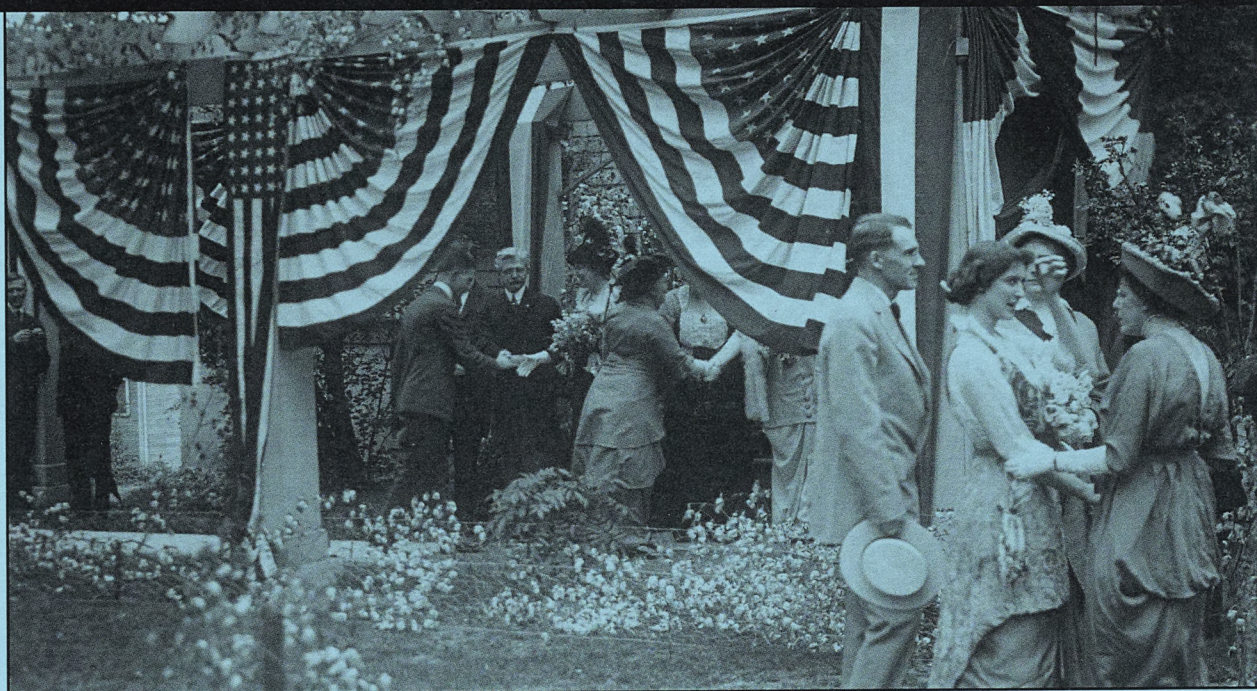


# Historical Society of Western Virginia



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*And more...*

Vol. 24/ No. 1

JOURNAL

# Historical Society of Western Virginia

*Amor montium nos movet*

*(For the love of mountains inspires us)*

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*(On the cover: A reception for Vice President Thomas Marshall was held at the home of Lucian Cocke on Orchard Hill, near downtown Roanoke.)*

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# Message from the President

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*Anderson Stone, President*

**M**embers and friends of the Historical Society of Western Virginia welcome to the annual edition of our Journal—celebrating and telling the history of our region!

Last year I wrote “We are in the midst of (hopefully coming out and ideally past by the time you read this) one of the most trying times that most of us and the world have ever faced! We have weathered two world wars and many smaller actions, but not since 1916-1918 when the Spanish Flu and WWI gripped the world has the US faced such a pandemic!” Unfortunately, it was an overly optimistic statement! However, with excellently news on vaccines to be available soon we anticipate 2021 being a much better year for all.

