Historical Society of Western Virginia

2018 Journal

In this issue:

And more...

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Historical Society of Western Virginia

Amor montium nos movet

(For the love of mountains inspires us)

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(On the cover: An image from last autumn's exhibit "Unseen Link.")

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Message From the President

Welcome to the 2018 Journal of the Historical Society of Western Virginia. This year is the 60th anniversary of the Society. Over the years the Society has had several names and several locations. Now the History Museum, the Link Museum, our archives and our library are all consolidated under one roof in the old Norfolk and Western passenger station.

Our year begins July 1st and is off to a great start. Our first Betty Norris Memorial Lecture was a success, attracting an audience of nearly 100. Margaret Edds spoke on her book, "We Face the Dawn," the story of attorneys Spotswood Robinson and Roanoke's Oliver Hill and their work for the civil rights movement.

On October 11th, we had our annual History is Served dinner. We used to have the dinner in February, but we moved it to the fall to avoid bad weather. Ironically, the dinner was the day of the horrendous flash flooding from the remnants of Hurricane Michael. Former CEO of the Norfolk Southern Railway, David Goode, was our speaker, and despite the weather the dinner was a resounding success. A special thank-you needs to go out to co-chairs Natalie Norris and Sandra Kelly and to staffers Ashley Webb and Lynsey Allie for all the work they did to make the dinner possible.

Our museum has been privileged to feature the works of the renowned photographer Lewis Hines and works of O. Winston Link which have not previously been displayed. The Hines exhibit was supplemented by our staff with a display of photographs by Lewis Hines showing child laborers at a Roanoke Cotton Mill which was in the Norwich area of the city.

This year's Journal features a variety of articles covering different times and different places in our area and beyond. Richmond historian Jon Kukla describes how the misinterpretation of poorly worded instructions made Royal Governor Lord Botetourt a sympathetic figure for Virginians. Past president of the Society Nelson Harris writes of attempts by a group of Mormons to settle in the Poages Mill area in the 1890s. Other articles deal with World War I, the Society's Norwich exhibit and Bob Angell, an early Roanoke mover and shaker who also was a leader in the Groundhog Club, and an article by Jim Glanville which discusses early native Americans in Southwest Virginia. There is material on the Villamont area, early Wythe County schools, Bedford County men who served in the Revolution and a corrupt judge in Alleghany County.

This is the 54th year of the publication of the Journal. One man, George Kegley, is responsible for its outstanding quality. George became editor in 1968. Yes, that year was 1968 and yes, that is 50 years. Not only has he edited the Journal, he has also contributed numerous articles to the publication. For 17 years, George has been helped by Christina Koomen who expertly does the layout work, giving the Journal its professional look.

One of the first things I did as your new president was to make a proposal, which was unanimously passed by the board, that the archives be named the George and Louise Kegley Archives. Louise Kegley was a founding member of the board of directors of the Society. It was an honor well deserved.

For 60 years the Society has worked to preserve and promote the history of this area. With your help we will continue to do so into the future.

George "Al" McLean, President

From the collections

Although O. Winston Link's nighttime photographs of the Norfolk & Western steam trains are perhaps his best known, his images covered a great deal more ground. On this page are two photos from the exhibit titled "Unseen Link" which was on display last fall. It was a showcase of Link's work along the Canadian Pacific and Long Island Railroads, a glimpse into some of his commercial enterprises, and sweeping vistas of New York, Canada and Louisiana.

THE ROANOKE TIMES

VOL. LXIV No. 111 ROANOKE, VA. MONDAY MORNING, NOVEMBER 11, 1918

PEACE ON EARTH

ARMISTICE SIGNED AT MIDNIGHT--GUNS SILENCED AT 6 O'CLOCK

CIVIL WAR REIGNS IN CAPITAL CITY OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE

Revolutionists Seize Palace of the Crown Prince, Shout "Long Live the Republic,' and Sing the "Marseillaise"—Many Persons Killed and Wounded—Reds Gain Control and Restore Order

LARGER CITIES OF NATION ARE CAUGHT IN THE GREAT UPRISING

Soldiers' and Workmen's Councils at Stuttgart, Cologne and Frankfort Decide to Proclaim a Republic—General Strike Is Declared—Soldiers' Councils Occupy Railway Stations In the Entire Industrial District—Danish Frontier Guarded

Washington, Nov. 11.—The world war will end this morning at 6 o'clock Washington time, 11 o'clock Paris time. The armistice was signed by the German representatives at midnight. This announcement was made by the State Department at 2:45 o'clock this morning.

The announcement was made verbally by an official of the State Department in this form:

"The armistice has been signed. It was signed at five o'clock a. m. Paris time and hostilities will cease at eleven o'clock this morning, Paris time."

The terms of the armistice, it was announced, will not be made public until later. Military men here, however, regard it as certain that they include:

Immediate retirement of the German military forces from France, Belgium and Alsace Lorraine.

Disarming and demobilization of the German armies.

Occupation by the Allied and American forces of such stragetic points in Germany as will make impossible a renewal of hostilities.

Delivery of part of the German high seas fleet and a certain number of submarines to the Allied and American naval forces.

GERMAN EMPIRE IS AFLAME WITH RED REVOLUTION

People Who For a Generation Have Been His Servants and For Four Years His Pliant Instruments In Ravaging the Earth Have Spoken a New Word and the Old Germany Is No More

REVOLT, FAMINE AND ANARCHY STALK IN COUNTRIES THAT MENACED WORLD

Last Stronghold of Autocracy Falls and Problem of Triumphant Allies Takes On New Form—Next Task May Be to Restore Order In the Desolate Central Empires—Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey, Ruined By Germany, Need Help of the World

(By the Associated Press.)

The German people for a generation the obedient and submissive servants of their war lord, for more than four years his pliant instruments in ravaging the world have spoken a new word and old Ger-

Armistice Ended "Greatest War in History" a Century Ago

by George Kegley

Thousands of Roanokers left their jobs to join in a long parade from the Norfolk & Western Railway shops up Jefferson Street to celebrate the end of "the greatest war in history" on Nov. 11, 1918 — a century ago. The railway shops' whistle blew, horns sounded and flags waved in the excitement.

Large newspaper headlines screamed: PEACE ON EARTH! in The Roanoke Times, and GREATEST WAR INHISTORY ENDED! in The World-News. Other headlines: "EVERYTHING FOR WHICH AMERICA FOUGHT IS NOW ACCOMPLISHED" — WILSON ; GERMANY YIELDS TO TERMS LAID DOWN BY CHAMPIONS OF FREEDOM AND HUMANITY ; THOUSANDS JOIN IN VICTORY OVER HUN ; ALL OUTSTANDING DRAFT CALLS CANCELLED TODAY!

This was a time for celebration. Businesses and schools closed for a parade and The Times published an Extra paper to mark the occasion. Mayor W.W. Boxley issued a proclamation, calling all citizens to meet at Elmwood Park for a service of "praise and thanksgiving to God" for the armistice signed by the Germans, defeated by Allied forces. When the parade reached the Municipal Building, the Kaiser, head of the German government, was hanged in effigy while the crowd cheered.

George Kegley is editor of the Journal.

The World News

GREATEST WAR IN HISTORY ENDED

ARMISTICE TERMS READ TO CONGRESS

AUTOCRACIES THAT HURLED THE WORLD INTO WAR HAVE PERISHED FROM THE EARTH

WILLIAM HOHENZOLLERN FUGITIVE IN HOLLAND WHILE RED FLAGS FLY OVER HIS NATIVE LAND

GERMANY YIELDS TO TERMS LAID DOWN BY CHAMPIONS OF FREEDOM AND HUMANITY

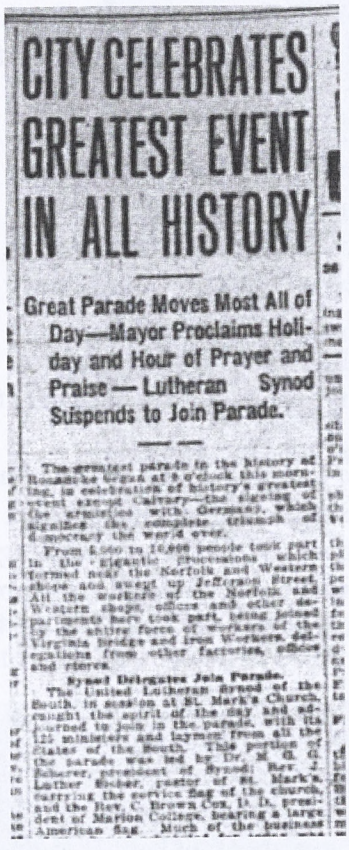
"EVERYTHING FOR WHICH AMERICA FOUGHT IS NOW ACCOMPLISHED"—WILSON

PRESIDENT ISSUES PROCLAMATION SETTING FORTH THE PART TO BE TAKEN BY AMERICA

The Roanoke World News estimated that from 5,000 to 10,000 people "took part in the gigantic procession, which formed near the Norfolk & Western shops and swept up Jefferson Street…Thousands of flags of all sizes were carried and men and women had seized everything they could find to make a noise with. The big Norfolk & Western band, near the head of the parade, was practically drowned out by the cheering and noises of all sorts.

"The workers carried a circular saw on a pole and workers beat against it with iron rods while dozens of others carried carbide cans which were used as drums."

An article about the mayor's "peace service" described the scene as follows: "Perhaps the most impressive and largely attended religious service in the history of the city was held yesterday afternoon at Elmwood Park where thousands assembled in a prayer and thanksgiving service for the great victory which assures the liberty of mankind for generations." The Rev. Otis Meade of Christ Episcopal Church, and president of Roanoke Ministers Conference, presided. Vice Mayor R.H. Angell reportedly declared, "Only those who have been true and loyal to the Nation have the right now to rejoice in this hour of triumph."



CITY CELEBRATES GREATEST EVENT IN ALL HISTORY

Great Parade Moves Most All of Day—Mayor Proclaims Holiday and Hour of Prayer and Praise — Lutheran Synod Suspends to Join Parade.

Newspaper accounts continued: "As did old Liberty Bell in 1776, so did the chimes of Greene Memorial Methodist Church at 11 o'clock this morning when Prof. W.E. Burdett played 'Praise God from whom all blessings flow.' The crowd was joyous but orderly. Boy Scouts were detailed to help police the streets. The United Lutheran Synod of the South, meeting at St. Mark's Lutheran Church on Campbell Avenue, caught the spirit of the day and adjourned to join in the parade. Dr. M.G.G. Scherer, president of the Synod, and the Rev. J. Luther Sieber, pastor of St. Mark's, carried flags in the parade."

The World-News reported that a woman shouted "God has brought peace out of confusion" as she went through the newspaper building rejoicing with everybody.

The people of Salem celebrated as well. And in Vinton, the parents of sons who have been fighting in France were on the streets shortly after daylight, singing the Doxology.

The Humiliation of Lord Botetourt

How a misinterpretation of poorly worded instructions made a royal governor a sympathetic figure to Virginians

by Jon Kukla

"A fine Gentleman is dead," crusty old Landon Carter lamented to his diary in October 1770, when news of the death of Norborne Berkeley, Baron de Botetourt, reached Carter's plantation in Virginia's Northern Neck. Even to the skeptical eye of the former member of the House of Burgesses, the deceased governor had been "truely Noble in his Public character."

Many things contributed to Botetourt's popularity. He was a baron, a charming bachelor, a diligent businessman, a friend of George III and of the Earl of Bute — and the first full governor to take up residence in the Colony since 1708, when absentee royal appointees had begun sending lieutenants in their stead. Despite the raging dispute over the Townshend Acts of 1767, the most recent of Great Britain's efforts to impose taxes on the American Colonies, Botetourt won a special place in Virginia hearts, whether those of the gentlemen of his Council with whom he often dined or of the Williamsburg belles who entertained him with an impromptu serenade by lamplight.

Between his triumphant arrival as governor in October 1768 and his death in the Governor's Palace two years later, Botetourt improved the administration of justice by pruning deadwood from the county courts and reappointing only justices of the peace with good records of attendance. A patron of education, he joined students at the College of William & Mary for morning prayers, established the Botetourt Medal for scholastic achievement and served as rector of the college.

No Virginia governor was more greatly honored. The General Assembly named Berkeley and Botetourt counties in his honor, along with a town in Gloucester County and three Anglican parishes (Berkeley in Spotsylvania County, Botetourt in Botetourt County and Norborne in Frederick County). It also commissioned the marble statue of Botetourt that is displayed at the Earl Gregg Swem Library at William & Mary.

Seldom noticed in accounts of Virginia's admiration for Botetourt, however, was his public humiliation — just a few months before his death — by the very king and ministers he had been sent to serve.

As a member of Parliament, Botetourt had vigorously supported the Stamp Act of 1765. He had come to Virginia bearing secret instructions from George III (whose initials are visible on the original document) directing him to challenge the constitutional principles that Virginians had been expressing with increasing unanimity and confidence. The king wanted Botetourt to dissolve the General Assembly, call new elections and then somehow charm the House of Burgesses into reversing course, endorsing the

This article by Jon Kukla is from the Spring issue of "Trends & Tradition," a publication of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. Kukla, a Richmond historian who has spoken to the Society twice, is the author of books about Patrick Henry, the Louisiana Purchase and "Mr. Jefferson's Women." He is working on a book about the Stamp Act Rebellion of 1764-1766.

Image of Lord Botetourt from The Colonial WIlliamsburg Foundation. (Museum purchase)

Declaratory Act of 1766 that gave Great Britain taxing power in America and recognizing Parliament's authority "to bind all & every part of Our Empire in all Cases whatsoever."

To accomplish this miracle, George III encouraged Botetourt to talk "separately and personally" with influential Virginians, as the king sometimes did with his own ministers, and persuade them "to disclaim the erroneous and dangerous Principles which they appear to have adopted."

Lord Hillsborough, a new member of the king's cabinet, had gone so far as to imagine that the planters of the Old Dominion might be enticed into abandoning the other Colonies if they were granted

an exemption from the Townshend Duties because they already provided permanent salaries for Virginia's crown-appointed governor, judges and other royal officials (an ostensible purpose of the duties). But George III, who had witnessed Virginia's many petitions, dismissed Hillsborough's proposal. "The conduct of the Virginians was so offensive," the king advised his cabinet, that "altering the Revenue Act in their favour … would not be proper."

As the discussion continued, however, George III agreed with Hillsborough's desire to send Virginia a full-fledged resident governor for the first time in six decades. Hillsborough promptly embarrassed the king with his ham-fisted dismissal of the absentee governor, Gen. Jeffrey Amherst, who had been appointed to the sinecure 20 years earlier as a reward for his service in the French and Indian War. Nevertheless, Hillsborough's choice of Botetourt was an appealing element of an ambitious plan to divide the Colonies. The announcement of Botetourt's appointment at a July 1768 cabinet meeting coincided with a decision to deploy four army regiments to Boston.

As part of Hillsborough's plan to isolate the northern port cities from their southern allies, Boston got an iron fist and Williamsburg a silk glove. This despite Hillsborough's private opinion that Virginia was "in a much worse state, than even the colony of Massachusetts Bay" — or the observant gadfly and Whig politician Horace Walpole's opinion that the Old Dominion had both "the best heads and the principal *boutes-feux*," or incendiaries, in North America.

In their effort to drive a wedge between America's oldest and most prominent Colonies, George III and his ministers dispatched in October and November 1768 two regiments from Halifax and two more from Ireland to Boston Harbor — where they expected the presence of more than 1,000 British troops would also intimidate New York and Philadelphia. In stark contrast, when the warship Rippon anchored at Yorktown on Wednesday, Oct. 26, Botetourt disembarked not with companies of armed redcoats but with his servants, his baggage and an impressive carriage, a gift of the Duke of Cumberland, "gilded in every part" and emblazoned with the Virginia coat of arms. Then the Rippon hoisted sail for Boston to collect and carry the unpopular Gov. Francis Bernard back to England.

A groom of the royal bedchamber since George III's accession in 1760, Botetourt had spoken against repealing the Stamp Act and was regarded as a protégé of the king's controversial mentor, the Earl of Bute. Despite Botetourt's "great affability" and attention to business, a senior Colonial agent warned that "the Virginians will not find him so great a friend to American liberty as they could wish." Botetourt's historic dissolution of the House of Burgesses in 1769 and the resultant creation of Virginia's non-importation association at the Raleigh Tavern remain dramatic scenes in the classic "Story of a Patriot" shown at Colonial Williamsburg's Visitor Center. Throughout the final year of Botetourt's life, however, Virginia's intractable clash with Great Britain trapped him in events that embarrassed his friends in England while enhancing his reputation and popularity in Virginia.

After the former burgesses initiated their non-importation association at the Raleigh Tavern, George III and his ministers began to confront the many failures of the late Charles Townshend's tax plan. Unlike the Stamp Act, which was imposed on a single item — printed paper —Townshend's duties were collected on a list of imported commodities such as glass, paper, paint and tea. As a result, American boycotts hurt English merchants and their employees — and for all the fuss, only the tax on tea had actually been generating any revenue.

With the growing success of American non-importation associations, British policymakers felt increasing pressure to repeal most of the Townshend Duties. Hillsborough now complained that the Townshend Duties were "so anti-commercial that he wished [they] had never existed." Nevertheless, George III and his advisers were reluctant to correct their blunder unless the Americans gave up, as Lord North put it, "the false apprehension of their rights."

By a contentious vote of 5-4, the cabinet agreed to repeal all the Townshend Duties except the tax on tea, which George III regarded as a token of British authority and which Townshend's successor,

"I will be content to be declared infamous, if I do not to the last Hour of my Life ... exert every Power with which I either am or ever shall be legally invested, in order to obtain and maintain for the Continent of America that Satisfaction which I have been authorized to promise this Day, by the Confidential Servants of our Gracious Sovereign."

— Norborne Berkeley, Baron de Botetourt

Lord Frederick North, cherished as the only duty that collected significant revenue. In a related decision that would inadvertently undermine Botetourt, the cabinet agreed not to impose any new taxes on the Colonies and to express their goodwill toward America through a "soothing" letter to the Colonial governors.

Transatlantic communication in the age of sail was precarious and slow. At best, an exchange of letters between Virginia and London took two months, and some didn't make it at all, but the physical delivery of correspondence was only part of the challenge. The fates of business deals, marriages, wars and empires depended on clear and effective writing. Bad writing could trip things up — as it soon would for the king and his cabinet and their diligent governor in Virginia.

The task of drafting a soothing letter describing the cabinet's contentious decision fell to Secretary Hillsborough, a policy hardliner, who wrote it hastily and dispatched it to the Colonial governors on May 13 without consulting anyone else in the cabinet. Ostensibly meant to help the governors explain away seditious "Insinuations" about British policy, Hillsborough's poorly written letter gave Botetourt the impression that Virginia's protests and boycott had been successful. The letter emphasized two assurances that seemed to acquiesce in the constitutional arguments Virginians had been making for years. First, the present administration would not "lay any further Taxes upon America for the purpose of raising a Revenue." Second, the ministry intended "in the next Session of Parliament to take off the Duties upon Glass, Paper & Colours" because Townshend had enacted them "contrary to the true principles of

Commerce" — by which Hillsborough meant that they were hurting British artisans, manufacturers and merchants by raising prices and discouraging sales in America.

Hillsborough apparently thought his letter affirmed Parliament's legislative authority over the Colonies, but that passage was so poorly written that it made little sense. By referring to "the true principles of Commerce" as the rationale for repealing the Townshend Duties, Hillsborough echoed the language that the British merchants had employed to help Parliament avoid a divisive constitutional debate about taxation and representation with the Colonists. The effect was that his letter completely evaded the critical constitutional issues at the core of the American dispute.

Even more destructive, however, was his complete silence about the duty on imported tea. Strictly speaking, retaining the existing duty on tea did not contradict the promise not to levy new or "further" taxes for revenue. Nevertheless, Hillsborough's silence proved disastrous for Botetourt because virtually all the participants in that transatlantic debate over the Townshend Acts used the phrase "duties on glass, paper, colors, etc." as a reference to all the Townshend Duties.

In effect, "etc." included tea. So the text of Hillsborough's letter conveyed the ministry's intended retention of the tax on tea in two ways: first, by not mentioning tea at all, and second, by omitting "etc." from the list of duties slated for repeal. The weakly stated message could easily be misunderstood — and it was.

When Botetourt opened Hillsborough's letter in August, he seriously misread these ambiguities and immediately convened his Council for advice about calling elections for a new assembly. Thinking that he was acting in accord with Hillsborough's intentions, Botetourt told his Council that the king and his ministers aimed at "a repeal of all the American revenue acts."

When the assembly met in November, Botetourt quoted passages from Hillsborough's letter in his speech welcoming the councilors and burgesses, exulting in the promises that "his Majesty's present Administration" would never levy further taxes upon America for revenue and would remove the duties on glass, paper and pigments at the next session of Parliament. The governor eagerly suggested that a decade of constitutional strife between Britain and Virginia was over. Nothing could have made him happier, Botetourt confided to his sister, than "to do some good in this distracted age."

