bungalow and a screened-in porch where 15 people could sleep there. And a lot of us went there and spent the summer out there. I went out when school was over and was out there all summer until it was time I started chasing girls.

I remember that my aunt had put a dam across Peters Creek so there was a little swimming place. It was 5 or 6 feet deep. If you were careful you could dive into it. And there used to be on weekends maybe 30 or 40 carloads of Jewish people who came out there to swim because they didn't feel like they were allowed to come out to those places in downtown Roanoke.



Arthur Taubman

TAKING CARE OF OUR OWN

One of the things that was very important before the war, that I think people should know: Arthur Taubman was a very wonderful person. He had brought his business here, Advance Stores, in 1932. His first location was on Jefferson Street, the 500 block on the west side of the street, before the war. And there were Jews trying to leave Germany. In order for them to come to the U.S., our Immigration Department required that there be someone here to be responsible, to say they were relatives and they would be responsible for them. Arthur took it on himself to guarantee, I don't know what the number was, somewhere between 30 and 75, I've heard both numbers of people, who were refugees from Germany coming to this country. And it was a fact that he was asked by the immigration authorities, "Are all these people your relatives?" and he said anybody in that kind of trouble is a relative so he was responsible.

WORLD WAR II

I will say in World War II there were 101 members of the Jewish community who participated in the armed services. Several of the doctors ... Dr. Andy Shapiro spent a lot of time in London in the hospitals there, even before the American troops were there, taking care of the people that were killed by the German bombings of England and he stayed there even after World War II was over. There were four Jewish men, one Paul Fox, who was shot down in the Air Force, Sanford Thames, Irving Myers and Harry Ofsa were all in the Air Force and then crashed. I think all three of those were in crashes in the United States.

AFTER THE WAR

After the war, a lot of people in the community got together. I think the leadership both financially and in direction were Arthur Taubman and Ned Schlossberg who formed what was known as the Green Hills Country Club [west of Salem]. Now that was basically a wonderful swimming place but it was also a place for social events. We used to have a lot of dances there on the weekends. And we played a lot of athletics. There was a wonderful softball team, which was led by Poachie Halperin and Artie Levin, and we played volleyball. We had a tennis court. We had a lot of social events. In fact a few nights we'd get so boisterous we'd even do a little skinny dipping.

There was a lot of fellowship and we really enjoyed it. Until things started changing. There wasn't anti-Semitism. It disappeared. We could still live in most places in Roanoke and a lot of com-

munities where condominiums were built and they had their own swimming places. And about that time, Smith Mountain Lake was formed so people started building homes up there. So the need for Green Hills sort of disappeared. The money that was left when the property was sold ... I will say has been used to set up a foundation. And that foundation has been a support every year for the joint religious school.

The Roanoke Country Club and the Hidden Valley Country Club did not allow Jewish members. I think Hunting Hills actually solicited them and that has always been a place where a lot of Jewish people have joined and become very active.

SUPPORTING THE STATE OF ISRAEL

There was a man here soliciting funds for the state of Israel. So they declared it a state and the Arab countries say, "Oh no, we're going to wipe Israel out." There's a man here trying to get money to support Israel. My aunt, my Uncle Sol Silverman, my mother's brother, who worked for my father until he died, but she was at this meeting and she was from a family that was very little conscious of her Judaism, but for some reason she was at this meeting. And she said to this man, "My brother, his name is David Miller, had been the football coach at John Marshall High School in Richmond and then the football coach of the freshman class at VMI, and then gone into the Air Force as a procurement officer, and after the war he stayed in France buying and selling all the military equipment still in Europe." And so she said to this man, "Contact my brother, David Miller," and sure enough, he was able to get x-number, I don't know how many, French war planes to be the Air Force of the state of Israel in the war for independence in 1948. There was an article, there was a book written about it, called "Mrs. Silverman's Airplanes." So it's a great story and it actually happened. He was able to get an air force. I don't know how many it was, 20 or 30 whatever planes, but they needed it. What they did, the Six-Day War, they did that so beautifully, it made all Jews proud of themselves. I think that's one thing.

But I think most ethnic groups, whether they are religiously ethnic or they are Italian, Korean whatever — once they come to a country, immigrate, they want to be assimilated. They want to work to make people to love them. But somewhere down the line that's what happened to our Jewish communities. We said, "Hey, wait a minute, we have a wonderful tradition. And we've got to follow up on it." And I think that's what happened then.

PROMOTING JEWISH LIFE

In the 1970s, late '70s, maybe the '80s, I'm not sure, but the powers that be with UJA [United Jewish Appeal] decided there should be a special drive. I forgot what they wanted it for, and it was to take over for three years, but in addition to the annual United Jewish Appeal drive — and originally I was opposed to it because I said we ought to do it at the same time; I said why have two different drives because there's a shortage of manpower — well no ... the powers that be said, "Let's do it." At the time RJCC was in effect, Joe Penn was the president. We raised more money that year than I think we ever had raised.

The Roanoke Jewish Community Council [RJCC] originally was sort of an ad hoc organization. It was started prior to the formation of the state of Israel. I think Arthur Taubman was probably the man who originally started raising money here for first people who were leaving Germany and then going to the State of Israel. If there were charitable needs here for the Jewish community, it took care of those. And I will say the community did carry on a drive for Israel every year from the year the state of Israel was formed until, well, it is still carried on. But for a while it was just "We gotta do it? We'll do it." And I think in 1971 the president of RJCC was actually formulated and there was a president and officers. And I will say it still functions and mainly because of the efforts of Richard Kurshan. I think he is an unsung hero. He has done an awful lot of work over the years and I'm not sure it's ever been recognized.

When I was chairman of the Temple Religious School, and this was two or three years after Green Hills was formed, maybe even 10 years, let me see ... it was in the early 1950s, I got a call from our rabbi. He said both houses of worship had scheduled their Sunday School picnics to be at Green Hills at the same time. He said you have to call their Sunday School chairman and tell them to change the date. Well, I asked him, I won't repeat it, "Rabbi are you out of your ____mind? Really." And he said, "Yes, you have to do it." And I said, "I'll be damned if I will." And they went together and both were there at Green Hills where they should've been all along. I don't think they see each other as much as they should, now.

RUSSIAN RESETTLEMENT TO ROANOKE

Now let's talk about bringing the Russians in. Joe Penn again was the chairman of RJCC that year, and he got together several of us, and there's some interesting stories. Agnes Heller and I were given the job of finding these people jobs. Now there were four of them who came: Stan and Luba Ze-likovich, and the Shapiros. Got her a job at Lazarus because it was known that she made Russian dresses for brides. We made arrangements for them to live on Grandin Road. She did a wonderful job.

Luba's job in Russia had been working with the government. If there was a building project her job was to determine how much bricks, how much steel, all this stuff, how much labor was needed and she was to allocate all that. So I took her to see Sam Lionberger at Lionberger, I took her to see Bill Branch at Branch and Company. She clammed up. She couldn't speak English then. She could speak and understand English, but she pretended she couldn't. She wanted to be a hairdresser. But she never told me that. So I took her to about eight different places. Finally she said that's what I want to be ... and she did that for years. Stan was no problem. He went to work right away as an accountant and has done a wonderful job. He's a great guy, a wonderful guy.

Demi, this is a funny story too. We got Natasha Petersen, who taught Russian at Patrick Henry High School, to work with them to teach them English and Natasha was wonderful. She was very helpful at teaching them English. Natasha's son was friendly with Demi. So we tried to find Demi a job in photography. That's what he had done. But he really wanted to be a truck driver.

Agnes Heller and I had the job of getting them a place to work and of course we were lucky to find them a place to live there. Morton made them part of the community. Socialized with them and all. And of course you know there are about 40 former Russians of that group living here now. But Morton came in sort of after we got them here. Morton had been wonderful in staying with them.

B'NAI B'RITH

B'nai B'rith athletic achievement award was originally the brain child of two men who left the community soon after they conceived the idea. One was Stuart Felton and one was Howard Walpert. My peer group. I'm not sure if they are still alive or not. But it was their idea to form the B'nai B'rith athletic achievement award. And that has been carried on and has been a wonderful PR thing for the community. It gives, it approaches all the various local schools and gets them to send participants and then the person who receives the award is given a scholarship from the B'nai B'rith Foundation.

Bob Kaplan and Larry Davidson and I'm sure a couple others see that it takes place every year. They have to go to the various schools and make the presentation and get them to send in their people for the awards. And there are scholarships given each year. In most cases, the scholarships are accepted. A lot of cases the persons that win the scholarship are so bright they receive other scholarships.

AZA JEWISH YOUTH GROUP

There was a Jewish youth group called AZA. This consisted of maybe 25 guys from 15 to 21. Basically that's how Harriet and I got married, really. Because first I went down to Winston-Salem

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through AZA. In 1939, Bernie Natkin and I went down there for a tennis tournament. And I slept in the attic of a guy's home. And they showed me a picture of, she was a sophomore then, of the high school year book, they said this is the girl we wanted to get you a date with, but she's away at camp. I fell in love with that picture.

Now two years later, we in AZA had, as part of B'nai B'rith, had fifth district basketball teams and oratorial/debating teams. The winners of the sections of the fifth district were to meet in Roanoke. I was the chairman of the convention we had where the three winners met. We Roanoke and Winston-Salem chapters played basketball to warm them up in the old Market building,

Harriet was one of the girls who came up with the boys. She spent the night at Mildred Jean Halperin's house on Marshall Avenue. So she and Mildred Jean got to become good buddies. Then in April of 1942 she came up to visit with Mildred Jean and we had our first date. April 3rd, 1942. And I kept her out until six in the morning. But nothing happened. But then we got married on January 8th, 1944. I'm a slow worker, it took me a while.



Harriet Cohen, who later married Sig Davidson

BLACKBALLED

The Shenandoah Club. Arthur Taubman was the first, the first Jew to be asked to join the Shenandoah Club. He was a real community citizen. He was one of the people to get North Cross School started. But he was the first person, the first Jew to be asked to join the Shenandoah Club, and he was refused. Then his son, Nick Taubman, who had just served on city council and was asked to be a member, was refused. So those people who wanted Jewish people in there, and that included Bill Hubard who has passed away, Jay Turner, Bob Fishburn and Warner Dalhouse ... Maury Strauss and I were put up as members and we were blackballed.

Charles Lunsford said we want Jewish members in the Shenandoah Club. In fact I think there are Jewish members now. In fact, one of the reasons why Jay Turner was so gung ho on getting Maury and I as members of Shenandoah Club, he was out at the Roanoke Country Club and he grew up side by side in Raleigh Court with Eric Heiner and he brought Eric Heiner out to the Country Club to play tennis ... and there was an announcement over the loud speaker system to get him to come to the office and tell him that he couldn't have Eric Heiner playing tennis out there.

You know, it is typical what has happened in this country. Now I remember as a kid there were five movie houses downtown, and this was up until after World War II. There was only one ... the Roanoke Theater, which is no longer in existence, this was on Campbell Avenue, if you were black, you had to go not to the second balcony, but to the third balcony to see the movie. That was the only place in downtown Roanoke where a black person could go to the movies. Now that was after World War II. We took it for granted.

JEWISH SUPPORT FOR THE ROANOKE VALLEY

It's interesting to note that some of the local community charitable organizations were started by Jewish people. The Greenvale Nursery which is in existence today was started by a group of members of the temple, a ladies group, Pan Philian. Also, two Jewish doctors, Dr. Jerome Natt and Dr. Abe Jacobson, are responsible for Mental Health America Roanoke Valley, the technical name, which is in existence today and is a United Way agency.



Temple Emanuel (Photo by George Kegley)

When the community opened up, there were a lot of members of the Jewish community who have served on various organizations. For instance. Arthur Taubman was on the board of First National Exchange Bank, on the board of trustees. When that became Dominion Bank, his son. Nick Taubman, served on that board of trustees. Nick also served one or a couple years on Roanoke City Council. And Maury Strauss is serving now I think as a member on the board of Valley Bank. I think he's one of the originals on that. Marcus Kaplan served on the board of Colonial-American Bank. I served

on the board of First Federal Savings and Loan, which is no longer in existence. Also, I served on the board of trustees of Roanoke College, as president of Literacy Volunteers and president of Big Brothers Little Brothers of Roanoke. There were two librarians. One was Ruth Lipnik, a member of the Jewish community, a librarian at the Roanoke County Library on 419, and Sarah Rubush, who was not Jewish, a wonderful lady, a librarian at the Williamson Road Library. They were the ladies who originally got Literacy Volunteers of America started in the community. And I think Ruth should be recognized for that. They did an awful lot of work.

"THE BEST MAN I COULD FIND"

I think I was the first person to hire a black person to be a sales person in downtown Roanoke. I'm not sure about that, but I think that was the case with Reggie Davis in 1966. Reggie was shopping with me. He was a young guy but he was in charge of the stock room for John Norman's which at the time was two blocks up the street. And there were young guys who would come in there and they'd say, send Reggie down, I need him to help me make a selection. But because he was black they were afraid to put him on the floor as a salesman.

And there was a man that worked for my father named Mike Moss who was one hell of a salesman. He really was a fantastic salesman. He started working for my dad in 1950 and in 1966 he died and I had to replace him. And so I called Reggie who had been buying his gloves from me. Always dressed beautifully. I asked him to be a salesman in my store. Well, it was one of the smartest things I ever did. He was always the number two or number one salesman on the floor the whole time he was there. Just always a gentleman, people loved him. And I had one lady whose husband was a very good customer. He didn't say anything, but she came up to me and said, "Did the NAACP force you to hire him?" I said "no"and I meant it, he's the best man I could find. He really was. It was one of the smartest things I ever did.

GROWING UP JEWISH IN ROANOKE

In my own experience, of course, I went to Sunday School at Beth Israel. I was Bar Mitzvahed at Beth Israel. I had to make a deal with the rabbi and my father that I could come to learn Hebrew at Beth Israel because I was going to Lee Junior High School, which is no longer there, where the Poff building is, come home, this is during football season you know. I was Bar Mitzvahed in January so I was learning Hebrew from September until January. I never learned it very well there, but anyway, I was also playing sandlot football for the Highland Park Red Devils so I said if I can come home from Lee Junior, put on my football uniform, go to Beth Israel, take my Hebrew lessons and then go on to Highland Park to practice football, I'll do it. But I gotta go in my football uniform because I don't have time to go back home and change into my uniform. So that was the deal. I went to heder in a fooball uniform and learned my Hebrew. I don't think I read it very well. I did much better the last time I was Bar Mitzvahed. I said, "Rabbi, when I'm 83, which is you know, three score and



Beth Israel Synagogue (Photo by George Kegley)

10 plus 13, you're gonna Bar Mitzvah me again."

Mutzie Fox and Herbert Kupple, whose father had a store on Salem Avenue, Mutzie lived on Washington Avenue and so did the Kupples. And the Honeymans lived on Washington Avenue. That was a big Jewish area, but not as big as Marshall Avenue. The three of us were in the same grade. I had a funny experience when I was playing football for Jefferson High. I was on the B team. It seems they eliminated the eighth grade, so I didn't go through the eighth grade. The guys before me went through the eighth grade and then the ninth grade so two classes graduated together. There were 1,700 kids in my graduating class. So when I was playing football, I was a guard. There were six guys, guards, who were supposed to graduate the year before, who came back. So I was on the B team. Now one day, we were practicing up in Highland Park, there was a great big guy, I played guard and he played tackle, right beside me. He must've weighed 250 pounds, big guy, and I must've weighed about 135 at the time, maybe 140. Anyway, there was a guy by the name of Nackley, a Syrian boy on the team ... and this guy sitting next to me said what is Nackley, is he a Jew or something? I said he's not Jewish. He said how do you know? I said cuz I'm Jewish. And this guy jumped back a foot, and he was twice as big as me, I guess, he'd say where are your horns? That was my experience.

SIG'S REFLECTIONS: "I BELIEVE IN LOVE..."

Well, I believe in love. It's what it's all about. And I'm a lucky guy in that respect. You know, as far as I'm concerned, believe me I'm proud I am a Jew, I wouldn't want to be anything else. We've come a long way. We've still got a long way to go, but we've come a long way.

Simon Silverman, the man I'm named after — I'll tell you my mother, because of the nursery rhyme, "Simple Simon Met a Pie Man," decided not to name me Simon, named me Sigmund. I've never forgiven her.

Crossing Roanoke Valley in Chains and Handcuffs

by George Kegley

n the early 1800s, many bands of slaves, known as coffles, walked along the Great Road through the Roanoke Valley, handcuffed and in chains, traveling from Virginia to slave auctions and cotton fields in the South. This major movement of slaves has been overlooked by most regional historians until several books described the process in the last decade.

Scattered reports told of coffles of slaves walking 25 miles a day for a couple of months, led by traders on horseback or in carriages, sleeping in haystacks or anywhere they could rest. The shift of thousands of slaves from the Upper South to the Lower South, a trip of more than 1,000 miles, was an issue of supply and demand. Virginia had a surplus of slaves after some tobacco fields were exhausted, and the invention of the cotton gin in 1793 led to a cotton boom and a great demand for slave labor in Georgia, Alabama and Louisiana.

Interviews of former slaves at Starkey in Roanoke County, Lynchburg and Danville, a sketch by folklore artist Lewis Miller of a coffle near Staunton, and eyewitness accounts of coffles crossing New River at Radford and passing Abingdon provide proof of heavy slave traffic through Southwest Virginia in the 1830s to 1840s. A November 2015 Smithsonian magazine article under the heading "Slavery's Trail of Tears" tells of "Retracing America's forgotten migration — the journey of a million African-Americans from the Tobacco South to the Cotton South."

Many coffles followed the Great Road west into Tennessee and eventually to slave markets in Mississippi and New Orleans, a 1,000-mile-plus trip, while other slaves walked along a southern route through North Carolina. Some were placed aboard ships, a more expensive trip, or rode trains in later years.

Vivid descriptions of slave migration were researched by Steven Deyle in "Carry Me Back: The Domestic Slave Trade in American Life":

After purchase, the most common means of transporting slaves south was by overland coffle. As a rule, slave coffles consisted of 30 to 40 individuals, although they sometimes numbered in the hundreds. In southwestern Virginia, the Englishman George Featherstonhaugh came across a coffle driven by John Armfield that had 300 slaves and nine wagons for supplies. A former slave in that state likewise remembered seeing them "come in lines reachin' as far as you kin see." The men were usually handcuffed in pairs and fastened to a long chain that connected each pair. The women and children either walked or rode in a wagon, and the white drivers, carrying guns and whips, rode on horseback at each end of the coffle. The trip normally took seven to eight weeks marching at around twenty to twenty-five miles per day. Generally, they camped in the woods and the fields. As one woman who was forced to march from Richmond to Macon, Georgia, recalled: "Late in the even's we stretched the tents and cooked super and spread out blankets an' slept. Then after breakfast 'bout sunup, we start travelin' again."

George Kegley is editor of the Journal.

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Lewis Miller, premier Appalachian folklore artist, drew this sketch of "a company of slaves" walking from Staunton to Tennessee about 1853. The sketch is from Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. Gift of Dr. and Mrs. Richard M. Kain in memory of George Hay Kain.

At times they spent the night at farmhouses and other accommodations along the way. As one Kentucky man remembered:

One night a gang of slaves were driven up to my father's house at dusk. The slave dealer wanted to put them in the barn for the night, but father was afraid of fire and would not allow it. We had a big haystack outdoors, and all the slaves, men, women and children were chained together and slept on the haystack that night. Some of the women had babies in their arms.

A Virginia man recalled staying at a tavern in western Virginia when "a drove of 50 or 60 negroes stopped at the same place that night." They usually camped out, he said, but as it was excessively muddy, they were permitted to come into the house where they all slept on the floor. Another Virginia man said he saw four different droves of slaves in a single day.

Slave coffles, with their long string of chained and shackled men and some women and children, herded by men with whips and guns, made a strange and disturbing sight, Steven Deyle wrote in "Carry Me Back." Many slave traders "tried to mitigate this fact by forcing their captives to sing or engage in other acts of merriment."

In another account of the 1834 travels of George Featherstonhaugh, a government geologist, recorded in "Virginia's Montgomery County," he described the crossing of New River by a slave caravan at Ingles Ferry, west of Radford. At New River, he said, he came upon

> A camp of Negro slave drivers...they had about 300 slaves with them, who had bivouacked the preceding night in chains in the woods. Having forded the river in a flat-bottomed boat, we drew up on the road (and watched the crossing of the slaves); first a man on horseback selected a shallow place in the ford for the male slaves; then followed a wagon and four horses attended by another man on horseback. The other wagons contained the children and some that were lame, while the scows or flatboats, crossed the women and some of the people belonging to the caravan.

In a 1938 interview for a Negro Studies Project printed in a book, "Weevils in the Wheat," Baily Cunningham, an ex-slave who lived at Starkey, recalled life on a Bedford County plantation.

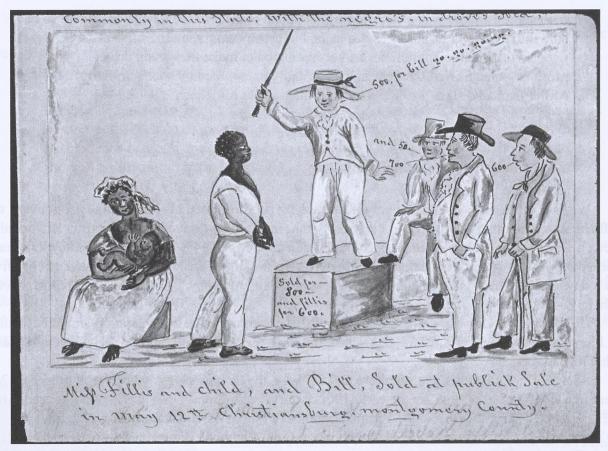
All the field hands our master did not need on the plantation were sold (hired out) to the tobacco factories at Lynchburg. The stray slaves wandering about were taken up by the 'traders' and held until he had about a hundred then they were sold and taken to the southern cotton fields. They were chained together. A chain fastened to the arm of each one and they went afoot to North Carolina, South Carolina to Georgia driven by their new master.

In a 1937 interview recorded in "Weevils in the Wheat," Lorenzo Ivy of Danville said: Dey sol' slaves heah an everywhere. I've seen droves of Negroes brought in heah on foot goin' Souf to be sol', Each one had an old tow sack on his back wif everythin' he's got in it. Over de hills dey come in lines reachin' as far as you kin see. Dey walk in double lines chained together in twos. Dey walk 'em heah to de railroad an' ship 'em Souf lak cattle. Truly, son, de haf has never been told.