The HSWV Board and staff have continued to work to preserve the history of our region (particularly cataloging many gifts and items that previously had not been properly recorded). We are currently in the process of moving the 3 Link pylons to the wall outside the museum in the Visitors Center Lobby. They will highlight Link’s work and complement the Lowery Gallery exhibit that was moved to the space behind Main counter to give the VBR Visitors center additional office space. Both are free to view and we hope they will entice VBR visitors to also visit the HSWV museum!

The museum is currently open with social distancing while the changes are in progress. Plus, the Link Auditorium now has a new projector and sound system that are significant improvements!

The **Botetourt 250 + 1 exhibit** is currently scheduled to open Friday April 9, 2021 at the HSWV. It will tell Botetourt County and part of Craig County. Various features from this and our other exhibits will also be virtually displayed on the museum’s website—<https://roanokehistory.org>

The HSWV is committed to preserving our beautiful area history for coming generations. We are dedicated to educating our visitors and residents, especially our children, about the contributions by the individuals, families and groups of the area over the last 250 + years! In fact, our next exhibit will document and display the contributions of those with diverse cultural and ethnic backgrounds who were our business leaders in the past. Our exhibit will be a tribute to the growth of our area and those citizens that made the “**Magic City**” into the “**Star City**”!

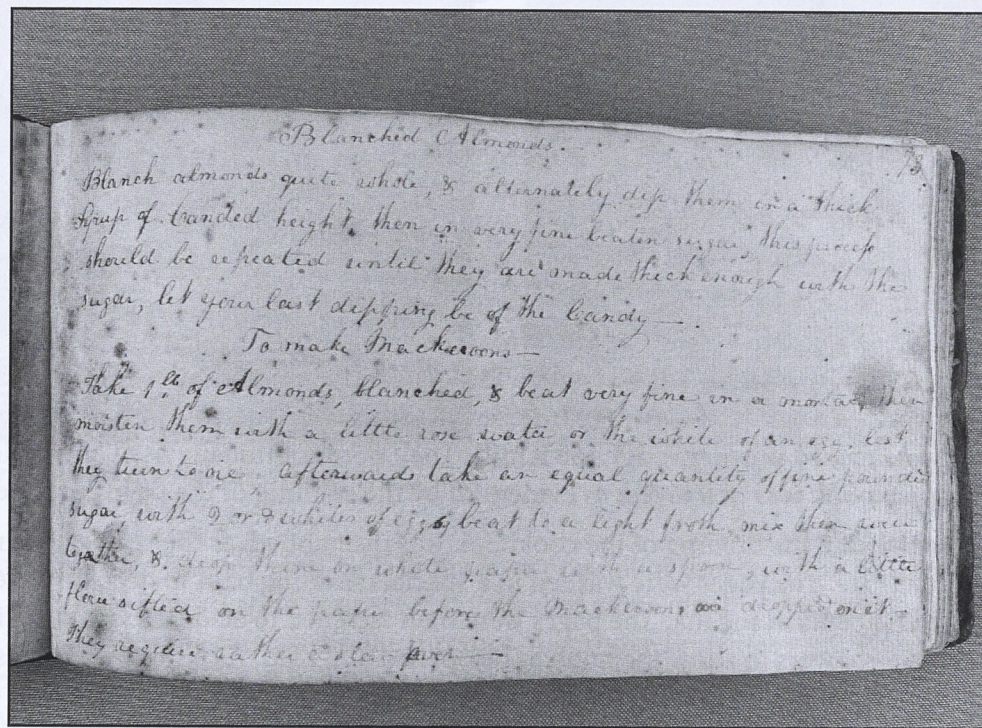
Please support the Historical Society of Western Virginia so that we may continue to preserve and tell our history, and also support for the many charities and organizations that work to make our community, state and country an example for the world. This Journal and the Kegley Lecture Series are two of the ways we work to tell and preserve the history of our region! We hope you will enjoy them and invite others to participate and join us.

We have a tremendous staff and board, and we all thank you for your support!