Botetourt also highlighted the auspicious significance of Hillsborough's announcement by addressing what he thought was the only caveat in the earl's letter. "His Majesty's present Administration are not immortal," Botetourt acknowledged, but the governor staked his personal honor and his personal acquaintance with the king's character as proof that future administrations would keep Hillsborough's promises. "It is my firm Opinion that the Plan … will never be departed from," Botetourt proclaimed.

"I will be content to be declared infamous, if I do not to the last Hour of my Life … exert every Power with which I either am or ever shall be legally invested, in order to obtain and maintain for the Continent of America that Satisfaction which I have been authorized to promise this Day, by the Confidential Servants of our Gracious Sovereign."

Finally, as if this hyperbole were not remarkable enough, Botetourt closed with the astonishing declaration, based on his own "certain Knowledge," that George III "would rather part with his Crown than preserve it by Deceit."

Not surprisingly, after years of dispute the burgesses responded to Botetourt's "very kind and affectionate Speech" with delight, but his remarks provoked indignation in London. Secretary Hillsborough reprimanded the governor for presuming "to committ the King" to any future policy. Reactions in Parliament were less kind. From the gallery of the House of Commons, Virginia merchant William Lee reported to his brother Richard Henry Lee that Col. Isaac Barré and Edmund Burke (more interested at that moment in attacking the ministry than altering American policies) "made everybody laugh … for near an hour with their Comments on Lord Botetourt." In the House of Lords, the Duke of Richmond called for Botetourt's impeachment.

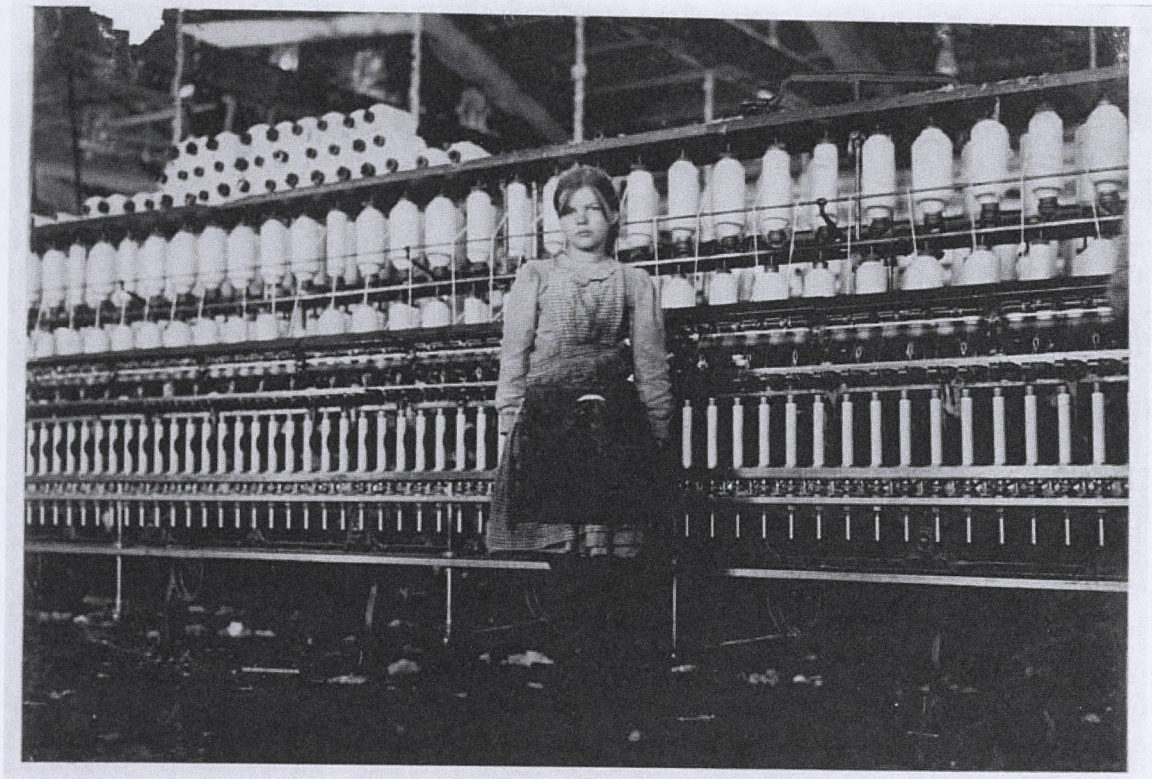
First proposed in the House of Burgesses in 1767, Botetourt County was created in 1770 from Augusta County. The county is named for Norborne Berkeley, Baron de Botetourt, more commonly known as Lord Botetourt (1718–1770), who was a popular governor of the Virginia Colony from 1768 to 1770, when he died suddenly while in office.

—Wikipedia entry

Botetourt was "astonished" when Hillsborough's reprimand reached him in April. "I do not understand," he protested. He had followed orders and explained the administration's intentions in language "strictly confined … to their own words"! Now his chief patron seemed to be protecting himself by crucifying his governor — when the sad truth was that Hillsborough's instructions had been so poorly written that Botetourt, even in retrospect, thought he had followed them to the letter. Unaware of George III's personal enthusiasm for stern measures against the Americans, Botetourt pointedly sidestepped Hillsborough and begged the king's pardon, "upon my Knees," for having proclaimed "His Majesty's Aversion to the arts of Deceit."

The transatlantic tempest over Hillsborough's letter and Botetourt's speech shredded the governor's credibility. Virginia leaders continued to treat him with dignity and friendship out of personal affection, civility and a touch of pity, but it was obvious that Botetourt no longer had any clout in the ongoing dispute with Parliament — and without perceived influence in London no Colonial governor had ever survived in Virginia. Power in the Colony increasingly shifted to the legislature and the association. Botetourt might keep up appearances, but he divulged his tenuous situation to the councilors and burgesses when he hinted that only time would reveal "to what extent I may be able to serve you."

If anything, sympathy for Botetourt's plight enhanced his personal popularity among Virginians in the months before his unexpected death on Oct.15. Imperial reactions to his speech underscored the rift between the Colonies and Parliament and completely undermined Botetourt's political credibility. Virginians felt compassion for Botetourt as a fellow victim of corrupt ministers, and they never forgot the personal virtues and friendship of the "noble Lord, who made the real Happiness of this Colony the Object of his most ardent Wishes." Botetourt had been sent to Virginia "to be the Agent of a dirty tyrannic Ministry," Landon Carter wrote, "but his virtues resisted such an employment and he became the instrument of a dawning happiness."



Roanoke Cotton Mills

Lewis Wickes Hine, Norwich, and the Fight Against Child Labor

by Ashley Webb

In 1911, photographer Lewis Wickes Hine (1874-1940) traveled through Virginia in search of evidence of child labor. In Roanoke's Norwich community he found the Cotton Mills, in Lynchburg the West End Shoe Factory, and in Danville the Cigarette Factory. The photographs in this collection that was exhibited at the Museum this fall reflect the images Hine took during his brief time in Roanoke.

Norwich, one of Roanoke's 49 neighborhoods, is situated along the south bank of the Roanoke River, northwest of Memorial Bridge, and was named after the Norwich Lock Company, which set up business in the area after moving from Connecticut. Settled as early as 1825, "Turkey Bottom," as it was originally known, became the site of Roanoke's industrialization in the 1880s. Factories and housing for laborers, along with a school and a grocery store, created the self-contained community. By the 1890s, though, many of the factories had closed, and Norwich families became destitute. In 1901, Edward

Ashley Webb, curator of collections and exhibitions for the Society, is an anthropology and history graduate of Longwood University. She also holds a master's degree in museum studies from Bournemouth University in England. She has worked with several museums in the Commonwealth, and teaches museum studies at Virginia Tech.

This page: Ronald Webb and Frank Robinson, Doffers, 1911

Doffers cleared the machines of full bobbins or spools of thread and replaced the machine with empty ones. They often worked barefoot to make the climb to higher spools easier and faster. Doffers had to be nimble; one wrong step meant losing a limb in the moving machines. Frank, the younger of the two boys, was 7 years old, and both doffed and swept for the Mills. His father was a supervisor for the card room at the Mills.

Facing page: Mamie Witt, A Spinner, 1911

Mamie Witt runs one side in the Roanoke Cotton Mills. She is 12 years old and helps support an able-bodied, dependent father. (Photos courtesy of the Library of Congress)

Stone, J.B. Fishburn and a New York financier purchased the old Norwich lock works, which had closed in 1895, and converted it into the Roanoke Cotton Mills. They created row housing on the same property for its laborers, and employed women and children on the grounds that it was a philanthropic investment for the benefit of the impoverished Norwich community. By 1911, when Lewis Hine traveled the east coast for the National Child Labor Committee, at least 30 children were employed by the Roanoke Cotton Mills, some as young as 7 years old. They worked 12- to 14-hour days, six days a week. Many never received formal education.

Child labor in the Roanoke Cotton Mills continued into the 1930s, but men took over jobs once reserved for women and children during the Depression. Eventually, the Roanoke Cotton Mills became the Morice Twine Mill, and while the mill building was razed in the 1960s, the laborers' row houses remain. They, along with Lewis Hine's photographs, serve as reminders of Roanoke's connection to the national fight against child labor.

"Sunday Trouble on Back Creek"

Protestant Resistance to Mormonism in Southwest Roanoke County, 1887-1895

by Nelson Harris

In late nineteenth-century Roanoke County, friction occasionally developed among and between religious groups, usually around mutual use of chapels and sometimes over doctrinal matters. Nothing stirred the religious passions of southwest Roanoke County more, however, than the arrival of Mormon missionaries in 1887. The purpose here is not to evaluate Mormon doctrines but to document the fevered, sustained opposition to Mormons' arrival and early presence in southwest Roanoke County by Protestant clergy, local newspapers and others.

The anti-Mormon Salem Times-Register spilled much ink in covering, if not heightening, the controversy. In their Nov. 25, 1887, edition, the newspaper offered the following: "It is stated upon good authority that several Mormon elders are at work in the Back Creek section of this county, trying to secure converts to their deplorable faith. Their meetings, we learn, are tolerably well attended, and among some they have made favorable impressions. If the people of Back Creek were to issue to these emissaries of the worst blot upon the United States their just desert, they would give these elders a coat of tar and feathers and start them journeying elsewhere."

A few weeks later in the Dec. 16 edition, the Salem Times-Register reported an assault on a Mormon missionary near Raleigh, North Carolina, where J.M. Hillard "nearly beat to death" the Mormon. The editor of the Salem newspaper added a final sentence: "We need a few such men as Mr. Hillard in this county."

The presence of Mormon missionaries in the fall of 1887 was the result of Joe Lavinder, a resident of the Haran section, who returned from a Franklin County trip and reported that he had heard the preaching of Mormon missionaries. William Griffin Ferguson wanted to hear these missionaries, so he gave Lavinder one of his best roan mares to bring the missionaries to Back Creek. The first meeting was held at Ferguson's farm located at the current intersection of Martins Creek Road and Route 221. That first meeting was attended by a crowd of curious men with many returning the following night, along with their wives.*(1)*

The interest in hearing the Mormon elders caused deep angst among the Protestant clergy in the Back Creek section as indicated in a report of a Baptist meeting at the Ferguson school house where Rev. J.G. Councill had concluded a sermon on the evening of Dec. 26, 1887. He denounced the Mormon faith, and at the conclusion of his remarks a Mormon in attendance asked if he could rebut what had been said. He was granted permission to do so and apparently a spirited debate ensued.

A week later came a letter the Salem Times-Register published in its Jan. 13, 1888, edition from

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

The Ferguson family members were early supporters of the Mormons. (Photo courtesy of the Virginia Room, Roanoke Public Library)

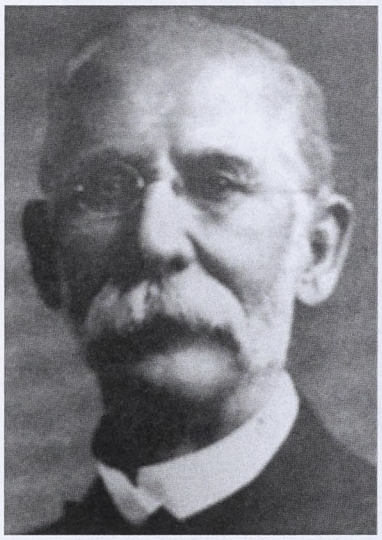
Councill of the Laurel Ridge (Missionary) Baptist Church. The editor titled the piece "The Troublesome Mormons, The Mischief They Are Creating on Back Creek." R.R. Reynolds, a Mormon convert, offered a Scripture-based defense of the Mormons that was published in the Salem newspaper a few weeks later, prompting the editors to counter with their own Scripture-quoting rebuttal. By the spring of 1888, Mormon activity in Back Creek was at the center of Back Creek news. Other newspapers, including those in Roanoke, began covering the Mormon presence in Back Creek.

Regardless of the efforts of Protestant clergy, the Mormon missionaries were making an impact. The first convert in the Back Creek community was Zulah Ann Gladden, who was baptized on Jan. 23, 1888. William Griffin Ferguson was baptized on May 1, 1888, and Margaret Rachel Owens Ferguson on Aug. 26, 1888. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints meetings in the area were first held in members' homes or in the schoolhouse on Twelve O'Clock Knob Road. An 1888 notice in the Salem Times-Register indicated that a Mormon Sunday School was started at the Mountain View School house in the spring of that year. As membership increased, William Harrison Ferguson cleared a section of land near his home so outdoor meetings could be held in the summer.*(2)*

On June 17,1888, a large audience estimated to have been between 1,000 and 1,200 persons turned out to hear a Brethren minister, the Rev. D.C. Moomaw, preach a sermon, "Mormonism: Past, Present and Future," at Kittinger Chapel in an effort to dissuade Mormon conversions. Other speakers included A.S. Beckner and Dr. Luther Fox from Roanoke College in Salem. The entire front page of the Salem Times-Register for July 13, 1888, was dedicated to printing in full the speech Moomaw delivered at Kittinger Chapel. Moomaw was an ardent opponent of the Mormons, having first published a diatribe against the religious group in the Fincastle Herald in 1881 where he called them a "nuisance" and a

threat to the "morality of society, the chastity of our women and the sanctity of the marriage relation."

According to Moomaw the event at Kittinger Chapel was as follows: "The day opened beautifully, and from Franklin, Floyd, and Roanoke counties, Salem and Roanoke city the multitudes came, all inspired with one common impulse, that of hearing more about the religion of Mormonism than the Mormon preachers, who have infested that neighborhood, were willing to tell them. The arrangements for the accommodation of the congregation were all that could have been expected, thanks to the faithful services of Messrs. Turner, Beckner, Kittinger, Henry, and others. A delightful breeze kept the temperature at a comfortable figure, and a more devoted, interested, and decorous audience never honored a religious meeting. The discourse was necessarily lengthy, the various and complex features of the Mormon system would require patient and exhaustive examination to be clearly comprehended by the masses of the people; and though nearly four hours were consumed in uncovering the iniquities of the system, at least two hours more were necessary to have finished the work, even in a condensed style. The people present, by their patient attention to the service, helped much to make it pleasant and light, and entitles them to my lasting gratitude and love. Special thanks are cheerfully accorded to Prof. A.S. Beckner for his invaluable aid in reading extracts from the various authors consulted on the subject of the discourse during its delivery. Without it I would scarcely have been able to preserve my voice unbroken. Dr. Fox, of Roanoke College, is accorded merited thanks for furnishing supplies of books from the college library needed for the occasion. While the labor of collecting and classifying the materials for the discourse was arduous and the expenditure of vital force in its utterance was exhaustive, I shall have frequent occasion in the future to refer to it with sincere pleasure. It was a visit in accord with the wishes of the good people of the county and with the claims of morality and true religion, and evidently approved of God."*(3)*



Dr. Luther Fox, Roanoke College professor, who spoke against the Back Creek Mormons in the late 1800s. (Photo courtesy of the Virginia Room, Roanoke Public Library)

Despite the efforts of Moomaw and some faculty from Lutheran-affiliated Roanoke College, the Mormon missionaries and their converts continued to gain adherents.*(4)* In that same year, however, Mormons were denied employment as public school teachers in southwest Roanoke County due to local opposition.*(5)*

Eventually, the passions turned violent. The Salem newspaper reported in August 1889, "We learn that a couple of Mormon elders were stopping at the house of a Mr. Burnett, near Cave Spring, several nights ago, and that some of the citizens of that section called on them with the intention of treating them to a coating of tar and feathers, but the elders begged so mercifully that the infuriated crowd desisted from their purpose and the Mormons left early the next morning."

The next month the "White Caps" became involved. An organization akin to the Ku Klux Klan, White Caps were organizations of white farmers who, mostly in the South, targeted Northern merchants, blacks, unwed mothers and others whom they felt undermined the community's values. They operated outside the local justice system and used threats, arson, whipping and other brutalities to elicit conformity. The Roanoke chapter, claiming 300 members, had published a notice in the Sept. 20, 1889, edition of the Salem Times-Register threatening harm to the missionaries if they did not leave the county. These and other threats led to Mormon missionaries leaving the Back Creek area for a few years.*(6)*

"To the Mormons of Back Creek, Roanoke county, Va., their members and sympathizers: We have, been informed by the good citizens of this community that you are engaged in the nefarious work

A group of Mormon members, dressed up for worship. (Photo courtesy of the Virginia Room, Roanoke Public Library)

of preaching bigamy to our young males and females, and have actually converted some of them to belief in this most horrible and damnable of all religions, as we conceive it, that was ever preached or practiced on this or any other continent. We have been appealed to by the good citizens of this community for assistance to rid the community of your party and as according to our by-laws, we must give timely warning; we, therefore, notify you, both leaders and sympathizers, that you must leave this county at once, or desist from your nefarious work. If this command is not complied with, our entire organization, now numbering something over 300 strong, will be called out and you and your entire party marched beyond the limits of this county with punishment as in the judgment of the Grand Commander may be best suited to your case. May God bless you and aid you to direct your minds into a better channel and a different line of thought, is the sincere wish and prayer of The White Caps. By order of the Grand Commander, per Secretary."

The late Roy W. Ferguson, a devout Mormon, wrote, "Mobs with stockings over their faces searched homes looking for missionaries. They threatened to burn homes and businesses of those interested in the church. One member stuffed two missionaries into a large barrel, placed the barrel on his wagon, and drove his horses and wagon out of the area in order to save the missionaries."*(7)*

News of Mormon activity subsided in the local papers, but within a few years that changed. On Jan. 23, 1895, the Salem Times-Register announced "Mormons Among Us Again." In typical editorial slant, the paper reported:

"From reliable sources we learn that several Mormon emissaries are again at work among the people in the Back Creek section of this county, and that their doctrines are received with favor by some of the people in that neighborhood. It will be remembered that a number of Mormons spent some time in

that section a few years ago, and made several converts to their doctrines, but that they left just in time to escape the consequences of a reception from indignant people from various points in the county."