For a book whose title is based on that quote, "The Half Has Never Been Told, Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism," Edward Baptist writes:

...once buyers bought, no wonder they bolted fetters on men and ran links of iron through padlocks. Men could march together carrying their chains. But there was no way they could all run together. There was no way they could leap off a boat and swim to shore, no way thirty-three men hauling one thousand pounds of iron could hide silent in the woods. The coffle chains enabled Georgia-men to turn feet against hearts, to make enslaved people work directly against their own love of self, children, spouses; of the world, of freedom and hope.

Baptist told of the confinement of Charles Ball with 32 other men and 19 women for a march to Georgia. A blacksmith took two bands of iron and bolted them around Ball's wrist, with a short chain linked to the manacle of the next man on the neck chain.



A public slave auction of "Miss Fillis & Child and Bill," as sketched by Lewis Miller, folk artist, in 1853. The sketch is from the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. Gift of Dr. and Mrs. Richard M. Kain in memory of George Hay Kain.

The two of them would have to walk in step and next to each other. Ball was now becoming one moving part of something called a 'coffle,' an African term derived from the Arabic word cafila: a chained slave caravan.

An early study of the slave trade, "Slave Trading in the Old South," by Frederic Bancroft in 1931, contains a reference to an unnamed Virginia historian, who wrote in 1847:

Hardly a day passes in which large companies (of slaves) may not be seen traversing the roads of Virginia on their way to the Southern frontier.

In a talk about 19th century folk artist Lewis Miller for the Rockbridge Historical Society, Barbara R. Luck, curator at the Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Center in Williamsburg, said Miller's sketches depicted the plight of slaves in Augusta and Montgomery counties. "...the mass of slaves being sold and the distance of their move were among the factors that apparently awakened Miller's sensitivity to the broader implications of slavery." Luck's talk was recorded in Volume X, "Proceedings of the Rockbridge Historical Society."

> The band — or "company" as he described it — was being gang-walked from Staunton to Tennessee. Miller's proclamation of astonishment at this sight is not surprising. After all, slavery has been abolished in his home state of Pennsylvania by the 1780s. But in Virginia, especially at mid-century, gang marches were a fairly com

mon sight for there was a definite surplus of slaves prior to the Civil War. Slaves to be sold into the lower South were dispatched to urban centers, biding there at assembly depots until a sufficient number had accumulated to make their gang drivers' trip a profitable one. Stirred by the trauma inevitably occasioned by such a move as this, Miller penned a slave's bittersweet comment about his sketch:

> Arise! Arise! And weep no more. Dry up your tears, we shall part no more. Come, Rose, we go to Tennessee, that happy shore. To old Virginia, never, never return.

William Waller, an Amherst County plantation owner, described his long journey southward with a coffle of slaves in letters sent home to his wife, Sarah. In the letters, saved at the Virginia Historical Society, he wrote from a stop 6 miles west of Abingdon on Oct. 4, 1847. "No accident of any kind has happened to me and we have been favored with delightful weather...We are able to manage twenty-five miles a day. The negroes continue in fine spirit. It appears all are happy." Waller does not report whether the "happy" slaves are in handcuffs and chains.

However, he does write that this was "a trip that under any other consideration would be intolerable. I have already seen and felt enough to make me loath the vocation of slavery." He gave no details of what he had seen.

As a result of advances in agriculture and industry, the demand for slaves "soared by nearly 25 percent in a short period of time" in the early 19th century, according to "Black Saga, the African-American Experience." Slaves were exported from Virginia at a rate of 8,500 annually between 1790 and 1830 as more than 260,000 were moved to the Cotton Belt. That book quotes the editor of the Wheeling Virginia Times in 1836:

We have heard intelligent men estimate the number of slaves exported from Virginia within the last 12 months at 120,000 — each slave averaging at least \$600, making an aggregate of \$72,000,000. Of the number of exported, not more than one-third have been sold (the others have been carried by their owners, who have removed) which would leave in the state the sum of \$24,000,000 arising from the sale of slaves.

Charles M. Christian, author of "Black Saga," reminds readers that the phrase, "sold down the river," comes from slavery.

...slaves from the older areas of the South could be sold to masters in the Newer areas of the Cotton Belt, especially along the Mississippi River. Life in these areas was considered exceptionally harsh, as new planters attempted to make great profits from the labor of their slaves.

"The American Slave Coast" by Ned Sublette and Constance Sublette tells more about the practice of transporting slaves in coffles:

Southern children grew up seeing coffles approach in a cloud of dust. ...the people trudging to Mississippi...were not Africans. They were African Americans, born into slavery and raised with their eventual sale in mind. Force-marched through wilderness at a pace of twenty or twenty-five miles a day, for five weeks or more, from can't see to can't see, in blazing sun or cold rain, crossing unbridged rivers, occasionally dropping dead in their tracks, hundreds of thousands of laborers transported themselves down south at gunpoint, where they and all their descendants could expect to be prisoners for life.

Charles Ball, a slave who walked from Maryland to South Carolina, recalled in "The American Slave Coast":

The women were merely tied together with a rope, about the size of a bed cord, which was tied like a halter round the neck of each; but the men...were very differently caparisoned. A strong iron collar was closely fitted by means of a padlock round each of our necks. A chain of iron, about a hundred feet in length, was passed through the hasp of each padlock, except at the two ends, where the hasps of the padlocks passed through a link of the chain. In addition to this, we were handcuffed in pairs, with iron staples and bolts, with a short chain, about a foot long, uniting the handcuffs and their wearers in pairs.

In the Smithsonian magazine article, Edward Ball wrote that "forced resettlement" of about a million enslaved people from Virginia, Maryland and Kentucky to Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama in the 50 years before the Civil War was "20 times larger than Andrew Jackson's 'Indian removal' of the 1850s, which gave rise to the original Trail of Tears as it drove tribes of Native Americans out of Georgia, Mississippi and Alabama." This movement of slaves was greater than the immigration of Jews from Europe in the 19th century and the wagon train-migration to the West, Ball said.



Dr. Francis Amos, Rocky Mount historian, owns this slave cane, believed to be made of a rare African wood and used by James Standifer Waid, 1812-1887, on his plantation near Sydnorsville. Family legend said Waid used the cane to go out and "check on the slaves."

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The restored 1769 Old Chapel Church stands in eastern Franklin County.

Old Chapel Church is 247 Years Old

by Dr. J. Francis Amos

The history of Old Chapel Church, 1769, in Franklin County goes back to 1753 after Antrim Parish of the new Halifax County was formed. It was customary to attend the social and technical needs of the new county besides caring for the spiritual needs. The Parish cared for the needy and orphans, processioned land every four years (refreshed individual landowners' borders), monitored morals along with the courts and looked after the needs of the county.

They established "Chappels of Ease" to provide closer accessibility to worship centers provided by the Parish. The first settlers to actually occupy the present Franklin County area came in around the early 1740s. Halifax County was made up of present Franklin County south of Blackwater River, Henry, Patrick, Pittsylvania as well as present Halifax counties. At that time there were 624 tithables in Antrim Parish.

Dr. J. Francis Amos, a retired Rocky Mount physician, is a prominent Franklin County historian. He was chairman of the county's bicentennial celebration in 1985.



Restoration scene at Old Chapel Church. Notes with this photograph say, "Reproduction 18th century nails used for cypress beaded weatherboards." (All photos by Dr. J. Francis Amos)

John Pigg in 1741 took up land in Lunenburg County opposite the south branch of the Staunton River (now called Pigg River). The south fork of this river was already known as Snow Creek. At the time Snow Creek "Chappel" was erected in 1753, chapels were usually log structures of a size approximating 20 by 24 feet. From this, ministers would preach but more commonly on Sundays a reader, appointed by the vestry, would read services from the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England, the official Church of Virginia as decreed by the House of Burgesses in accordance with the dictates of England.

Regardless of one's religious preference, tithables were required to pay taxes or tithes annually to the Church of England (Anglican Church). The rate set annually for each tithe was set by the vestry by dividing the expenses of the Parish by the number of tithables — for 1753 this was 20 pounds of tobac-co/tithable but at times that might have been 40 pounds/tithable. The conversion rate was approximately 160 pounds of tobacco/English pound currency.

The area was a tobacco-raising economy settled by the English along with slaves who moved westward from the Tidewater. A tithable was anyone over 16, white or black, except white women unless they had a business. One was required to attend Anglican services at least once every four Sundays, but this was infrequently enforced on the frontier.

Prior to the erection of the chapel on Snow Creek, services by readers were held at the John Kerby home on Pigg River, several miles east, and at Thomas Hall's home on Chestnut Creek, several miles west. The new chapel was to be built between Snow Creek and Chestnut Creek and by July of 1753 services were held here on Poplar Branch of Snow Creek by the Rev. James Foulis.

The Snow Creek Chapel is thought to have stood on the eminence between the present entrance

to the church and the church itself. This accounts for the fact that the church is located slightly downhill from the highest point on the lot since in 1769 it was ordered that the church be built near the chapel which was already standing on the lot. Before the church was built, in 1769, Lewis Morgan of Chestnut Creek was ordered to "tend Snow Creek Chappel" when Rev. James Stevenson preached there and read other Sundays at William Heards and at Potter's Creek Schoolhouse (the Potter's Creek is east of the present Pittsylvania County line just east of Pigg River).

If eking out a living after arduous work to clear a new plantation was not enough, the French and Indian War of the mid-1750s forced them to be constantly on guard against French-instigated Shawnee Indian atrocities in the area from tribes on the Ohio. John Kirby, living near the chapel at the mouth of Snow Creek on Pigg River, lost a daughter who was scalped at his spring. To add insult to injury, the Cherokee War following the French and Indian War found the locals banding together to protect themselves and their property from marauding, supposedly friendly Cherokees who had been hired to help defend Virginia from the Shawnees to the North.

The Cherokees became disaffected at not being paid immediately for their services and returned to their homeland in North Carolina or East Tennessee in small bands of 15 to 20, pillaging homes, stealing horses, abusing, killing or kidnapping residents along the way. One group of local militia and citizens caught up with a group of Cherokees one mile above the mouth of Pigg River, below Smith Mountain. After negotiations failed, a pitched battle ensued in which William Hall was killed, three Indians were killed, scalped and thrown in Staunton River. Multiple horses loaded with plunder were retrieved.

Likewise another incident in the area occurred near present Kemp's Ford Road at Union Hall in 1758, near Standifer's Branch where James Standifer's home had been robbed and his neighbor Byrd's wife taken prisoner but managed to escape. The Indians were caught up with across Blackwater by about 40 local men, and 19 horses loaded with plunder were recovered along with a French scalping knife. At least one Indian was known to have been killed, possibly more. At least some of these early defenders of the region, first against Indians and later the British, were most likely buried in the burial ground of the chapel dating back to 1753. Today this is to the left of the entrance to Old Chapel Church but many of the fieldstones have been removed.

Before the first minister, Rev. Foulis, resigned in 1759, there had been some difficulties. In July 1759 Rev. Foulis was in court, having been assaulted by Thomas Finny, a prominent planter and communicant who was also facing charges of issuing four oaths (a frequent offense brought by the church) and was fined. In July 1760 Rev. Foulis was again in court, but this time as the defendant for appearing drunk and profanely swearing four oaths; he too was fined. He was replaced by Rev. Alex Gordon and thereafter by young James Stevenson of Williamsburg in February 1769, but not before taking a leave of absence of three months to go to London to be ordained.

Stevenson was present at the July 1769 vestry meeting for the new county of Pittsylvania (Camden Parish was established in 1767 with 938 white and 316 slave tithables) when it was ordered that "a church be built near where the Chapel stands on Snow Creek...the size to be 24 x 32 feet, a frame house with a clapboard roof, a plank floor, with a pulpit and desk, two doors and five windows in it, 12 feet in the pitch, with a small table and benches in it."

Hugh Innes and William Witcher, both living nearby and members of the vestry, were to "let to the lowest bidder the building ordered to be built near Snow Creek Chapel." Innes was of the well-known Innes family of Williamsburg, a lawyer, large landowner of more than 3,000 acres in present Franklin County alone and a member of the House of Burgesses. Witcher would become well-known during the Revolution as a member of the Pittsylvania Committee of Safety and captain/colonel of the local militia which he led out in 1776 and 1777 to fight the Cherokees in East Tennessee and in 1780 to South Carolina and North Carolina to fight the British. He fought Cornwallis at Guilford Courthouse (present Greensboro) in 1781.

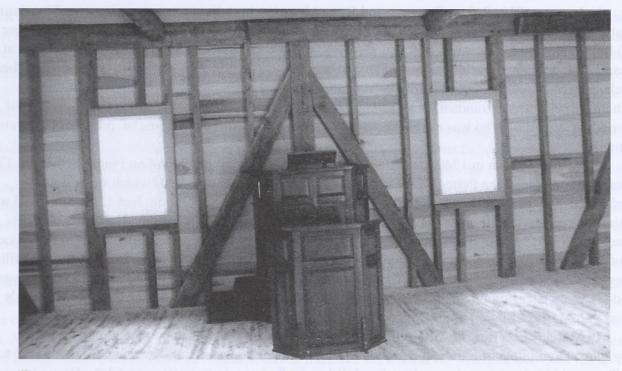
In January 1770, Robert Bowman and Bryant Nowlin, both living in present western Pittsylvania County, were paid in part 3,760 pounds of tobacco for building Snow Creek Church and in November 1770 Robert Bowman was paid 1,880 pounds for finishing the church at Snow Creek. Interestingly, at the same time John Wimbush, assignee of Bryant Nowlin, was paid 4,660 pounds for finishing another church at Friers' Creek. It appears Nowlin was more interested in building churches than in finishing them. Nowlin was a grandson of an Irish immigrant to Goochland County in 1700, and the son of "James the Carpenter" who was a well-known, outstanding carpenter in the area of present Pittsylvania County.

Nowlin was born in 1740, owned several pieces of property, one being on Potter's Creek in 1766 just east of here — not the Potter's Creek north of here and across Route 890 (which was originally called Flat Creek from the 1740s to 1770s). He was a soldier in the Revolution, had 15 children, did well for himself and served after 1800 as an overseer of the poor for Pittsylvania when the vestry was dissolved. He died in 1810 in Chatham, Pittsylvania County. Bowman, his partner, also lived in Pittsylvania County on Pigg River between Frying Pan Creek and Snow Creek, and served in the Pittsylvania Militia during the Cherokee Expedition under Capt. Joseph Martin (for whom Martinsville is named). He was killed six years later by Indians in 1776 in Powell's Valley of Southwestern Virginia between Owen's Station and Martin's Station along with another who died before reaching Martin's Station.

In March 1771, Rev. Lewis Gwilliam became a minister. He was appointed a member of the Pittsylvania Committee of Safety, the patriotic group leading the war effort. However, he was found to be a Tory and his appointment was short-lived. When he first came as minister, no Glebe House (parsonage) was available, so he boarded with John Pigg, whose allegiance was later questioned also when he appeared in court for continuing to drink tea after the Boston Tea Party. Rev. Gwilliam was hauled into court more than once to "show cause why he a native of Great Britain called Scotland did not depart the state in pursuit of the Act of the Assembly" which allowed him to do so — many clergymen did so. Samuel Calland, the wealthy merchant for whom Callands (Old Pittsylvania Courthouse) was named, likewise was called to court at the same time for the same reason. Calland also brought charges of debt against Rev. Gwilliam at the same court. The vestry minutes of February 1776 show numerous requests to not include Gwilliam's salary in the new budget. He was known to have unsavory conduct so as to bring shame to himself and his calling. As late as 1779 the vestry paid 10 pounds to him for building a spring house while living at the Glebe which was erected in 1773. He continued to argue issues of compensation from his old employment. The Glebe lands of more than 500 acres were bought in 1772 near present Callands. The land usually was rented to provide additional income for the Parish. Samuel Calland had been assigned by Benjamin Potter, sexton of Old Chapel Church, 1771 to 1778, to serve in his place as sexton from 1773 to 1776. Calland in 1773 was paid extra to set up benches under the shade of the trees when a large meeting was expected.

The early vestry of Camden Parish included several notables: John Pigg for whom Pigg River was named in 1741; Hugh Innes, wealthy Scotsman, planter and lawyer, captain of the militia, member of the House of Burgesses and close neighbor to the church; Capt./Col. William Witcher, also living near the church, a member of the Committee of Safety who led out troops on the Cherokee Expedition in 1776 and 1777, to Stono Inlet, South Carolina, in 1779, in 1780 to assist Gen. Greene at Hillsboro, North Carolina, and fought at Guilford Courthouse in 1781; and John Donelson, surveyor, proprietor of the Bloomery Ironworks, established in 1773 in present Rocky Mount (predecessor to the Washington Iron Works) and co-founder of Nashville, Tennessee, in 1779 by taking a flatboat expedition of settlers from Southwest Virginia via the Holston, Tennessee, Ohio and Cumberland rivers to do so. It was there his daughter, Rachel, met and married Andrew Jackson, later president of the United States.

Worship at Old Chapel Church was typically Anglican in a structure befitting a frontier church. Men and women sat separately on pews with a thick 16-inch seat and a two-splat back which faced the



Rare post and beam construction at Old Chapel Church. The pulpit and reader's desk are reconstructed.

pulpit. In the back on benches sat slaves and free blacks. The pulpit was raised on the north wall (to the left on entering) with a reader's desk below and in front of the pulpit. The communion table was at the east end with the chancel door nearby on the south wall — typically a Virginia 18th century construction. A baptismal bowl/stand may have stood near the left side of the pulpit.

This plan of the Virginia Anglican church changed little from the 1608 church inside the Jamestown Fort where John Rolfe married Pocahontas in the colonial period. In addition, the Old Chapel Church reflects the traditional English box framing construction of early English architecture similar to that of the Jamestown Church with exposed post and beam construction that is unique and rarely seen today. Here this was never ceiled or covered with planks until after the early 20th century. The two original tie beams in the ceiling show chamfered edges and lamb's tongue-notched ends which reveal early decorative details. Pit-sawn oak major posts and supports along with poplar studs between are evident. The guttered corner posts that allow the corner to be fully at right angles indicates "state of the art" construction here on the frontier in 1769. This was only introduced in Williamsburg in the 1750s.

The Anglican Church was founded by King Henry VIII when the Catholic Pope refused to grant him a divorce from Catherine of Aragon. Despite the split, the Anglican Church maintained a close resemblance to Catholicism in theology: maintaining hierarchical clergy, formal devotions, passive listening and believing in enlightenment of reason and salvation by upright moral living as well. The order of service in the Anglican Church started with the clerk or reader at the desk reading prayers from the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England. Psalms might be interspersed but hymns were not commonly sung in Anglican Churches until the late 18th or early 19th century. Next, the litany, prayers and petitions of the congregation were offered. About four times yearly communion or sacrament was offered, but for most Sundays preparation for the sermon was given. Lastly, the sermon of about 20 minutes was delivered from the raised pulpit on the side wall by the minister followed by benediction and final rites.

Before and after church service was a time of socializing. Friends, family and the minister might be invited for dinner at 2 p.m.; the less affluent enjoyed an afternoon of rest or communal chores with

neighbors. Slaves enjoyed the day off except for their usual chores and they were usually permitted to attend church if they so desired; domestic help more frequently attended than laborers who preferred fishing, gardening or cabin repair.

In 1776, 40 percent of Virginia's population was black. Blacks were more attracted to outdoor traveling preachers such as Baptist or Methodist than the established church. Their message of God's equal love, deliverance from persecution and salvation by faith in the grace of God through Jesus Christ was well received but frequently reformulated by the slaves to a blend of Christianity and West African religion. The first congregational assembly of blacks was established in 1758 on William Byrd III's plantation in Lunenburg County. This did not become commonplace until after the Civil War.

Some supporters of the Church of England emerged as outspoken Loyalists or Tories during the Revolutionary struggle, causing many to view all Anglicans as Tories. There was a general aversion to anything English. Local impact was such that John Donelson resigned from the vestry in 1778 and William Witcher and Reuben Payne in 1779. Communicants flocked to other Protestant churches in droves. After 1778 there is no mention of services at Old Chapel in the Anglican vestry minutes.

A tradition preserved in the Davidson family is that the Old Chapel Church of 1769 was called "the King's House" because it was owned by the King of England and it was here that taxes were paid. Also preserved is a belief that ammunition was stored here by the British during the Revolution. Although this is unconfirmed, and even doubtful with Capt. Witcher living nearby, there appears to have been lots of Tory sentiment in the region. John Pigg was called to court for Tory sentiments of drinking tea after the Boston Tea Party; Samuel Calland, sexton of the Old Chapel in the mid 1770s, was in court for Tory sentiments multiple times; and Rev. Lewis Gwilliam, the Parish minister, was a known Tory and questioned why he did not return to England.

Thomas Jefferson mentions in a letter that a Tory insurrection in October 1780 was averted in Pittsylvania County when the lead perpetrators were arrested in bed three days before the planned event. Who and what took place will probably never be known but it is understandable that the patriots of the area probably at least held suspect covert activity at this British-owned property during the war.

In February 1785 the vestry of Camden subscribed to be "conformable to the Doctrine, Discipline and Worship of the Protestant Episcopal Church." By 1786 there was formal disestablishment of the Anglican Church in America. Thereafter, the vestry became overseers of the poor to administer its usual care for the needy for the county. So devastating was this on the Anglican/Episcopal Church that as late as 1840 "there were only eight communicants and they are all females in the three counties of Pittsylvania, Franklin and Henry."

By 1789 the Baptists were using the Old Chapel Church known as the Pigg River and Snow Creek Church (Chapel) with 60 members. Baptists had been on Snow Creek by 1771. The Separate Baptists flourished at this time. Originating in England and Holland as dissenters in the early 1600s, they came to Connecticut in the 1600s, then were popularized by the Great Awakening in the early 1700s.

Under the influence of Daniel Marshall and Shubal Stearns, the Southern ministry took roots. Stearns moved temporarily to Winchester from Connecticut in 1754, then came down the Great Wagon Road and the Carolina Road through our area to establish the Sandy Creek Association of Separate Baptists in Randolph County, N.C., in 1755. Separate Baptists preached strong, embellished exhortations, rattled the rafters with "Amen," "Glory" and "Amazing Grace" with shouting as one felt led and preached the new birth. They became known as "New Lights."