*F. Anderson Stone*  
President

# Historical Society Portrait, Cookbook are Conserved

By Ashley Webb, curator of collections and exhibitions



A page from the cookbook.

The Historical Society of Western Virginia received funding through two conservation grants in 2020, thanks to sponsorships from the Virginia Association of Museums and the Richmond Conservation Studio. Objects slated to be conserved included a recipe book of Eliza Breckinridge Watts, as well as an oil on canvas portrait of Emeline Trent Tinsley, both in the permanent collection at the Historical Society.

In November of 2019, the Historical Society participated in the Virginia Association of Museum's Top Ten Endangered Artifacts program, a statewide program which identifies significant and endangered artifacts in museum collections in order to create awareness of their importance as well as the expense of their stewardship. The Society's nomination, the Receipt Book of Eliza Breckinridge Watts, not only received the distinction as an endangered artifact, but received \$500 to put toward its long-term preservation.

After an initial assessment by Greensboro, North Carolina, book conservator Marianne Kelsey, it was decided that the cookbook would need conservation as the iron gall ink used to write the recipes was actively eating through the cotton rag pages. Eventually, the ink would eat completely through, and the recipes would no longer be distinguishable. Additionally, several pages had come loose, and were in danger of becoming disassociated with the book.

Eliza Breckinridge Watts, the daughter of General James Breckinridge and Anne Cary Selden Breckinridge of Botetourt County, compiled and used this cookbook. She began this recipe book a year



*Emeline Tinsley portrait, 1837.*

after her marriage to Edward Watts of Campbell County in 1817, and identified her location as Richmond, where her husband was active in the Virginia Senate. In 1818, the couple relocated to Botetourt County and built a home they called Oaklands. This home was destroyed by fire and was replaced by the Watts home beside Int. 581. Here Eliza entertained, raised her family, and resided until her death in 1862. After representing Campbell County in the Virginia Senate, he practiced law in Botetourt, eventually becoming Roanoke County's first commonwealth attorney from 1839-1845.

This recipe book is important for several reasons: first, this cookbook is a valuable piece of material culture in documenting domestic practices and medical knowledge of the day. Second, it highlights the societal connections of the Botetourt area, as well as the social connections of both frontier families and high society families of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Many of the recipes detailed in this book include the

name of the individual who submitted the recipe to Eliza, along with notations on whether it was popular amongst her family and friends. Third, recipe books such as this were valuable assets in the running of a household and were passed down through the family. They were continually used and added to for generations. This cookbook was well loved, as evidenced by the staining of the pages and the binding.

For the conservation, the binding of the cookbook was dismantled, as the seams holding the pages had begun to disintegrate. The pages were washed in a special chelating bath to deacidify the paper and deactivate the ferrous agents in the ink. The pages were then attached to acid free Japanese tissue and rebound to the original covers to allow the book to be opened and read. As always with conservation, the techniques carried out above are always reversible, if necessary.