When Mormon missionaries returned to Back Creek, they found their church had taken root. In mid-July of 1896, for example, the Mormons held a weekend conference at Mt. View Church, and the Salem newspaper reported some 200 in attendance. At that meeting, Thomas Maury of Salem went and took a photograph of some 35 Mormon elders who had come from around the state. The Salem Times-Register stated, "Everything passed off in a very orderly manner." But there continued to be harassment from some.*(8)*

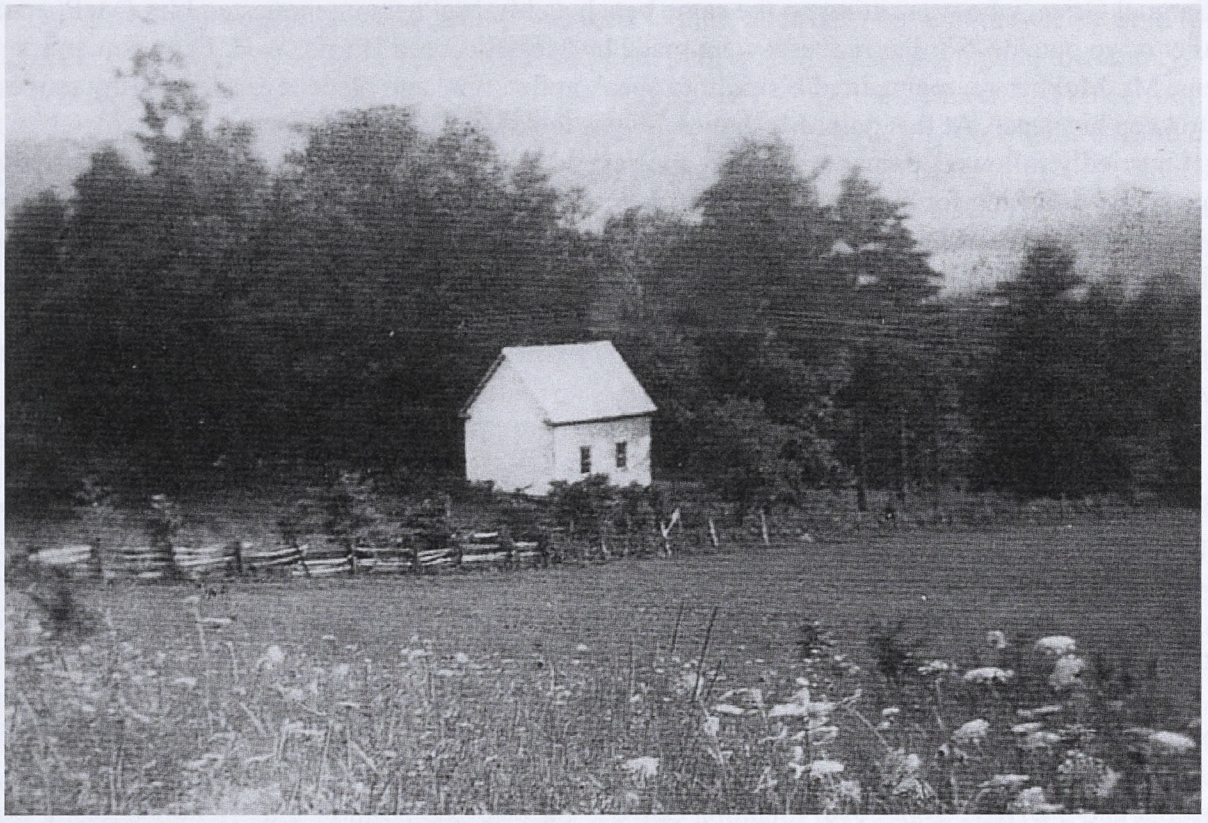
The July 3, 1896, edition of the Salem Times Register contained an article entitled "Sunday Trouble on Back Creek" that described a Mormon gathering and confrontation with a Protestant minister, probably typical of the interactions that had occurred and were occurring. "For some time past an aged minister named Daniel H. McPherson, representing the Christian Church, has been preaching a series of sermons at Mt. View church, this county, and in that same section several Mormon elders are also disseminating their doctrine, in which, we are sorry to say, they have met with some encouragement. Last Sunday evening a rupture occurred between the Mormons and Elder McPherson, which might have resulted seriously, and which will, at least, result in the arrest of several parties concerned. From a statement of the matter furnished by Messrs. J.W. and E.L. McCray, well known citizens of this county, it seems that Mr. McPherson had an appointment for prayer meeting at the church on Sunday evening, but that the Mormon elders took charge of the church earlier, and were preaching when he arrived. He went in to listen to them, and when Elder Thomas announced some of his Mormon doctrine, Mr. McPherson turned his face to the portion of the church occupied by the ladies and smiled. He was severely reprimanded by Thomas, and vehemently declared that Joseph Smith and Brigham Young were gods, and defied Mr. McPherson to dispute it. At this Mr. McPherson's anger rose to boiling heat, and he denounced the statement as false, declaring that Joseph Smith, held up as a god by the Mormons, was shot by a mob while jumping out of a jail window, where he had been confined for counterfeiting money and thieving. At this point Mr. P. was struck at by Samuel Grice, and forcibly ejected from the building by James Owens, Creed Harris and Mr. Neighbors, the latter also making an assault upon him. Mormon Elder Thomas came to his assistance at this juncture, and later he was pulled into the house again and compelled to listen to a tirade of abuse, and then denied the use of the building for his future appointments. Mr. McPherson Tuesday had warrants issued for the arrest of the parties concerned, and there is no telling where the trouble will end. Mr. McPherson told a Times-Register man while in Salem on Tuesday that he was on the detective force in Washington when Garfield was shot by Guiteau, and that he had previously been shot at by the assassin when watching his maneuvers. He is evidently a man of grit, and says he intends to preach against Mormonism, Joseph Smith and his dirty principles to the uttermost, and don't intend to be bull-dozed."

The above was also reprinted verbatim in the Roanoke Daily Times a few days later.

Elder M. Thomas of the Mormon faith, writing from Haran, responded two days later in a letter published in the Times-Register that offered his version of the event.

"Will you kindly allow me to correct a few statements which have recently appeared iu your paper. In a recent issue of the Times-Register there appeared what purports to be an account of 'Sunday trouble on Back creek,' under the caption of 'Mormonism Denounced.' That truth may shine, and its light be seen, I submit this letter. The facts in the case are these: On the Sunday mentioned (June 27) with other of my brethren I repaired to the Mt. View church to fill an appointment previously given out. The time of meeting was 3 p.m. In the course of remarks which I made, I referred to Joseph Smith as a prophet. Mr. McPherson, who was in attendance at the services, at this juncture laughed. I repeated my former statement. Mr. McPherson then very boisterously denounced Joseph Smith as an impostor, at which I told him to keep his peace. Again he raised his voice and continued his demonstrations of anger.

Mr. Samuel Grice, who was sitting on the same bench as Mr. McPherson, requested him (McPherson) to be quiet or go outside. Similar requests were made by Messrs. Creed Harris, W.H. Ferguson and James Owens. Mr. McPherson maintained his right to speak at that time and place regardless of my requests for him to keep his peace. At this point Mr. James Owens took Mr. McPherson by the arm and led him to the door. I hurriedly followed, demanded peace, and saved Mr. McPherson from what might have terminated in a sound thrashing for him. I asked him to return into the house and to assure him protection, seated him in the pulpit. After our services were over, I requested the congregation to remain seated and listen to what Mr. McPherson had to say. Now, Mr. Editor, allow me to tell you and your readers what was 'not' done. I was the speaker on the occasion referred to, and at no time on that day or at any time before or since did I ever say that Joseph Smith and Brigham Young were Gods, or place them equal in authority with Jesus Christ; any statement to the contrary is an unqualified I falsehood — in plain English — a lie. A challenge was offered to Mr. McPherson or any other to refute the statement I made regarding Joseph Smith being a prophet, and even if such challenge were offered, Mr. McPherson knew, as he afterwards acknowledged to me, that the time of another's services was not the hour to defend his position. I say nothing but the common decency which should be manifested in a place of public worship, especially by one who claims to be a minister, a follower of the meek and lowly Jesus. Neither Mr. Owens nor any other person forcibly ejected Mr. McPherson. No one struck at him, positively no one. Your informants were not in attendance at the service afore mentioned, and their statement of something of which they knew absolutely nothing would be the last to be considered in any court of justice; why then should the press be made the receptacle for the *ipse dixits* of such witnesses? Mr. McPherson was given full opportunity to air his mind and to ease himself of his vituperations, and we protected him in that right. That individual had the right, as has every man on earth, to his personal opinion and private beliefs. It is an article of the faith of the so-called 'Mormon' people to protect all men in their right, which is a proposition that may be well considered by many who take such delight in decrying the Mormons. The constitution of the United States guarantees liberty of religious worship. This, too, was a proposition which Mr. McPherson seemed entirely ignorant of. But, Mr. Editor, no man has the right to force his views, his abuse, or insolence upon any creature, for it is contrary to right, and certainly in violent opposition to the genius of our country. Mr. McPherson said to me before leaving the church, on the day mentioned, as he thanked me for protecting him: 'We'll let this matter drop,' (he had previously threatened to have warrants issued against certain parties in the church), later he had Mr. Owens and Mr. W. Neighbors arrested for assault and battery. At the trial (on Thursday last), before Justice Miller, his own testimony was conflicting, while the evidence of his own witnesses was corroborative of that of that of the defense. Messrs Owens and Neighbors were acquitted. In view of the evidence there could have been no other decision rendered. Mr. McPherson was then served with a warrant by Constable Blackwell charging him with disturbing public worship. This warrant was issued by Mr. James Owens and I was not cognizant of it, and being opposed to litigation, exercised my power to have the matter taken out of court. Mr. McPherson, however, was found guilty as charged. McPherson himself was the first one to propose leaving the county, if the case against him was dropped. Later Justice Miller remitted the fine and costs, and advised him to go away. The Mormons had nothing to do with the matter from start to finish, other than my being called as a witness for the defense in the case against Owens and Neighbors. In connection with this matter there appeared a special from Salem in the Roanoke Daily Times, inferring that 'Justice Miller was intimidated.' I never saw Mr. Miller but once (then during the trial); he has not authorized me to act in his defense; I am in no sense his sponsor, but I wish to say this on my own responsibility: That the inference that Mr. Miller was in any wise whatever untrue to his trust as a magistrate and conservator of the peace, is a base and malicious slander. Those who uttered it are either terribly ignorant or intensely vicious; they may take their choice. It has been my pleasure to have traveled in nearly every county in this State. I have met many hundreds of the best people in the State, and I count them my friends. I have



The first Latter-Day Saints chapel was built in the Back Creek section in 1897.

found them to be generous, hospitable and willing to hear both sides of the question before acquiescing or condemning. I have reason to believe the honorable people I consider none other of this community are not unlike the other true Virginians whom I am proud to call my friends. To them is this letter presented. I have not one scintilla of animosity in my heart against Mr. McPherson or any other who sees fit to take issue with me on my religious convictions as to whether they are right or wrong is not the question at issue. Yet I restrain a feeling of sorrow for any person whose whitening hairs should be his badge of honor, his honesty, his love of truth, who will so far forget himself as to lose sight of the truth, and allow his lips to utter words which carry blight only to his own soul. Can it be that such are 'with themselves at war? Forget the show of love to other men!' I thank you for the space you have allowed in making this statement."

Eventually, news of Mormon activity in Back Creek subsided. The congregation grew, with a few from Back Creek going to Utah. A permanent church was built in 1897.*(9)* While the persecution that occurred in Back Creek of the early Mormons is not a pleasant history, it was reflective of what many Mormon missionaries had to endure across the nation, especially in the South, for their faith.

Dr. Patrick Q. Mason of the University of Notre Dame has published one of the few academic studies of anti-Mormon sentiment and violence in the Post-bellum South.*(10)* Mason examined in depth two anti-Mormon case studies: the 1879 murder of Mormon missionary Joseph Standing in Georgia and the 1884 "massacre" at Cane Creek, Tennessee. The author asserts that anti-Mormon violence was rooted in a toxic mix of vigilantism and religious fervor. Earlier in the nation's history, Jews and Catholics had been subjected to similar treatment. While anti-Mormon fervor was not exclusively a Southern phenomenon, Mason does point out that Southerners were more hostile, as he cites a study documenting 336 cases of violence against Mormons in the last quarter of the nineteenth century in the former Confederacy. Twenty-four of those were in Virginia between 1876 and 1900.*(11)* "The frequency and inten-

sity of violence was a distinguishing characteristic of southern anti-Mormonism in this period…By the mid 1880s, virtually every segment of southern society — politicians, law enforcement officers, clergymen, the press, women's organizations, the business community, and ordinary farmers — had mobilized against the Mormon 'threat.'"*(12)*

The reason for such anti-Mormon passions was complex but, according to Mason, primarily rooted in the early idea of "celestial marriage" (plural marriage) espoused by Mormon leaders. "Most southerners admitted Mormons' right to believe whatever they wanted but ferociously attacked the idea, the practice of plural marriage."*(13)* Protestant clergy and newspaper editors depicted Mormon missionaries and elders as "seducers" seeking to carry off wives and daughters. "Anxious rhetoric about the Mormon seducer paralleled in many ways the contemporary hyperbolic fear that southern white men displayed toward the mythical 'black beast rapist'…It also reflected late nineteenth-century cultural ideals in which protection of innocent and helpless white women represented a central defining point of southern manhood."*(14)* This salacious undertone of seduction and sexual prowess was a definite component of the sermons, articles and speeches prevalent in southwest Roanoke County during this period.

The leadership of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints publicly repudiated plural marriage in 1890 and it was banned outright by federal law in 1904. This coincided with a marked decline in anti-Mormon violence and passions in both Roanoke County and throughout the South.

Interestingly, the subject of anti-Mormon sentiment and violence in the South is a neglected topic in both national and local histories. As Mason wrote, "Historians of the late nineteenth-century South have only skimmed the LDS experience." Yet, the primary source material is readily available. Mason speculates that the neglect was and is due Mormons being such a small religious minority at the time and many early converts moving to Utah.

As Mormons have become increasingly involved and accepted in American culture — perhaps most notable in this regard was Mitt Romney, a devout Mormon, being the Republican nominee for President in 2012 — the earlier and troubled history of their acceptance is fertile soil for exploring the historical and salient notions of religious liberty, cultural identity, gender norms and the legal regulation of domestic affairs.

ENDNOTES

1. Harris, Nelson. "A History of Back Creek: Bent Mountain, Poages Mill, Cave Spring and Starkey." Mount Pleasant, SC: The History Press, 2018. P. 93.
2. Ibid, p. 93.
3. Salem Times-Register, July 13, 1888.
4. Dr. Luther Fox was Professor of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy at Roanoke College during this period, having been appointed to the faculty in 1881. He was also a Lutheran pastor.
5. Salem Times-Register, September 21, 1888.
6. Harris, p. 81.
7. Ibid., p. 82.
8. Ibid., p. 82.
9. Ibid., p. 94.
10. Mason, Patrick Q. The Mormon Menace: Violence and Anti-Mormonism in the Postbellum South. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2011.
11. Mason, p. 129.
12. Ibid., pp. 13-14.
13. Ibid., p. 15.
14. Ibid., p. 15.

The Legacies of "Juneteenth" 150 Years Running

by Eric Wilson

Over the course of the past year, the Rockbridge Historical Society has taken cues from the calendar to publish a series of articles and media posts that reflect on a run of different holidays. In spotlighting these communal traditions, we have an opportunity — as history often and usefully provides — to think about our present communities and values.

And we can also appreciate more fully how our communities and commemorations have evolved across time. We can consider how they have varied across a range of local, national, sometimes international contexts. Among those we've recently explored: Lee-Jackson Day and Martin Luther King Jr. Day; May Day; International Women's Day; Memorial Day; Flag Day; Armistice/Veterans Day; Hanukkah, Christmas and other ethnic or religious holidays that have come with four centuries of immigration to Rockbridge, to Virginia, and to the United States.

This essay's journey into "Juneteenth" will take a more sustained run at the origins, commemorative traditions and currency of this holiday that continues to grow across the country, within our state's distinct history, and here within our county.

In 2015, on the 150th anniversary of Juneteenth at Booker T. Washington National Monument, Living History Guild volunteers interpreted the day that Washington famously recounts in his memoir, "Up From Slavery," his foundational boyhood memory when a Union officer arrived to read the Emancipation Proclamation at the Burroughs plantation in Franklin County. As Washington later noted, the day's sudden change brought new freedoms and new challenges to the enslaved community who had labored and lived there.

The 2015 anniversary featured speakers, gospel music, demonstrations of traditional crafts and historic foodways, a spirited, collective commemoration of the wholesale release of approximately 4 million people of African descent from the bonds of slavery. More particularly, living history re-enactments that day brought to dramatic life the very moment when freedom came to the enslaved men, women and children at the Burroughs Plantation where Booker T. Washington was born. Washington remembered the great day of emancipation, vividly and personally. He said his mother was "standing by my side, leaned over and kissed her children while tears of joy ran down her cheeks. She explained to us what it all meant, that this was the day which she had been so long praying for, but fearing that she would never live to see."

Eric Wilson is executive director of Rockbridge Historical Society, in Lexington, and director for history for the Virginia Association of Museums. This essay was originally published for RHS on June 19, 2018, to commemorate "Juneteenth," the holiday honoring the emancipation of the Confederacy's last slaves in Galveston, Texas, on June 19, 1865.

In 2015, on the 150th anniversary of Juneteenth at Booker T. Washington National Monument, Living History Guild volunteers interpreted the day that Washington famously recounts in his memoir, "Up From Slavery."

Mid-June now annually witnesses a run of commemorations surrounding Juneteenth — sometimes known as Emancipation Day — the holiday broadly celebrating the end of American slavery. Though community calendars vary in the observance, the holiday has conventionally centered on June 19, when the last Confederate slaves were finally freed in Galveston, Texas, in 1865. There, Gen. Robert Granger finally read General Orders No. 3, noting that "in accordance with a proclamation from the Executive of the United States, 'all slaves are free.'" (For a fuller accounting, see: https://www.nytimes.com/1865/07/07/archives/from-texas-important-orders-by-general-granger-surrender-of-senator.html.)

That terminal landmark, June 19, arrived two and a half months after Gen. Robert E. Lee surrendered the Army of Northern Virginia to Gen. Ulysses Grant, with President Abraham Lincoln assassinated just days later. Notably, the most common date for such celebrations has not turned to Jan. 1, the date that Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation took nominal effect, over a full two and a half years before in 1863. Given the Executive Order's restrictions as a "war powers" act, the full abolition of slavery would not take broad, legal effect until the Thirteenth Amendment had been passed by Congress on Jan. 31, 1865, and ratified by the states in December of that year (Mississippi only ratified it in 1995).

Crucial as these executive and legislative steps were, Lincoln's Proclamation was not a single-stroke act, as conventional memory and classroom lessons tend to simplify. Rather, it served as a wartime measure that only freed slaves in territories that had come under the control of Union forces. Hence, the rolling wave of "practical liberation" that gradually ground its way through the battlefields, in various and shifting directions, before finally concluding in Texas.

More uniquely, Congress finally passed the Compensated Emancipation Act on April 16, 1862, formally abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia and compensating owners $300 for each freed

person (the freed men and women, themselves, received no compensation). Accordingly, the District of Columbia now recognizes April 16 as "Emancipation Day," a full civic holiday in the District, with closure of local government offices (unlike most political observances of Juneteenth) and a range of events programmed across the capital.

Across the Potomac, Virginia is now one of 45 states that have officially passed some kind of formal measure recognizing Juneteenth. Though specific dates of observance vary among states, the Commonwealth of Virginia officially designates "Juneteenth Freedom Day" as the third Saturday in June, rather than fixing on the consensus of June 19, or highlighting the unique circumstances of April 9, the state's effective date of emancipation, effected by the surrender at Appomattox. It should also be noted, however, that in the late 19th century, Richmond's black community often celebrated Emancipation Days twice a year: on both Jan. 1 and April 3, the date when U.S. Colored Troops led the Union Army into Richmond to liberate the city, thus emancipating the enslaved people still resident there.

Passed in 2007 to coincide with the 400th anniversary of the first English settlers establishing Jamestown, the full Virginia General Assembly Resolution on Juneteenth can be read at http://www/nj-clc.com/resolutiom.htm. While acknowledging the state's democratic traditions and ideals, the document also explicitly anchors its importance in the long legacies of enslavement and racism that have persisted and evolved from the first importation of indentured Africans to Jamestown in 1619, extended in the "stain and legacy of slavery" of 250 years of bondage through a Civil War.

Most hopefully — if still tactfully and somewhat vaguely — our commonwealth now seeks an exceptional role in looking ahead to common purpose: "Virginia will again be set apart as a national leader in seeking to bridge a difficult past and complicated present to attain a harmonious and prosperous future and the commemoration of Juneteenth offers an occasion to remember the bonds of our unity and common destiny."

One leader in the Old Dominion's long and complicated social histories and political traditions was Thomas Jefferson, whose achievements in voicing liberty but failures to help end slavery are jointly noted in Item #5 of the state's Juneteenth resolution. Fittingly, Monticello's own Juneteenth observances were held this year on June 16, the month's third Saturday, as the state Jefferson once governed has officially prescribed.

As part of Monticello's celebrations, a multiracial gathering of over 300 descendants of the people Jefferson enslaved joined together on the steps of his West Lawn, bringing to new life the iconic image gracing the the back of our nickel. This year, Monticello timed a number of major events to advance the spirit and heritage of Juneteenth. In a meaningful tie to Jefferson's "Declaration of Independence" and his ideals of liberty, Monticello's Juneteenth celebrations additionally featured the rare display of an original copy of the Emancipation Proclamation, loaned for the occasion by historical philanthropist David Rubenstein. Most lastingly, the statewide commemorations that day included the grand (re)-opening of the South Wing on the Monticello plantation, more fully interpreting the story of the enslaved community, including Sally Hemings and her children. And in even broader, digital reach, the international attention brought further opportunity to frontline their growing community-based project, "Getting Word: African-American Families of Monticello" (explore https://www.monticello.org/getting-word).

As "Getting Word" evolves into a multimedia website and repository, it also models the type of archival and oral history projects that are vital to historical organizations. Indeed, this type of family-based crowdsourcing holds particular importance to local history groups, summoning the range of all ancestors, neighbors and institutions that have shaped our everyday experiences, whether in Rockbridge County or elsewhere.