There was a cultural disjunction between the gentry and lower orders. These "ignorant enthusiasts" were looked down on with contempt and ridicule by the aristocratic elite. Baptists were whipped and imprisoned and in particular were persecuted by Anglicans as dissenters, even though they still paid their annual Parish levy to the Anglican Church. In 1771 Pastor Waller in Caroline County was accosted in the pulpit by the Parish minister and the sheriff. The butt end of a horsewhip was rammed down his throat by the Anglican minister while preaching. He was taken out by the sheriff who beat his head in the ground and laid 20 lashes on his back. The pastor returned to the pulpit and continued preaching.

The Regular and Particular Baptists had more orderly and dignified services. In five years between 1769 and 1774, Sandy Creek had established 47 churches with a membership of more than 4,000. The Baptists suffered great persecution in North Carolina under Gov. William Tryon and this resulted in a scattering of Baptists to Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia and Tennessee. They again flourished and this eventually resulted in the Southern Baptist Convention of 1845, now the largest Protestant body in the U.S. with more than 16 million members.

The Rev. Samuel Harris of Pittsylvania County was instrumental in Baptist growth in Virginia. Virginia Baptists have a proud heritage in their battle for religious freedom. Many were persecuted, jailed and whipped for their anti-Anglican beliefs. Benjamin Potter, sexton of Old Chapel Church from 1771 to 1778, became a Regular Baptist of Pittsylvania County before, during and after the Revolution while keeping up his Parish levy at Old Chapel. He was whipped and imprisoned for doing so. His grandson records seeing the scars on his back and records that he said he was never happier than preaching from prison. He was particularly proud that no Regular Baptist was known to be a Tory.

Baptists' direct influence on Thomas Jefferson, on James Madison, the father of the Constitution, and Patrick Henry, whose defended imprisoned Baptist preachers, collectively resulted in the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom in 1786. This served as the model for the Constitution's First Amendment of the Bill of Rights sponsored by Madison, which guaranteed religious freedom to Americans.

There appears to have been a Baptist congregation in 1771 on Snow Creek at the same time as the Anglican Old Chapel Church. This church became a Separate Baptist by 1773 and a member of the Strawberry Association in 1776. The Strawberry Association was the result of the ministry of Rev. Samuel Harris of Strawberry Plantation in Pittsylvania County, east of Old Chapel. He was highly respected, a member of the House of Burgesses, active regionally in the French and Indian War, was converted, persecuted and dedicated much of his assets to the Baptist faith. He was the most distinguished Baptist minister in Virginia when he died in 1799, having preached and planted churches throughout Virginia and the South. He was closely associated with the Sandy Creek Baptists, had much to do with their growth and most likely influenced the Baptist congregation on Snow Creek, not that far from his Strawberry home. The early Baptist Church on Snow Creek probably stood southwest of Old Chapel near Crabtree Forks of Snow Creek. It is probably referred to in a 1796 deed as "on the road that leads by the old meeting house that stands on William Robertson's land."

There were apparent defections in the local Anglican Church by the mid-1770s. Nathan Hall in 1772 was clerk of the Horsepasture Chapel and as late as 1774 an Anglican reader appointed by the vestry. He is recognized as establishing Pigg River Baptist Church in Franklin County in 1773. The Baptist congregation on Snow Creek appears to have moved to the Old Chapel Church by 1789, and is referred to as Pigg River and Snow Creek (Chapel) with 60 members. In 1790 it had 56-58 members according to two different sources. Robert Semple in his "History of the Baptists in Virginia" reported in 1810 the Pigg River and Snow Creek church "is in good standing and attended by Elder John Ashworth who left Sandy Creek Church of the Meherrin Association with a party and came to Franklin County."

About 1823 there was a split in the Baptist denomination: those advocating missions became Missionary Baptists and those anti-missions, the Primitive or Hardshell Baptists. The Primitive Baptists believed their theology was closer to the original theology, hence Primitive. That theology appears to have evolved in Georgia in the early 1800s. Primitive Baptists were strongly Calvinist. In their belief, predestination was paramount but they differed in their beliefs. Missionaries were not necessary since it was predestined who would be saved, ministers were called by God and needed no further theological training other than self-study, Sunday Schools were unnecessary for children since home teaching was sufficient, and no musical instruments were allowed — only *a capella* singing was appropriate.

The Snow Creek and Pigg River Church (Old Chapel Church) was organized as a Primitive Baptist Church in 1823. They bought 2.6 acres of land, on which the Old Chapel Church stood, from Thomas Ramsey Jr. in 1824 — a small part of the 200-acre plot Ramsey bought in 1793 from his father-in-law William Young, who owned hundreds of acres behind the church. He had accumulated this since 1769. Young sold one tract of more than 1,100 acres in 1778 and another 600 in 1804 but retained the right to set up a distillery on Poplar Branch. The 2.6-acre tract was much smaller than the original chapel plot, the deed of which has never been found in Halifax County records. Local tradition says it was 7 acres. The larger plot is obvious since part of the 1753 burying ground is off premises of the 1824 plot.

The original burying ground is located to the left of the present entrance, in the pines and under the present road. Two fieldstone headstones are present in the pines — those graves to the left of the driveway no longer have fieldstone markers although old pictures show several large stones there. Their identity is known only to God. The original spring which is walled with stone is behind the church and off premises. Many initials are carved on the capstone. A new spring was developed in 1824 above the present outdoor preacher's stand and has been reconstructed like the original 1753 spring, walled with stone.

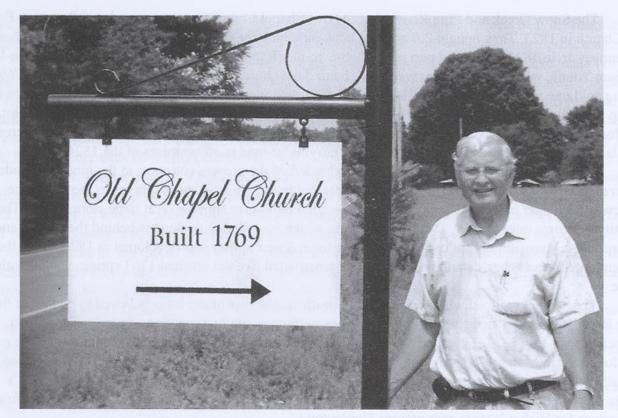
The ancient roadbed which serves as the southwest border of the lot is believed to be that of the Pigg River Road petitioned for in July 1753, the same time as the first mention of services on Poplar Branch here in July 1753. This road crossed northern Pittsylvania County, probably intersecting the road petitioned for in March 1753 from the mouth of Snow Creek, referred to as the the Snow Creek Road (possibly the Museville-Sago road today) to Hickey's Road. Hickey's Road is approximately today's Route 57 with its closest point at Callands. John Hickey's Road was the supply route in the 1740s from Petersburg for Hickey's store near present Stanleytown.

The Pigg River Road came by Old Chapel Church, crossed the Truevine Road at Dickerson, skirted the end of Chestnut Mountain, and crossed Chestnut Hill on Doe Run, and ran to southern Rocky Mount through the Iron Works property. The original 1753 request was then requested to be extended in 1754 to the top of the Blue Ridge, probably through the Dug Spur Gap into present Floyd County. This was most likely referred to as the Chiswell Road (now Wythe County) intersecting the Carolina Road in 1769 near the Carolina Springs Chapel. This provided a major east-west route through Franklin County. Old Chapel became a familiar landmark along the road: in 1768, "crosses the road [Pigg River Road]... extending toward the Chapel"; in 1793, "road leading to the Baptist Meeting House."

As had the Anglican Church before them, the Primitive Baptists of Old Chapel Church addressed the spiritual needs of both whites and blacks. Both slaves and free blacks were members of the Old Chapel Church. A.J. Reeves, now 101, recalls his father speaking of this. This tradition is also handed down in the black Witcher family, two of the oldest families in the area of Old Chapel. According to the last resident minister of Old Chapel Church, Elder O.K. Tench, who served for more than 50 years as pastor of four churches which rotated services, there were never more than 25 members of the congregation here.

The minutes address disciplinary actions for blacks and whites as early as 1825. Black woman Nancy was accused of putting away her husband, living with another man and getting pregnant to the "destrip" of the church. She was excommunicated. Isom, a black man, property of Nathaniel Newbill, was in and out of the church from 1825 to 1828 for intoxication, fighting, false accusation and disorderly conduct on several occasions before being permanently dismissed. One person was dismissed for stealing a handkerchief. At one time a white woman was investigated but charges were dismissed for killing a hog found wandering in the road two days after the drover had passed. The question was should she have kept this hog until the unknown drover passed through again.

The Old Danville Turnpike, which passes just south of the church, was a main thoroughfare for drovers with herds of cattle, sheep, pigs and turkeys from north of Floyd County and Southwest Virginia



Dr. Francis Amos stands next to a sign for the Old Chapel Church.

to markets in Danville. The church was never very wealthy. In 1825, 25 cents was contributed to the treasury, making 93 cents of which 50 cents was spent for a quart of wine and another 25 cents for the same leaving 10 cents in the treasury.

The issue of missions again surfaced in 1831 but was soundly defeated. The church building itself remained in its original state except for a replaced and lowered tin roof, replaced floor and enlarged windows until the 1950s. Under Elder O.K. Tench's pastorate in the 1950s, bathrooms were added, the pulpit extension to the east end added, the exterior preacher's stand and picnic shelter built, an outside baptistry created, underpinning replaced, pews replaced and other changes made.

The last member of Old Chapel Church, Henry Clay Brown, died in 2012 at the age of 98. Membership in the Pigg River Association had dropped. The 2013 minutes showed 12 of the 16 churches had a membership of only six or less.

The Old Chapel Church was placed on the market in 2011. After no interested party or organization could be found to attempt to preserve and restore the old church, my wife and I bought the property, 242 years old at the time. Volunteers have made the restoration possible with no restoration or governmental grants. Only private funds have been used.

Restoration was guided from the onset by Carl Lounsbury, senior architectural historian of Colonial Williamsburg and the foremost national authority on colonial churches of America, and Willie Graham, curator of architecture at Colonial Williamsburg. They along with intern Pam Kendrick spent two days documenting and authenticating the church from the onset. Their recommendations and detailed plans have guided us in the restoration.

The Old Chapel Church was identified in 1950 by the late T. Keister Greer, a prominent attorney in Rocky Mount and Southern California as well as a well-known local historian. This was the result of a follow-up on his 1946 thesis, "Genesis of a Virginia Frontier, The Origins of Franklin County,



Carl Lounsbury (left), architectural historian, Pam Kendrick, intern, and Willie Graham, architecture curator, all of Colonial Williamsburg, hold wood samples from Old Chapel Church.

Virginia, 1740-1785," which was done while a student at the University of Virginia. The discovery was announced in The Roanoke Times at that time.

The specifications ordered in 1769 were basically unchanged at that time. Interviews with the Davidson family recalled their forefathers referring to the old church as "the King's House," owned by the King and to whom taxes were paid. By 2011, accelerated deterioration had set in. The north wall was bulging, the roof sagging and the ceiling was propped up.

Soon after acquisition, Carl Kirk started renovation efforts and his brother, Gerald Kirk, joined him shortly thereafter. Together they have been involved in every aspect of the restoration from the beginning, including developing innovative techniques for certain restoration projects. This has amounted to four years and hundreds of hours of hard volunteer work. Soon third-generation master carpenter Kevin Hunt of the prestigious Hunt Brothers Construction Co. Inc., volunteered his services every Saturday for years in securing and preserving the structural integrity of the church, repairing and reconstructing other elements as needed. He has directed the carpentry work for the restoration from the beginning.

Rick Frye, well-known for his masterful craftsmanship, volunteered his services in making 18th century windows in their entirety, made moldings as needed and constructed the pulpit and desk to 18th century specifications. Rick was no newcomer to restoration — he helped outfit the ships at Jamestown many years ago. Jerry and Perry Adcock likewise have provided the know-how and manpower to do extensive carpentry work of sheathing and weatherboarding the church as well as reconstructing the "necessary house" or "Johnny House" along with Hunt and the Kirks. The Adcock brothers have done electrical, plumbing and extensive repair work throughout the building. The willingness and dedication of this primary team of "The Super Six" volunteers to undertake this project for the sake of preservation of this important local landmark is impressive and speaks highly of their love for Franklin County

and its history. It is hoped that their dedication will long be appreciated.

Major contributors have aided our efforts significantly. Thanks to Johnnie Ferguson of Ferguson Land and Lumber for structural elements, Johnnie Preston of A.H. Preston & Sons Plumbing & Electrical for plumbing, Ricky Thomason of Turner Ready Mix for providing concrete, and Ed Friel of Blue Ridge Mountain Cabinets for cabinetry. In addition a multitude of individual contributors made contributions of time and materials, both large and small, but of great significance. Church groups such as the Bethlehem Methodist Church of Moneta, the Rocky Mount Methodist Church and Youth Group as well as the Smith Mountain Lions Club have made major contributions. Thank you one and all for your time, ingenuity, interest and hard work.

Prior to the Revolution, there were well over a hundred frame Church of England churches in Virginia. Now there are only four known. Old Chapel Church is one of these. Another is St. John's Church in Richmond where Patrick Henry gave his "Give me liberty or give me death" speech. Two others are near Richmond, in Hanover and Buckingham counties. It is impressive that after 245 years, this original exposed frame structure exists and is architecturally sound. It is preserved today as it would have looked in the 18th and early 19th centuries. It is the oldest documented frame structure in the 27 counties of southwestern Virginia, according to Mike Pulice, architectural historian with the Virginia Department of Historic Resources. It is the third-oldest building west of a line from Augusta County (Staunton) to Danville. The other two are stone structures: Timber Ridge Presbyterian Church, 1758, of Rockbridge County; and the Bryan McDonald House, 1766, in Botetourt County.

In August 2012, Lounsbury, colonial church architectural historian and senior architectural historian of Colonial Williamsburg, said of Old Chapel, "It is truly remarkable to be able to add such a rare building type to the architectural record of colonial Virginia." We appreciate the tremendous guidance and support provided by the Colonial Williamsburg team.

In addition, we appreciate the more recent ongoing consultative liaison provided by Travis Mc-Donald, director of architectural restoration at Thomas Jefferson's Poplar Forest, as well as that of Al Chambers, well-known author and nationally known architectural historian in Lynchburg. We have been more than blessed by all their expertise and advice; any errors are ours, not theirs. Thank you all.

Old Chapel Church is not only a monument to early church architecture on Virginia's frontier but more significantly it is a monument to our Christian faith and the Christian principles on which this nation was founded: "One nation under God" and "In God we trust."

We have overcome our challenge of religious dissidence. The Revolution begat an evangelical revolt which enshrined religious pluralism which we enjoy today but take for granted. That evolutionary history is herein inherent in the history of this historic church. On behalf of all our loyal volunteers and contributors we hope Old Chapel Church will be a reminder of our Christian heritage and its important role in the making of America — and more importantly, that it be honored and appreciated. Our hope is that it will rekindle our sense of duty to God and country and that this will be perpetuated for generations to come. Let us never forget the strong faith of our ancestors. Herein is evidence that collectively the faith in God embodied in the congregation of this ancient church helped establish the freedom and foundations of our nation. May this church always be a monument to God, a symbol of our religious heritage and an ongoing commitment to recognize and appreciate the important role God has played in the making of America. God bless America.

The 1769 Old Chapel Church and grounds will be available for weddings, reunions and seminars by calling 540-483-0687.

Long Stained Glass Window is Coming to the Link Museum

by George Kegley

45-foot stained glass window commemorating the work of photographer O. Winston Link will be installed in June in the gift shop of the O. Winston Link Museum. The 20-panel window, two years in the making, was designed and produced by Phil Godenschwager, a craftsman working at Randolph, Vermont. The window was donated by Polly Carter, in memory of her husband, Jim Carter, who worked in the Norfolk Southern Railway Engineering Department. He died in 2010.

As a replacement for the present trackside window, this will have several panels illustrating "two titan-like steam locomotives at full throttle," according to The Herald newspaper of Randolph. The



window also will have several Roanoke scenes and a tribute to the late David Helmer, a strong advocate for Link Museum. A public dedication of the window is scheduled for June 11.

In the window, the Vermont newspaper said, "Link is portrayed, at the center, looking directly at the viewer, massive batteries of flash equipment ready for his next photograph. In the right side of the middle section, a man and woman stand looking out toward the trains, waiting for them to pass." Since Link often placed people in his photographs and this couple was featured in one, Godenschwager "acknowledges this element is a quiet nod to the benefactor," Polly Carter. The window contains more than 400

pieces of glass, each kiln-fired to 1,250 degrees, the newspaper said. Most of the laborious painting and firing has been completed and the leading and framing will start soon. The window will be black and white, like most of Link's work. The designer is using milk-white and clear glass. "The white glass is reserved for clouds and the clear glass, painted with black pigment, is fired three times to produce the images, properly shaded, with additional, final black detailing for depth." The artist said he will personally transport the window to Roanoke and install it himself. He will bring extra glass and tools, if needed.

Godenschwager, a 1971 design graduate of Ohio University, designed packaging for Proctor and Gamble, worked on patterns for a Vermont wood stove manufacturer, headed the stained glass shop for a salvage company, studied stained glass painting on the West Coast, served as creative director for a mechanization firm and then founded Atlantic Art Glass and Design. One of his major projects was a 30-foot-tall animated clock used by the FAO Schwartz toy store in New York City for 20 years. In his extensive career, he earned a master's in fine arts degree from Vermont College of Fine Art, taught architectural design and worked on theme park installations in China.

"The versatile artist also has completed scores of paintings, architectural renovations and stained glass installations for individual, corporate and government clients," the newspaper said.

The Link Museum is a unit of the Historical Society of Western Virginia.

Roanoke's First Flight

by Nelson Harris

Some thought it would never happen. For weeks promoters of the Great Roanoke Fair of 1910 had been advertising the appearance of a Curtiss Aeroplane at the fairgrounds as a centerpiece for Roanoke's most celebrated annual event.

The Great Roanoke Fair had started in 1902 and occurred every fall with exhibits, balloon rides, excursions, horse racing and craft shows. The fair of 1910 was billed to exceed all previous events. Some 300 horses participated in track events, and there were exhibitions of cattle, domestic arts, sheep, swine, poultry, farm machinery, canned goods and needlework. The Norfolk & Western and Virginian railways had special trains to serve the fair for those attending from central and southwestern Virginia. The fair also boasted "scores of censored sideshows," and gambling was prohibited. There were premiums and purses totaling \$20,000 (\$480,000 in today's dollars). Fair association president James Woods, however, considered the flight of a Curtiss Aeroplane to be the main attraction.

Roanokers had never witnessed a powered, heavier-than-air flight before. There had been hot air balloon rides in the past, but not the presence of an aeroplane. In fact, there had been only one such flight in Virginia, and that was made by Orville Wright at Langley in 1909. An aeroplane had tried to fly at the state fair in Richmond in the summer of 1910 but never got off the ground, much to the disappointment of fair organizers who had to explain to those in attendance why their tickets were not to be refunded! Thus, to have an aeroplane fly across the fairgrounds in Roanoke was historic.

The pilot was Eugene Ely, 24, of the Curtiss Aeroplane Company. Ely had flown elsewhere in exhibitions, most recently in Iowa at its state fair. His plane was loaded on a train there and shipped to Roanoke. (Early planes were disassembled, transported and then re-assembled by the pilots.) Ely and his flying machine arrived in Roanoke by train on Sept. 21, the second day of the fair.

Attendance set a record as spectators anticipated Ely's flight. Some even paid an additional 15 cents just to see Ely's machine in its temporarily erected garage near the fairground gates. Ely surveyed the fairgrounds that morning, specifically the lay of land within the horse-racing track. Ely quickly became concerned that his machine needed 100 linear feet of running space to rise four feet. To clear the buildings, fence and wires at the end of the track, he would need 300 feet of ground. The ground provided to him, confined within the race track, was not enough.

Only under exceptional conditions could he lift his machine into the air. (A Curtiss advance man had assured fair organizers the track's infield was sufficient.) Nonetheless, Ely told fair organizers he would try to fly at 2 pm. Crowds thronged the track area. Ely and his machine managed to get lift but only to 10 feet and over a space of 100 yards. Ely had to drop the plane fearing he would flip the plane on the fairground's fence.

Unbeknownst to spectators, Ely had tried to convince fair officials that he would have better flying conditions if he could take off from a surrounding hillside, but they had insisted he fly within the fairgrounds' perimeters. This proved to be a mistake. The machine needed 400 more running feet than it had.

Nelson Harris is president of the Historical Society of Western Virginia, pastor of the Heights Church, author of several Roanoke histories and former Roanoke mayor.



Roanoke newspaper advertisement of first aeroplane flight at Roanoke fair in 1910.

The Roanoke Times took to task fair organizers for trying to dictate to Ely where he should fly when they knew nothing about his machine, a flying apparatus they described "has about as many whims and moods and notions as an unusually pretty girl of eighteen who has been spoiled and petted all her life."

Ely noted the gentle hills of South Roanoke and told officials that if he could lift off from those heights he was confident Roanokers would witness their first flight of an aeroplane. Fair promoters quickly acquiesced to Ely's request and told spectators that Ely would fly the next day.

At 5:40 p.m. on Sept. 22, Eugene Ely and his Curtiss machine took off from a hill in South Roanoke just northeast of Virginia College as thousands watched from the fairgrounds. Ely was earlier concerned about wind gusts coming from the slopes of Mill Mountain, but by 5 p.m. a tethered balloon at the fairgrounds 400 feet in the air held perfectly still.

Ely, eyeing the balloon from South Roanoke, got his chance and announced he would fly. Forty minutes later, Ely moved down the slope and gradually ascended in a northwesterly direction, crossed the Roanoke River west of the fairgrounds, and then turned and came over the grounds, descending safely in the center of the infield. "Thousands shrieked with delight when the flying machine hove in sight and every movement was watched with intense interest," reported the Times.

The day Ely flew was "Old Soldiers Day" at the fair, and Civil War veterans, both Union and Confederate, had been admitted for free. One can only imagine their thoughts as the aged men watched a man take flight. Ely had flown a half-mile and into Roanoke history.