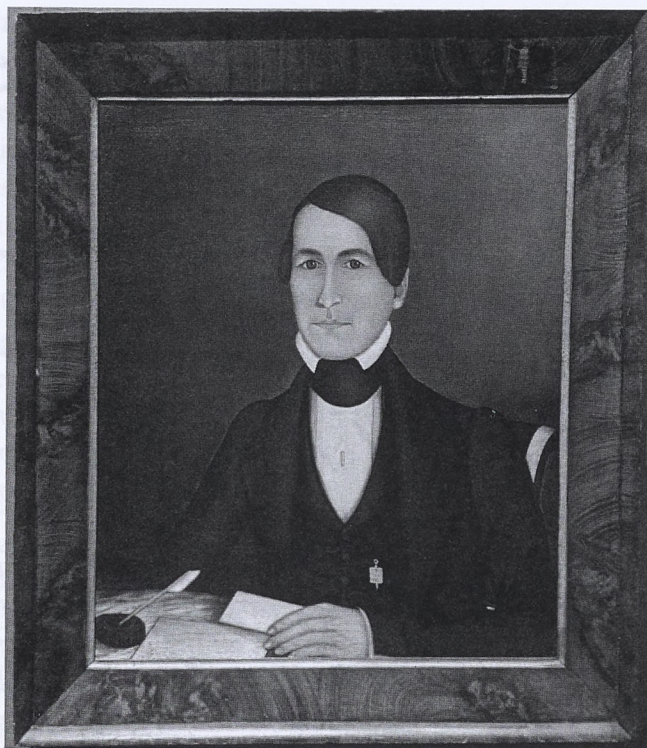
A special thanks go to the Virginia Association of Museums, George Kegley, and the General James Breckinridge Chapter of the DAR for the funds needed for this conservation. The cookbook will be on exhibit during the Historical Society's *Botetourt County: 250 +1 Years of Delight* exhibit, opening in April 2021, and will be digitized and available on line in the near future.

In August of 2020, the Historical Society of Western Virginia applied and won a conservation grant with the Richmond Conservation Studio out of 15 institutions across the state of Virginia. The Society entered the museum's oil on canvas portrait of Emeline Trent Tinsley, a gift to the museum in 1962 by Alfred Kindred. Mr. Kindred also donated an early 1830s portrait of Benjamin Tinsley, and an earlier 1837 portrait of Emeline to the museum as well. Although each of the portraits are assumed to be done by different artists, the portraits themselves give a little glimpse into the lives of the sitters—what they looked like, the styles of the day, as well as representations of what they felt was important in their lives at the time.

Since we have two portraits of Emeline painted about 15 years apart, we are able to see a side of her only afforded to the wealthy prior to the widespread use of photography. In fact portraits of Emeline's parents—Martha Holland Trent and Thomas Trent Jr.—are in the collection of Colonial Williamsburg and are attributed to itinerant Virginia artist Samuel T. Taylor. The 1837 portrait of Emeline is most certainly a Taylor portrait as well; however, the artist of the later portrait of Emeline is still unknown. It is the Society's hope that conservation will reveal the artist's signature or the attribution will be discovered so further research can be completed.



*Emeline Tinsley portrait, later portrait.*



*Benjamin Tinsley portrait.*

Unfortunately, time has not been kind to the later portrait of Emeline. The oil used for the portrait has begun to crack and cup, creating concave and curled sections of paint, and at these cracks the paint has begun to detach from the canvas. In one instance, just above Emeline's right eyebrow, the paint has begun to chip and was in danger of being lost. Currently, no details can be discerned in her dark dress, and hopefully with removal of the varnish, more details will emerge. Because of the portrait's condition, the Historical Society is excited to be chosen to receive this grant and to have the portrait conserved at no cost to the museum. It's not only one of the few visual representations the museum has of its early residents, but it's important in terms of material culture, portraiture, fashion, and artistic quality of the period.

Additionally, Benjamin and Emeline were not only early residents of Roanoke; they once owned the majority of downtown, including Mill Mountain, Crystal Spring, and the brick and stucco home that held the City's Public Library from 1922-1952. This was all a small part of the original Tosh estate, as well as the 1830s home that Col. William Madison Peyton coined Elmwood Plantation.