Overall, this creative clustering of events isn't envisioned as a one-off day of programming, synced to the nationwide observance of a growing Juneteenth tradition. Rather, it's another aspect in Monticello's signal commitment to include more diverse voices, archival documents and archaeological evidence, while still advancing and contextualizing the multiple narratives that illuminate Jefferson's life: his free and enslaved families, his presidency and plantation, and legacies of democracy and human inquiry at large.

Rockbridge histories, programs and exhibits similarly hold the capacity to foster collective conversations, while candidly addressing cultural controversies. By focusing on community histories, we have the vital opportunity to connect and counterpoint some of the more traditional icons of recorded histories, with the everyday lives of the range of citizens who've lived in our area: across class, gender, race, era. (I've written a related article on these issues for the Virginia Association of Museums, with particular focus on Civil War Memory: https://www.vamuseums.org/blogpost/1155695/237512/The-Nexus-of-Crisis-Conversations-in-Controversies.)

Here in Rockbridge, we can not only look to the broader legacies of slavery and freedom, but can also take the opportunity to consider how wartime emancipation may have played out on our familiar streets and terrain.

In June of 1864, 18,000 U.S. Army troops led by Gen. David Hunter were campaigning through the Valley in pursuit of Confederate troops led by Gen. John McCausland. A Confederate stand at the Maury River failed to stop the shelling of VMI by Union artillery positioned just north of Lexington. On June 11, retreating Confederates burned the bridge over the North River (now, the Maury River) and began to move south. On June 12, Hunter ordered VMI barracks burned, reckoning it as a military target; and buildings and materials were looted at neighboring Washington College (now Washington & Lee University). The town of Lexington was largely spared physical damage, though some residents had fled, a number of them taking their slaves for fear of the harder edge of war and the property losses involved. After occupying the town, Union forces would depart toward Lynchburg on June 14. This would be the only large-scale military action that would be fought in Rockbridge during the war.

The Rockbridge Historical Society has published two rich accounts of Hunter's raid, one in a chapter of Charles Bodie's county history, "Remarkable Rockbridge," with a fuller accounting in Richard Halseth's "Three Days in Lexington: The Uninvited Visitors of June 1864" (Rockbridge Historical Society Proceedings Vol. XII).

For all their well-noted records, however, neither has identified any sources noting a public declaration of emancipation in the area, along the lines that would follow a year later in Texas. For me, it's a fascinating gap, one of history's "telling silences," inviting us to newly imagine the scene. What did emancipation look like in Lexington?

It may be that no such order was formally read by Union officers here. Though it's important to recognize, in that context, that Gen. David Hunter's "infamous" nickname, "Black Dave," was not merely some melodramatic moniker. Strikingly, he'd actually earned the name earlier in the war by independently emancipating black slaves in three states (no less strikingly, Lincoln rescinded Hunter's orders, as they pre-empted his own executive Proclamation, and delicate political negotiations with Congress).

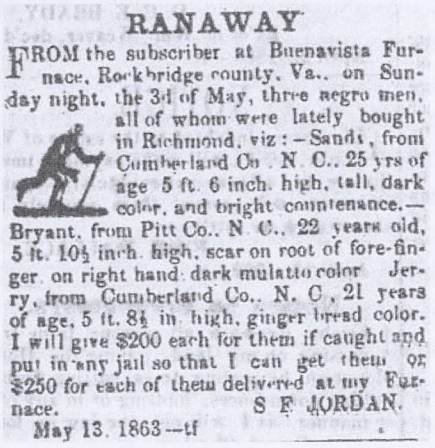
It may also be possible that some announcement did occur in the streets of Lexington, yet was not seen of immediate or prime concern in contemporary accounts of the direct and dramatic arrival of war. Margaret Junkin Preston and Cornelia McDonald wrote diaries and letters that sketch vivid portraits of this period and have been excerpted and published in accessible formats over the years. Yet neither recount such official proceedings, during the admitted clamor and chaos of war that June, and the sudden

new order that came with it.

It would be remarkable, indeed, to uncover some new archival source illuminating that moment of local freedom, that foundational historical turn, born from those few days of conquest. What an opportunity, to hear those voices at the crossroads of historic time, and familiar place: whether speaking in an official register or replying in vernacular tone; whether articulating the various responses of the liberators, or those vocally resisting the new order. How would Lexington and Rockbridge look, in that critical moment, related to other small Virginia or Southern communities in similar circumstances? At present, that's a half-sketched but important chapter in Rockbridge history that we haven't yet fully chronicled.

What we do know is that some slaves — as throughout the South — were already freeing themselves. Individually and in small groups, men and women were emancipating themselves by running away, the promise of Union lines in Virginia's many campaigns offering a new star to follow.

The following advertisement was placed in the Lexington Gazette on May 13, 1863, only months after Lincoln's Proclamation, over a year before the Union Army occupied Lexington, and still two years before the war's end and full abolition.



RANAWAY

FROM the subscriber at Buenavista Furnace, Rockbridge county, Va., on Sunday night, the 3d of May, three negro men, all of whom were lately bought in Richmond, viz:—Sandy, from Cumberland Co., N. C., 25 yrs of age 5 ft. 6 inch. high, tall, dark color, and bright countenance.—Bryant, from Pitt Co., N. C., 22 years old, 5 ft. 10½ inch. high, scar on root of fore-finger on right hand dark mulatto color Jerry, from Cumberland Co., N. C., 21 years of age, 5 ft. 8½ in. high, ginger bread color. I will give $200 each for them if caught and put in any jail so that I can get them or $250 for each of them delivered at my Furnace. S F JORDAN.

May 13, 1863—tf

Advertisement offering reward for return of three runaway slaves: Sandy, Bryant and Jerry. All three men had been recently purchased by Rockbridge industrialist Samuel Jordan, presumably to work at his Buena Vista Furnace Works, duly noted. (Lexington Gazette, 1863)

The "subscriber," Samuel Jordan, owned the Buena Vista Furnace Works, one of the County's important industrial complexes; the manufactory was also a point of focus in Rockbridge Historical Society's recent June program on the histories of the surrounding South River area (https://rockbridge-history.org/events-2/). Like many forges and furnaces in the region, Jordan's operation would supply key resources for the Confederate war effort, often shipped to the factories at Richmond's Tredegar Iron Works. Jordan's emerging manufacturing enterprise was an operation that relied on a mix of free and slave labor. Whatever happened to Sandy, Bryant and Jerry, "lately bought from Richmond," other slaves owned by Jordan would have been emancipated a year later when Hunter's troops occupied Lexington and destroyed the Buena Vista Furnace Works in the process.

In these comparative lights, Rockbridge would see different pathways to freedom and to citizenship before, during and after the Civil War. And for some, the next steps would prove tragic, by turns. As detailed in David Coffey's revealing article, "Reconstruction and Redemption in Lexington" (also in Rockbridge Historical Society Proceedings, Vol.XII), the wake of the war in Lexington brought some uneasy accommodations in local race relations, along with new opportunities for freedwomen and men. But within a few years, threats of violence — not to mention the 1869 lynching of Jesse Edwards, a freedman who'd been held in the Rockbridge County jail, accused of the murder of a white girl, Susan Margaret Hite — would sorely temper the spirit of liberation that Juneteenth seeks to honor and deliver anew.

"Iron Hand," ca. 1860. RHS Collections. Found in South River district near old Buena Vista Furnace Works (destroyed in 1864), thought to be cast from the hand of an enslaved or free black worker, based on labor patterns of the time. In 2019, RHS will loan the artifact to the American Civil War Museum in Richmond for the exhibits in Grand Re-Opening, requested by their curatorial staff for its arresting visual form, and capacity to interpret industrial slavery.

Over the years, Juneteenth hasn't enjoyed broad, frequent public celebration in our area's local events or programs. But family gatherings, churches, alumni groups and, increasingly, social media have provided means to connect generations, both within and beyond Buena Vista, Lexington and Rockbridge. Some of us have joined festivities in larger areas in the region: Roanoke, Staunton, Charlottesville or the broad annual draw at the Booker T. Washington National Monument.

But in thinking about how traditions emerge and evolve over time, I'll close by turning from the Juneteenth holiday more specifically, to communal memory more generally. Some questions to reflect on:

- What would new festive traditions look like in our community? Or newly revised ones?
- Who do we rely on to help bring those collective acts into reality, into meaningful ritual?
- What can we, individually, bring to the table, through our own traditions, families, values?
- Where have we come from? Where do we go from here? And who are we going with?

For our part, we hope that the Rockbridge Historical Society and organizations like ours can play some role in continuing to provide perspective on how these patterns have played out locally, over the arc of time.

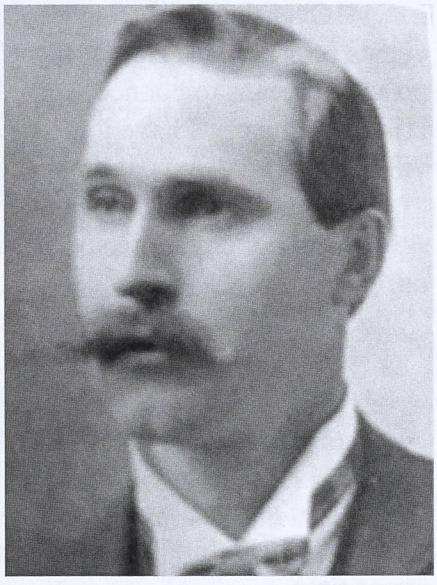
And we hope that Rockbridge Historical Society will continue to serve as a repository for the pictures and memorabilia, the artifacts, documnts and stories that can help preseve your memories, your witness, for generatoins to follow.

Bob Angell: An Early Mover and Shaker in Roanoke

by George Kegley

Robert Henderson "Bob" Angell, a Franklin County native who lived from 1868 to 1933, left his mark as a leading businessman in early Roanoke but he's almost forgotten today. He had a long list of accomplishments.

Angell was the founder of Shenandoah Life Insurance Co., a principal owner of Central Manufacturing Co., president of Colonial Bank & Trust Co. and the Chamber of Commerce, leader of Roanoke Iron Co., Republican member of the House of Delegates and Roanoke City Council, owner of one of the first hotels on Campbell Avenue, organizer of the Merchants Association and president of the Groundhog Club of America in Roanoke. (See story on page 32.)



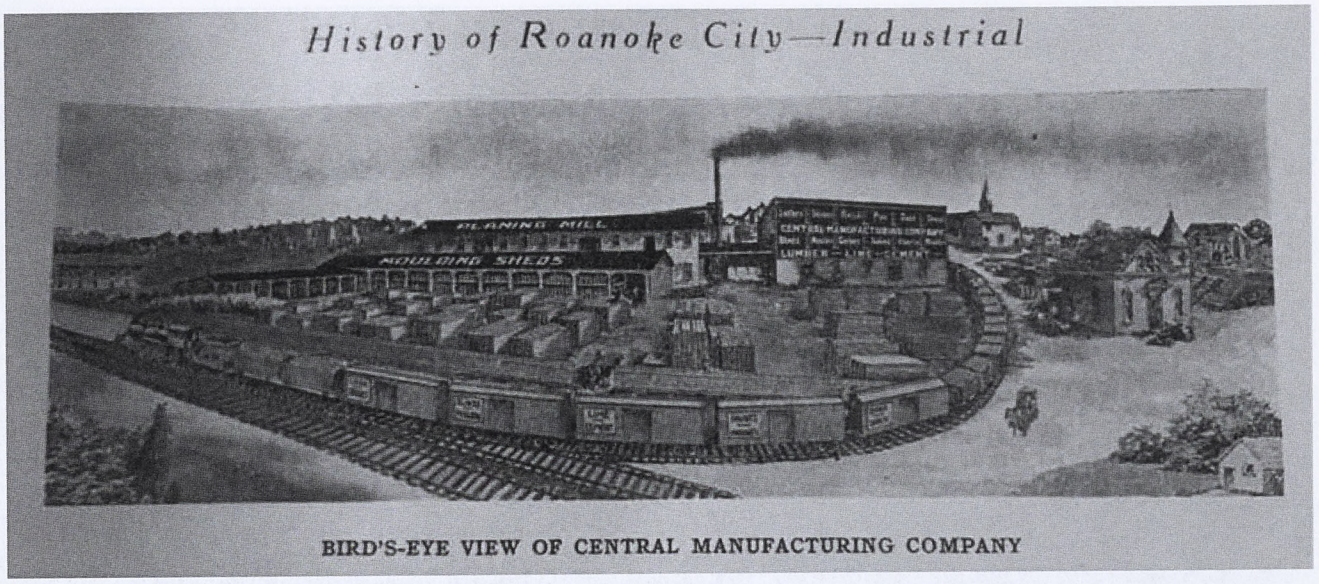
Bob Angell

A history of the first 50 years of Shenandoah Life described Angell as "a classic example of pull yourself up by your own bootstraps." Born near Callaway in Franklin County, he ran away from home at 16 because his father could not afford his education. He worked for a Cave Spring farmer for $13 a month, went to school and worked as a school janitor in Salem until he found a job as a brick mason in Roanoke for $1.50 a day. Angell then worked in a lumber yard where he took an interest in business, rising to yard manager.

Angell turned to manufacturing building materials in the firm Huff & Angell but he soon bought out his partner and in 1892 he established Central Manufacturing Co. on the site of the present Coca-Cola plant on Shenandoah Avenue. A small structure with a round turret from Central Manufacturing days stood there until it was razed several years ago. Central Manufacturing was a wholesale and retail dealer in lime, lumber, cement and plaster, employing 75 people or more in the early 1900s. He had a similar plant in Lynchburg.

As an organizer of the Chamber of Commerce and Merchants Association, Angell helped many emerging businesses in early days. He had a hand in bringing the Norwich Lock Co., Virginian Railway

George Kegley is editor of the Journal.



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF CENTRAL MANUFACTURING COMPANY

and American Viscose Corp. to Roanoke. He built many houses in Roanoke and Covington and helped organize Roanoke Hardware and Brand Shoe Co. and served as state fuel officer during World War I in 1918. "He was intimately associated with the early prosperity of Roanoke," according to a nomination of a Campbell Avenue building for the National Register of Historic Places.

He built His Home Hotel on Campbell Avenue and it later had many names and many owners: Central Hotel, Windsor, Raleigh, Smith's, Karkenny's and Lilly's Raleigh Hotel. As state Republican chairman, Angell reportedly went fishing with President Herbert Hoover at his Blue Ridge mountain retreat, northwest of Charlottesville. His humor was important when he served as president of Groundhog Club of America No. 1.

When Angell died in 1933, a newspaper account said "he probably had more irons in the fire than any man in Roanoke. He was a friend to everyone, rich or poor, and he could meet everyone on common ground." He was survived by his wife, Mary Barlow Angell; four sons, Robert H. Jr., Frank, Joseph and Hughes "Jubal"; and a daughter, Mrs. Stafford Crowley.

A brief biographic sketch in Jack & Jacobs' 1912 "History of Roanoke City and County" had this to say about Angell: "Much of his valuable time was taken in matters of civic interest and on several occasions when he felt that the circumstances justified it, he personally bore the expenses necessary to be incurred in securing for Roanoke industries and enterprises which would redound to the common good.

"Socially, Mr. Angell is a Mason of high degree, being a member of Accaa Temple, AAOK of the Mystic Shrine, a Red Man, an Elk, a Pythian, an Odd Fellow, Mystic Chain, Eagles and the Shenandoah Club and religiously he is a Baptist."

Groundhog Club members "told anything but the truth"

Several thousand men once gathered in downtown Roanoke every Feb. 2 to tell stories and have fun at the annual gathering of Groundhog Club of America No. 1. This began a century ago on Jan. 5, 1917, when a gang of the Franklin County Club met at the assembly room of the Masonic Temple and decided to organize a Groundhog Club.

The most outrageous stories were told, according to historian Raymond Barnes. Industry executive Bob Angell and Joe Chitwood, assistant district attorney, were "frequently the target of jests and much of the bucolic wit was directed at those born in Franklin County," Barnes said. "The crowd appeared to enjoy these skirmishes so much, someone came up with the idea that public meetings be held on Groundhog Day, Feb. 2."

One suggested requirement for membership: "Anyone who wore shoes before 10 years old is barred." A member was indicted for "wearing shoes on his first visit to Roanoke." A motto: "You could tell anything on anybody, just so it's not the truth."

Angell was elected president and Chitwood was vice president. Prominent citizens sat on a platform behind a live groundhog displayed under a sign proclaiming "His Hogship." The citizens were charged with offenses and the victims laughed as loudly as their accusers. The main purpose of the club was to ridicule prominent people, said Saunders Guerrant, who was an active member of the 1900 Club, whose members were born in 1900. The 1900 veterans were ushers at Groundhog Club meetings.

Frank Angell, Bob's son and a later club president, said the organization was primarily a fellowship club since it did a lot to make Roanokers more politically aware, because politicians and political hopefuls were introduced and soundly roasted at the meetings. Frank Angell said they would offer $5 to any kid who could bring in a groundhog for the annual celebration. They had four groundhogs in 1927.

Although the club was for men only, news of its good times spread around town and one woman, dressed as a man, sneaked in but the men barred the rest. Madam Fifi, a female impersonator dressed in scanty clothing, was escorted and guarded at one meeting.

They had a liars' contest and music by the N&W String Band and Freddie Lee's orchestra in later years. At first, smokes and drinks were passed around, even in Prohibition times, but the club was dry by 1954. Guerrant described the scene as "raucous and corny but it was fun."

The Roanoke Times said the 1928 meeting was the largest meeting of men ever held in

Roanoke. "Hundreds stood occupying every corner and niche. Others found roosting places in the steel girders above the balcony, on the stairways and in the windows. A groundswell of abandon swept with amazing force over the crowd to destroy every vestige of workday worry and care." As many as 6,500 were reported in the Groundhog Club meetings some years.

But when Angell, its only president in early days, died in 1933, the club lost its momentum. They met in 1935 and then stopped. But a revival was promoted in 1949 and 3,000 men assembled. They met and raised money for the Heart Fund and the March of Dimes and even gained a spot on the National Broadcasting Co.'s "Today" show in 1955. The club had moved from the Masonic Temple to the American Legion Auditorium but it burned in late 1957 and the Groundhog Club burned down too, as one veteran member said.

SOURCES

Raymond Barnes, Roanoke World-News, Feb. 5, 1966

Mike Ives, Roanoke World-News, Feb. 2, 1976

Dwayne Yancey, Roanoke Times, Feb. 1, 1986

Villamont, Virginia

by Bruce B. Harper

Applicable to a lot of small towns and wide spots along the N&W is the proverbial "don't blink or you'll miss it." But some of those spots were happening places in the past. One of those is Villamont, partway between the top of the grade at Blue Ridge and Montvale to the east. When U.S. 460 was realigned and widened to four lanes, this town was bypassed and is now mainly known by the green "Villamont" sign and the Villamont Presbyterian Church.

This "wide spot" has had at least five names applied to it, the last courtesy of the railroad, fulfilling the request of some investors looking to build up the area. It at one time was known as Peel Brook, then as Buford's Gap (with nearby Montvale also known as Bufords). The area became known as Ridgemont before the turn of the Nineteenth Century.