Fair organizers hoped to have Ely return the following year, but the young aviator died tragically on his 25th birthday in 1911 when his Curtiss aeroplane failed to pull out of a dive at an exhibition in Macon, Georgia.



"Natural Bridge, Virginia," by David Johnson, 1860. Unlike so many images of the Bridge, this work depicts a distant view of the famous rock formation.

Natural Bridge, a Landmark for the Ages

The Natural Bridge, a Rockbridge County natural wonder drawing travelers for centuries, made front-page news last year with plans for investors to turn it over to the commonwealth for a state park. Dr. Jurretta Heckscher, a Library of Congress reference specialist for early American history, has assembled a remarkable collection of paintings, sketches, prints, artifacts and all kinds of illustrations of the Bridge.

Heckscher, a longtime collector of Bridge memorabilia, presented her work for the Rockbridge County Historical Society at Natural Bridge Hotel on Sept. 20, 2015. She has been an advocate for preservation of the bridge and author of a monograph on its narrative and visual histories. She also helped the Rockbridge historical group assemble an exhibit on the Bridge. Her collection is considered "an index of the Bridge's international status as a natural icon and tourist attraction," according to the Lexington society.

The Bridge, lending its name to the county, has been a significant Shenandoah Valley historic and geologic landmark since the days when it was surveyed by George Washington and owned by Thomas Jefferson. Jefferson wrote about his travels from Poplar Forest, his Bedford County home, across the Peaks of Otter to the Bridge. He called it "the most sublime of Nature's works."

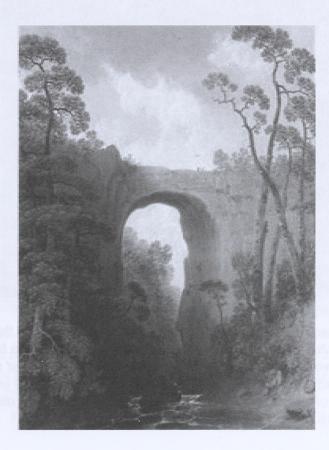
Here is a sample of the works in Heckscher's collection.



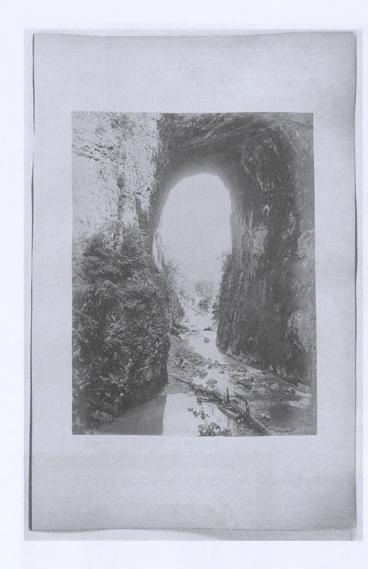
"Natural Bridge," 1808 engraving by J.C. Stadler, after William Roberts; image sourced from the Monticello website, https://www.monticello.org/site/research-and-collections/natural-bridge. At the time this engraving was done, Natural Bridge was owned by Thomas Jefferson, who called it "the most sublime of Nature's works." He purcahsed the property in 1774, but only made a few more trips there over the years. It was sold in 1833 in the settlement of Jefferson's estate, some seven years after he died.



In a work that takes another unusual vantage point, this painting, "View from the top of Natural Bridge," by Joshua Shaw, c. 1818, depicts a person looking over the edge of the rocky span.



Joshua Shaw also painted this more traditional view in 1818, titled simply "Natural Bridge."



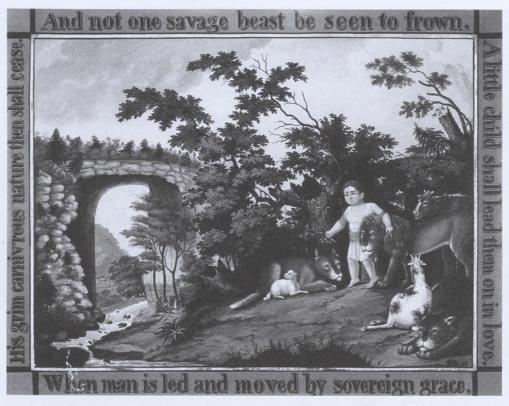
Natural Bridge, study for an unknown painting by William Thornton, before 1828.

Note the small figure, bottom center.

Natural Bridge, albumen photograph, 1880s. Personal collection of Jurretta Jordan Heckscher.

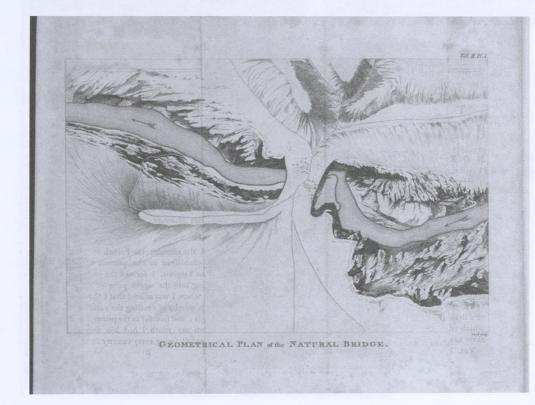
According to the Library of Congress website, "Albumen prints were the most common type of photographic print made during the nineteenth century. They are characterized by a smooth, shiny surface, which is the result of a coating of egg whites (albumen). The color can vary a great deal depending upon the treatment given during processing, but most often it is purplishbrown."





"Peaceable Kingdom of the Branch," by Edward Hicks, oil on canvas, between 1826 and 1830.

Starting in 1820, Hicks painted a series of 61 works of various settings based on this theological theme. (Source: Wikipedia)



"Geometrical Plan of the Natural Bridge," engraving from: Vol. 2 of "François Jean, Marquis de Chastellux, Travels in North-America, in the Years 1780, 1781, and 1782" (2 vols., London: G.G.J. and J. Robinson, 1787). This work is the English translation of the original. Rare Book & Special Collections Division, Library of Congress.

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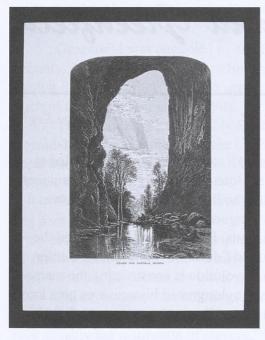


"Natural Bridge, Virginia – J.D. Woodward," steel engraving of a work by J.D. Woodward, published in the vol. 7, no. 4 (March 1874) issue of The Aldine and set interlocking with the text of an article on "Views in Virginia."



"Ponte Naturale di Roccia nella Virginia" (Natural Bridge of Rock in Virginia), illustration by an unidentified artist published in Milan in 1839 (date unconfirmed) in the periodical Cosmorama Pittorico.

The scope of Heckscher's collection underscores Natural Bridge's appeal to artists from all over the world.



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"Natural Bridge," watercolor by an unknown American or English artist, probably early 19th century.

As with some other works in the collection, the artist here took a very stylized approach to the subject.



"Under the Natural Bridge," wood engraving by J.A. Bogert after a drawing by Harry Fenn. From: Vol. 1 of William Cullen Bryant, ed., Picturesque America, or, The Land We Live In: A Delineation by Pen and Pencil of the Mountains, Rivers, Lakes, Forests, Water-falls, Shores, Cañons, Valleys, Cities, and Other Picturesque Features of Our Country ... (2 vols. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1872-74).



Greenfield, as pictured in R.D. Stoner's "A Seed-Bed of the Republic."

Col. William Preston and Greenfield Revisited

by George Kegley

The controversial move of two slave cabins and construction of a stone memorial have called attention to Col. William Preston of Greenfield, recognized as Botetourt County's most prominent citizen through its almost two and a half centuries. Preston, who lived from 1729 to1783, was a pioneer political and military leader in Botetourt, Fincastle and Montgomery counties.

Despite pleas from many county residents and preservationists, Botetourt officials moved the mid-1800s slave cabin and kitchen to another site near the Greenfield Education and Training Center, while the Fincastle Resolutions Chapter of Sons of the American Revolution is constructing the memorial to Preston at the Center. County officials placed the buildings at a designated historic area on a knoll above U.S. Rt. 220, near the entrance to the industrial park, once part of Preston's plantation of 2,175 acres.

County supervisors destroyed the integrity of the 180-year-old slave buildings to make space for a shell building designed to attract industry. Preservation activists and many Botetourt residents raised money, wrote letters and held meetings to apply pressure on the supervisors but the move went on.

George Kegley is editor of the Journal.



Slave cabin at Greenfield, prior to its relocation. (Virginia Department of Historic Resources photo)

Greenfield was occupied by the Preston family about 1762, eight years before Botetourt became a county. Although they moved to Smithfield in Blacksburg in 1774, the Greenfield site remained in the Preston family for more than two centuries. The house burned in 1959 and Botetourt County acquired much of the plantation in the 1990s.

The Prestons were arguably Southwest Virginia's most prominent and powerful family from the mid-18th century until after the Civil War, noted Mike Pulice, architectural historian for the State Department of Historic Resources, in the nomination of the slave buildings for the National Register of Historic Places.

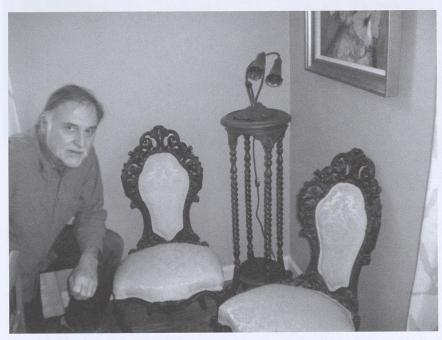
Before the move of the slave buildings, Pulice said the county's biggest mistake when the industrial park was created in the 1990s was "the selection of arguably the most significant historic acreage in the county for industrial development. No solid plans were made for the Greenfield log buildings or for preservation of other known historic cultural resources on the acreage," he said, so the buildings and sites "were left neglected, undervalued and unappreciated, virtually abandoned for many years."

Pulice said the two buildings are "vastly important, architecturally and historically, because of the individual forms of each structure and because of their connection to Virginia antebellum history, most notably the institution of slavery." When moved, "their historical significance [will be] diminished to some degree." Log houses and barns were seen in Botetourt County as late as the 1990s but they are "being lost at an alarming rate. Log buildings are highly symbolic of our ancestors and our region, but today precious few really well-preserved, unmodified examples remain." The Greenfield buildings have long been publicly owned, he said, but the public has never had a chance to benefit from visiting and learning about them. Thirty slaves lived and worked at Greenfield in the 1840s, according to U.S. Census figures.

Edward Preston, a direct descendant of the colonel, recalls boyhood visits to Greenfield in summer and holidays from his native Ohio. He shakes his head about the move of the slave buildings. "There must be a good reason for it but I haven't heard it," he said. Preston, who has a Roanoke construction business, inherited two parlor chairs from Greenfield.

On those visits as a boy to the big house in the 1950s, Greenfield was a very social place and Preston played with his cousins. He recalls picnics and big parties where guests dressed in white. They had a party there the night before the fire. The family had a boxing ring down by the creek where the Prestons and neighboring Hopkins men squared off. All of the women had .22 pistols by their bedside in early days, he recalled.

His grandfather John Preston, who worked for Standard Oil, built a home on a Preston tract behind the industrial park and "Uncle Frank used to drive his Cadillac from there across to Greenfield." Edward's Aunt Jane Preston lives there and has a conservation easement on her land and Edward plans



Edward Preston holds parlor chairs from Greenfield.

to move there eventually. He continues the family's long heritage but his "main emphasis is on relationships and people, not on things." Two of his three children live in the Roanoke Valley.

William Preston, born in North Ireland, was influenced by his uncle, James Patton, major Southwest Virginia developer, and he was appointed deputy surveyor in Augusta County at the age of 21. He served under George Washington in inspecting frontier forts, as an officer in the Revolution and in the Virginia House of Burgesses for six years. He was a member of the Augusta County Court and sheriff and led treaty talks with Shawnee and Delaware Indians. In

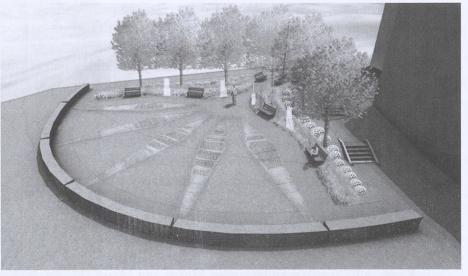
Botetourt County, he was justice of the peace, militia colonel and surveyor. As a member of the shortlived Fincastle County of Safety, he signed the Fincastle Resolutions near present Austinville in 1775. Described by historians as "the watchdog of the frontier," he had a major role in finding Tories during the Revolution.

Preston married Susanna Smith of Hanover County and six of their 12 children were born at Greenfield. He established "a little capital of the community" there, according to frontier historian F.B. Kegley. When Preston moved, he had established a plantation of 2,175 acres in Botetourt. Although Preston and his family lived at Smithfield in Montgomery County for the last nine years of his life, he "kept a close interest in Greenfield" and in his will he gave his wife the choice of living at either home. She stayed at Smithfield and his son, John, inherited Greenfield. When he died in 1783, Preston was the wealthiest man in Montgomery County, leaving an estate of 7,000 acres of land, 34 slaves, 36 horses and 86 cattle, according to Pulice's research. A school was taught at Smithfield and Preston had a library of 273 volumes, according to "Virginia's Montgomery County," edited by Mary Elizabeth Lindon.

A look at the family's famous legacy is in Patricia Givens Johnson's 1976 book, "William Preston and the Allegheny Patriots." Among the Preston descendants, direct or by marriage: three Virginia governors — James Patton Preston, John Floyd and his son, John Buchanan Floyd; John Breckenridge, a nephew, speaker of the House of Representatives; John Preston, Virginia treasurer, state senator and general; Francis Preston, member of Congress; William Ballard Preston, secretary of the Navy; William Preston, minister to Spain; and writer Ellen Glasgow.

Another modern connection to the Preston family is the Eastern Legacy Lewis and Clark Trail project of the National Park Service. The trail is marking routes taken by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark from 1803 to 1813. The connection is the friendship of William Preston Jr. and William Clark. The trail is planned to refer to Greenfield Plantation; Smithfield at Blacksburg; Fotheringay, Montgomery County home of Col. George Hancock, Clark's father-in-in-law; and other related Southwest Virginia sites.

Preston memorial model, prepared by Hill Studio, Roanoke





The Preston Memorial is located adjacent to the east end of the Greenfield Education and Training Center. (Photo by Christina Koomen)

Stephen Austin, Virginia-born, was "Father of Texas"

by Mary B. Kegley

ythe County, Virginia, and Texas continue to recognize and honor Stephen Fuller Austin, who was born in what is now Austinville in Wythe County on November 3, 1793, more than 223 years ago.

A recent meeting of the Wythe County Genealogical and Historical Association was held in the new meeting room named in honor of Austin. His portrait hangs on the wall together with other photos and an 1837 map of Texas. Donations pertaining to Austin, his sister and her descendants, and his parents recently sparked a renewed interest in this Wythe County native who became so important in Texas, long before it became part of the United States. This article is based on research and the presentation at the program about Stephen Austin and his family.

In 1997, under the leadership of the late Thomas A. Bralley Jr., the Wythe County Austin Monument Committee, with the assistance of the local Board of Supervisors, the Sons and Daughters of the Republic of Texas, the Descendants of the 300 and the Descendants of the Austin-Bryan-Perry Family Association, successfully erected the monument in Austinville, complete with poles for the flags of the United States and Texas.

In 2006, in Angleton, Texas, the county seat of Brazoria County, a giant statue of Austin, known as the "Father of Texas" was created by David Adickes, noted for his large statues. It stands 70 feet tall on a 6-foot base.

Stephen F. Austin was the son of Moses and Maria (Mary) Brown Austin. The exact location of his birth in Austinville is not known although several log cabins were suggested to those of us on the committee who put up the monument to Stephen in 1997.

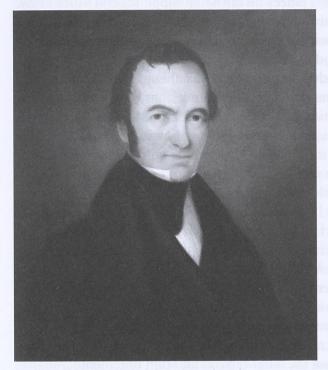
The background of the Austins was in Connecticut but Moses and his brother, Stephen, later were merchants in Philadelphia. Moses moved on to Richmond, where he established a business on Cary Street to manufacture shot. We don't know the method he used, but there is no mention of a shot tower there and it was too early for the one on the New River in Wythe County. It has been suggested that he might have used a mold or possibly the wooden box method used by Col. Henry Bouquet. That involved taking a round wooden box with a lid and coating the inside with chalk and then pouring molten lead into the box and closing it with the lid. Then it was shaken "violently" so that the metal would be agi-tated and forced against all parts of the box. As it cooled it formed granules of various sizes.

It was in Richmond where Moses no doubt heard that the lead mines in Wythe County were for lease, and he persuaded his brother, Stephen, to form a partnership. They leased the mines in 1789 for 10 years and Moses was living at the mines that year. His brother, Stephen, remained in Philadelphia, recruiting miners to work in Wythe County. In 1792, the Austin brothers purchased the lead mines and the following year Stephen F. was born. At this time, the Austins built houses, shops for a blacksmith and a hatter shop, stores, mills, furnaces, and we suspect, but cannot prove, that Moses might have had a nicer

Mary B. Kegley of Wytheville has written more than 50 books on regional history. She is president of the Wythe County Genealogical and Historical Association.

house than a log cabin built for his family. They advertised for 50 to 60 men to work the mines, and at this time many families came from England, such as the Jacksons, Knipes, Waltons and others. Many came from Westmoreland County.

Because of the expansion at the mines, and with businesses at Lynchburg and Philadelphia, the Austins found it necessary to borrow money. They also sold an interest in the mines to raise some of the funds. Their markets were in New York, Connecticut and Kentucky. In spite of the debt, Moses continued to buy land and expand. Things did not improve. Brother Stephen went to England to try to sell the mines and upon arrival was arrested and put in debtors' prison for a debt of \$4,000 he owed there.



Portrait of Stephen Austin

After two years and an arrangement to pay the debt, Stephen was allowed to leave but there was no sale for the mines. And Moses continued to buy land in Wythe County. It seemed that every time he borrowed money he bought land, had more expenses and went into more debt. In the beginning, he had persuaded the Virginia government to put a tax on imported lead which helped his business in Virginia. When this tariff was removed it was a great financial blow.

In 1796, Moses heard about the lead mines in Missouri, so he and Josiah Bell left Wythe County in the winter of that year and traveled by way of Anderson's Block House in Scott County, along the Wilderness Road through Lee County and over the Cumberland Gap, and into Kentucky. One night on the trip he stayed with 17 people in a log cabin about 12 feet square.

The snow was heavy, few roadways were marked beyond Kentucky, and there was extreme cold. Beyond Vincennes, Indiana, and into Illinois, they found no road, no food, no settlement and for four or

five days he and Bell and three other men were lost in a winter storm. The men fully expected to die in a snow bank. The worst part was they had no gun with them, and therefore could not kill game, or their animals, for food. But they made it!

After negotiating with the Spanish for mines in Missouri, and asking for 70,000 acres, Moses returned to Wythe County by way of Nashville and Knoxville. He and Bell had traveled 2,000 miles in three months and nine days. When he returned he waited for word that he had received a grant of land and prepared to move his family to Missouri, sending some of the workers and tools ahead of his moving there. He received approval from the Spanish government for only 4,250 acres.

James Austin, a cousin, became superintendent of the mines and first postmaster of the place called Austinville on April 1, 1798.

Moses began to sell off land holdings, and terminated partnerships. On June 8, 1798, Moses, his wife, Stephen F., not quite 5 years of age, his sister Emily, two years younger, Moses Bates and his wife (she was a sister to Moses Austin) and sons, slaves and workers for the mines set out, 40 in all, with nine loaded wagons and a coach and four. Some returned to Austinville. Although the road over the Cumberland Gap was now open for wagons, Moses went through what is now West Virginia and at Morris's boat yard, near Charleston, he purchased a flat boat and for three months the group was on the waterways of the Ohio and the Mississippi. On Sept. 7, they arrived at Kaskaskia, a location in present Illinois

south of St. Louis, Missouri, where 14 people now live (2010 Census). Three had drowned en route and of the 17 on board, only two could walk ashore. It took them 12 days to recover before reaching their final destination.

In a short time, Moses was successfully mining lead in the vicinity of present Washington County, Missouri. He was making use of the new technical ideas to process the lead he heard about and used



Statue of Stephen F. Austin

in Wythe County. This meant building a reverberatory furnace and using a new technique to wash the ore. He was very successful, founded the town of Potosi, and set up shipping places on the Mississippi, several miles away. Lead mining continues in that part of Missouri today.

Some authors describe Moses as ambitious, egotistical and domineering. I summarize Moses this way: He was adventuresome, he was always in debt, and he always wanted to expand his horizons, geographically and technically. I often saw the same characteristics in the son Stephen. And I thought that Moses and his associates were not too smart to travel in the wilderness in the winter without a gun in the 1790s.

Little is known about Stephen F.'s early childhood, but when he was 11 years old Moses sent him to New England. His father put him on a boat and sent him a thousand miles away to get an education. He was enrolled in Bacon Academy in Connecticut with a Mr. Adams as his teacher. After months of not hearing from his father, a letter finally came to his hands. Stephen was expecting news of home, his sister Emily, his brother James Elijah Brown (known as Brown, born 1803 in Missouri) and his parents, but the letter instead told him to remember that the "present is to lay the foundation for your future greatness."

Stephen spent more than three years in the New England school and then, after a brief visit at home, he was sent to Lexington, Kentucky, to continue his education, so he could become a "gentleman." He returned home at age 16 1/2, his education incomplete. His father was leaving for a trip to the east and son Stephen F. was to be in charge of the family store in Missouri.

Stephen was described as soft-spoken, sometimes depressed, but he had deep ideas of family pride and

responsibility. The Austins must always lead and never follow was the family motto. Physically Stephen was 5'8" tall, with small hands and feet, dark curly hair, hazel eyes and a "graceful figure." In 1814, at age 21, he was serving in the legislature in Missouri.