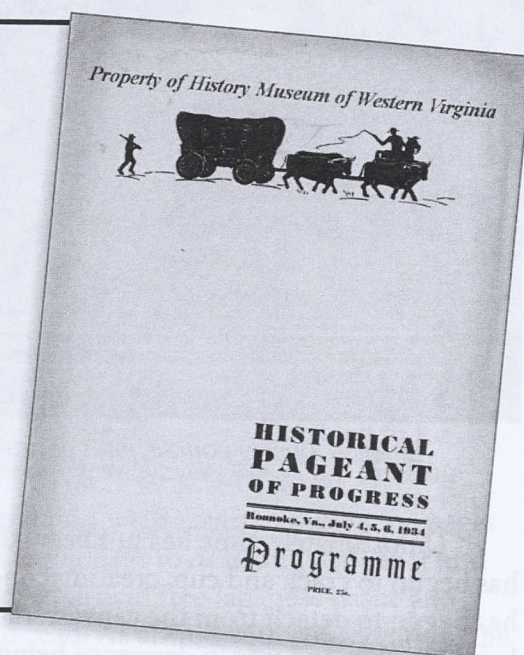
In 1859, Benjamin purchased 640 acres on the north side of the Roanoke River once owned by Col. Peyton. After the Civil War, the Tinsleys sold Elmwood and land to Roanoke's first millionaire, Peyton Leftwich Terry in 1868, but remained in Roanoke until their deaths in 1880 (Benjamin) and 1892 (Emeline). The Terrys flourished off the Tinsleys' land, selling the majority of the Elmwood estate to the Roanoke Land and Improvement Company to develop Roanoke after its charter in 1882. The remaining acreage and home were sold to the city in 1911, becoming Elmwood Park.

The painting of Emeline was dropped off at the Richmond Conservation Studio in October of 2020, and conservation is expected to be complete in 2021. If you follow social media, the conservation of Emeline will be broadcast on the Richmond Conservation Studio's Facebook page and Instagram page as progress is made!

# Roanoke and the Southwest in Virginia History

By F. B. Kegley

*On July 4, 5, 6, 1934, a Historical Pageant of Progress was presented at Maher Field, now River's Edge Sports Complex along Roanoke River, sponsored by Southwestern Virginia Inc., a regional chamber of commerce based in Wytheville. Former Gov. E. Lee Trinkle was pageant general chairman. Hundreds of Roanoke area participants in the pageant enacted major events from an Indian scene, early settlers arriving, Draper's Meadows massacre, Col. William Byrd's exploration, Fincastle Resolutions, "War Between the States" and "our home in the mountains." A brief history of Southwest Virginia by Wythe County historian F. B. Kegley was printed in the pageant program and the text follows. He is the author of "Kegley's Virginia Frontier."*



In the early years of Virginia history, little was known of the land beyond the mountains. Well-informed people of the lower regions of the colony knew not even the sources of the rivers on which they lived. What information and interest they had of the vast unknown region came from contacts and observations made in attempting explorations to further trade with the Indians of the South and West.

The Indian trails followed which became the traders' paths led out from the falls of the great rivers toward the Southwest along the southern slope of the Blue Ridge mountains to the sources of the Carolina rivers, and west to the ridge and over and along its crest to the sources of the western streams which flow into the Mississippi.

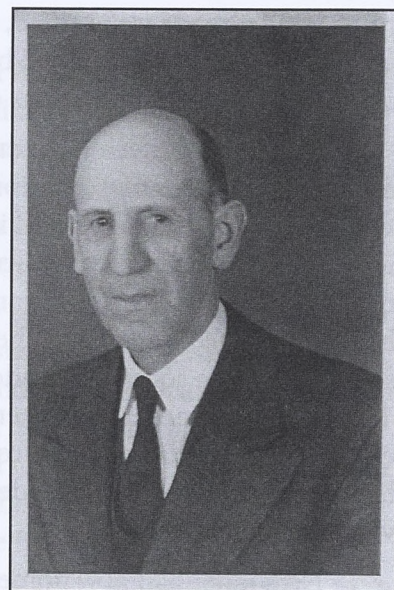
In an expedition organized by Col. Abraham Wood in 1671 at Fort Henry at the Falls of the Appomattox, Thomas Batts and Robert Fallam left the beaten path as they came to the foot of the mountains and made their way up a falling creek to the divide where the mountain is broken into ridges and from there eased out into the valley of the Roanoke near where the river enters the gap in the ridge. Here they found a village of the Totora Indians by whom they were civilly treated. In this town and its discovery we find the beginning of Roanoke and the Southwest.