It owed its existence to the Ironville Mine, which was opened in 1879. This operation, and other later ones, mined Blue Ridge hematite ore. The Dewey Mine, operated by the Virginia Iron, Coal and Coke Company, was northeast of the Ironville Mine and extensively worked. Ore from the Ironville Mine was moved by wagon while a "…narrow-gauge railway some three miles long connects the mine with the tipple near Montvale."*(1)*

In association with the mining activity in the area, the N&W established a station called Ironville. It 1897 it was referenced as the nearest station serving the Ridgemont Cement & Manufacturing Co., which operated a stone quarry and iron mine. The quarry produced 50,000 tons of "limestone, building, and macadam stone." The iron mines produced 10,000 tons of "red specular and limonite ores."*(2)*

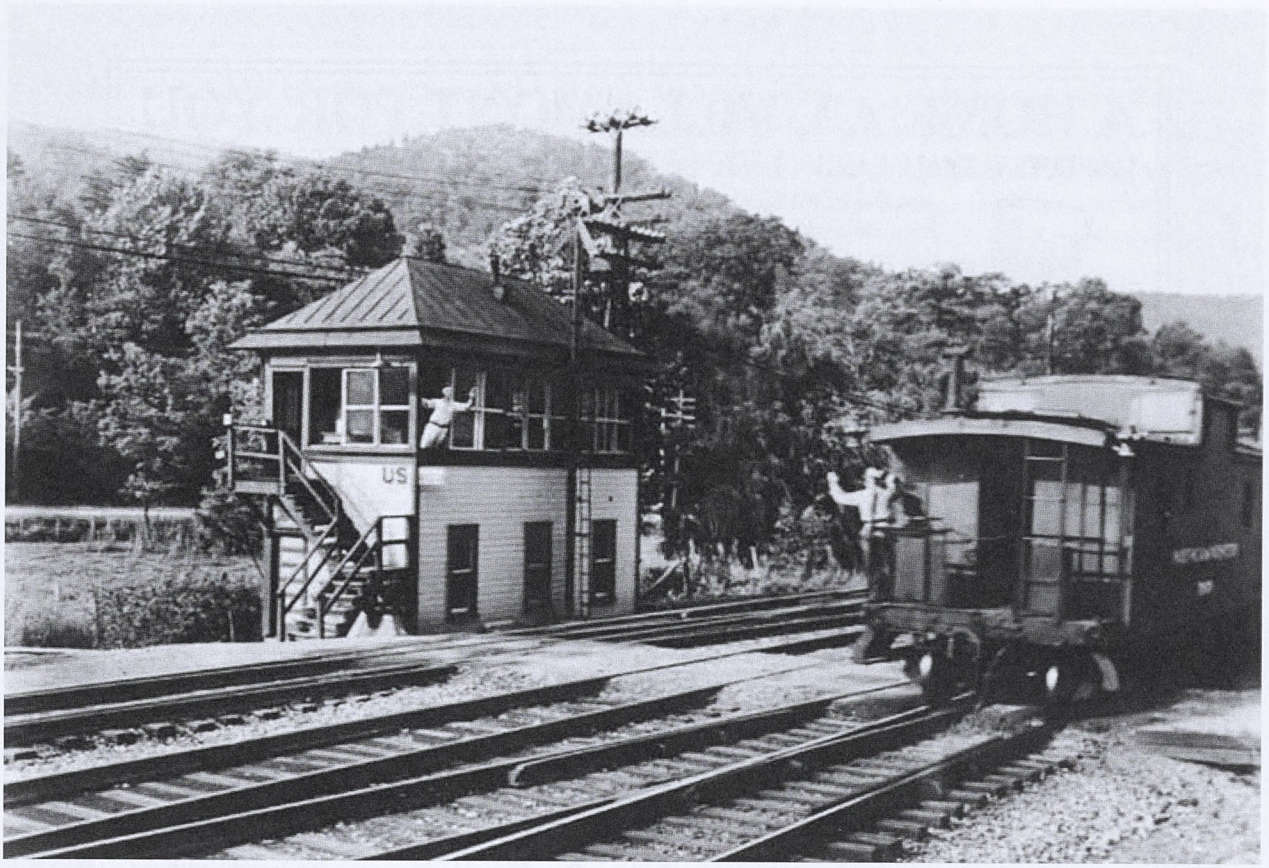
In 1902 the U.S. Postal Service changed the name of the Ridgemont post office to Ironville, matching that office name with the railroad location. That same year the N&W replaced a 25,000-gallon water tank with a 50,000-gallon tank. This was an important location on the railroad — the end of double track on the eastern side of the Blue Ridge grade. In the 1904 Annual Report, it was stated that "Interlocking and signaling apparatus were installed or improved at Ironville," and other locations. A year later, the Annual Report stated, "The extension of second track eastward from Ironville to Forest, 29 miles, is in progress on reduced grades." A second 50,000-gallon water tank was added there in 1907, along with more interlocking and signal equipment.

There were problems with that installation, though, when the signal tower burned to the ground. The Evening News (Roanoke) reported the fire in its Saturday, June 1, 1907, edition.*(3)*

The tower and equipment were rebuilt and the following year, a power house for the interlocking and block signal plant was constructed.

The village received a boost of sorts in 1907 with the opening of the Ironville Sanatorium For Tuberculosis. This facility, which was widely advertised, promoted itself and location:

Bruce B. Harper, who works in university relations at Virginia Tech, has a long interest in freight and passenger trains. He watched them from his boyhood home near Pittsburgh and he delved into the history of the Norfolk & Western as a student and later employee of Virginia Tech. His research took him into the N&W archives. This article was published in Vol. 34, No. 1, of The Arrow, the Norfolk & Western Historical Society Magazine.



A caboose crewman waves at the operator in US Tower at Villamont. The tower underwent some modifications over the years. (Photo courtesy of Ken Miller)

"In the Blue Ridge, on Norfolk & Western Railway, 12 Miles East of Roanoke. Elevation, 1,400 Feet.

"An eleemosynary institution, furnishing incipient cases with the modern hygienic-dietetic treatment at cost or less, according to means of patient and institution. Maximum rate, $10 per week, all essentials included.

"Camp or shack sites, dispensary treatment, supervision and other facilities for an economic maintenance free to all ambulant applicants."*(4)*

The area came under notice from local and outside investors, who in 1912 asked L.E. Johnson, president of the N&W, to consider changing the name of its station to something more pleasing and conducive to attracting new residents.

I.R. Longsworth, president and general manager of the Virginia-Elk Valley Associated Orchards, wrote to Johnson from Lima, Ohio, to ask that the railroad change the name of its station from Ironville to Villamont. In his April 23, 1912, letter, Longsworth wrote:

"A number of Ohio capitalists with myself and some Virginia gentlemen, have invested quite largely in Virginia fruit producing properties. Amongst these we have bought a large acreage at Ironville, Bedford County, Virginia, and are planting the same to fruit and improving the property quite materially. "We are desirous to have the name of the station changed from Ironville to Villamont. We are laying out a block of villa sites north of the railroad, on the hillside, very beautifully located, and already a number of Ohio parties have taken bungalow sites therein and no doubt several buildings will be erected during the coming summer. The name Ironville is not compatible with a fruit producing station.

"There is a limestone quarry on the property and a mill used formerly for crushing and grinding cement. The interested parties have in view the development of a limestone crushing and grinding plant, the product to be utilized for agricultural purposes if the lime content is of high enough grade.

A HOME AT VILLAMONT FOR YOU

$250 BUYS A SMALL FARM Easy Terms of Payment on All of Them **$50 BUYS A VILLA SITE**

A beautiful community of small farms and summer homes only 13 miles from Roanoke, on main line of Norfolk and Western railroad. Get a villa site and join our Summer camp colony this year. Come and see us at our Roanoke office.

And let us explain the many attractions of this beauty spot. We can give you the names of other Roanoke people who have bought and are delighted with their purchases. We will arrange so you can see the property and meet our people, and then, if you like it, you can join with us in a home at Villamont. If you are not pleased in every way there is no obligation on your part.

What $250.00 Will Do At Villamont

Here Is Your Little Home At Villamont

It will buy one of these little five-acre farms, and you can pay for it in small installments of $5 or $10 per month. Our community is growing rapidly and new homes are going up continually. We have our Community Store, Club House, Hotel and Civic Centre. A considerable number of Roanoke's best people already have purchased summer homes or farms at Villamont, and several have built and are living there now. Why pay high rents in the city when you can build and live at Villamont for less than half the cost in Roanoke?

Sunday Afternoon Well Spent

Our big seven-passenger car meets No. 4, the Norfolk and Western noon train, at Blue Ridge, on Sundays, and takes passengers from there to Villamont, one mile distant, without charge. Why not come down and see us some Sunday soon? Bring your family and your picnic lunch, if you choose, and enjoy a real outing in the glorious outdoor environment of Villamont beautiful.

Our Wayside Inn

Good Country Living. Summer Rates as Low as $7.00 Per Week. RESERVE NOW.

Our Wayside Inn, with its scenic environment, in the famous historic (Buford) Gap, in the Blue Ridge Mountains, draws many visitors from afar and nearby cities for a cool rest in the lap of Mother Nature. The Blue Ridge Springs resort, frequented by guests from many States, is only one mile from Villamont, and connected by rail and auto road. Both, with other contemplated attractions, will increase the interest at Villamont.

Don't Fail to Visit Our Summer Camp This Season

Come in and let us explain about our villa sites at $50 each and up; then, if satisfied, after personal inspection, get one of them and join our summer colony in a delightful outing for yourself and family.

If you don't want to be bothered with meals, you can get them at our Wayside Inn at small cost, and we can furnish tent for your family at slight rental cost by the week or season.

You Owe it to Yourself and Family to Give Them a Vacation at Villamont This Summer.

WHY?—Because they own their own homes and live with their children in the happy outdoor life, their own gardens, orchards, chickens, bees, good neighbors, store, club-house, Wayside Inn, best social conditions, and all that goes to make life worth living.

VILLAMONT COMMUNITY, INC.

Gale Building **3 1-2 South Jefferson Street** **Roanoke, Virginia**

VILLAMONT—THE HAPPY COMMUNITY OF CONTENTED OUTDOOR PEOPLE

This advertisement appeared in The World News on May 31, 1919, enticing readers with land prices at Villamont. The line at the very bottom in many ways defines the advertising of the era. (Image courtesy of Bruce Harper collection)

"Will not your Company meet the wishes of our people and promulgate the change of station name as desired?"*(5)*

Johnson passed the letter and request on to N.D. Maher, second vice-president and general manager of the railroad, stating, "Will you be kind enough to let me have your recommendations? Personally I think we should comply with their request." Maher replied on May 2, "I have arranged to change the name of Ironville station to Villamont, to take effect as soon as everybody is notified." The next day, Johnson notified Longsworth by letter, "In reply to your favor of April 23rd, I beg to advise that it will be our pleasure to comply with your request to change the name of Ironville to Villamont. This will be done and made effective as soon as everybody can be notified."

In that brief exchange, Ironville was transformed into Villamont.

It took a few years before the change of name of Ironville to Villamont was accepted. In the 1919 edition of the Report of the Secretary of the Commonwealth, there was a listing for the Villamont Land Co. Inc., later changed to the Villamont Community Inc. The name finally showed up in the 1922 edition of the United States Official Postal Guide.

In N&W terms, Villamont was the end (or beginning) of the triple-track that crossed the top of the Blue Ridge grade. Helper engines that were added to eastbound trains at Boaz cut off at Villamont, then phoned the dispatcher for instructions.

The location wasn't without excitement (beyond daily steam operations). On February 11, 1907, The Evening News reported the derailment of a double-header in Ironville:

"At 11:56 a.m. Saturday an extra eastbound double-header was derailed at Ironville, about 15 miles east of this city, the two engines and three loaded cars leaving the track.

"One of the engines was turned on one side and the second partly turned. The number of engines are 767 and 803. No one was killed or injured. It took about five hours to clear the track, No. 3 being delayed one hour and fifteen minutes."*(6)*

Several years later tower operators witnessed an unauthorized passenger, as reported by The Evening News on March 7, 1910.*(7)*

Villamont never did see the growth its promoters expected. In 1916 the N&W promoted it in its "Industrial and Shippers Guide" as a place "...being developed into a small country home place, especially suited to those seeking a mountain country home for summer." It never had an actual station, but only merited a shelter shed. In the 1920s a short section of U.S. 460 was built just to the north of the village, bypassing a curvy section of road that dropped into the village then climbed back out of the hollow as it continued to the east. It lost its importance to the railroad as diesels replaced steam engines, then as heavy eastbound trains were routed over the water-level Virginian tracks after the merger.

Today, the sanatorium is gone, the iron mines are no more, and traces of the railroad infrastructure are not easy to find. But it is easy to stand next to the tracks on Depot Road on the south side of the tracks, and imagine all the activity at this "wide spot" in the road.

ENDNOTES

1. Mineral Resources of Virginia, Thomas Leonard Watson, Ray Smith Bassler, Heinrich Ries, Roy Jay Holden, Virginia. Jamestown Exposition Commission, J.P. Bell Company, printers and binders, 1907 — Jamestown, Virginia, pp. 471–472
2. The Mine, Quarry and Metallurgical Record of the United States, Canada and Mexico: Mine and Quarry News Bureau, The Bureau, 1897 — Mineral industries, pg. 645
3. The (Roanoke) Evening News, Volume 15, Number 130, Saturday, June 1, 1907, pg 3
4. Virginia Medical Semi-monthly, Volume 14, L.B. Edwards, 1910, advertisement, pg. 17
5. Letter from correspondence files
6. The Evening News, Volume 15, Number 36, 11 February 1907, pg. 3
7. The Evening News, Volume 21, Number 55, 7 March 1910, pg. 1

The Yuchi Indians of Southwest Virginia and Their 1857 Roll (1)

by Jim Glanville

There is extensive archeological and historical evidence for the presence of the Yuchi American Indian people in Virginia's Smyth and Washington counties in the 16th century. This article adds the documentary evidence of an 1857 intertribal roll held by the Remnant Yuchi Nation of Kingsport, Tennessee. With tribal permission, the roll is published here for the first time. The article argues for an end to the long Virginia neglect of its Yuchi heritage.

Oral tradition preserved by Woktela*(2)* tells us that the Yuchi (alternatively Euchee) American Indian people originated at Cahokia on the Mississippi River near present-day St. Louis, reached western Tennessee by the 14th century, and eastern Tennessee by the 15th. The Spanish de Soto expedition encountered them in Southwest Virginia in 1541, as again did the Pardo expedition in 1567. By 1717, the small Yuchi tribe with its unique language had lost out in the English-promoted Indian slaving wars and had been scattered to many places throughout the Southeast.

The Trail of Tears in 1838-39 took most Yuchis west to Oklahoma as part of the Creek Confederacy — a loose coalition of diverse Indian towns in the South. Despite this removal, remnant Yuchi groups remained in Appalachia and the U.S. Southeast. In Appalachia the Yuchi became the leaders of a post-removal coalescent Indian movement, as demonstrated by the intertribal roll made in Carter County, Tennessee, in 1857 and curated by the Remnant Yuchi Nation in Kingsport. This roll, that is described and pictured here, is new and convincing evidence of the historic role of the Yuchi people in Virginia. For many years the roll was held in Floyd County, Virginia.

Today, five centuries after European contact, the federally recognized western Yuchi in Oklahoma are a minority group under the jurisdiction of the Creek Nation. The eastern Remnant Yuchi Nation continues to fight for Tennessee state tribal recognition, although it has abandoned efforts to become recognized in Virginia.

When Europeans contacted them in southwest Virginia, the Yuchi were a Mississippian people. The term Mississippian characterizes the American Indian societies that occupied the Mississippi River watershed and the Deep South during the years 800-1,600 AD. Mississippian peoples generally were platform mound builders, relied on maize-based sustenance, had social ranks and a complex political organization, engaged in ceremonial activities, and produced highly artistic objects with iconic designs from marine shell, copper and pottery. They also engaged in long-distance trade and exchange. In southwest Virginia caves substituted for mounds as Indian ceremonial and religious sites. Mississippian peoples produced a rich and abundant archeological record throughout their territory. That record is very well known — except in Virginia.

The archeological record of southwest Virginia divides into "proper archeology" and "improper archeology." Proper archeology is that done by professionals and any amateurs that they supervise.

Jim Glanville of Blacksburg has done extensive research and writing on settlement in Southwest Virginia. He formerly taught chemistry at Virginia Western Community College and Virginia Tech.

Improper archeology has principally been grave robbing to obtain Indian relics to collect or to sell, although some unsupervised amateurs have excavated to study long-lost Indian cultures and donated their finds to museums.

The Yuchi Indians left a fabulous archeological record in Virginia's Smyth and Washington counties. That record comes principally from two kinds of places: large village sites along the three main rivers of the two counties, the North, Middle and South forks of the Holston river, and the caves that occur abundantly in their karst landscape. This record is almost entirely undocumented by professional archeologists and the Mississippian archeological record of Smyth and Washington counties is found almost entirely in private collections and the publications of relic collectors, where that record has been studied for more than a decade by the author.*(3)*

In consequence, the Yuchi Indians are unknown to the vast majority of Virginians, who believe that American Indian culture in Virginia stops at Amherst County with the Monacan Nation.

Just as the author's article last year about the triumph of Anglo-America stressed the significance of western Virginia for the development of America, so the present article stresses the significance of western Virginia for its role in Indian culture. Sadly, the Virginia obsession with its eastern history continues to obscure the dominant role of Virginia's western history.*(4)*

INDIAN RECOGNITION IN VIRGINIA

January 2018 will forever stand as a landmark month in the history of Virginia American Indians. That month President Donald Trump signed legislation creating six new federally recognized Virginia tribes — the Nansemond, Chickahominy, Eastern Chickahominy, Upper Mattaponi, Rappahannock and Monacan — in addition to the Pamunkey Indian tribe that obtained federal recognition in 2016. There are also four Commonwealth of Virginia-only recognized tribes — the Cheroenka Nottoway, Nottoway, Mattaponi and Patomeck. Collectively, these 11 politically recognized tribes have an enrolled membership of about 6,000 individuals. Ten of the tribes are based in Tidewater, in the watersheds of the Rappahannock, York and James rivers. The 11th, the Monacan tribe, is situated near Lynchburg in central Virginia.*(5)*

It is 300 miles from Lynchburg to Virginia's Cumberland Gap. Thus there is a vast area of western and southwestern Virginia devoid of any recognized tribes. Ironically, as is recounted in this article, the earliest Virginia tribes we can document in the historic record come from the western part of Virginia. These tribes were encountered by Spanish conquistadors in the 16th century.

Contrary to the popular view that Virginia began at Jamestown, it in fact began in the farthest western end of the present-day state in Lee County.*(6)* The first two Europeans to set foot in the present-day state of Virginia in 1541 were the Spaniards Juan de Villalobos (from Seville) and Francisco de Silvera (from Galicia) who were marauders from the de Soto expedition.*(7)* Twenty-six years later, in April 1567, Hernando Moyano de Morales led a detachment of Juan Pardo's soldiers northwards from Fort San Juan at Joara (present-day Morganton, North Carolina), and attacked an Indian village at Saltville that the Spanish called Maniatique.*(8,9)* Thus the Spanish encountered the Yuchi Indians in Appalachia in 1541 and 1567.

The Yuchi are a small group of Native American people who are today, as they were in the past, widely dispersed throughout the United States. Today, the principal Yuchi population resides in Oklahoma, with minor populations scattered throughout Appalachia and the Southeast. A unique characteristic of the Yuchi people is their distinctive isolate language. Woktela, the Yuchi historian and language student, strongly asserts that "tanasi," meaning meeting of the waters in Yuchi, gave Tennessee its name. Linguists such as Mary Linn judge that the Yuchi language separated from all other languages more than 6,000 years ago.*(10)* The uniqueness of their language gives the Yuchi historical distinctiveness. Today, only a handful of native speakers of the unique Yuchi isolate language are still alive in Oklahoma. An

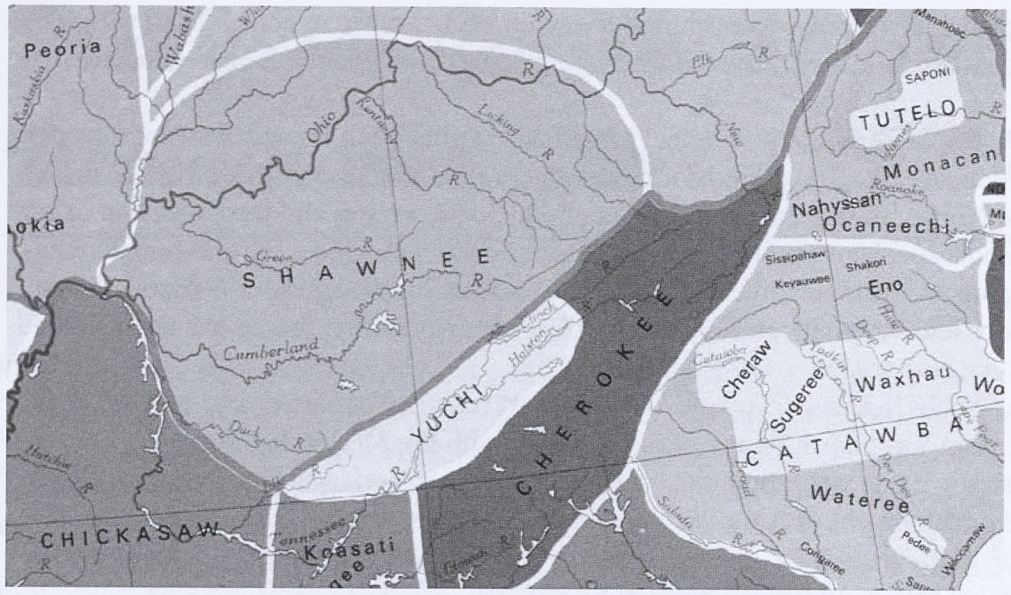


Figure 1. The Yuchi shown on the U.S. National Atlas. (Detail; public domain)

older member of the Remnant Yuchi Nation remembers that his grandmother, who lived in Gate City (in Virginia about 6 miles north of Kingsport), spoke some Yuchi. No living Virginia Indians are native language speakers. The Monacan people of central Virginia spoke an extinct Siouan language while the Tidewater tribes spoke extinct Algonquian languages.