In the meantime, his mother, sister Emily and brother Brown traveled to Philadelphia, New Jersey, Connecticut and New York. Brown was entered into school in Connecticut and Emily in New York, following her four-year stay in a boarding school in Lexington, Kentucky. Mary then visited relatives, beginning the winter of 1811-1812, and she was in the east when the War of 1812 began. After staying away from home for about two years, she borrowed money and returned home, although she had expected her son, Stephen, to pay her bills; but there was no money to assist her.

Financial matters continued to deteriorate for the Austins. Moses had helped to establish a bank in St. Louis, and he was one of the first to borrow money from that bank. In 1819, the year of a great American depression, the bank did not survive and Moses was once again in "financial ruin." He mortgaged his elegant mansion known as Durham Hall and eventually sold the mines and signed all of his property over to the sheriff in order to escape debtors' prison. He was sued in court by many of his creditors and he owed much money.

In the meantime, Stephen F. had moved south to Arkansas where his father joined him for a short time, having quit the mining business forever. About this time Stephen became a judge on the First Judicial District in Arkansas. In 1820, Moses travelled to San Antonio, the Texas capital at the time, to promote his plan for settlement of 300 families in the Spanish province of Texas.

After meeting with the governor and being ordered to leave, Moses accidentally met Baron de Bastrop, who persuaded the governor to let Moses stay and develop his plan that he and Stephen had worked on for many months. Stephen left Arkansas for New Orleans where he was to study law.

Moses and his friends seemed to have bad luck when traveling. On his return to Missouri in 1821, he found that the raw winter weather and journeying in the wet with no clothing except what he had on, and no food and no means of obtaining any, was a very serious problem. Guns were stolen by one Kirkham who also took their horses and provisions, leaving Moses and his party stranded. They existed for eight days of misery, living on roots and berries. Moses developed a cold that turned into pneumonia.

En route to Missouri, he had to stop several times as his health deteriorated. He was weak from his ordeal but returned safely to Missouri with plans to settle his business affairs, gather supplies and the settlers and return to Texas. When he arrived home in March he seemed to be gradually improving, but his condition worsened and on June 10, 1821, he died with his wife, Mary (Maria), by his side.

His final request was that Stephen should undertake the settlement of the 300 pioneers as permission had been granted by the Spanish government to proceed. Not only did Stephen undertake that mission, but he also was determined to pay all of the debts owed by his father. He spent his lifetime doing just that. Moses and his wife Mary (Maria) are buried at Potosi and have a suitable marker near an early Presbyterian Church.

Knowing that his father was ill and had received permission to bring settlers to Texas, Stephen, now 27, left New Orleans and at once began to advertise for settlers. He promised them "the most liberal privileges," and newspapers as far away as Frankfort, Kentucky, carried the story. He contacted friends and encouraged them to join him. He promised "300 Catholic American families of good character and industrious habits." Each family would receive 320 acres of farm land fronting on the Colorado River with 640 acres of grazing land farther back. The head of the family would receive 200 acres for his wife and 100 for each child and 50 for each slave.

Stephen began to tour the area and between Nacodoches and San Antonio; he and his party trekked through the wilderness of Texas, a distance of about 300 miles, a trip that took three weeks. Continuing to the Colorado and Brazos rivers, and exploring much of the land very suitable for settlement, he gave a favorable report to the governor. He apparently anticipated income of \$48,000 from the 300 settlers with surveyors' and other fees to come out of this amount, but his financial scheme did not develop as expected.

On his first visit to beautiful Mexico City, a distance of 1,000 miles, Stephen learned to speak and write Spanish. He intended to stay a few months and ended up staying there a few days short of a year! He was successful in confirming the contract made by his father with the Spanish government.

Because he was gone such a long time, the people in Texas thought he was dead. Newspapers reported he had drowned, while another reported he was shot and killed, another said lost at sea and still

another said he was killed by Indians. When he returned he had his individual grant approved and he had extraordinary powers. He was supreme judge; commander-in-chief of the militia; law-maker for the colony, and had power to admit immigrants or to exclude them. Most of these powers Austin retained for seven years.

By 1823, Austin had issued 272 land titles and settlement began on the Colorado River. By 1824 most of the 300 families had arrived. He applied for the right to bring in 300 more families and this number was eventually increased to 500. In all, he had a total of five contracts, the last in 1831. Through his efforts, 1,540 land grant titles were issued to some 5,000 people. Between 1824 and 1834, the greatest decade in Texas history was created by Stephen F. Austin.

However, in 1830 the Mexican law called for a program to colonize Texas with native Mexicans as well as Swiss and Germans; no more Anglo-Americans and no more slaves were allowed in. Immigration was frozen. When this condition changed, thousands of people were at the gates ready to settle in Texas.

On his second visit to Mexico City, Stephen F. was imprisoned for more than two years, finally being able to leave without any indictment against him. He was promoting statehood for Texas.

One of his friends was Father Muldoon, an Irish Catholic priest. One of the requirements for settlement in Texas was that the settler be a Catholic or would become one, and not only have good character but be willing to support and defend the King of Spain. At first there was no priest to marry people or baptize the children in the church. Many did not care about that and did not object to a civil marriage ceremony. However, when Father Muldoon appeared on the scene he married those who wanted the recognition of the church and he baptized the children, but he was not a strict priest and he and Stephen often had dinners with plenty of conversation and drinks.

It was noticeable in reading the available resources that Stephen and his family were welltravelled. Stephen F. had been born in Virginia, lived in Missouri, went to school in Connecticut and Kentucky, then moved to Arkansas, then New Orleans, and visited various places in Texas. He had been to Mexico City twice. His mother, sister and her family also traveled extensively and were gone for extended periods of time. How did they travel? Although information is not always reported, many times they were on steamboats on the rivers of Texas, or on boats out of New Orleans on the Mississippi, or in the Gulf of Mexico. Sometimes they were taking the stage coach, and later they traveled by train.

When celebrations took place, Stephen F. was dancing and having fun. His letters seem to indicate an affection for his cousin, Mary Halley, but she did not live in the new settlements of Texas, and although they visited each other their worlds were too far apart to make an arrangement permanent. Stephen F. never married, and although his brother Brown married and had one son, Stephen Austin Jr., the child died at age 9, so there were no descendants of Moses Austin with the name Austin. It was Emily's descendants through her two marriages, first to Bryan and second to Perry, that we know much about the Austin family.

Stephen built no home for himself but considered sister Emily's home at Peach Point a place where he would be welcome and where he had small quarters and his office. It was first settled in 1832. And it was here that he was originally buried. In 1910 his remains were moved to Austin. His portrait is in the capitol and as I discovered so were many portraits of governors of Texas done by Wythe Countian William Henry Huddle, a noted portrait artist.

Long after Stephen F. had died and while Emily's descendants were living at Peach Point on the Brazos River (west of the present city of Houston), they suffered severe damage to the property. Hurricanes, floods and other storms of 1886, 1900 (the famous Galveston storm where it was estimated between 6,000 and 12,000 people died), and other storms in 1909, 1913 and 1915 destroyed most of the large 12-room house, all outbuildings and crops of sugar cane and cotton, and left standing only two rooms where Stephen F. had his books, desks and such. In 1948 the two rooms were restored by Stephen



A giant statue of Stephen Austin stands in Texas.

Perry Sr., and his daughter, Emily's descendants. They located a mahogany canopy bed that had been transported from Connecticut across the country to Missouri and on to Texas. It had 250 pieces and it took 2 1/2 years to restore it. There were no pieces missing. It had 40 yards of turkey-red calico for the canopy. A new house was built in 1949.

The destruction of the property was so great that the owners, following one of those storms, had to mortgage their land and eventually the property was lost to the bank. When one of the children heard

about that he bought the place back and in addition he bought some adjoining land, which in later years gave the family a substantial income as it had a gas well on the property.

One noticeable feature of Stephen's life in Texas, Mexico, New Orleans and elsewhere was of the number of times he was sick and at death's door, or "insensible and at the point of death." His brother Brown died of yellow fever in New Orleans, and about the time Stephen heard the news he was stricken with "chronic malarial fever" which plagued him all his life. He was in bed for a month. In 1831 Stephen spent 45 days with a fever and in bed. All his plans were on hold. He was stricken with cholera when on a trip to Matamoros and when he reached Mexico City in 1833, his symptoms of cholera returned, and for these bouts of this deadly disease he was given calomel, a mercury-based often-used medicine at the time, which had worsened his condition. It was poison. In Mexico City Austin believed that 18,000 people had died of this cholera epidemic and back home several of his relatives and friends had died of the disease. During this disastrous outbreak, thousands of people left Texas to avoid the dangers of illness. On a trip to Nashville he had the flu, and in 1836, he got a cold which developed into pneumonia and took his life on Dec. 27, 1836, at age 43.

<text>

Stephen F. Austin marker at Austinville, his birthplace in eastern Wythe County.

Stephen F.'s accomplishments are many: author of the first book published in Texas, a translation of the

laws, "Law, Order and Contracts on Colonization"; paid off his father's debts and his own; settled 5,000 families in Texas; mapped and surveyed much of Texas; fixed the land system; established the official post office department in 1835; created the Texas Rangers the same year; was in the legislature and ran for president against Sam Houston and lost, but became the first secretary of state in the Republic of Texas. He traveled extensively, was well educated, learned Spanish, had great patience, especially dealing with political figures of the time, and although never married he was attentive to his sister's children and other family members who joined him in Texas.

Texas was explored, colonized and subject to insurrection, revolution, invasion and independence and existed as a Republic for several years and finally became part of the United States in 1845. Many of these events came about because of Moses and Stephen F. Austin and their settlers from United States. Records show they came from places like Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, Kentucky, as well as Missouri, New York and Connecticut. Of course they endured military battles, were molested by millions of mosquitoes and many serious illnesses and Stephen F. suffered many hardships. He was a courageous statesmen and self-sacrificing leader, and heads the list of Texas heroes.

A college was named for him and the present capital of Texas was named for him. He is remembered in the capitol where his statue stands near his friend and fellow Virginian, Sam Houston from Rockbridge County. A monument stands at Austinville to remember and honor him. And Texas has not forgotten him with the giant-sized statue in Brazoria County.

In addition to the Austinville monument, the Wythe County Board of Supervisors, on Sept. 13, 2007, passed a resolution establishing a "sister county" relationship between Brazoria County and Wythe County. The document was signed by Wythe B. (Bucky) Sharitz, the chairman of the board. A copy was forwarded to Brazoria County. On Sept. 24, 2007, their proclamation gave the details of his life, with 11 "Whereases" and noting that it was Sam Houston who claimed at Austin's funeral that he was the "Fa-ther of Texas." In 2008, a proclamation from Brazoria County, honoring Austin on his birthday, Nov. 3, as "Father of Texas Day," was presented by Cecil and Seawillow Jackson to Sharitz.

Since this article was submitted for publication, Wythe County citizens, led by Jeremey Farley, the information officer for the county, have met to assist in restoring and updating the monument at Austinville. Local residents have cleaned up the site, new flags have been arranged for, and the Boy Scouts of the region have volunteered to assist with repairing the wall and replanting the gardens this summer. Signs have been placed on the Interstate to direct visitors to the site, and a kiosk will eventually be added to the location in order for visitors to learn of this famous citizen. In addition, within a short distance, Austinville also brags on a massive monument where the Fincastle County courthouse stood and where the names of the signers of the Fincastle Resolutions are listed. Their document of Jan. 20, 1775, among the last to be sent to the Continental Congress, was concerned with liberty and religious freedom, special admirable qualities they were willing to give their lives for.

Although he was known as the "Father of Texas," we also want to remember Stephen F. Austin as a Virginia-born entrepreneur who in his short life became an "Empressario" in Texas and who is remembered regularly by the citizens of Wythe County.

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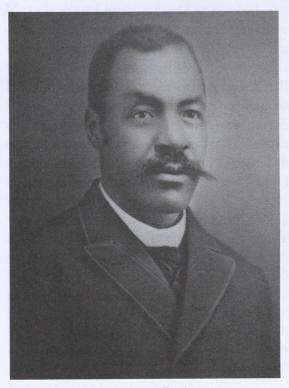
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Rev. Richard Jones, Activist, Orator, Founder of Black First Baptist Church, 1882-1904

by Dr. John Kern



Rev. Richard R. Jones

B orn a slave in 1853, the Rev. Richard R. Jones came to Roanoke in 1882 to head what became Roanoke's black First Baptist Church. In 1900, his race pride ministry and church discipline led his congregation to complete the largest black church in Virginia's largest city west of Richmond.(1)

After dedication of the new church in 1900, Rev. Jones turned his attention to protection of black civil rights of suffrage, threatened by the Virginia Constitutional Convention scheduled to convene in June 1901. When Rev. Jones defended black voting rights in a letter to the Roanoke Times published in March 1901, he warned that God is just and always avenges injustice. Within three months, the Roanoke Times attacked Rev. Jones as a dangerous leader of discontented blacks.

The Roanoke Times also published a letter from black business leaders who charged Rev. Jones with disruption of "essential hospitality between the races." Black business leaders also condemned Rev. Jones for his deplorable assertion that white men of the South were not proper examples to be held up to his race to teach them virtue. For Rev. Jones, by May and June of 1901, on the eve of the Virginia Constitutional Convention, the strange career of Jim

Crow focused on restriction of black suffrage, voiced racial prejudice, and incited violence that would force Rev. Jones and his wife, Lelia, into permanent exile from Roanoke and Virginia in 1904.(2)

A biographical sketch published in the Baptist Gazetteer of Western Pennsylvania provides most of the information known about the early life of Richard Jones.

R.R. Jones was born a slave in 1853 to William and Millie Jones, who were owned by Matthew Pedigue of Botetourt County, Virginia. After Emancipation, at the age of 20, while in West Virginia, Richard Jones experienced a religious conversion and a call to preach the Christian gospel.

Upon his return to Virginia, Jones was baptized by the white Rev. Albert Lowery near Bunker

Dr. John Kern, retired historian at the Roanoke Regional Preservation Office of the Virginia Department of Historic Resources, holds degrees from Swarthmore College and the University of Wisconsin.



Roanoke's First Baptist Church on North Jefferson Street was dedicated in 1900. The Parish Hall (left) was completed during the pastorate of the Rev. A.L. James, 1910-1958.

Hill in Bedford County. Previously unschooled, Richard Jones entered public school in Bedford County, soon learned to read and write, and received private instruction in theology and the classics. Once educated, Jones received license to preach from Bunker Hill Baptist Church in Bedford County. Rev. Jones remained in Bedford County to pastor Western Light Baptist Church and Piney Grove Baptist Church and to found Mt. Olive Baptist Church. He then built Clover Hill Baptist Church in adjoining Botetourt County and preached there for three years. Following these years of service to rural churches, in 1882 he accepted a call to pastor the congregation of what became black First Baptist Church in Roanoke City, Virginia.(3)

Two years after his arrival in Roanoke, 30-year-old Rev. Richard Jones traveled back to Bedford to marry 20-year-old Lelia Leftwich in April 1884. Richard's parents, William and Mildred Jones, attended the ceremony, as did Lelia's mother, Amanda Leftwich.(4) Richard and Lelia's marriage survived the terror of Jim Crow attacks on First Baptist Church and their home in Roanoke in 1904 and their forced exile in Washington, D.C. The rural setting of Roanoke County changed rapidly soon after Rev. Jones arrived there in 1882 to serve Big Lick Baptist Church in a village of perhaps 700 inhabitants. The Norfolk & Western Railroad also reached Roanoke County in 1882, and the county's agricultural landscape changed abruptly after Norfolk & Western officials first demanded the name change from Big Lick to Roanoke and then established their railroad headquarters in the new town. Roanoke soon became a steel-rail-era industrial center, as whites and blacks moved from surrounding counties such as Bedford and Botetourt to work in the Norfolk & Western machine shops and foundries.

Roanoke's largely segregated black population remained constant at about 25 percent of the city's total population, which grew to about 5,000 in 1884, to 16,000 in 1890, and to 21,500 by 1900. (5) Rev. Jones's congregation in Big Lick increased with the population of Roanoke City. The first city directory for Roanoke in 1887 listed Rev. Jones as pastor of First Baptist Church, colored, on Gainsboro Road a few blocks north and west of the Norfolk & Western shops. Rev. Jones built a church addition and a parsonage at Big Lick, now First Baptist Church, but he and his congregation would soon realize that they needed a larger church.(6)

In the early 1890s, Rev. Jones, as a principal leader of Roanoke's black community, sometimes joined cause with influential blacks and whites in Roanoke on public issues of mutual concern. Early in 1891, Rev. Jones presided over a meeting of blacks at High Street Baptist Church to oppose a city issue of municipal bonds that Jones said would not benefit Roanoke's largely segregated black community. A.J. Oliver, Roanoke's first black attorney, served as recording secretary for the bond meeting.

In separate comments, the white president of Roanoke's National Exchange Bank, T.T. Fishburne*, also opposed the bond issue because he said past bond allocations had not been distributed equitably among city wards. In 1893, Rev. Jones prayed at the opening of a prohibition meeting in the Old Opera House, where white Pastor William Campbell of First Presbyterian Church also spoke about the public dangers of dissipation from alcohol in Roanoke. Though local elections passed the bond issue in 1891 and defeated the prohibition option in 1893, Rev. Jones found support from influential whites on both matters of public concern. By 1901, however, common causes of shared concern no longer united any white leaders in support with Rev. Jones when he spoke to defend the interests of his black parishioners and community.(7)

First Baptist Church records beginning in 1892 document the strength of Rev. Jones's ministry and his discipline of church membership. (8) Rev. Jones provided his congregation with spiritual leadership gained from his call to preach the gospel and from his private instruction in theology and the classics. He provided his congregation with social and cultural leadership, demonstrated by his rise from slavery to a man called to the Lord, a man who attained education and social standing as a pastor by leading a series of small rural churches, and then headed a growing congregation in Roanoke City.

Rev. Jones's spiritual ministry and his discipline of church members gave his parishioners at First Baptist Church pride in membership. First Baptist Church members knew that they worshiped in the good faith of their pastor and that they embraced the promise of salvation by living in the good standing of the church required by his ministry.

Records of monthly First Baptist Church business meetings from 1892 to 1900 document how Rev. Jones and his designated church leaders used membership in First Baptist Church and threats of exclusion from membership to correct wayward behavior, and later to secure the support and funding needed to build their new church, dedicated in 1900. Business meeting minutes record the power Rev. Jones wielded by threats to expel parishioners from church membership, first for behavior deemed immoral, and then for failure to donate church dues and provide support for construction of the new church.

A short, strongly built black man of resolute purpose, Rev. Jones stood in full pastoral power as moderator of a church business meeting in 1892, when Brother Andrew Green appeared before the meeting and was excluded from church membership because he spoke disrespectfully about the pastor and

could not prove his charges. In 1895 Brother Moses Gravely was excluded from church membership for playing a game of ball. Other church members suffered loss of church membership for bad language and bad behavior such as adultery, drunkenness and dancing.

Rev. Jones and the First Baptist Church business committee exercised discretionary disciplinary power by restoring church membership to those who expressed sorrow for their misbehavior and promised to mend their ways. Church business meetings could provide compassion as well as disciplinary punishment. In 1895 three business committee members met with Brother Johnson, found him in very bad condition, and spent \$9.60 on a suit of clothes he needed, for which he returned many thanks.(9)

Albert Raboteau's important study, Slave Religion: The "Invincible Institution" in the Antebellum South, discusses precedents for the exercise of church discipline wielded by Rev. Jones and his church leaders. Raboteau writes that in some antebellum Baptist churches with white and black members, committees of black members were organized to oversee the gospel order of their brothers and sisters according to the moral precepts of the Bible.

The committees met on a monthly basis to review black applicants for church membership and to hear testimony of members charged with breaches of church discipline. Monthly meeting minutes recorded disputes between church brothers and sisters and reported on un-Christian conduct. Those accused could answer the charges against them. The committee withdrew the hand of Christian fellow-ship from the unrepentant, while those who promised to mend their ways were readmitted to the church. Raboteau writes that the context of this disciplined "watch care" gave black church members experience in church governance and laid the foundation for freedmen to build their own independent churches after Emancipation.(10)

Church discipline, initiated in mixed-race churches during slavery, as explained by Raboteau, increasingly focused on churches separated by race after Emancipation. As blacks sought to establish their own churches where they could worship free from oversight by whites, black pastors such as Rev. Jones used church discipline to increase their influence over the faith and practice of their congregations. While Rev. Jones exercised his use of church governance during the late 1890s to build the largest black congregation in Roanoke, he also began to extend his influence as a leader of Roanoke's black community, a spokesperson for black cultural pride, black education and black political rights of suffrage.(11)

By 1897 Rev. Jones used the authority of church discipline to lay the foundation for finance and construction of Roanoke's new First Baptist Church. Disruptive members suffered loss of church membership if they criticized plans for construction or failed to pay their allotted dues for building the new church. From 1897 to 1900, Rev. Jones used First Baptist business meetings to record plans and secure support for construction of the new church.

In March 1897, the business meeting approved the purchase of a lot for the new church on the northeast corner of Jefferson Street and Gilmer Avenue. At the next business meeting in April, members resolved to appoint a building committee. This committee of eight members approved plans for church construction as presented by Rev. Jones. Rev. Jones directed his campaign for the new church from the pulpit. He gave church members a week to approve building and architectural plans for the church. Then, after a majority of church members decided to build the new church and approved building and design plans, members who continued to oppose church construction would be excluded immediately from church members hip. Church trustees would be removed at once if they opposed construction, and new church members would not be accepted unless they supported construction of the church.

Rev. Jones and the building committee would direct construction and receive and pay receipts and costs, with meetings held after a week's notice from the pulpit. Thus, after initial approval, church members had no recourse if they opposed plans for church construction and design. Attempts would be made to give work on church construction to church members and other blacks if Rev. Jones and the building committee decided that such labor would be in the best interest of the church.

Witness the following signatures and seals. (SEAL) (SEAL) (SEAL) (SEAL) (SEAL) (SEAL) (SEAL)

Deed of trust for construction of First Baptist Church, filed in Roanoke City Hustings Court, Nov. 28, 1898, witnessed by the Rev. R.R. Jones. Six of the seven trustees did not sign their names.