Proceeding up the winding courses of the Roanoke this group of explorers came to the head of the river at the foot of the Great Mountain which divides the eastern from the western waters. From the top of this mountain soon reached, it was a pleasing though dreadful sight to see mountains and hills as if piled one upon another. Once over the run which empties itself northerly into the Great River, they proceeded due west over soil which was richer and full of bare meadows the farther they went. Thus was the Southwest discovered and entered—an experience reenacted in the thousands of lives of the pioneer

age and yet in the immigration of investing adventurers, observing tourists and enterprising industrialists.

Though found earlier, this country was not settled until after Governor Spotswood had led his knights across the Ridge into the Valley of the Shenandoah and German and Scotch-Irish families had come into that region from Maryland and Pennsylvania. As these families pushed through the Great Valley and others came in behind them and by them, the Southwest Mountains and the Carolina plains became an ever-widening Canaan for the host pressing on. There was a moving up from the lower grounds of Virginia as well as a moving through the back valleys.

The first recorded settlements made in 1738 and 1748 under the leadership of John Smith and Colonel James Patton were soon expanded into settled communities which served as backgrounds for the advancing frontier. On the waters of the Roanoke lived George Robinson, David Cloyd, James Cole, William Sayers. Bryan McDonald's, Stephen Rentfroe, John Robinson, William Carvin, Erwin Oatteson, Simon Akers, Robert Ewing, William Terry, Peter Kinder, Thomas and Tasker Tosh, James and Malcolm Campbell, John Mason, James Burk, Joseph Love, Methusaleh Griffith, William Bryan, Ephriam Vause, Joseph Crockett, Alexander Ingram, Thomas and William Ingles, George Pearis and others who used the valley as a home base and plunged into the forests to find still richer hunting fields and heavier timbered tracts of land.



*F. B. Kegley*

Actual settlement of the western waters began in 1744 when John Harrison Jr., George Draper, Peter Rentfroe, Charles Sharp and Robert Elswick moved up from Looney's Mill Creek of James River to the head springs of Tom's Creek and Strouble's Creek of New River and two groups of German families farther west on the river. In 1745 Colonel Patton obtained permission to take up for settlement 120,000 acres of land in one or more surveys on Wood's River and two rivers flowing west and in October of that year John Buchanan as agent for Colonel Patton and the historic Wood's River Grant came on the ground to receive entries and make surveys. Even at that early date, there were others besides those mentioned who had been on the ground and had staked off claims for homestead, for beginning in February 1796, surveys were recorded for land on practically all the streams to the Carolina (Tennessee) line.

Among those claimants were Colonel Patton himself; Colonel John Buchanan, Dr. Thomas Walker, Alexander Sayers, Samuel Eckerlin, for the Dunkards; John and Robert McFarland, James McCaul, James Burk, Jacob Castle, James Miller, William Patrick and Ezekiel Calhoun, Samuel and Joseph Crockett, Charles Sinckler, James Davis, Charles Campbell, Captain John Buchanan, George Robinson, James Wood, John Shelton, John Vance, James Skaggs and Frederick Starn—in all about 250 claims before 1755.

In 1748 and again in 1750, Dr. Walker made trips into the territory, keeping journals of his daily experiences and progresses. In 1749, he organized the Loyal Company which had permission to take up 800,000 acres of land beginning on the Carolina line. This was the most pretentious of all the Promoting Companies but its business was so retarded that comparatively few of its entries were surveyed in its first limit of time; 250 tracts were reported sold before the Indian War came on and after that they were numbered by the thousand.

The opening of this new land in the west for settlement was a great thing for Virginia. When the French government asserted its claims to the Ohio and its tributaries, the Virginia frontiers had already advanced well into territory claimed by the French. The upper reaches of the Ohio in the Southwest were

considered already well settled, so that the contest for the continent centered around the pioneer's fight for his wilderness home aided by the Colonial Government in such protection as ranging parties and organized military expeditions could give.