Figures 1 and 2 are two noteworthy maps among many that show the Yuchi. Figure 1 shows a detail from a generalized map of Indian cultural areas with the Yuchi displayed along the Tennessee River and stretching into Virginia. Generalized maps such as this one cannot be taken too seriously; map lines of territorial demarcation are an Anglo-American concept unrecognized by Indians, and no map such as this can adequately represent five or six centuries of voluntary Indian population movement and settler forced relocation. For our purposes, the map simply legitimizes that the Yuchi play a role in the history of southwest Virginia.*(11)* Incidentally, the Monacan, the westernmost of the modern-day federally recognized Virginia tribes, appear on the very eastern edge of Figure 1.

Modern historical scholarship has only recently turned its attention to the Yuchi, and principally through the efforts of Jason Baird Jackson.*(12)* Modern scholarship places the Yuchi in northeast Tennessee and southwest Virginia. Figure 2 is a sketch map that follows a map published in 2012 by Brett Riggs and John E. Worth.*(13)* The Yuchi and the Chisca were either the same people or closely related peoples who spoke the same language. The distinction between them involves the interpretation of some obscure 16th-century Spanish documents. The author is of the opinion that the distinction between the Chisca and the Yuchi made by some authors is a distinction without a significant difference.

In any event, these two maps and others secure the Yuchi claim to a place in southwest Virginia history. It is reprehensible that the small Yuchi tribe that played such a significant role in early Virginia history is so obscure and neglected today.

THE ARCHEOLOGY OF SOUTHWEST VIRGINIA

The only extended study of the regional archeology of southwest Virginia is the nearly 50-year-old Smithsonian Institution survey conducted by C.G. Holland.*(14)* He wrote: "It is rare to find a site in southwest Virginia that has not been systematically searched by nearby collectors." (Holland 1970, p. 37) Indeed, it is impossible to grasp the extensive Mississippian quality of the region where the present-day remnant Yuchi people live without taking account of the enormous amount of improper archeology that has been carried out there.*(15)*

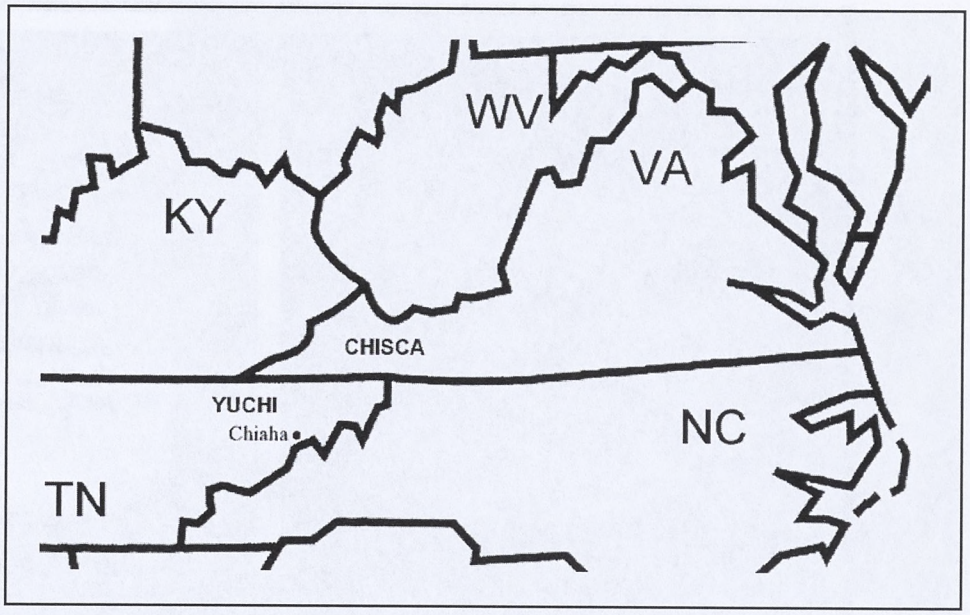


Figure 2. The 16th century Yuchi in present-day Tennessee and Virginia according to modern scholarship. (Map by author; the town of Chiaha is discussed in endnote 8)

Holland described the extent of this improper archeology in 1970 on page viii of his preface:

> In contrast to the professionals, the local collectors are a potent group in southwest Virginia archeology and I am indebted to some of them for much help. *(16)* On the other hand, they have been a most destructive force. About 40 years ago one of a family of several brothers began to dig at night in open sites and to enter caves for artifacts. Through the following years this man with single-minded determination dug in nearly all the open, pottery-bearing sites and caves within a large radius of Saltville [a town that bridges Smyth and Washington Counties]. The artifacts sought were mainly pipes, ear ornaments, shell pendants and similar objects that were highly prized and sold well. Others of the family took up this activity and the pattern spread to embrace many people in their town and surrounding community. It is estimated that 40 to 50 people are now engaged in this destructive digging between Tazewell and Washington Counties.

In contrast, proper archeology in Smyth and Washington counties has been relatively modest in extent and never directed at studying Mississippian culture in the region. A 25-year survey of work by amateur archeologists in Washington County notes the prior disturbance of many of their studied sites by relic hunters and gives no hint of the rich Mississippian culture of the region.*(17)*

A rare glimpse of Mississippian Virginia from the perspective of proper archeology comes from a 1996 article by two archeologists that labels the Saltville-Chilhowie region of Smyth County a "salt powered chiefdom."*(18)* These authors observed that the prehistory of Saltville is "one of the most fascinating developments within Native American cultures within the Commonwealth." They noted that a site in Chilhowie yielded artifacts showing Mississippian influence, and decided that the use of the salt resource spurred the development of high cultural level in the region. They concluded: "Due to the perishable nature of the salt resource and the destruction by modern development and/or looting of the majority of archaeological sites relating to it, direct evidence for the mining, manufacturing, and trading of salt from Saltville is difficult to obtain. Through an examination of collateral evidence, however, it would appear that such activities did occur in the Saltville Valley with far reaching implications for the social organization of Southwest Virginia …."

Figure 3. A Saltville style gorget. Labeled "Smyth Co. Va, Chillhowie [sic] school, Kelly Barry [sic]." (In a private collection; author's 2007 picture)

The author has argued that the vast amounts of broken pottery found up and down the valley of the Middle Fork of the Holston River constitute evidence that salt brine from Saltville was transported by river to places with ample available wood and there boiled down to yield solid salt.*(19)*

In 1997, professional archeologists reported that of 37 known Indian burial caves in Virginia (34 of which are in Smyth and Washington Counties) "…only three remain relatively undisturbed by looters" and that "… the looting of these sites is so extensive and is continuing."*(20)* Dick Slattery reported to the author that after the "father of plains archeology" Waldo Wedel was lowered into a cave near Saltville, Wedel told him that the Indians had "filled that cave" and that there were "wagon loads of bones down there."*(21)*

In 1957, the new Chilhowie High School venue was the location of an Indian grave site digging frenzy. When earth moving commenced an Indian grave field containing more than a hundred burials was quickly uncovered and within days "hundreds of amateurs" had pockmarked the field with hasty and careless diggings. Our knowledge of these 1957 events comes only from newspaper reports.*(22)* This site produced the gorget (throat ornament) pictured in Figure 3 which the author photographed in a private museum in 2007. Artistically engraved marine shell gorgets and finely made, polished stone pipes are characteristic of Mississippian Smyth and Washington counties and have been found there in abundance over the years either as grave goods or as cave finds. Almost all of these items are held privately by relic collectors.

The Mississippian art objects called gorgets that are made from the outher shell of saltwater conch shells were studied by Jon Muller in Saltville in 1964, when he met and interviewed local collectors and photographed their engraved gorgets. This pioneer study of styles of gorget engraving throughout the Mississippian world became his 1966 Ph.D. dissertation.*(23)* Muller saw and photographed about 30 gorgets from Smyth and Washington counties and named the engraved rattlesnake design of a particular type of gorget (such as the one in Figure 3) the "Saltville Style." In 1996, Muller's photographs were incorporated into a book about gorgets published by the Peabody Museum.*(24)* The West

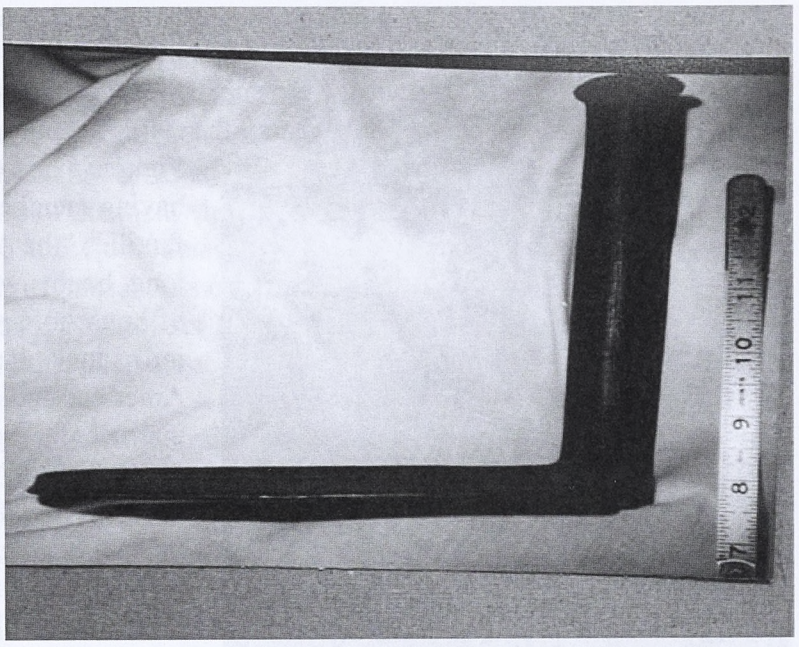


Figure 4. Large stone pipe 7 inches high × 10 inches long. Said to be in the Robey Maiden collection circa 1965. (From print given to the author in 2005 by the late Tom Totten of Saltville)

Virginia archeologist Darla Hoffman reviewed Virginia and West Virginia gorgets in 2001*(25)* and the present author reviewed Saltville-style gorgets in 2010.*(26)* The author has visited many relic collectors in their homes and at their shows and taken many photographs of shell gorgets and stone pipes. Present-day Virginia archeologists are generally uninterested in these gorgets and mostly unaware of the pipes.

The best account of stone pipes from Chilhowie in Smyth County and the Cornelius farm site in Washington County is in a book aimed at the Indian relic collecting community.*(27)* This book pictures many fine pipe specimens. Figure 4 shows a stone pipe said to have been in the Robey Maiden collection and said to have come from a cave near the Madam Russell Church in Saltville. Maiden was one of the family of brothers mentioned by Holland as quoted above. On a note of caution, the evidence provided by pipes in private collections must be used judiciously because pipes are fairly easily reproduced and so fakes are an evidentiary problem. Modern reproduction gorgets are also known, but they apparently require more skill to make than pipes.

The author is annoyed and frustrated that neither Virginia historians nor Virginia archaeologists pay much attention to the Mississippian history of Smyth and Washington counties. He expressed his frustration in a book review published in 2012 in a magazine for relic collectors.*(28)* In the review he expressed himself troubled by the efforts of professional archaeologists to control the nature of archaeological evidence by declaring objects held in private collections to be "looted" and unprovenanced and thereby inappropriate or improper for analysis and study and wrote that the "…transformation of Indiana Jones into the thought police is bizarre and absurd." More importantly, this assertion of prohibition against certain artifacts amounts to an act of cultural genocide against the Yuchi. As Woktela has written, by declaring its artifacts unacceptable "[i]t remains the last act of genocide to write a culture out of history."

This section concludes with an anecdote. A decade ago a Smyth County grave robber*(29)* who much admired the culture of the Indians he was digging up complained to the author that he was disturbed by their cultural practice of burying their dead beneath their dwellings. A couple of years later, during a meeting with Yuchi elders in Sapulpa, Oklahoma, the author was told of the Oklahoma Yuchi former practice of burying their dead under their houses, a practice he later found recorded in the literature.*(30)* It was this Sapulpa meeting that created for him a visceral belief in the reality of the Virginia Yuchi — more real than his already long-held cold academic belief.

THE 1857 YUCHI ROLL

Although referred to here as the Yuchi roll because it is held by the Remnant Yuchi Nation (as it apparently has been for the past 161 years), the roll is actually an intertribal roll. The roll is pictured in Figures 5 and 6. The roll's inscription names six tribes having members listed in the roll and calls the listed families "the Appalachian people." The roll is 12 pages long, begins with an inscription and then lists 49 head-of-household names and names a total of about 300 individuals. It must have been a brave act for remnant American Indians in the East to declare themselves an intertribal people less than 20 years after Indian removal on the Trail of Tears.

Figure 5. Chief Lee Vest and the Remnant Yuchi Roll.

The roll is 10½ inches long and 6¾ inches wide. Its leather cover and inside pages are held with twine which is punctured through the leather and pages, and secured with abalone shell discs or buttons (Figure 6). At one time the front cover was beaded, but over the years this work has been lost and all that remains are the needle holes. The roll is kept in a secret location, and stored in a handmade canvas envelope inside a metal case, along with protective gemstones and herbs.

Remnant Yuchi oral history suggests that the writer of this document was a man named Vest, who identified as a Pamunkey Indian, although nothing else is known about him.

Here is a transcription of the remarkable inscription that is the frontispiece of the roll (Figure 7):

March 21, 1857
On this day that Creator has brough[t] [and] seen fit that we come together as the Appalachian People. We come from many tribes, the Monacan, Saponi, Yuchi, Tutelo, Cherokee, Shawnee, but now we gather as one. We ask Creator to protect and deliver us from the dark evil that tracks us.

The reader can decide for him- or herself who or what is the "dark evil" tracking the "Appalachian People."

By legally controlling who is or is not defined as an Indian, historic Indian tribal rolls play a huge role in the life and political status of American Indians in the 21st century. The 566 federally recognized tribal nations set their own individual criteria for who is a member and how a person goes about enrolling in a tribe. The most common requirement for someone to newly enroll in a tribe is to prove a direct line of descent from a person named on the tribe's base roll, with other typical requirements being tribal blood quantum, tribal residency, or continued contact with the tribe. Under U.S. law, being able to decide who belongs to their tribe is an essential element of what makes tribes sovereign entities. Because of federal benefits granted to enrolled Indians, struggles to decide who legally qualifies as a Native American are notoriously vicious.*(31)*

The federal government considers the Oklahoma Yuchi to be part of the Muscogee (Creek) Indian Nation and Yuchi is one of the official languages of that Nation. The only Yuchi roll of which the author is aware, precedent to the one pictured here, comes from the 1832/1833 Creek census that is called the Parsons and Abbott Roll, after the names of the men who made it during a town-to-town tour of the Creek Confederacy. The roll contains the names of all the heads of households of the individual Creek towns. The Euchee Town census lists 106 names of Yuchi family heads located beside the Chattahoochee River at present-day Fort Benning, Georgia.*(32)*

The story of the remnant Yuchi roll comes from oral history. At the age of 4-5 years old, around the time of the end of World War II, Chief Lee Vest first saw the 1857 roll on a shelf in a covered, bucket-like container in his grandfather's (William Arthur Vest) home in Floyd County, Virginia.*(33)* Chief Vest surmises that the roll at one time must have been in the possession of his great-grandfather Edgar Floyd Vest (1853-1937), about whom little is known. Vest family tradition holds that the roll has always been in the family's possession. The chief's grandfather died in 1977 at the age of 94 in Roanoke, Virginia, and his empty home in nearby Floyd County was subsequently vandalized. After that, the roll with great luck was salvaged and moved to Tennessee, where it has since remained, and became a sacred possession of the Remnant Yuchi Nation. Chief Vest writes of the vandalizing: "[s]omeone had been there and the contents of the home were littered all over the place. Family pictures, clothing, household items, several pieces of antique furniture, etc., had been taken. I began to pick up the family pictures and other items. In the rubbish I also found the Roll Book and several other historic tribal pieces."

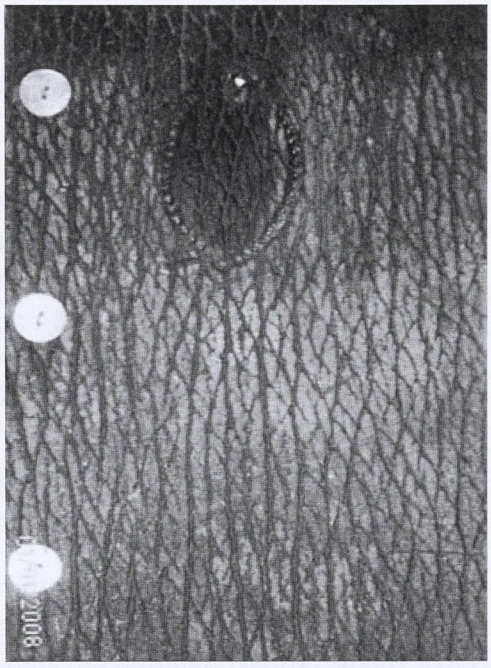


Figure 6. Front cover of the Remnant Yuchi roll book.

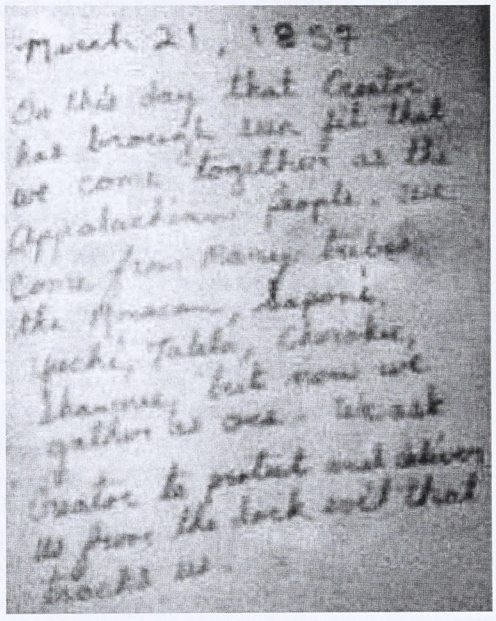


Figure 7. The inscription on the first page of the Remnant Yuchi roll book.

Prior to 2007, the Remnant Yuchi Nation was called the Appalachian Confederated Tribe. In 2007, the name Remnant Yuchi Nation seemed to offer better promise of Tennessee state tribal recognition, and so the name was changed. However, the name Appalachian Confederated Tribe much better reflects what the inscription in the roll shows, that six tribes of people in Holstonia came together and confederated in 1857 as one people, so as to be united in strength, and named themselves the "Appalachian People."*(34)*

Chief Vest has noted that Virginia law once encouraged Indians to deny their heritage and that the now-notorious 1924 Virginia Racial Integrity Act required that Virginia Indians be classified as "colored" on birth and marriage certificates, and threatened doctors and midwives with jail for noncompliance. The result, he said, was "paper genocide." Thus it was that his Monacan forefathers were hiding out in the rugged terrain along the isolated border country of Floyd and Montgomery Counties in Virginia. In the 1930s, many Floyd County pregnant Indian mothers traveled to Beckley, West Virginia, to

give birth in a place where they could obtain birth certificates that identified them as Indian and escape the strictures of a Virginia society that "…prohibited them from graduating high school, voting and even owning land." Chief Vest himself was born in Beckley for these reasons.

IN CONCLUSION

The 1857 roll is documentary evidence of a post-removal 19th-century presence of an organized Yuchi-led group at the Virginia-Tennessee border.

The principal conclusion of this article is that Virginians should acknowledge their Yuchi people, past and present. Sadly, to date, failures of Virginia history and archeology have produced a situation where an entire culture is largely ignored. Virginia historians should devote more attention to the period of Virginia history when Virginia was Florida and Spanish. Virginia archeologists should embrace improper archeology, for surely the point of archeology is to tell about the culture and lifestyles of vanished people who can speak for themselves principally through their burial objects.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Thanks to David Fuerst, David "Woktela" Hackett and Chief Lee Vest for invaluable guidance and commentary. Thanks to Tom Totten for salvaging the picture of the Robey Maiden pipe. Thanks to Harry Haynes for acquainting the author with the Virginia Mississippian culture. Thanks to Tony and Tonia Adams for much information about the culture of Indian relic collectors. Thanks to Kathryn Beattie for newspaper clippings about the 1957 Chilhowie events. Thanks to the many private relic collectors whom the author has visited and to Charlie Burnette in particular.