After 1897, church discipline focused on fundraising. Members failing to provide funds to finance construction of the new church would "be called in question personally." Rev. Jones and the building committee established building charges called "due rolls." The building committee read the due rolls on a regular basis and compiled lists for exclusion from church membership for all those who failed to pay their dues for the new building.(12)

While church discipline ensured member support and funding for building the new church, Rev. Jones and First Baptist trustees also attended to securing legal title, city building permits and bank loans necessary for church construction. A First Baptist business meeting in September 1897 authorized church trustees to "settle the lot matter at once"; four days later First Baptist trustees went to Roanoke City Corporation Court and recorded the deed for their new church lot on the corner of Jefferson and Gilmer. In April 1898, First Baptist church received a building permit from the Roanoke City engineer to erect the new church, described as a two-story brick church with stone foundation and slate roof.(*13*) In November 1898, First Baptist trustees secured one of a series of loans for church construction from Lynchburg Trust and Savings Bank.(*14*)

Rev. Jones also received church approval to secure key services from white professionals in the Roanoke community who provided essential legal advice and design assistance needed to ensure successful completion of the new First Baptist Church. In December 1897, the building committee authorized Rev. Jones to consult white attorney E.W. Robertson, who would serve as general counsel during the period of church construction. In 1898 Rev. Jones received church permission to employ white architect H.H. Huggins to design and supervise construction of the new church.(*15*)

Rev. Jones also solicited funds for church construction from white leaders in Roanoke, publicized their donations, and announced his subsequently ill-advised expectations of future support from Roanoke City whites. Early in 1898, the Roanoke Times printed the names of some 50 whites who donated a total of about \$100 to Rev. Jones for the new church. Under the heading HE IS THANKFUL, the Roanoke Times printed the names of white donors and the amounts of their donations. The article published Rev. Jones's expectations for future donations — "I want \$800 or \$1,000 from white people" — and recorded his misplaced confidence in Southern white generosity: "Mr. Editor, I told the people in Orange, N.J., a few summers ago that the Southern white people were more liberal than Northern white people to my race. I shall prove it before this year is out if we live."(16)

In the spring of 1900, as work on the new First Baptist Church neared completion, the business committee resolved to occupy the building on the first Sunday in May, followed by a week of evening programs. On Tuesday, May 1, 1900, the Roanoke Times printed a favorable architectural review of the new church and announced opening ceremonies that would celebrate its completion:

The Congregation of the First Colored Baptist Church has announced that it will move into its new building on North Jefferson Street on Sunday morning. The new church is a handsome building and has been completed after a long and hard struggle on the part of the First Church members. It is most creditable in every respect and immediately impresses the visitor as being the handsomest colored church in the city. Rev. R.R. Jones is the pastor and J.K. Trent the clerk of the church. ... An elaborate programme has been arranged for the opening. On Sunday morning the pastor will preach. In the afternoon there will be a sermon by Rev. W.W. Brown. At 8 in the evening the pastor will give a history of the work. There will be preaching each night during the week following, up to Friday when the commencement exercise of the Independent School will take place.(*17*)

This Roanoke Times notice on the opening of the new First Baptist Church marked the high point of white press coverage of the work and accomplishments of Rev. Jones.

After successful construction and dedication of the new First Baptist Church, Rev. Jones refocused his efforts on public criticism of Virginia's intended restriction of black suffrage. On March 3, 1901, the Roanoke Times published a strong letter from Rev. Jones that opposed the pending Virginia Constitutional Convention because of its announced intent to disenfranchise black voters. Two and a half months later, the Times responded with articles and editorial comments that charged Rev. Jones with disruptive criticism of white authority, criticism expressed by an influential member of the white City School Board, and criticism by "progressive Negroes" who advocated cooperation with their influential white friends.

Headlined SPEAKS FOR HIS RACE, Rev. Jones's letter to the Roanoke Times defended black voting rights, which he correctly saw as threatened by Virginia's Constitutional Convention, scheduled to convene in Richmond in June 1901.(*18*) Rev. Jones knew that delegates to the convention intended to limit black suffrage, and he stated his moral opposition to disenfranchisement in his letter to the Times. The man who sought to deprive black Virginians of their rights must not read the Bible, because that blessed book teaches him to do unto others as he would have others do unto him. Moreover, the Bible teaches us that the measures meted to others will be meted out to us. Rev. Jones warned, in language resonant with Lincoln's Second Inaugural, that there is a God who is just, and though He waits long before He avenges, yet He always avenges, and always will. Rev. Jones closed his letter against the disenfranchisement of blacks by the Virginia Constitutional Convention with statements that marked him as a spokesman for race pride. "We know that we are a great people because we are the talk of the nations. Go where you will, even to the shows and theaters, and concerts, and if the negro is not there in person or by proxy, the whole thing is a dead note. And since there is something about the negro all races love to imitate, why seek to kill him, why not elevate him and make him a worthy citizen?" Jones signed his letter to the Times. "Yours for my race."(*19*)

Two and a half months after Rev. Jones condemned the objectives of the Virginia Constitutional Convention, the Roanoke Times responded on May 26, 1901, with a four-story attack headlined NEGRO

PREACHER TALKS OF BLOOD. The Times printed two stories by adversaries of Rev. Jones: one H.E. Barnett, the black spokesman for the negro Rescue League, the other T.T. Fishburne, a white member of the Roanoke City School Board. The Times also printed two letters by Rev. Jones, which he addressed in private correspondence to the Rescue League and the School Board. The Times's publication of Jones's letters, intended only for delivery to the Rescue League and the School Board, enabled the paper to attack Jones as a dangerous leader of discontented blacks.

The TALKS OF BLOOD coverage opened with an editorial paragraph that praised the enlightened and educated negroes in Roanoke who supported the Rescue League efforts to uplift the colored race. The Times then charged that Rev. Jones exercised "hoodoo influences" over his followers so they would oppose the worthy objectives of the Rescue League. The editorial paragraph closed, "That Jones is a stuffed prophet and a bigoted and hopelessly benighted ignoramus is amply testified by what follows here."(20)

The Roanoke Times condemnation of Rev. Jones began with the address of "Prof." Barnett, an exemplary negro who commands "the respect and esteem of the white people." The speech, given "a short time ago" by H.E. Barnett, principal of Gainsboro Elementary, one of Roanoke's two black elementary schools, stated that the negro Rescue League sought to call black mothers back to their duty to their children. The children of black mothers should not value dress above character. Barnett said that many black daughters were brought to ruin by spending too much money on clothes and that most black parents were not as concerned as whites when their daughters lost their virtue. When disgraced black daughters converted and joined the church, their conversions seemed in the minds of some to atone for their loss of purity or chastity.(21)

The Times's second story on May 26, 1901, reprinted the private letter Rev. Jones wrote to the president of the Rescue League after he first learned of Barnett's address. Jones told the league to withdraw his honorary membership for several reasons. Jones opposed the doctrine that a fallen woman could not be reclaimed, "which is against the teachings of the New Testament and the doctrine held by my church." Jones argued that Christ taught those without sin to cast the first stone. Nor did he think southern whites were more virtuous than southern blacks. In a statement not intended for publication in the Roanoke Times, Jones stated, "My race is compelled to work for an honest living in the kitchen and as nurses for white people, and they destroy every good looking woman of my race because they can't go into courts and cry out rape." Jones continued, "When I go into courts and see the Judge with his concubine, and the congressman renting houses in Washington for their women. ... I don't want such examples for my people." Certainly the Rescue League members knew that they placed Rev. Jones's life in jeopardy when they provided his letter, intended only for them, to the Roanoke Times for publication. *(22)*

After their reprint of Jones's letter to the Rescue League, the same May 26, 1901, issue of the Roanoke Times reprinted a letter from Jones written to the Roanoke City School Board. Jones's letter asked the School Board to replace the city's two black elementary school principals with white principals. Jones had already expressed his opposition to Principal Barnett's explanation of the negro Rescue League program for black moral reform. Jones's letter to the School Board explained that he also opposed the other black school principal, J. Riley Dungee at Gregory Elementary, because Dungee contributed to a conflict within the Roanoke community of black churches. Jones notified the School Board that, in April 1901, he learned that Principal Dungee said "unbecoming things about the Virginia Seminary." Jones noted that Dungee's comments countered efforts by Roanoke's black Baptists who were then working to raise funds for the Lynchburg Seminary. Founded by the black Virginia Baptist State Convention, the Virginia Seminary in Lynchburg was headed by president Gregory Hayes, who advocated race pride and opposed restriction of black suffrage. Rev. Jones anticipated opposition to the Virginia Seminary by principal Dungee, and warned the School Board that if they did not replace black

principals, "there will be blood shed in this city before things are settled." But, despite the newspaper headline, "Jones TALKS OF BLOOD," Jones's letter to the School Board referred to bloodshed that would be between rival black congregations in Gainsboro, not between blacks and whites in Roanoke. Jones neither wrote the "bloodshed letter" to the Times nor intended it for publication.(23)

The May 26, 1901, Roanoke Times article closed its condemnation of the blood-talking Rev. Jones by printing the rebuttal to Jones's letter to the School Board written by T.T. Fishburne, a prominent banker and member of the white Roanoke City School Board. Fishburne wrote the Times that he had received Jones's letter a few days before. Fishburne, who began his service on the Roanoke City School Board in 1892, said that he decided to publish Jones's letter and his rebuttal because Jones had opposed the appointment and criticized the conduct of every colored principal since Fishburne began his service on the School Board. Fishburne added that Jones continually led opposition to School Board decisions with public meetings, petitions, and formal charges against the board. Fishburne thought it would not be wise to appoint white principals for the black schools, and he wondered if Rev. Jones would accept turning his congregation over to a white pastor. Fishburne ended his letter with an appeal to colored people of Roanoke to get rid of their disturbers and enemies, remembering that the best people of all races and religions will sustain them.

Ironically, the TALKS OF BLOOD coverage from the Roanoke Times provides first-hand accounts of Rev. Jones's spiritual leadership of his First Baptist Church and his cultural leadership of Roanoke's black community. His ministry did not look to whites for moral leadership. His church accepted converts who reclaimed their lives in keeping with the New Testament. His community leadership constantly demanded that white leaders provide what he judged to be the best possible public school education for black students.

By 1901, the white Jim Crow prejudice that led to the Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1901-1902 also divided the community of black leadership in Roanoke. The Roanoke Times ended the weeklong press campaign against Rev. Jones on June 2, 1901, with publication of a letter headlined "REV. JONES CONDEMNED. Colored Businessmen Deny Statements Made by Him." Twenty men, who called themselves the progressive moral and intellectual negroes of Roanoke, men who asserted their belief in discretion and conservatism, signed the condemnation of Rev. Jones. The 20 men recognized the weak and uncertain financial condition of their people, and they resolved that only by cooperation with influential white friends could they gain elevation in the financial world. Therefore, these progressive negroes criticized Rev. Jones for his opposition to white authority and for "inciting the masses against the classes." They condemned Jones's denunciation of the Rescue League because of his deplorable assertion that white men of the South were not proper examples to be held up to his race to teach them virtue. They condemned the efforts of Rev. Jones to have Roanoke's two black principals replaced by white principals as a criminal and vicious challenge of white authority. They regarded Jones's warning of bloodshed in his letter to the School Board as a menace to the good and peace of society between blacks and whites that was required for black advancement. They applauded the manly actions of School Board member T.T. Fishburne in exposing the evil and disruptive designs of Rev. Jones, and they closed their letter with a resolution of disfavor toward any public men, whether preacher such as Rev. Jones, teacher or other person, whose action was calculated to disrupt essential hospitality between the races. The progressive negroes also condemned Rev. W.W. Brown, who preached the year before at the dedication of Rev. Jones's new First Baptist Church. The progressives wrote to express their dismay when Rev. Brown told his congregation to "boycott two of our professional men," probably attorney A.J. Oliver and Dr. I.D. Burrell, because they refused to denounce Principal Dungee's criticism of the Virginia Seminary in Lynchburg.(24)

Controversy over the Virginia Seminary in Lynchburg intensified in 1899 when opponents of the Lynchburg Seminary created a new General Association of Colored Baptists of Virginia, which spon-

sored a new Virginia Union University in Richmond that would provide education based on accommodation of white authority. Rumors circulated that the Virginia Seminary in Lynchburg would become a secondary school, subordinate to Virginia Union University, and that president Hayes would be demoted to service as a secondary school principal. In fact, the Virginia Baptist State Convention remained independent from the General Association of Colored Baptists of Virginia, and retained control of the Virginia Seminary in Lynchburg, which continued its advocacy of race pride. But the outcome of the dispute in 1901 was still uncertain. Rev. Jones and Rev. Brown fought to support the Virginia Seminary and its advocacy of race pride and protection for black suffrage, and opposed the Virginia Union University curriculum of accommodation with influential whites.(25)

By 1901 different strategies and different social demeanors separated Rev. Jones's advocacy of race pride and criticism of the abuses of white authority from the more conciliatory posture of Roanoke's 20 conservative negro progressives who called for racial harmony. As the strange career of Jim Crow in Virginia escalated to diminish black suffrage, black leadership in Roanoke divided into two factions. In 1891 Rev. Jones and black attorney A.J. Oliver joined forces in support of prohibition. By 1901, on the eve of the Virginia Constitutional Convention, A.J. Oliver and his fellow negro professionals supported the material progress of their people, progress that they resolved could be best advanced by discretion and accommodation with their white friends in the city. In 1901, Rev. Jones led black Roanoke Baptists who championed race pride and opposition to white imposition of restrictions on black civil rights.

Criticized in 1901 by the Roanoke Times, the Roanoke School Board and black Roanoke professionals, Rev. Jones rebounded confidently two years later in May 1903, when he announced in the Roanoke Times that First Baptist Church would host the Virginia Baptist State Convention, the convention that supported the Virginia Seminary in Lynchburg and its race pride agenda, for four days from May 13 to May 16, 1903. Rev. Jones wrote that the convention of more than 200 delegates would include "some of the most learned men in the race." Perhaps remembering their collaboration on prohibition a decade earlier, Rev. Jones cordially invited white pastors of the city to attend the meetings. Rev. Jones did not extend his invitation to black pastors of other denominations in the city.(26)

Two Sundays after the Virginia Baptist State Convention held in Roanoke at First Baptist, Rev. Jones announced from the pulpit that he had received a call to serve another church. However, at the next church business meeting on June 5, 1903, Rev. Jones told those assembled that, after careful consideration, he decided to remain with their Roanoke First Baptist Church "as we both give each other satisfaction." After Rev. Jones retired from the meeting, church trustees spoke of Jones's valued service to their church, and voted to transfer ownership of the First Baptist parsonage to Rev. Jones in thanks for his decision to remain with their congregation.(27)

Rev. Jones's dedicated service with First Baptist Church in Roanoke ended abruptly in February 1904. On Sunday, Jan. 31, 1904, the Roanoke Times ran a boldface-headlined story about a black man's assault on a white woman and her infant daughter in Roanoke:

SHOCKING TRAGEDY IN HEART OF CITY A Defenseless Woman and Her Helpless Baby Girl Are Most Brutally Assaulted by Burly Negro Man in Their Home on Henry Street and Left for Dead in Own Blood

The following news story reported that before noon on Saturday, Jan. 30, 1904, a tall black negro entered the home of George Shields in downtown Roanoke, wounded Mrs. Alice Shields and her 3-year-old daughter Mildred, stole clothes and a gold watch, and fled the house before Mr. Shields returned home at noon for lunch. Rumors of the attack spread, and by 8 o'clock that evening a mob of nearly

1,000 men assembled in front of the city jail, determined to wreak vengeance against the Shields assailant. Mayor Joel Cutchin stood in front of the jail and told the mob that no arrest had been made.

When Roanoke Hustings Court Judge John Woods joined Mayor Cutchin and told the crowd they must not break the law and stain the honor of the city,(28) one in the crowd threw a beer bottle at his head. Finally, a committee chosen by the mob received access to the jail. After the committee emerged from the jail and announced that the assailant was not there, the mob dispersed around 10:30 that night. (29)

An editorial appeared in the Roanoke Times on the same day, Jan. 31, as the story of the Shocking Tragedy. Titled A FRIGHTFUL CRIME, the editorial sensationalized the assault by raising the specter of rape, and the attack on Alice Shields now became an "infamous ravishment of brutal lechery." The editorial argued against lynching the rapist, but advocated white concern for the heart of the negro problem: Negroes should not be educated to believe that they are as good as whites. The public school system as presently conducted abnormally stimulated the negro's mentality and made him think he was as good as the white man. "Our brother in black should be made to understand that he is not as good as the white man, and can never be, and never will be — that his is the status of an inferior race." Instead, negroes should elevate their moral race standards, look down on the negro criminal class, and accept the lot society assigns them. The editorial closed with poisonous warning of Jim Crow racism: "The new issue of darkies is being bred with a source of never ending unrest and peril to the white people of the country. When will the folly of this course be recognized? — in the name of our white womanhood, we ask, when will it be abandoned?"(*30*)

The Roanoke Times printed a petition in the next issue of the paper, on Feb. 2, 1904, that sustained the contagion of fear surrounding the Shields assault. The petition called for signatures so the Virginia General Assembly would enact legislation to provide the death penalty or penitentiary confinement for "any person guilty of knowingly harboring, or aiding, or abetting any man who is charged either by indictment, or through public rumor, with committing the crime of rape." In the Times coverage, entitled SIGN THE PETITION, the paper called for General Assembly enactment of the petition because it would bring the rapist more swiftly to justice. The press called for citizens to endorse the petition by signing it in overwhelming numbers. "Surely our white people will not hesitate; how will it be with the colored population?"(*31*)

The next night, Feb. 3, Jim Crow threats of violence drove Rev. Jones out of Roanoke. The Roanoke Times reported that R.R. Jones, pastor of First Baptist Church, made "cowardly remarks in connection with the Shields affair. … Mutterings of the people became ominous of serious trouble. Talk of another lynching was everywhere heard, and at 8 o'clock a mob numbering nearly 1,200 people had assembled near the Henry Street bridge." The mob crossed the bridge, reached Jones's church, looking for Jones, and not finding him there, marched on his home, where a woman told them he was not in the neighborhood. The mob "still in deadly earnest," returned to the city jail, and then dispersed.(*32*)

Rev. Jones provided his own accounts of the mob attacks on his church and home when he wrote the Roanoke City Council from his exile in Washington, D.C., on July 26, 1904, to request financial compensation for the loss of his parsonage on Hart Avenue and his ministry at First Baptist Church. Jones wrote city fathers: "On the night of Feb. 3rd a mob of men and boys came to my church, broke up a prayer meeting, and then came to my house, number 17 Hart Ave., N.E., for the purpose of taking my life or doing me bodily harm."

Jones wrote that he notified city authorities about the mob threats by 7 p.m., the mob assembled at Henry Street bridge at 8 p.m., but "not a single policeman came to offer me any protection." Jones in his letter to City Council also reported a second terrifying attack on his house, still occupied by his wife, Lelia, six weeks after his forced departure: "March the 24 a mob went to my house, broke open the door, and gave my wife 12 hours to leave the city, and from half past 12 at night to 12 next day, not a police-

man came to her rescue. ... She came away March 25th and telegraphed me from Lynchburg of her coming to Washington, D.C."(33)

The Roanoke Times never published an account of the midnight raid on March 24, 1904, that forced Lelia Jones to flee from Roanoke and join her husband in Washington, D.C. Two weeks after the attack, under the innocuous heading "Public Opinion, What Others Think and Say," the Times reprinted news of the assault against Lelia Jones from the Richmond Planet, the black paper published by John Mitchell Jr., who championed black civil rights and fought against lynching of blacks. In the reprint, Mitchell reported the attack on the Jones residence in the present tense: "A mob of white men. ... A mob of masked fiends break into his house, scare his lone wife into hysterics and then order her to leave the city." In the Richmond Planet reprint, Mitchell then advised Rev. Jones to return to Roanoke, make arrangements with a colored funeral director, select a casket and a burial plot, arm himself with a "good repeating shotgun, one repeating rifle, and one long Colt revolver, together with a copy of the Holy Bible," enter the front gate of his residence, and "await developments." (34)

The Roanoke Times reprinted Mitchell's advice to Rev. Jones as additional evidence that Rev. Jones could never be permitted re-entry to Roanoke because his ministry represented a dangerous threat to law and order in Roanoke. In a two-column editorial that immediately preceded the reprint of Mitchell's advice to Jones, the Roanoke Times referred to "the notorious R.R. Jones, a negro preacher who was recently expelled from the city by a righteous public sentiment." The editorial repeated the warning the Times made in connection with the Shields assault, that mistaken education of the negro made him a menace to the safety of society by stimulating his mentality while neglecting the improvement of moral forces in his character. If the negro is not educated to work along practical lines as a member of an inferior and serving class, his education will bear woeful fruits. The false education and challenges of white authority prompted by Mitchell's advice from the Richmond Planet could inflame negroes such as Rev. Jones to dangerous acts of violence. The Roanoke Times and conservative or progressive blacks first charged Rev. Jones with disruption of necessary social stability and law and order in Roanoke in 1901 after he challenged the Virginia Constitutional Convention for its Jim Crow intent to diminish black suffrage. Now, in connection with the Shields assault, the Roanoke Times charged that Mitchell's advice to Rev. Jones meant that "civilization ought to be shot from the muzzle of a repeating rifle and ... the negroes should commence the lead-pumping process." The vehemence of the April 7, 1904, Times editorial made it inconceivable that Rev. Jones would ever be permitted safe to return and reestablish his ministry in Roanoke.(35)

Never granted safe return to Roanoke, Rev. Jones could no longer lead First Baptist Church as a minister of spiritual salvation and an advocate of black cultural pride, educational opportunity and equal rights of suffrage. The strength of his race pride ministry made him the target of Jim Crow prejudice, and mob violence that forced him and then his wife, Lelia, to leave Roanoke and their native state of Virginia. Blessed by the ministry of his thirst for righteousness, he was persecuted for the aggressive conduct of his pastorate of righteousness. (36)

What C. Vann Woodward called "the Jim Crow Capitulation to Racism" drove Rev. and Lelia Jones out of the South. So dark were the Jim Crow charges against Rev. Jones for his disruptive influence over blacks, especially in association with sensational reports of the Shields assault, and so frightening was the mob violence that drove Rev. and Lelia Jones into exile, that Roanoke First Baptist Church records never made reference to the forced departure of their pastor. In 1942, J.K. Trent, still First Baptist Clerk, and church historian, wrote simply, "Under the matchless leadership of the sainted and lamented Rev. R.R. Jones, and with unmistakable evidence of divine approval and guidance, the church moved forward ... Rev. Jones resigned in 1904."(*37*)

Epilogue

After two years of exile in Washington, D.C., Richard and Lelia Jones moved to Homestead, Pennsylvania, across the Monongahela River from Pittsburgh. There Rev. Jones pastored the black Clark Memorial Baptist Church until his death in 1921. Blacks counted for about 5 percent of the population in Monongahela, and by 1910 Eastern European immigrants outnumbered black residents by a ratio of more than three to one. The Eastern European immigrants bore the brunt of public prejudice in Homestead, prejudice that whites directed against blacks in Roanoke. The Homestead Daily Messenger welcomed the arrival of Rev. Jones, supported him in his claims for compensation from Roanoke City after mob violence forced his exile, and printed favorable accounts of his ministry in Homestead. When Rev. Jones died, his obituary recognized him as a great pulpit orator and an active pastor for the betterment of his community.(38)

Fourteen-year-old Oliver Hill and his mentor, Lelia Pentecost, traveled by train from Roanoke to Homestead in June 1921 to attend the funeral of Rev. Jones, so that Mrs. Pentecost could honor Rev. Jones for his race pride ministry.(39)

(* Ed. Note: Later generations of the Fishburn family dropped the "e" from the spelling of the name.)