ENDNOTES

1. An abbreviated version of this article was presented on March 11, 2017, at the Appalachian Studies Association annual meeting in Blacksburg, Virginia, with the title "The Yuchi Indians of Appalachia." The author uses the term 'Holstonia' to designate the general region of the watershed of the upper Holston River in Tennessee and its tributary three forks in Virginia. The author is an adopted member of the Remnant Yuchi Nation.
2. Yuchi oral tradition is the specialty of David Hackett of Oak Ridge, Tennessee, who goes by the Yuchi name "Woktela," or "keeper of the record." He maintains the website www.yuchi.org.
3. Notable among relic collectors publications is the 11-volume series collectively titled Who's Who in Indian Relics published irregularly from 1980 to 2017. It shows many pictures of southwest Virginia artifacts with their contemporary owners. It has never been cited in any professional archeological article.
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The Courtroom and a Confederate Monument

How a judge helped build Jim Crow in Alleghany County

by Dr. Josh Howard

INTRODUCTION

Alleghany County was a place struggling with its local identity during the Gilded Age. Attempting to find a balance between Southern-style honor and Northern-style industry, ultimately the area found neither. Speaking at a public ceremony in 1911, George A. Revercomb, a local lawyer and former Virginia State Senator, delivered these lines:

"There is no officer under our law clothed with more power or has placed on him more responsibility than the judge of a court. He is required to pass upon the most sacred rights of the people, and not infrequently holds in his power the life or liberty of a human being. Virginia has always been noted for her honest and able judiciary. She has given to the bench of this State and nation some of the ablest jurists in the world."

Despite appearing as a general platitude on law, Revercomb was making a direct reference to a single judge, George Kimbrough Anderson of Alleghany County. During the previous two decades, Anderson was at the center of a series of visible public events in Alleghany County from 1890 to 1911 — seven deaths, five related trials, a baseball club and a Confederate monument. By tracing one man's role in each, a greater view of the dominant regional identity operating within Alleghany County comes into sight. Alleghany County, like many others in the industrializing Appalachian South, grew rapidly during the 1880s. That type of change brought newcomers to the area, primarily western European immigrants, African-Americans and white Northerners, the vast majority of whom arrived in the area looking for work or riches in the rapidly growing rail industry spurred forward by the Chesapeake and Ohio (C&O) Railway Company. Locals met these newcomers with a combination of disdain, distrust and occasional violence. Competition can breed resentment, after all.

By the early 1890s, state and local leaders attempted to rein in this sentiment not because of any concern for public wellness, but because if the public perceived Alleghany County (or one of its two cities, Clifton Forge and Covington) to be a dangerous place, then investors would simply avoid the area. This worry became especially urgent with the 1893 depression that drove many mountain counties into economic crisis and threatened both region and state. Alleghany County leaders hoped to build on the recent growth of the C&O by building an economically diverse boomtown and they also recognized the county had no hope if the area's reputation, specifically Clifton Forge's, continually worsened.

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Judge George K. Anderson

Of all local events occurring in this time period, the two most infamous occurred in Clifton Forge. The brutal lynching in 1891 of three African-American men resulted in the calling of the National Guard and directly led to state action to prevent such events from occurring again. Just five years later, a C&O railroad conductor murdered Henry Parsons, the owner of Natural Bridge and well-known railroad magnate, in broad daylight within the city's premier hotel. The failure of the state to render a guilty verdict by acquitting the killer by reason of "self-defense of reputation" outraged progressives throughout the state and signified to many that Alleghany County remained a place with a legal system stuck firmly within the mores of the Old South.

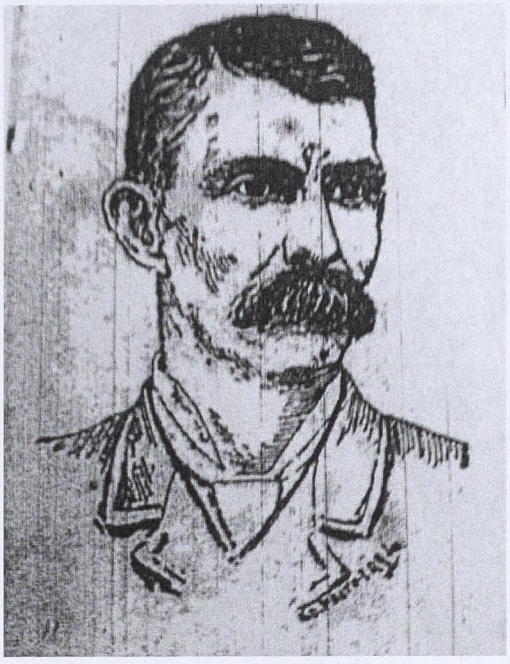
Central to all of these incidents was defense attorney, county judge and later circuit court judge George K. Anderson. The rise of Judge Anderson helps to unravel the complexities operating in local identity where white men in Appalachian Virginia chose to pursue a social order defined by Jim Crow and the New South rather than industrial-economic growth. Following Anderson's career high points helps unpack the complex social environments in industrializing and rapidly growing small cities in the rural Appalachian South.*(1)* Anderson, born to the east in Louisa County, in 1860, read law at the offices of a local lawyer before his admission to the bar at 21 years old. He then served as commonwealth's attorney of his home county for a few years before moving to Clifton Forge in the late 1880s to establish his own independent law office. It was at this office that his stock grew as a prominent local figure.

COLONEL PARSONS

Before Anderson ascended to the judgeship, he served as a defense lawyer in a murder case, one that grew in stature to be perhaps the largest media event the town had seen. In short, C&O conductor and Clifton Forge resident Thomas Goodman walked into a hotel lobby and shot dead Colonel Henry Parsons, the well-known owner of Natural Bridge, Union veteran and a regular fixture amongst Alleghany County's business leaders. There was no question as to the murder — Goodman turned himself in immediately and newspapers believed he would go to prison in short order. The newspapers were right at first. Even with Anderson as the local representative of Goodman's three-person defense team, a trial in Alleghany County found Goodman guilty of second-degree murder and he was sentenced to 18 years in prison, the harshest sentence for such a crime. The majority of western Virginia newspapers reporting on this case were outraged at the sentence delivered upon Goodman, feeling that such a maximum sentence was simply too harsh for an upstanding working man like Goodman. Public sentiment was clearly not aligned with that of the jury as 10 of 12 jurors initially voted for the death penalty.*(2)*

Goodman's legal team appealed the verdict and received a retrial on a technicality and a change of venue to Albemarle County, a more favorable venue. The victim of the crime, Henry Parsons, was a known ally of Republicans and the Readjuster movement; the Albemarle County court judge, William McLaughlin, was an ex-Confederate opposed politically to Republicans who occasionally bucked modern legal practice in favor of clearing "honorable" working-class white men of wrongdoing. Anderson

Col. Henry Parsons



Thomas Goodman

and the rest of the defense team mounted a new legal strategy where they sought to prove that Goodman's slaying of Parsons was justified by reasons of "self-defense of reputation." No case of physical self-defense could be built, so the defense team argued Parsons had denigrated Goodman's character to such a degree that Goodman's only recourse was to kill the man. Even though such an "honor defense" had fallen out of favor long ago in Virginia, the new defense approach worked. Goodman walked free.

Of the second trial, the editor from the Clifton Forge Review wrote: "The great principle of right and justice was tried: the right to defend person and reputation...he who holds honor and his fair name and that of his family above life and liberty is an ornament to society and not capable of criminal act." The acquittal transformed Goodman from murderer into hero, a defender of honorable society. The successful appeal undermined the rulings of the Alleghany County court which sought proper justice and to present Clifton Forge as a stable, lawful economic destination. The appeal also caused the Alleghany County judge, a respected man in his 20s, to retire completely from law and enter the priesthood. Riding high on his public acclaim, Anderson became the next judge of Alleghany County, a position he would hold for seven years before being elected as circuit court judge of the same area.

Anderson also understood how to channel his judicial power into social capital. Exemplifying this behavior was his role as one of many boosters and occasional umpire for the local baseball club that focused as much on "gentlemanly" behavior on and off the field as actually winning games. The Cliftons, as the local club team called themselves, served as the growing town's primary representatives throughout the region. Wherever the Cliftons went, so too did dozens of fans and with those players and fans went the reputation of Clifton Forge. The local newspaper placed great emphasis upon the on- and off-field behavior of the Cliftons. Sometimes game reports had more space dedicated to the players' actions at the picnics and game festivities than the game action itself. Local and club leaders also recruited players within city borders as a method of "proving" to other locales just how rehabilitated local men had become by the mid-1890s. The hope was this club could enhance the town's reputation so outside

investors would focus more on these "gentlemanly" young men than the violence caused by, likely, those very same men. Either way, it didn't work. Perhaps the reputation of Clifton Forge grew regionally, but the economic boom fueled by railroad expansion never came to the town as expected.

AFRICAN-AMERICAN DEFENDANTS

Clifton Forge hoped to garner a positive reputation regionally, so another way local leaders garnered support was to gleefully embrace Jim Crow laws alongside the rest of Virginia, the South and the nation as a whole. Jim Crow laws were a type of law that effectively codified racism beginning in the 1880s, and created a separate social and legal system for African-Americans. To be certain, this system was not one based in equality. African-Americans were discriminated against, robbed from and targeted with violence on a daily basis — and it was all legal under Jim Crow. The gross ascent of Jim Crow was slow coming, though, and took a generation to develop. Continually declining equality under the law in Alleghany County was not lost on African-American Virginians. The Richmond Planet, the state's largest African-American newspaper at the time, regularly published stories on injustices facing African-Americans and moments when white defendants escaped punishment for a crime that would have likely resulted in execution had the perpetrator been a black man. Most strikingly, the Richmond Planet reported on a story from just outside of Clifton Forge where a young woman, supported by her mother's testimony, accused her father of sexual assault. Angry neighbors nearly lynched the man before the police took him into custody. A few weeks later, the two women recanted their accusations and the man walked free. Episodes like that symbolically shouted that white men rose above the justice system just as often as black men were ground beneath it.

Judge Anderson was a local leader who could have pushed back but instead embraced the violence of Jim Crow racism. There was likely a chance that he could have agreed to such a position — he was part of the legal system that oversaw an overall decline in Virginia lynchings, after all — yet he ultimately ushered in an Alleghany County legal system where black men, many innocent, faced sham trials and state executions in lieu of brutal public lynchings. Such a charge hardly mattered for black men if the end result was essentially the same. Guiding Anderson's worldview was his belief that "outsiders" (a synonym for "criminals") were fundamentally different from town residents, the irony of course that some town residents had lived in the area for less than a year and Anderson himself had only arrived to the area less than a decade earlier. Almost always, black men received the moniker of "outsider" no matter their hometown.

Henry Magruder

A disturbing pattern of sham trials involving African-American male defendants emerged in Judge Anderson's court the year he took the bench. In 1896, Henry Magruder stood in his court accused of assault on a white woman, having barely escaped a lynch mob. Curiously, Magruder was also accused of murdering a teenage African-American girl, but Anderson chose to hold this charge in abeyance for no clear reason. It was during this trial Anderson revealed himself to be downright hostile to the rights of African-Americans. He refused African-American witness testimonies and failed to recognize Magruder's counsel. Most telling, though, was his highly unusual jury instruction that even though Magruder had not been charged with rape, the jury could find Magruder guilty of the crime if they felt the prosecu-

tion provided enough proof in their assault case. Surprising no one, the jury found Magruder guilty and Anderson sentenced him to death by hanging. The state executed Magruder on June 19, 1896.

Similar cases played out every few years in Judge Anderson's courtroom. In 1904, Robert Bowles, a black C&O employee, shot and killed one of his white coworkers. Bowles claimed self-defense, claiming the coworker had taken offense at receiving instruction from a black man and moved toward him threateningly with a coal pick. A coal pick was indeed found next to the body of the white coworker. In 1909, Aurelius Christian found himself accused without evidence by a white mob of sexual assault and murder. Both went on trial before Judge Anderson, both were found guilty of murder, and both executed by the state in spite of inconsistencies in the prosecution's case. Thus, at least two separate legal systems created by Judge Anderson existed within Alleghany County by 1910 and both local African-Americans and business investors knew it. When charged with capital offenses, black men and white men experienced radically different treatment under the law. This legal inequality did not have to be stated openly — it was communicated publicly and clearly for all to see and experience.

CONFEDERATE MONUMENT AND CONCLUSION

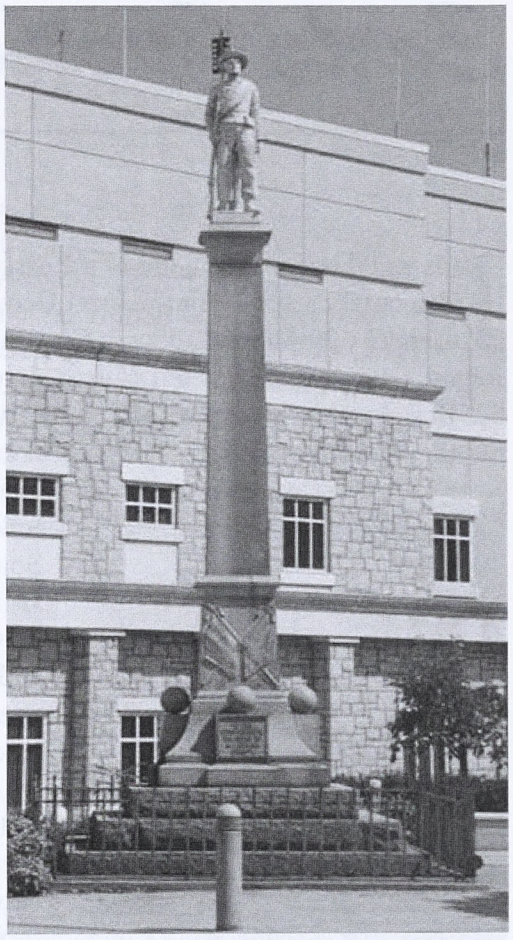
Given Anderson's embrace of Jim Crow, it should come as no surprise that Anderson was also a dedicated believer in the Lost Cause of the Confederacy. There is no question the primary cause of the Civil War was slavery. The Confederacy's secession argument hinged entirely upon justifying race-based slavery as a social, cultural and economic necessity, but in the aftermath of war, the phrase "Lost Cause" emerged in Southern discourse when remembering the war and pre-war era. The Lost Cause is an invented phrase (that persists to this day) that spawned an ideological movement that sought to reinterpret the Confederate cause in the Civil War as an honorable yet ultimately doomed fight to retain the so-called Southern way of life. Most important to proponents of the Lost Cause is to minimize the importance of slavery in terms of motivation for war, the economy, its brutality and its lasting effect on American life. Women drove the Lost Cause narrative by and large, specifically heritage organizations like the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) that came to the forefront in the late 1800s and early 1900s as aging Confederate veterans were dying. One of the UDC's favorite projects was to erect dozens of Confederate monuments throughout the South at county courthouses. The objective was multi-faceted. Commemoration of the Confederate dead was a motivation for some, but the primary meaning was to symbolically repatriate the recipient of such as a monument to the Confederacy.

It is no coincidence then that Anderson, as perhaps the most powerful man in the county, graciously accepted a monument donation from the UDC to be dedicated on Sept. 15, 1911. The UDC approached the county with a proposal to donate a Confederate soldier's monument to be placed in front of the newly constructed county courthouse, obviously the symbolic center of local civic life. In addition to accepting the donation, Judge Anderson also acted as the master of ceremonies for the simultaneous dedication ceremony of both the monument and the courthouse. Hundreds of locals attended the pageantry. A primary attraction was a performance of 300 young girls decked out in Confederacy-inspired outfits who were arranged to form a Confederate battle flag while singing "Dixie." In addition, multiple bands performed tunes associated with the Confederacy, veterans of the Stonewall Brigade appeared, and the colors of the Confederacy were placed on full display. A minister who himself was a Confederate veteran opened the ceremony with a prayer, which certainly set the symbolic tone for the event.

The final event before the monument's unveiling was a speech by Judge Anderson. A transcript has not survived, but the Richmond Times-Dispatch reported Anderson's "masterly address…praised the soldiers of the South and their loyalty to the South. His address was often interrupted by loud applause."*(3)* The subtext of "loyalty to the South" was a phrase typically deployed in reference to those who supported secession and thus slavery. This was no simple monument to the Confederate dead. With Judge Anderson as the master of ceremonies, the connection between Confederate Lost Cause memory

and Judge Anderson's oppression courtroom was clear and undeniable. This "able jurist" embraced this monument for what it stood for — Jim Crow, oppression, and injustice.

Returning to George Revercomb's remarks at the 1911 public ceremony, which was in fact the dual courthouse-monument dedication, he had a few more words to say about the justice system. "In the years to come others will take our places in the administration of public affairs and almost everything may change as time changes," Revercomb remarked, before continuing, "but there is one thing that will never change — the eternal principle of right and justice between man and man."*(4)* After analyzing Judge Anderson's career, it is fair to say Revercomb's observations were correct in one way: the scales of justice had changed in Alleghany County just as society had in the previous few decades. However, Revercomb was dead wrong with this second statement. In Judge Anderson's court, the "principle of right and justice between man and man" had evaporated steadily over time. What remained was the injustices found in Jim Crow and of Southern honor, systems that would dominate the area for decades to come. These values, not heritage or honoring the dead, are what came to be embedded within the Alleghany Confederate monument on that afternoon in 1911. That monument stands outside of the Alleghany County courthouse and jail, as of this writing 107 years later, and it means the same today as it meant then. Such a legacy is worth remembering and is worth knowing. But it is hardly worth commemorating.



Confederate monument in Covington

ENDNOTES

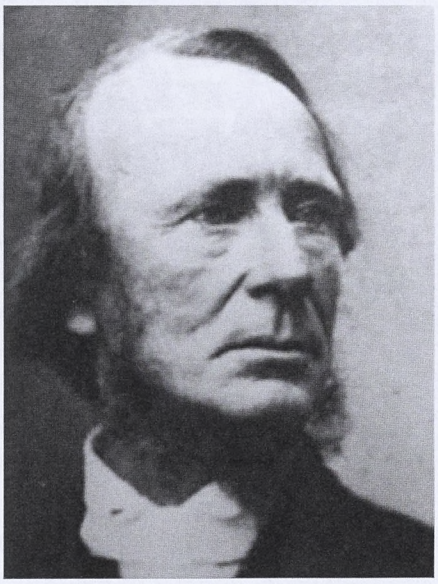
1. A range of quality scholars have written about these topics in similar places during similar times, but most, such as Rand Dotson's work on Roanoke, Virginia, or William Wheeler's on Knoxville, Tennessee, focused their attention on larger cities while others gloss over this particular region of western Virginia.
2. For more on the Goodman trial, see Josh Howard, "Defending Person and Reputation: Efforts to End Extralegal Violence in Western Virginia, 1890-1900," American Journal of Legal History, Vol. 58, no. 2 (2018): 167-187.
3. "Courthouse will be Dedicated," Richmond Times-Dispatch, 11 Sept. 1911. "Confederate Monument Unveiled," Richmond Times-Dispatch, 16 Sept. 1911.
4. "Confederate Monument Unveiled," Richmond Times-Dispatch, 16 Sept. 1911.

Early Wythe County Schools

by Mary B. Kegley

It is well known that many of the early well-educated pastors of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches also taught schools for the local German children. In Wythe County, the Reverend John Stanger, the founder of the Zion Lutheran Church, the Reverend George Daniel Flohr and Reformed preacher Jacob Repass who were associated with St. John's church were among the early teachers.

Born locally, the Reverend James A. Brown (1815-1900) was a "pioneer Lutheran pastor throughout Southwest Virginia," and a leader in at least four educational institutions. Eager for higher learning, he walked to Gettysburg at age 20 to attend Gettysburg Seminary. Following his ordination in 1843, he served Lutheran churches through Southwest Virginia for more than 50 years. His first school was Bald Hill, a local Wythe County school not far from his residence. Later, he was associated with Wytheville Female College, Roanoke College and Marion College. But it was a rare occasion when a student was named, or his progress in school was noted by any of these church leaders.*(1)*



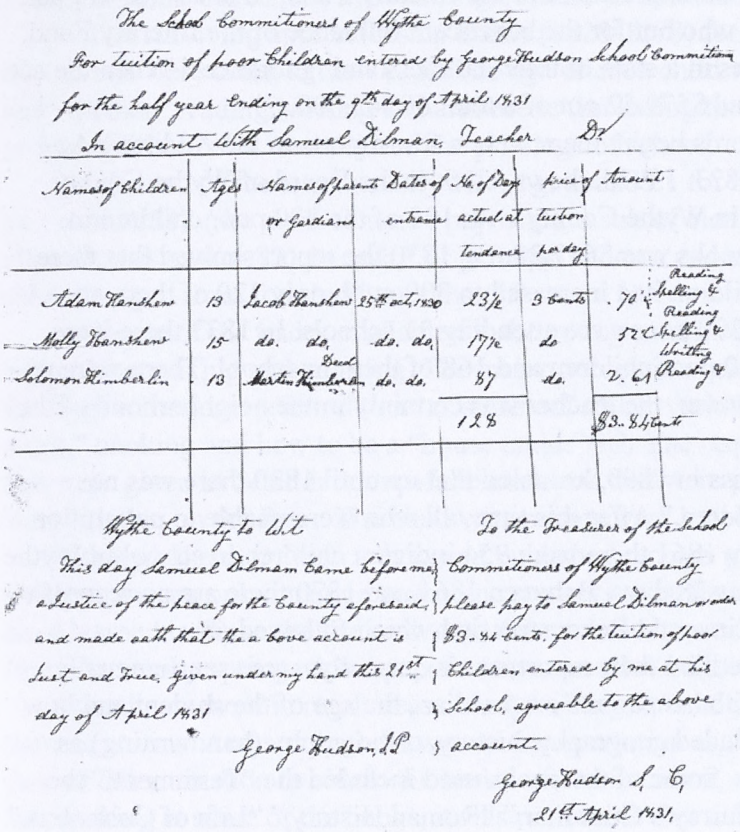
Rev. James A. Brown, who was also the grandfather of Journal editor George Kegley.

Two days before the town of Wytheville was named Evansham in 1792, the Virginia Legislature established what was known as the Wythe Academy in the town. It stood in the middle of Church Street between the Baptist and Presbyterian churches and appears to have served the town until the school was burned by vandals sometime about 1808. There was no list of pupils or teachers mentioned, although the names of the financial supporters were named.*(2)*

One of the most interesting early teachers was brought to Wytheville at the suggestion of General Alexander Smyth. Julia Ann Hieronymous, later Tevis, came to town in 1819 and set up her school on Main Street. She was hired to teach the Smyth children and others who had subscribed as patrons for her services. A noted teacher and author, she wrote of her life in the classroom and often described situations with students as long as she remained in town. In addition to the usual classes she added Drawing, French and Piano, and because there was no church in town she often gave religious instruction to her students on the Sabbath.*(3)*

Although law and medicine were studied in town under the direction of local lawyers and doctors, there are only a few details. General Alexander Smyth, a noted attorney, apparently was interested in higher education for young men who wanted to pursue a career in the law. The custom generally was to study with a practicing attorney and pass any examinations that might be given by the judges of the local area. In the summer of 1866, Andrew S. Fulton advertised the opening of a law school in Wytheville, but its history is unknown. However, Fulton studied law with Judge Baldwin in Staunton, and in Wythe served as commonwealth's attorney, and later was in Congress. He was elected judge of the Fifteenth Judicial Circuit in

Mary Kegley, Wytheville attorney, has written more than 50 books.



The School Commissioners of Wythe County
For tuition of poor Children entered by George Hudson School Commission
for the half year ending on the 9th day of April 1831
In account With Samuel Dilman, Teacher Dr

Names of Children	Ages	Names of parent or Gardians	Dates of entrance	No. of Days actual attendance	price of tuition per day	Amount	
Adam Hanshew	13	Jacob Hanshew Decd	25th Oct. 1830	23½	3 Cents	.70	Reading Spelling &
Molly Hanshew	15	do. do.	do. do.	17½	do	.52	Reading Spelling & Writing
Solomon Kimberlin	13	Martin Kimberlin	do. do.	87	do.	2.61	Reading &
				128		$3.84 cents	

Wythe County to Wit
This day Samuel Dilman came before me a Justice of the peace for the County aforesaid and made oath that the above account is just and true. given under my hand this 21st day of April 1831
George Hudson J.P

To the Treasurer of the School Commissioners of Wythe County
please pay to Samuel Dilman or order $3.84 cents for the tuition of poor Children entered by me at his School, agreeable to the above account.
George Hudson J. C.
21st April 1831.

George Hudson, School Commissioner, requested that Samuel Dilman, teacher, be paid by the Treasurer of the School Commissioners on April 21, 1831. Jacob Hanshew (deceased) was the father of the two Hanshew children and Martin Kimberlin was father of Solomon. (From original collection of School Records, Wythe County)

1852 and held that position for 17 years. As for those interested in medicine, the rumor was that a medical school was formed about 1820 by Dr. Jacob Haller, Dr. Robert Gibboney and Captain John P. Nye. Some of the Nyes and Hallers were students.*(4)*

These private schools were only a few in the Wythe County area, where later there were schools for young men and a separate school for the young women. And by 1870 there were free schools for everyone. From the Plumer College to the Wytheville Community College the available records are found in more than 20 pages in the "Bicentennial History."*(5)* It is clear that the wealthier families provided education for their children, but until 1870 there were no so-called public schools. In the meantime, there was a system set up by the Virginia Assembly to provide an education for the indigent of the community. It is from these records that we can name teachers, students, parents, guardians and the age of hundreds of the pupils. In addition, we know what books they were using and how well each student was progressing.

These early school records of Wythe County are available through the records of the School Commissioners and the Overseers of the Poor, 1830-1861. Part of the role of these county officials was to see that the poor children were in school, teachers were paid, and apprentices, if ordered by the court, were to be put in school as part of their contract. In addition, the Overseers of the Poor were responsible for approval of the "master" for the children who were ordered by the court to learn a trade. For years it was not known exactly how the system worked in Wythe County because there were not many records available. About 1995, some of these school and apprenticeship records were published, followed in 2000 by a separate book about school records of 1849-1861.*(6)*

From these records it was learned that the overseers were generally elected to serve three years and that the School Commissioners were appointed, usually for one year. The treasurer of the School Commissioners was documented separately. The funding for the payment of the teachers of the poor children was allotted to each county from the Literary Fund of Virginia. Annual reports were required to be made to

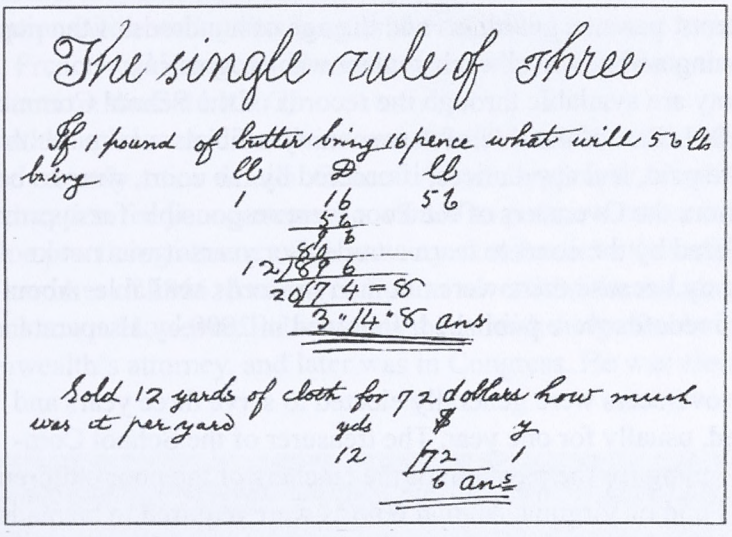
the General Assembly. As noted by James P. Preston, president of the Literary Fund, "Thousands of poor children will receive advantages of instruction, who but for the beneficent influence of the Literary Fund, would have been doomed to grope out their lives in a state of utter darkness and ignorance." When the act was passed in 1818, Wythe County was allocated $579.52 out of a total of $45,000.*(7)*

Several years before the Wythe County records begin, there were a few reports in the Auditor's Accounts at the Library of Virginia beginning in 1823. J.P. Mathews, clerk to the Board of Wythe County, reported that there were 30 schools established in Wythe County with 100 of the 200 poor children in attendance. The sum expended for tuition and books was $617.29. By 1830 the report showed that there were still 30 schools but the number of poor children had increased to 300, with only 120 of them attending school. The following year, 226 of the 300 poor were attending 31 schools. In 1833 there were six School Commissioners, with 28 schools, 250 poor children and 168 of them in school. There were no locations mentioned for any of the schools; however, the teacher was certainly in the neighborhood of the school where classes were held.

According to the report of Major D.G. Repass in 1860, he stated that up until 1830 there was no provision for the education of the "indigent children." After this time, all who were unable to pay tuition could obtain the benefit of the Literary Fund. By 1861 there were 954 indigent children in school in Wythe County and the average length of the session was 38 days. Between 1861 and 1870 there are no records to be found, but this is to be expected during war time and Reconstruction which followed.*(8)*

In order for the teachers to be paid, each one filed their report, some quarterly, some semi-annually, with required details. Each child was named, with his parents or guardian, the age of the student and how many days he attended. The subjects taught included geography, history, orthography (handwriting) as well as reading, writing, spelling and arithmetic. Some of the books used included the "Testament," the "New York Reader," "The English Reader," "Murray's Grammar," "Roman History," "Life of Columbus," "Luther's Small Catechism," "Pike's Arithmetic" and "Webster's Spelling Book." Depending on the year, each teacher was paid at the rate of three and one-half to five cents per child per day. In 1848 there were 44 common schools with about 600 children entitled to the benefits of the fund, and included 182 males and 156 females.*(9)*

Each individual report gave the name of the School Commissioner, the name of the teacher, as well as the names of the students. During some of the time period 1830-1861, the information came from schools in what are now Bland County (formed 1861), Pulaski (formed 1839), Carroll (formed 1842), as these counties had not yet been formed or named. The majority of the teachers were men but between 1832 and 1850 there were 30 women with recognizable names such as Muncy, Fullen, Haines, Gose, Shannon,


The single rule of three

If 1 pound of butter bring 16 pence what will 5 6 lb bring

lb d lb

1 16 5 6

5 6

8 0

8 9 6

12 / 20 / 7 4 = 8

3 " 14 " 8 ans

Sold 12 yards of cloth for 72 dollars how much was it per yard

yds $ ¢

12 72 1

6 ans

The Single Rule of Three was an arithmetic rule of proportion. This sample is traced from the original in the Rev. James A. Brown's records. (Courtesy of the Kegley family)

Foster, Sharitz, Umberger, Brown, Hoge, Andrews and Earhart.*(10)*

The surviving apprenticeship bonds (1820-1878) for Wythe County began in 1820 but 65 of the 149 documents were dated in the 1830s. The age of each child was given, the specific trade to be undertaken and whether "reading, writing and arithmetic (including the Rule of Three)" was to be included. No Negro or free child of color was allowed the privilege of school.

At the end of the term, usually 18 for girls and 21 for boys, they were given some specific item, such as a sum of $12 (the most common payment), a suit of clothes valued at $30, "a genteel suit of broadcloth clothes and/or $21 in cash," or perhaps "a horse and saddle." The terms varied with the contract, but school ranged from four to 12 months.*(11)*

Some of the trades available for the young men included farming (the most popular), blacksmithing, cabinetmaking and tailoring. The major occupation selected for the girls was spinning, weaving and knitting, sometimes referred to as a "spinster." Other variations included "sewing, knitting and housework," cooking and how to be a "house maid."*(12)* The requirements for the master as well as the apprentice were given in detail in most of the contracts that were printed documents where the names and dates were filled in on the form. The handwritten ones were less detailed.*(13)*

Although the more than a thousand published records provide us with the names of hundreds of poor children we can only imagine how some students must have learned to chop the wood, while others must have learned to make the fire each day at the school house. And some knew how to carry the water bucket from the nearby spring while special ones were allowed to erase the blackboard.

Attending school in rural areas meant walking, or trudging through snow drifts, fighting wind and thunder storms. And surely there was no transportation as all were expected to walk to school. It was a case of determination to obtain the basics of an education, even if it was only for a short time each year. Just looking at some of the books, it was noticeable that Geography, Roman History and religious subjects were among the special topics used by the Wythe County schools. The records provide special insight into the system designed to assist the poor children, who otherwise would be "doomed to grope out their lives in a state of utter darkness and ignorance."

ENDNOTES

1. Beverly Repass Hoch, From Ziefen to Sally Run: Swiss Pioneer Jacob Repass (1737-1814) on the American Frontier (Albuquerque, NM: Jacob Repass Memorial Fund, 1993), pp. 47-60; George Kegley, "Rev. James A. Brown 1815-1900, Pioneer Pastor, Educator, Farmer," The Wythe County Historical Review, Number 78, Winter 2011-2012, pp. 7-9.
2. Mary B. Kegley, Early Adventurers in the Town of Evansham the County Seat of Wythe County, Virginia, 1790-1839, Wytheville, VA: Kegley Books, 1998), Vol. 4 of Early Adventurers Series, pp. 29-32.
3. Ibid, 31-32; Mrs. Julia A. Tevis, Sixty Years in a School-Room (Cincinnati: Western Methodist Book Concern, 1878), pp. 161-194.
4. Kegley, Early Adventurers…Vol. 4, pp. 32-33; Mary B. Kegley, Wythe County Bicentennial History, 1989, pp. 135-143.
5. Kegley, Bicentennial History, pp. 138-163.
6. Mary B. Kegley, The Lost Children of Wythe County, Virginia, 1790-1878, Poor School Children, Orphans and Apprentices from County Records (Wytheville, VA: Kegley Books, 1995); Mary B. Kegley, Abstracts of School Records of Wythe County, Virginia, 1849-1861, Wytheville, VA: Kegley Books, 2000):
7. Kegley , Lost Children, pp. ii-iii
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid, p. 1
10. Ibid, p. 4; the illustration above reveals that the school was somewhere in what is now Bland County, where Hudson and the Hanshews lived.
11. Ibid. p. 173
12. Ibid. p. 173
13. Ibid.pp.174-174

Bedford Soldiers in the Revolution

Ed. Note: Bill Hackworth, a former Society board member, was researching old newspapers when he found this article about Bedford soldiers in the American Revolution in the Weekly Alta California, San Francisco, Sept. 9, 1871. The article originally appeared in the Lynchburg Republican.

Revolutionary Heroes—Original Documents of 1797.

From the Lynchburg Republican:

We have seen the original list of the survivors of a company of Bedford soldiers who fought in the revolutionary war, and, who, upon the threatening attitude of France in the early part of Adams' administration, tendered their services to Gen. Washington, then just appointed Commander-in-Chief of the American armies. The list is written in the peculiar penmanship of the period, and the paper has been greatly discolored by time, but the names are very legible, and will be familiar to many of our readers in Bedford and the adjoining counties. Accompanying the list of names is the original draft of the company's address to Gen. Washington, written by the Captain, and which is so interesting as an indication of the spirit which animated our grandfathers, that we publish them both *verbatim*. The originals are in the possession of a gentleman in this city.

"A list composing a company of old revolutionary heroes of mounted infantry, called Silver Grays:

"Wm. Nichols, drummer; James S. Kasey, fifer; Samuel Hancock, captain; Wm. J. Walker, Daniel Pegram, John McCabe, James Flournoy, Charles Hill, William Baker, Joseph Dickinson, Solomon Hardy, Ambrose Rucker, Benjamin Blankenship, Stephen Holland, Levi Squires, William Hackworth, Samuel Rather, Edward Hancock, William Dickinson, Nehemiah Dowell, Julius Saunders, Wright Bond, John Hubbard, John Turner, David Hughes, Jonathan Dakin, Isaac Cundiff, Monlecat Morgan, Morgan Morgan, Lewis Arthur, Christopher Boley, Thomas Payne, Wm. Martin, George Fearn, John Walden, Thomas Stewart, Achilles Tinsley, Thomas Overstreet, Samuel Black, John Pollard, James Turner, Admire Turner; Ignatius Mitchell, Robert Wodcock, Stephen Preston, Charles Nelms, Terry White, John Mitchell, John Rose, Charles Nabney, Reson Mahew, John Nichols, John Sweeney, Thos. Pollard, Jacob Shepard, Elijah Mitchell, John McConnaha, Vincent Jordan, William Arthur, John Haden, Samuel Fields, Henry Davis, Drury Holland, Joshua Noble, David Crenshaw, Robert Vaughn, John Vest, John Patterson, Edward Tinsley, James Addams."

The following is the address to Gen. Washington:

"We cannot express the satisfaction we feel in

your acceptance of the appointment of Commander-in-Chief of the armies of the United States. The unequivocal manner in which you give your approbation to the wise and prudent measures of our President, affords us most pleasing sensations. When we reflect upon the abundant testimony you have given of your uniform attachment to the liberties of our common country, your unimpeachable integrity, and the consummate wisdom you have displayed in the council and in the field, we consider your decision as amounting to a volume of human testimony. We confide in your patriotism to such a degree as not to have the least hesitation in believing that if you saw a violation of our rights you would be the first to sound the alarm to your fellow citizens.

"We not only rejoice in your acceptance of the chief command, as it confirms us in the rectitude of our government and the justice of our cause, but as it gives us a hopeful presage of final and complete victory, when we recollect your having conducted our armies to victory, and our country by the late revolution, to independence and peace, which we cannot do without lively affection and gratitude. We have no doubt that a gracious Providence, which has hitherto watched over these United States, with a parental care, will once more give you the happyness to see your desire upon your enemies. The sword of the Lord and of Washington, aided by the united force of Confederated America will drive those haughty legions which in Europe have trampled on all right, human and divine, should they dare to tread American ground, ashamed from our shores.

"Permit us, dear General, on this occasion to tender you, as our Commander-in-Chief, when called, our services as soldiers, and be assured sir, that we will, in these capacities, with the greatest promptitude, coöperate with you in recommending and enforcing obedience to the laws of the Union, in suppressing any insurrection which may arise, or in chastising our foreign foes who shall have the presumption to invade us.

"May the God of Armies still continue to preserve your invaluable life to see a happy termination of our present political commotions; may the evening of your days be peaceful and serene, and when He shall please to remove you from scenes of distinguished usefulness below, may He exalt you to a seat of glory above."

The Right of Women to Vote.

History Meets Geography at the Eastern Continental Divide

by Heather D. Browning

In September, the Town of Blacksburg and the Blacksburg Museum & Cultural Foundation, recognizing the significance of the Eastern Continental Divide, emphasized with a painted blue line where it crosses South Main Street near Sunset Boulevard. Signs are also posted nearby to identify the divide and explain its significance to local and national histories.

The Eastern Continental Divide is the geographical feature that separates the Atlantic Seaboard and Gulf of Mexico watersheds. In the middle part of the Atlantic Seaboard states, it runs roughly along the ridges of the Alleghany Plateau and the Appalachian Mountains from Pennsylvania to Georgia, where it flattens until it reaches the tip of Florida. The divide separates waters flowing to the Atlantic Ocean from those flowing to the Gulf of Mexico. It is an important feature of Blacksburg for geological and historical reasons.

Geologically, waters from the north part of Blacksburg flow to the Gulf of Mexico. Stroubles Creek, Tom's Creek, the springs on Clay Street and Draper Road and the waters from the Virginia Tech Duck Pond all flow to the Gulf of Mexico. Many of these streams and springs have been covered but some are still visible. The spring on Clay Street near Wharton Street, called Spout Spring, was once the main source of water for Blacksburg. It can be seen in several places, including beside the Main Street Inn on South Main Street. Waters that flow from south Blacksburg, such as from the pond in front of First and Main, form one branch of the Roanoke River and flow through the Ellet Valley to the Atlantic Ocean through Albemarle Sound. There are many places in Blacksburg where one can actually stand on the Eastern Continental Divide and pour water that flows east and west. It is possible to see the general outline of the Eastern Continental Divide from the town golf course.

The Eastern Continental Divide is also an important historic landmark in Blacksburg. The Draper's Meadow Massacre in 1755 is considered by some as one of the first incidents that resulted in the French and Indian War, also called the Seven Year's War in Europe. The origin of the Draper's Meadow settlement occupied much of the watershed of Stroubles and Tom's Creeks but was abandoned after some settlers were killed or taken prisoner in the massacre. Mary Draper Ingles was the most famous of these prisoners. Following the Treaty of Paris in 1763 which settled the French and Indian War, King George III proclaimed that all of the lands to the east of the divide were for the English to settle, whereas the lands to the west were reserved for Native Americans. Thus, the divide was also called the Proclamation Line and was quickly ignored by future settlers who considered it their natural right to move west. For 20 or so years, Blacksburg was a gateway to the west for settlers who came up the Alleghany Plateau on what is now Harding Avenue and Roanoke Street.

It is noteworthy that William Preston built his mansion Smithfield to the west of the Proclamation Line in open defiance of King George III. Among other provocations, the proclamation restrictions

Heather D. Browning is community relations manager for the Town of Blacksburg. Used with permission.

A blue stripe across South Main Street in Blacksburg now marks the approximate location of where the Eastern Continental Divide passes through the town.

(Photo courtesy Town of Blacksburg)

contributed to the growing demands to be free from English domination that began to emerge just three years later in the 1766 Leedstown Resolves and, then, 10 years later in the Declaration of Independence. Virginians were leaders in separating from England, and the historic legacy of Blacksburg is to have been important in the movement seeking independence.

Text of the Sign at Sunset Boulevard

Main Street, near here, crosses a barely perceptible ridge line. This line divides water flowing east to the Atlantic Ocean, via the Roanoke River basin, from water flowing west to the Gulf of Mexico, via the New, Ohio, and Mississippi Rivers.
In October 1763, by Royal Proclamation, King George III forbade Virginians to settle west of this line. Virginians considered the taking up of western land as their natural right. Shutting off access to this land was a provocation that accelerated the building momentum in Virginia for the coming American Revolution.

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