ENDNOTES

U.S. Department of Commerce, Sixteenth Census, 1904, Population, Virginia (Washington, D.C.), vol. 1, table 2, 1100.
 Roanoke Times, 3 March 1901, and 26 May, 2 June 1901; 31 Jan. 1904 and 2, 4 Feb. 1904.

3. Baptist Gazetteer of Western Pennsylvania, (n.d.), transcribed by Zella L. Cole, Church Secretary, Clark Memorial Baptist Church, Homestead, Pa., 26 May 2010. Census records verify some of this biographical information on Rev. Jones from the Baptist Gazetteer: In 1850 a Matthew Pettigrew owned sixteen slaves in Botetourt County, Virginia (U.S. Census Bureau, Seventh Census, 1850, Botetourt County, Va., Western District, 116; Schedule 2, Slave Inhabitants 1850, Botetourt County, Va., Western District, 13). In 1870 William Jones, sixty years old, and wife Millie Jones, forty years old, the parents of Richard Jones, headed a black household in Liberty Township, Bedford County, Virginia; their household did not include their son Richard, who presumably still resided in West Virginia (U.S. Census Bureau, Ninth Census, 1870, Bedford County, Va., Liberty Township, 144). The 1860 census lists an Albert Lowry as a white farmer in his fifties who lived in Bedford County and owned personal property valued at \$4,200, probably including his slaves (U.S. Census Bureau, Eighth Census, 1860, Bedford County, Va., Northern District, Liberty Post Office, 59).

4. The Bureau of Vital Statistics for Marriages for Bedford County, Virginia, recorded the marriage of minister R.R. Jones, thirty years old, and widowed, to Lelia Leftwich, twenty years old; both were black (microfilm; Bureau of Vital Statistics, Marriage Register, Bedford County, Va., #50, 8 Apr. 1884, Virginia Room, Roanoke City Public Library). Rev. Jones was widowed at the time of his marriage to Lelia Leftwich. The 1880 Bedford County Census listed Richard Jones and his wife Sarah; both were black, and both could read and write (U.S. Census Bureau, Tenth Census, 1880, Bedford County, Va., Corporation of Liberty, 46). The 1900 Roanoke City Census listed both Richard and Lelia Jones; both were black, and both could read and write (U.S. Census Bureau, Tenth Census; 180, Bedford County, Va., Corporation of Liberty, 46). The 1900 Roanoke City Census listed both Richard and Lelia Jones; both were black, and both could read and write (U.S. Census Bureau, Tenth).

5. County Boundaries and Census for Black and White Population in Roanoke City, Kern Archives, Virginia Room, Roanoke City Main Public Library. U.S. Department of Commerce, Sixteenth Census, 1904, Population, Virginia.

Arleen Ollie, African American History in Roanoke City: A Compilation of Records (Roanoke, 2003), unpaginated.
 Rand Dotson, Roanoke, Virginia, 1882–1912: Magic City of the New South (Knoxville, 2007), 42–43, 130–32. I am indebted to Dotson for his exhaustive research in the Roanoke Times from the early 1890s to 1912. My discussion that follows on the Roanoke Times and Rev. Jones suggests the value of additional study and examination of the historic context of race relations in Roanoke City to understand the influence exercised by Rev. Jones as a leader and defender of the rights of Roanoke's black community at the turn of the twentieth century.

8. In 1993, First Baptist Church historian Geneva Hale discovered, inside the then vacant First Baptist Church dedicated in 1900, original handwritten church records from the early 1890s to the 1940s. In 1990 I prepared the historic context for a National Register Nomination for the church built in 1900. Unfortunately, the church burned in 1995, and the nominated church has been removed from the National Register. In 1982 the congregation vacated the church built in 1900 for a church one block to the south on the west side of Jefferson Street. The present First Baptist Church, located at 310 Jefferson Street, is the only black church that remains in the predominantly black Gainsboro Historic District, as listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 2005. (First Baptist Church Records, 310 Jefferson Street, Roanoke, Virginia; photocopies in Kern

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Archives, Virginia Room, Roanoke Public Library.)

9. First Baptist Church Records; Kern Archives.

10. Albert J. Raboteau, Slave Religion: The "Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum South (Oxford, 1978, 2004), 174–81, 367. Raboteau comments, "Church minute records constitute a genre of evidence not yet fully exploited by historians of slavery (367)," and I would add, by historians of postbellum black Baptist church worship.

11. William E. Montgomery, Under Their Own Vine and Fig Tree: The African-American Church in the South (Baton Rouge, 1993), 99, 244–45. Montgomery writes that southern blacks after the Civil War withdrew from formerly white and black churches in massive numbers. In Virginia over 80 percent of black church members were Baptists, and their churches initially provided practically the only advocacy for black education, and later for black cultural pride, political independence, and self-reliance.

12. First Baptist Church Records; Kern Archives. Five decades later, J.K. Trent, still clerk of First Baptist Church, reported that Rev. Jones's drive to complete the new church caused some strife among his parishioners. Some disgruntled members withdrew from the church. A number of them returned, while others never came back (J.K. Trent, Brief History of the First Baptist Church, Roanoke, 1942]; photocopy in Kern Archives).

13. In 1942 First Baptist clerk J.K. Trent wrote that "outsiders" (whites) tried to stop construction work on the church, but the white contractor told them they would have to take their case to civil court, because First Baptist had received a building permit for the site from Roanoke City (Trent, Brief History of First Baptist Church).

14. First Baptist Church Records; Kern Archives. Ten different trustees served First Baptist in 1897 and 1898: Roanoke City Directories identify all ten as laborers; four worked for Norfolk & Western; one worked for Roanoke City. First Baptist clerk Joseph Trent, who recorded all church minutes, worked as an N&W porter in 1895 (Sholes' Directory of the City of Roanoke, 15 Aug. 1895, 225). The loans were recorded in Roanoke City Hustings Court, 28 Nov. 1898.

15. H.H. Huggins was Roanoke's only architect in 1898 (Directory of the City of Roanoke, 15 Nov. 1898, 155, 204).

16. Roanoke Times clipping, 1898, no day and month, First Baptist Church Records.

17. Roanoke Times, 1 May 1900. Rev. W.W. Brown of Roanoke's High Street Baptist Church supported the black pride ministry of Rev. Jones in 1901.

18. For information on reduction of black civil rights by southern state legislatures from the 1890s to 1910, see C. Vann Woodward, The Strange Career of Jim Crow (1955; New York, 1974). For information on black disenfranchisement by the Virginia Constitution of 1902, see Ann Alexander, Race Man: The Rise and Fall of the "Fighting Editor," John Mitchell Jr. (Charlottesville, 2002), chap. 8. Carter Glass, the principal operative for the Virginia Constitutional Convention adopted in 1902, confidently predicted that its suffrage provisions would eliminate four-fifths of negro voters. Black challenges to the disenfranchisement in the Richmond Federal Circuit Court were dismissed in 1902, and the Supreme Court decision Jones v. Montague sustained the dismissal in 1904. In 1948 Oliver Hill was the first black elected to Richmond City Council, for a single term, since adoption of the 1902 Virginia Constitution (Oliver W. Hill Sr., The Big Bang and Beyond: Brown v. Board of Education and Beyond [Winter Park, 2000], xviii, 226–36).

19. Roanoke Times, 3 Mar. 1901.

20. Roanoke Times, 26 May 1901.

21. A report edited by W.E.B. Du Bois in 1898 provides some historic context for H.E. Barnett's negro Rescue League address, which called for moral reforms among American negroes. The Du Bois study of American negro efforts for their own social betterment discussed benevolence organizations, which traditionally have "reform and rescue work as their immediate objects," and he commended "the efforts of the better class Negroes to rescue and uplift the unfortunate and the vicious" (W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, ed., Some Efforts of American Negroes for Their Own Social Betterment [Atlanta, 1898], 28, 5). Both Du Bois and H.E. Barnett called for negro reforms of the ignorant and immoral of their race at the same time that white race prejudice supported Jim Crow legislation that diminished black civil rights. Around 1900 some aspiring blacks responded to white Jim Crow racism with their own expression of black class prejudice. See Kwame Anthony Appiah, "Battling with Du Bois," New York Review of Books, 22 Dec., 2011, 81-95.

22. It was never safe for a black pastor to accuse whites of rape. Vernon Johns, a black pastor of legendary brilliance and controversy, was fired after he preached a sermon, "When the Rapist is White," at Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama, to be replaced by Martin Luther King Jr. Vernon Johns's niece, Barbara Johns, led the Moton School student strike in 1951 that resulted in Davis v. Prince Edward County, Virginia, one of the five cases consolidated in Brown v. Board of Education. Barbara Johns called Oliver Hill the day of the strike, and Hill became Virginia's lead NAACP attorney in the landmark school desegregation case. Taylor Branch, Parting the Waters, America in the King Years, 1954-1963 (New York, 1988) 19-25; Oliver Hill, Brown v. Board of Education, 148-167.

23. Ann Alexander, Race Man, Chapter 9, discusses the Virginia Seminary, headed by President Hayes, and supported by the Virginia Baptist State Convention, with its advocacy of race pride and black rights of suffrage.

24. The most prominent of the twenty black businessmen who condemned Rev. Jones on 2 June 1901 were A.J. Oliver, Roanoke's first black attorney and a member of St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church; I.D. Burrell, doctor, founder of Burrell Drug Store, president of Magic City Medical Society, and a member of Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church; and A.F. Brooks, a mail carrier who became the principal black owner of commercial property on and near Henry Street, and also a member of Fifth Avenue Presbyterian. None of First Baptist trustees were professionals (see endnote 14). These facts suggest that there were economic and social differences between black denominations in Roanoke. Black Baptists were wage earners and supported Rev. Jones's ministry of race pride and black pride. Some black Methodists and Presbyterians worked as professionals, probably earned higher incomes than most black Baptists, and supported amicable relations with whites. Information on Oliver, Burrell and Brooks comes from A.P. Caldwell, ed., History of the American Negro: Virginia Edition (Atlanta, 1921), 449, 485, 304; rare book in Virginia Room, Roanoke Public Library.

25. Alexander, Race Man, Chapter 9, also discusses the General Association of Colored Baptists of Virginia, which supported cooperation with white authority and supported the Virginia Union University in Richmond. Howard Rabinowitz, in Race Relations in the Urban South: 1865–1890 (Urbana, 1980), chap. 9, states that by 1900 different black churches in the urban South furnished both the most militant and the most accommodationist black leadership.

26. Roanoke Times, no date; clipping from First Baptist Church Records. The dates of May 13 to May 16, 1903, for the Baptist State Convention come from First Baptist Church Records.

27. First Baptist Church Records, and Kern Archives. Deed transfer of the parsonage recorded in Roanoke City Circuit Court Deed Book, Vol. 1, 146, 356.

28. See Ann Alexander's award-winning article, "'Like an Evil Wind,' The Roanoke Riot of 1893 and the Lynching of Thomas Smith," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 100 (1993): 173–206. Alexander documents that the lynching of Thomas Smith, Roanoke's last, was condemned by Roanoke judges, one white pastor, and industrial leaders as a lawless threat to white society, a disgrace to the city, and bad for business. The white pastor was William Campbell of First Presbyterian Church, who joined Rev. Jones in support of the local option municipal vote for prohibition in 1893. 29. Roanoke Times, 31 Jan. 1904.

30. Roanoke Times, 31 Jan. 1904. A sea change occurred in Roanoke Times press coverage of Rev. Jones between 1900 and 1904. John Wood published the paper in 1900 when it printed favorable notice of Rev. Jones and the dedication of First Baptist Church. W.E. Addison published the Times in 1904 when the paper charged that the public school education for blacks championed by Rev. Jones educated negroes to believe they were as good as whites, and hence placed white womanhood at peril. (Walsh's Roanoke, Virginia, City Directory for 1900 [Roanoke, 1900], 423; Walsh's Roanoke, Virginia, City Directory for 1904–5 [Charleston, S.C., 1904], 397).

31. Roanoke Times, 2 Feb. 1904.

32. Roanoke Times, 4 Feb. 1904.

33. Rev. R.R. Jones to Roanoke City Council, 26 July 1904, Washington, D.C.; photocopy, Virginia Room, Roanoke Main Public Library. As she fled, Lelia Jones sold their home on Hart Avenue for \$875, cash they used for subsistence during their exile in Washington, D.C. Roanoke City Circuit Court, Deed Book, Vol. 1, 153, 199.

34. Roanoke Times, 6 Apr. 1904, reprint of the March 24, 1904, attacks on the Jones residence in Roanoke, from the Richmond Planet, published by John Mitchell.

35. Roanoke Times editorial, 6 Apr. 1904.

36. Rev. Edward Burton, pastor of Sweet Union Baptist Church of Roanoke for 50 years, read several drafts of this essay on Rev. Jones. He commented on Rev. Jones's aggressive ministry and likened it to the Black Theology that immediately followed the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. Rev. Burton interview, 6 Sept. 2012; 11 May 2015 in Roanoke, Virginia.
37. J.K. Trent, Brief History of First Baptist Church, 1942. First Baptist Church Records, and Kern Archives.

38. Rev. Jones was buried in Pittsburgh's black Homewood Cemetery. Lelia Jones remained in the Jones's home at 134 East Thirteenth Avenue in Homestead until her death in 1934, when she was buried beside her husband. John Kern, Rev. Jones in Homestead, Pennsylvania, unpublished paper, Kern Archive.

39. Oliver Hill, Brown v. Board of Education, 31-32. Hill remembered that he went to a playground in Homestead and played with white kids from Eastern Europe called "hunkies." He had a fine time playing with these associates, but it was his only experience with white folks outside of a work environment. John Kern, "Oliver White Hill, Civil Rights Attorney in Roanoke and Virginia," Journal, Historical Society of Western Virginia, Vol. XIX, No. 2, 36-48.

Last Run of the Virginian Electrics

by Louis M. Newton

The last westbound run of former Virginian Railway electric motive power occurred on Friday, June 29, 1962, when three EL-C units handled time freight No. 71 from Roanoke to Elmore. As Radford Division trainmaster, I rode on the trip along with Ben Dulaney from N&W's Public Relations Department and Robert B. Sears, a Roanoke Times reporter. According to my notes, we left South Roanoke Yard at 11 a.m. with a light train of 10 loads and 82 empties, 3,009 tons, behind EL-C units 249, 232 and 237, handled by New River Engineer White. I reported that "…we did fine while we were running but were plagued with delays meeting other (eastbound) trains."

For example, we waited at Salem for a coal train off the Whitethorne District to enter the connection track to the North Yard. At Kumis we went through the passing siding around some track work, then took siding at Fagg and waited for another coal train. With a light train, the three EL-Cs easily climbed the mountain, passed through Merrimac Tunnel and descended the long grade to Whitethorne, where we met another coal train. The scenic ride alongside the New River was uneventful to Celco, where we met our eastbound counterpart, No. 72.

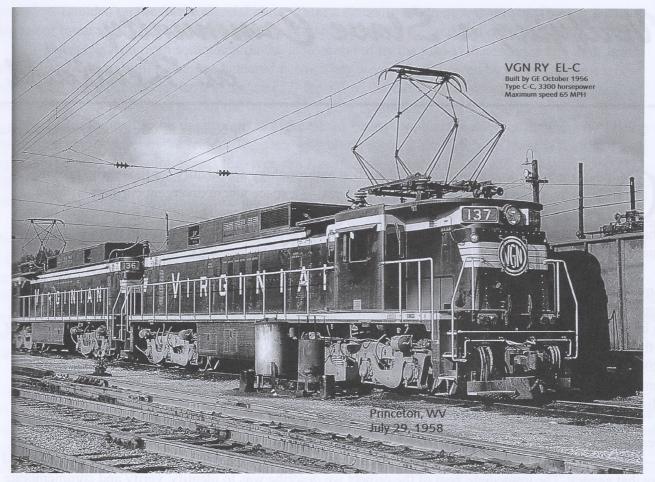
At Narrows, we passed the source of energy for the electrics, the former Virginian power plant, which, after many years of faithful service, would be permanently idled that night. At Glen Lyn, we sailed across the New River on a long, high deck-truss bridge that through the years was the subject of many photographs. A shorter bridge across East River marked our entrance into West Virginia. After moving through Hales Gap Tunnel, we passed Kellysville and entered New River Division territory.

Another long climb to Oney Gap Tunnel brought us into Princeton, where we arrived at 4:22 p.m. Messrs. Dulaney, Sears and I detrained at Princeton, got a taxicab to Bluefield and returned to Roanoke. No. 71 continued on its run to Elmore Yard, where it completed the last westbound run of former Virginian electrics. As I recall, an article by Mr. Sears describing the trip appeared in the Roanoke Times a day or so later.

The former Virginian employees, particularly the engine crews, loved their company's electric motive power, especially the EL-Cs. They "dug in" with heavy tonnage on the grades, ran smoothly on the flatlands and were clean and comfortable to operate.

Following the N&W merger, however, the electrics were at a disadvantage because on westbound trips they had to buck heavy eastbound traffic in the electrified territory on the Whitethorne District. In addition, by 1962 the power plant and transmission facilities were beginning to show their age. At any rate, the electrified Virginian was a great show while it lasted.

Louis M. Newton, longtime Norfolk & Western Railway manager, retired from Norfolk Southern Railway in 1988 as assistant vice president for transportation planning. He wrote this article for The Arrow, a publication of the Norfolk and Western Historical Society.



A Virginian Railway electric locomotive is shown at work at Princeton, West Virginia, on July 29, 1958.

VIRGINIAN RAILWAY STATION COMES BACK TO LIFE

The Virginian Railway passenger station is coming back to life this summer 15 years after a fire nearly destroyed the building and 60 years after the last passenger train left the station. To finance the construction, the Roanoke chapter of the National Railway Historical Society has led a nearly \$2 million restoration effort, funded by a variety of grants from the Virginia Department of Transportation, City of Roanoke and historic rehabilitation tax credits.

The restored station will house offices and exhibits on the half-century history of the Virginian in the former baggage and express building and the larger passenger station building will be leased. A breezeway connects the two buildings. The tile roof was replaced with new tiles from the original manufacturer. The last work was repairs to the stucco and half-timbering of dormers, as well as chimneys, windows and doors. The exterior trim will be painted standard Virginian Railway orange. Terrazzo floors, plaster walls and ceilings were replaced.

The Virginian Railway began in 1907 and the Roanoke station was built two years later. The Virginian merged into the Norfolk & Western Railway in 1959.

Verifying a Slave Community at Kentland

by Samuel R. Cook and Thomas Klatka

ne of the most appealing aspects of applied anthropology and history for those who take it seriously is that it offers — and often requires — a space where divergent currents within and beyond the broader disciplines can converge in creative ways. This article focuses on a project that has drawn inspiration from recent dialogues in cultural anthropology — three in particular — and meshing these with partnerships in other subfields — notably, archaeology.

From a theoretical standpoint, we are inspired by the spate of recent studies concerning the anthropology of place (e.g., Feld and Basso, 1996). Yet while studies concerning the cultural meanings engrained in specific places and landscapes are revealing, conveying the relevance of such meanings to a larger audience remains a challenge. Thus, our methodology draws from current dialogues concerning ethnographic authority — particularly the ever emergent field of collaborative ethnography (Lassiter, 2005) — and the spirited dialogue concerning transforming applied anthropology into a truly public anthropology, or one that addresses, first and foremost, various public agendas rather than placing the discipline first.(1)

The project we describe here entails an effort to merge community voices with archaeological research to negotiate across tacitly strained relations between a state agency — in this case a university — and communities connected, but no longer having complete access, to land now owned and managed by that agency. The immediate goal of the project we describe was to identify, verify and commemorate the site of a cemetery for the enslaved community that once lived on Virginia Tech's Kentland Farm, the university's premier agricultural research facility.

The long-term goal, however, is to nurture a relationship between the university, various faculty and students, and local communities that preserves the farm as a place of invaluable existential significance to the latter while bolstering the visibility and innovations of Virginia Tech's College of Agriculture and Life Sciences.

CONTEXT OF TIME AND PLACE

Kentland Farm is situated along the banks of the New River in Southwest Virginia, some 9 miles from the university campus. Its documented record of human activity extends back at least 10,000 years to the Early Archaic Period when groups of Native Americans occupied the high bluffs that then constituted the banks of the river. A continuous connection to this place over thousands of years culminated in a more intensive use of the land in the Late Woodland Period. Beginning around 900 CE, large towns

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were first founded on the fertile alluvial plain where a diversity of plants was grown. This started a legacy of more than 1,000 years of unbroken agricultural use of the land that continues today.

European American settlement on the land occurred by the mid-18th century when both Jacob and Adam Harmon built houses and cleared fields. They were soon followed by other Germans whose artisanship left an enduring mark in the area.(2) However, the farm's most salient historical legacy is based on the fact that it was part of the largest antebellum plantation system in southwest Virginia.

James Randall Kent, the proprietor of Kentland Plantation, had the dubious distinction of being the largest slave owner in the region. Together with his daughter Elizabeth, who lived at Kentland and operated her own plantation across the river, the Kent family enslaved nearly 250 people by 1860.(3) Hence, reclaiming the history of those who were held against their will to build and sustain that plantation became our first priority in brokering university-community relations.

While the farm changed hands numerous times after the American Civil War, much of it was held by Kent family descendants until the 1980s. Up to that point, however, the farm remained a focal point of community activity, if not employment. Local coal miners leased or sharecropped on tracts during seasons of slow coal production, while others worked full-time tending the horses and cattle of proprietors. Notably, many who worked on the farm were descended from slaves of the plantation who formed a community called Wake Forest, three miles from the farm. Ironically, the memory of their contribution and presence on the farm and former plantation was nearly lost until the collaborative efforts surrounding the project described here emerged in 2003.

In 1988, Virginia Tech purchased the greater part of what is now Kentland Farm to serve as the College of Agriculture's research station. Unwittingly, the university alienated many in nearby communities who had always taken it for granted that they could cross the land to visit relatives, hunt along the hedgerows and forests on the back of the farm and fish from the river bank, lease tracts for supplemental gardens, or simply ride horses in the open pastures. The university however, had to consider liabilities and installed gates on all points of entry while prohibiting recreational activities. While it was not the intention of the farm manager or those establishing experimental plots on the 3,000-acre farm, people in surrounding communities felt alienated by the sudden lack of access to the land.

In 2003, a group of faculty from Virginia Tech's Appalachian studies program (Samuel Cook), Virginia Tech's Library Special Collections, the College of Agriculture and Life Sciences, and representatives from the Virginia Department of Historic Resources (Thomas Klatka) met to discuss ideas for revitalizing and managing the farm's historic district (which includes a brick manor house and ancillary structures, a mill, numerous farm structures, antebellum cemeteries for the Kent family and the enslaved community, landscape features and archaeological sites).(4) The most important outcome of this first meeting was a realization that community intellectuals who had a vested interest in the farm had to be involved at every step. Thereafter, the Kentland Historic Revitalization Committee was formed, including representatives from the above listed departments and agencies, and representatives from local communities surrounding the farm. While local historians were included among some of the community representatives, many were natives who had worked on the farm in some capacity, or were lineal descendants of both planters and slaves. Including these co-intellectuals was a vital step in rekindling positive ties with neighboring communities since their inclusion implied (although university representatives made it explicit that they believed) that community-based knowledge was as legitimate as any ideas produced from within the academy.

The challenge, however, lay in the fact that College of Agriculture representatives were concerned about how historic restorations and interpretive initiatives might impact regular farm operations. Hence, our long-term goal was — and remains — to establish a historic interpretive plan that 1) dovetails with regular farm operations while enhancing and bolstering an awareness of agricultural history, thereby complementing contemporary agricultural innovations, and 2) encourages community involvement on the farm as stewards of historic resources, thereby ameliorating tensions between those native to the area and the university, while confirming the cultural relevance of the land to local communities.

BOLSTERING COMMUNITY SUPPORT

Revitalizing Kentland Farm's historic district was not a new idea. Many people from within and beyond the university had discussed it over the years, but none had the resources or time to commit to such a project. Involving community members as stewards and interpreters offered the possibility of a sustainable program that would not require an enormous or immediate fiduciary commitment from the university. The challenge lay in making the place seem truly accessible to the wide spectrum of individuals living in the area, and not just those descended from the plantation's antebellum proprietors.

Collaborative ethnography is, ideally, an endeavor that both acknowledges people in communities with which anthropologists work as co-intellectuals, and does not forsake community agendas for the sake of academic prestige. As we describe later, as descendants of Kentland slaves became more deeply involved in the project, researchers from the university and state Department of Historic Resources faded more and more into the background until the former reclaimed, in a sense, a renewed stewardship of their history. Meanwhile, working with the descendants of Kentland slaves was the logical first step since their history had been obscured by local writers, and yet, the nearby community of Wake Forest had endured as a close-knit group of families predominantly descended from those slaves. The impact of slaves on that plantation was, in fact, formidable. Not only did slaves engage in most of the labor involved in constructing the palatial brick manor house (labor that included hand-casting brick from native clay, quarrying foundation stone and cutting timber into lumber), but some of the structures, including the smokehouse, appear to be based on West African architectural norms (rounded to avoid corners). (5) Kentland slaves also sustained massive cattle drives in antebellum years, and provided a significant amount of labor for public works in local counties. Ironically, their tangible record has been nearly erased from the land — notably, the slave cemetery.

Our committee decided that locating and commemorating the slave cemetery was a top priority precisely because the slaves of Kentland were the farthest from being the elites of record, and yet the plantation — and many postbellum farm operations — could not have been sustained without their labor. Likewise, many Wake Forest residents worked on the farm long after the Civil War and maintained close ties to that place. Those ties are what ultimately led to our success in confirming the site of the slave cemetery.

TRADITIONAL HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

At some point in the past 30 years, one of the previous owners of the farm pushed away the limestone markers that are said to have marked slave graves. Nonetheless, awareness of the cemetery remained fixed in community knowledge. Oral histories from Wake Forest families and other community residents placed the slave cemetery on top of a prominent ridge north of the plantation house. Their accounts described graves marked by roughly shaped stones amid grass and trees enclosed by a fence. Bordering the west side of the cemetery was the intersection of two fence lines that divided the rolling terrain of the farm and controlled the movement of livestock. Although local knowledge of the cemetery was apparent, some authors of Kentland's history, and some university representatives familiar with the farm, remained unconvinced because the ridge surface no longer shows physical evidence of a cemetery. Trees and grave markers had been pushed away and fences dismantled. For many years, crops of hay covered the ridge and hid the cemetery.

Local historian Jimmie L. Price drew a map of the cemetery based on recollections of Frank Bannister, a late Wake Forest resident.(6) (Figure 1) Alex Jones and the late Oscar Sherman, who served on the committee until his death in 2004, were among other Wake Forest residents who expressed knowl-

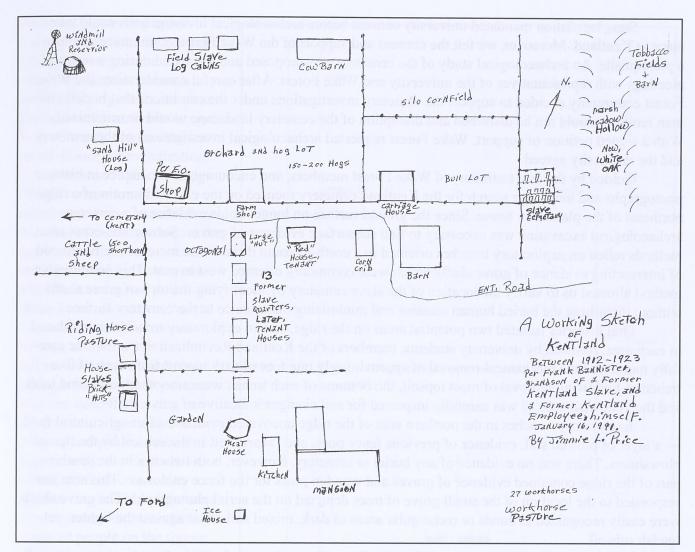


Figure 1. Jimmie Price drew a working sketch of Kentland farm, based on recollections of Frank Bannister, a former slave on the plantation.

edge of the cemetery. In their youth, they saw the cemetery and learned its history from grandparents who were enslaved at Kentland in the 19th century. E.O. Sheppard also remembered mowing grass in the cemetery more than 60 years ago when his family worked Kentland's fields as tenant farmers. All these men placed the cemetery on the same ridge top, but in slightly different locations. Two remembered the cemetery at the southern edge of the ridge, while the other two pointed to an area on the north side. Guided by these accounts, and other oral histories collected from local residents, our search became more focused.

The next step in confirming the cemetery location involved study of 20th-century aerial photographs and quadrangle maps. A series of aerial photographs taken between 1953 and 1982 provided supporting evidence. Photographic scales prohibit visual identification of a small cemetery, but the photographs clearly depict a small grove of trees conspicuous in the cleared agricultural fields on the ridge. The intersection of two agricultural fence lines along the western side of the grove is also visible in the photographs. Although the fence lines no longer exist, their location and orientation matched those depicted on the 1998 photo-revised edition of the local quadrangle map.(7) This information supported the histories which placed the cemetery on the south part of the ridge. Final confirmation of the cemetery required archaeological investigation. State legislation mandated university consent before archaeological investigations could take place at Kentland. Moreover, we felt the consent and support of the Wake Forest community was also a prerequisite. An archaeological study of the cemetery was proposed and discussed during a series of meetings with representatives of the university and Wake Forest. After careful consideration, the Wake Forest community decided to support the cemetery investigations under the conditions that buried human remains would not be disturbed and disruption of the cemetery landscape would be minimized. With a signed petition of support, Wake Forest requested archaeological investigations of the cemetery and the university agreed.

Guided by the oral testimony of Wake Forest members, and encouraged by evidence in historic photographs and maps, our search for the Kentland cemetery focused on the elevated terrain of a ridge northeast of the plantation house. Since the ground surface no longer holds evidence of a cemetery, archaeological excavation was necessary to find subsurface evidence of graves. Subsurface excavation methods relied on exploratory trenches oriented in a north-to-south direction to increase the likelihood of intersecting evidence of grave shafts which were commonly oriented west to east. This nonintrusive method allowed us to verify the location of the slave cemetery by identifying the tops of grave shafts without disturbing the buried human remains and minimizing disturbance to the cemetery surface.

Oral histories isolated two potential areas on the ridge, so two exploratory trenches were placed in each area. Assisted by university students, members of the Kentland Revitalization Committee carefully monitored the mechanical removal of approximately one foot of dark topsoil from each of four trenches. Following removal of most topsoil, the bottoms of each trench were smoothed with hand tools and the yellowish subsoil was carefully inspected for soil changes indicative of grave shafts.

Exploratory trenches in the northern area of the ridge uncovered evidence of an agricultural field — a layer of plowed soil, evidence of previous fence posts and "scars" left in the subsoil by the tips of plowshares. There was no evidence of any burial or cemetery. However, both trenches in the southern part of the ridge contained evidence of graves and wooden posts for the fence enclosure. This area corresponded to the location of the small grove of trees depicted on the aerial photographs. The grave shafts were easily recognized as bands or rectangular areas of dark, mixed soil offset against the lighter, yellowish subsoil.

At this point, the Kentland Revitalization Committee informed the Wake Forest community and the university administration that the cemetery location had been confirmed. Members of the Wake Forest community immediately gathered at the cemetery to witness the graves of their ancestors and reaffirm the link between their lives and the lives of their ancestors. This emotional reunion of generations bonded by a shared Christian faith was commemorated through a reflective and solemn prayer service. Afterward, the university administration announced its respect for this sacred place and its decision to protect it from any possibility of future disturbance.

University administrators also approached Wake Forest and the Kentland Revitalization Committee to request a continuation of archaeological investigations because information regarding the size and boundaries of the cemetery would facilitate and enhance long-term protection of the cemetery. The committee met with the Wake Forest community and reviewed possible courses of action ranging from no further work to full documentation of the entire cemetery. During community meetings the members of Wake Forest reached a consensus decision to support additional investigations of the cemetery, but limited additional excavation to the level necessary for a confident estimate of cemetery boundaries. Additional trenches were excavated the following year until we could determine the cemetery boundaries as measuring 82 by 105 feet (*Figure 2*). The university agreed to protect the cemetery along with a surrounding buffer of land.

It is important to note that until the initial excavation exposed the grave shafts, Wake Forest residents' endorsement of the project, although uniform, was seemingly reserved. Perhaps the tangible

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evidence connecting community tradition to the present catalyzed a new and enthusiastic movement. Immediately following the excavation. Howard and Jean Eaves became Wake Forest's representatives on the Historic Revitalization Committee and spearheaded efforts to raise funds for a monument. Subsequently, they encouraged us to investigate the nearby site of slave quarters, and they developed a community museum housed in the old Wake Forest Holiness Church. Their efforts helped to consolidate and inspire genealogical, archival and ethnographic research by community members and descendants that had earlier taken place on an independent and piecemeal basis. Significantly, the Eaves have mobilized their community to reclaim stewardship of the sites most relevant to descendants of enslaved people on the former plantation, and to document and reconstruct the history of their ancestors beyond the plantation.

CONCLUSION

On a damp, overcast Saturday in April, a crowd of some 80 Wake Forest residents and their families living in other areas gathered on Kentland Farm

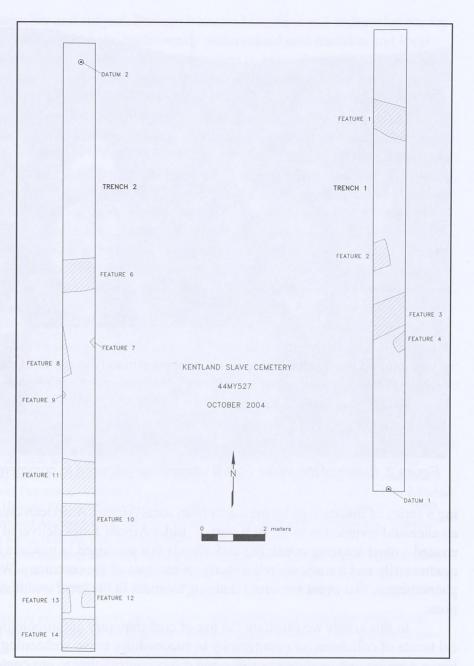


Figure 2. A map of grave shaft identifications during the first Kentland slave cemetery survey in 2004.

to commemorate the newly placed cemetery monument. *(Figure 3)* Also present were invited residents of surrounding communities, Virginia Tech faculty and students, and state officials. Organized by Howard and Jean Eaves, this event was more than a memorial ceremony. In many ways, it represented an inversion of a power dynamic that had historically existed between Virginia Tech and local communities in that their local knowledge determined explicitly the course of research and related activities in that space.

The focal point of the ceremony was the Wake Forest community as they dedicated a memorial marker that affirmed the connection to their ancestors and to the land. It was placed on low ground at the bottom of the ridge that holds the cemetery, an area easily accessible by the elderly and infirm. Follow-



Figure 3. Elders of the Wake Forest community gathered to commemorate a cemetery monument.

ing a series of invocations by ministers from local African American churches — nearly all of whom had an ancestral connection to Wake Forest — Elder Arnold Jones delivered a prayer of dedication. There ensued a most amazing event: the dark clouds that promised to produce torrential rains all day opened momentarily and a sunbeam fell directly on the spot of the ceremony. Whether an act of God or a natural phenomenon, that event became a defining moment in the local tradition of university-community relations.

In this article we illustrate the use of contemporary anthropological theory and the methodological tenets of collaborative ethnography to successfully move archaeology and history out of academia into a position that permits a positive and direct contribution to our contemporary world. "Sense of place" remains a useful concept to explicate how and why cultural meanings connect a community of people to a particular place, while simultaneously broadening an understanding of why the connection to place can be important in any attempt to attain resolution of strained relations between groups of people.

A central tenet of collaborative ethnography is the working together of interested people from both the non-academic and academic communities. It is particularly important to position all participating voices into dialogue as valid and necessary perspectives needed to create meaningful negotiation and approach successful resolution of complex public agendas. In the example provided in this article, it was vital for the Wake Forest community to approve the project and to increasingly control decision making, from the initial stages of project planning to the extent of archaeological investigation, the interpretation of findings and interaction with the university.

Of the methods cultural anthropologists can use to learn about cultural groups, direct observation and active participation are sometimes used to open a dialogue, or dialectic, in which information flows back and forth between researcher and subject. Perhaps because historians and archaeologists are temporally displaced from their subjects, they have traditionally undervalued oral tradition and local knowledge of descendant communities as valid sources of information to learn about the past. While the development of true "public history" and "public archaeology" are alleviating this misperception, it is not yet common for historians and archaeologists to engage descendant communities as active and authoritative agents in collaborative research and interpretation.

As the collaborative research with the Wake Forest people developed, our role increasingly diminished. We step into an advisory role when invited and provide any requested assistance, but community members are increasingly engaged in the interpretation of their own genealogical, ethnographic and historic research. Their documentation and interpretation of the lives of their ancestors increases their community knowledge and enables them to reclaim their history as a legacy for future generations.

We hope the research centered at Kentland plantation and farm will inspire similar collaborative approaches between local communities and local institutions, whether educational or governmental, to resolve miscommunication and alleviate strained relations that may develop as everyone involved seeks to improve the quality of local life while remembering and understanding the important legacy left by our ancestors.

ENDNOTES

1. Steven Field and Keith Basso, editors, Senses of Place, School of American Research Press, Santa Fe, New Mexico, 1996. Luke Eric Lassiter, The Chicago Guide to Collaborative Ethnography, University of Chicago Press, 2005.

2. Patricia Givens Johnson, Kentland at Whitethorne, Virginia Tech's Agricultural Farm and Families that owned it, Harmans, Buchanans, Triggs, Cloyds, Kents, Cowans, Bells, Adams, Blacksburg, Walpa Publishing, 1995.

3. United States Census Manuscripts, Population, Eighth Census, Manuscript Schedule, Montgomery County, Virginia, 1860, microfilm. James Randall Kent also owned land and enslaved other people in nearby Giles County and Pulaski County.

4. The historic district encompasses 350 acres with contributing resources that include 14 archaeological sites, nine buildings, and one structure. John Kern, Daniel Pezzoni, C. Clifford Boyd, Randolph Turner, "Kentland Farm Historic and Archaeological District," National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, National Park Service, Washington, D.C., 1990. Thomas Klatka, "Kentland Farm Historic and Archaeological District (Amendment and Boundary Adjustment)," National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, National Park Service, Washington, D.C., 2006.

5. Leland Ferguson, Uncommon Ground: Archaeology and Early African America, 1650-1800 (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1992), 41-44; Merrick Posnansky, "West Africanist Reflections on African-American Archaeology," in I, Too, Am America: Archaeological Studies of African-American Life, ed. Theresa A. Singleton, Charlottesville, VA: The University Press of Virginia, 1999, 21-37.

6. The remarkable accuracy of Price's map is made evident by comparing the map to historic photographs, aerial photographs, quadrangle maps and landscape features visible on the Kentland's ground surface. Jimmie L. Price graciously provided us with a copy of his map.

7. Regional aerial photographs are curated, and available for viewing, at the Christiansburg Service Center of the Natural Resources Conservation Service, United States Department of Agriculture. The 1998 photo-revised edition of the Radford North quadrangle map was printed by the United States Geological Survey. Contemporary and historical quadrangle maps can be viewed online by accessing the U.S.G.S. website (http://www.usgs.gov/) and using the Maps, Imagery and Publications tab.

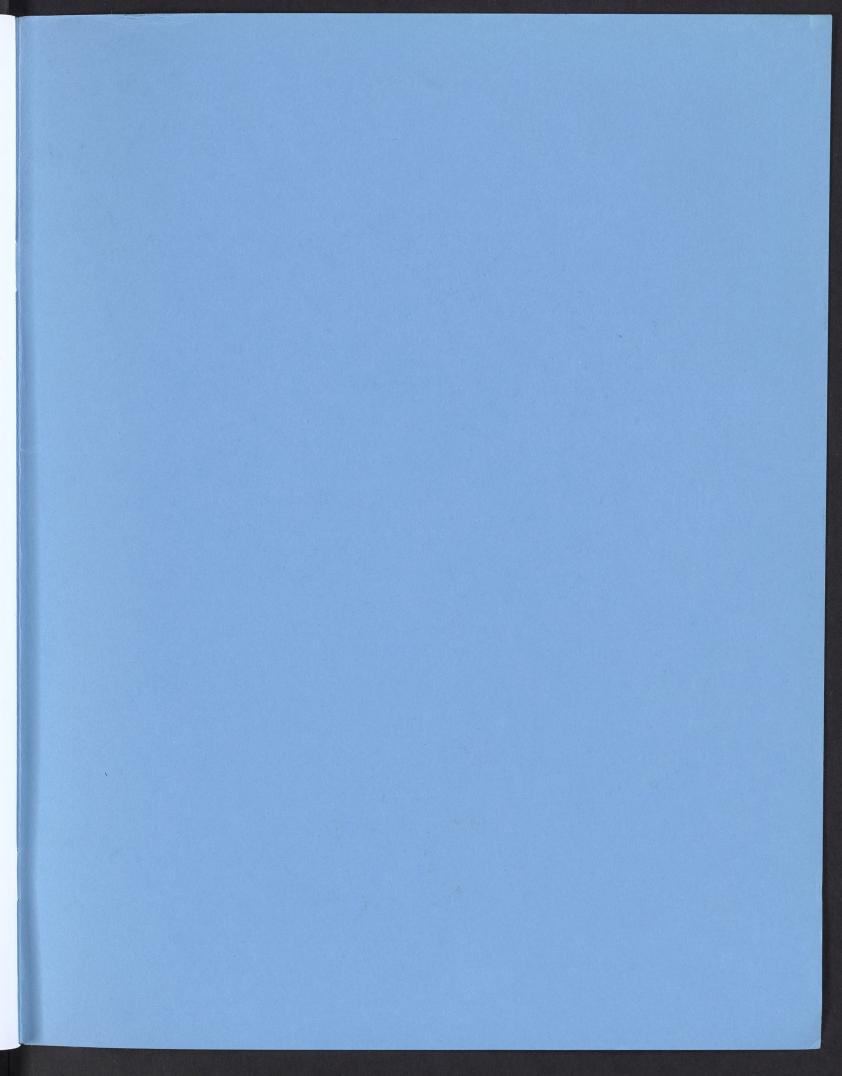
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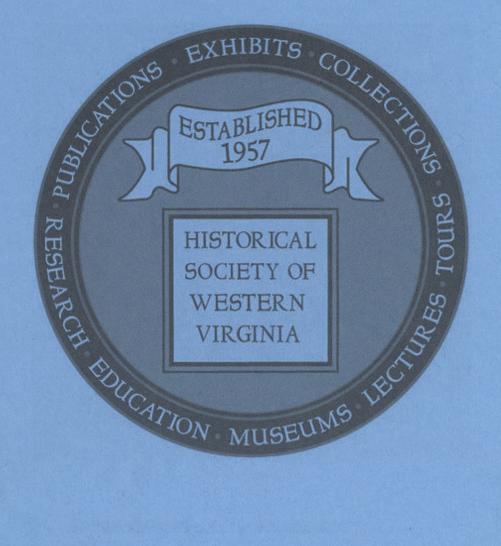
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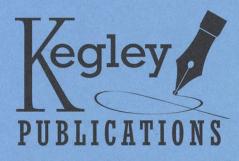








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