The Southwestern frontier became the battle ground in the early Indian Wars, the base of operation for later campaigns of expansion and the cradle of the population for still later western settlement. The story of the hardships suffered in the border warfare incidental to this holding is too long to relate either in words or in pageantry, but some examples may be given to call to mind a service and a sacrifice that needs from a present generation a better understanding and a greater appreciation. "Our frontiers were held and pushed forward by the warlike skill and the adventurous personal prowess of the individual settlers. For one square mile added to our domain by regular armies, the settlers added ten or a hundred. The west would never have been settled save for the fierce courage and the eager desire to brave danger so characteristic of the stalwart frontiersman." This region, our First Far West, has remained as it was in the beginning a new, rich and undeveloped land, furnishing new, social and business opportunities to men of vision and determination.

No sooner had new homes been established in the forest than death blows began to be dealt to the inhabitants. The first stroke fell upon the key settlement at Draper's Meadows and caught in its force the chief builder of the community. The killing of Colonel Patton saved him from being burned at stake. The carrying off of Mrs. Draper and Mrs. Ingles would not have satisfied the savages' thirst for blood. Others were killed and their homes made unsafe for habitation. People fled and cried for help.

The first aid came in the organization of ranging companies to scour the woods and look for lurking Indians. This was followed by an expedition promulgated and authorized by the Governor to seek out the enemy at its home base. A thousand men with half as many Indian Allies were to be engaged. The journey was made but nothing was accomplished. The troops were disbanded and Vause's fort was caught undefended. The garrison fled from Fort William and the whole country was left exposed. A government fort was built in the country of the friendly Cherokees for a token of friendship and a protection against other Indians.

A line of forts was authorized and built and the whole situation observed by Washington, the Commander of the Virginia forces. A raid was made in the Forks of James, a new point of attack. Robert Renick was killed and a number of women and children carried away. For their own protection the frontier citizens organized themselves into an army called the Associates. Relief came only with the fall of Fort Duquesne in the Northwest and then the Virginia Regiment was to be shifted to the Southwest to relieve Fort Loudon and discipline the once friendly Cherokees.

In this new campaign all Virginia had an interest. Colonel Byrd was in command, Major Lewis was commanding officer at the place of rendezvous, recruiting officers were active in every county and the whole Roanoke Community was astir with military movements. For the protection of provisions assembled for the troops at Evans' Mill, a granary was built with a small fort garrisoned by Capt. Preston's veteran company of rangers. After two years of recruiting and drilling, the Regiment moved out from Fort Lewis to Fort Frederick and on to Fort Chiswell. Headed by Col. Byrd, the march was continued to Stalnaker's on Holston and finally to Long Island on the Holston.

At this time, the discovery of lead on the New River occasioned a new interest in this territory. And Col. Byrd, Col. Chiswell and the sometime Colonial Treasurer, John Robinson, fell heirs to the ore-bearing land of that vicinity. Robinson's tract became the property of the state. Of so great value to the settlers and to the Colony was this lead that the mining operations were fortified and conducted as a public benefit. From this time through the Revolution this place was the industrial and political capital of the Southwest. After spending the winter at Long Island the troops of the Byrd Expedition returned to

Fort Lewis where they were mustered out in February 1762.

The close of the war with the French called forth a proclamation from the King of Great Britain which provided for bounty land to soldiers for services rendered and a boundary line between the settlements and the Indian country. The first location suggested for this line was by Chiswell's mines to the mouth of the Great Kanawha. After continued debating in Parliament and bartering with the Indians the line was finally established by John Donaldson so as to give to the Colony practically all the ground east of the Byrd Expedition. So fast was land taken up the settlers were already by the line before it was run.

All the territory on the western waters was now included in the new county of Fincastle, organized in 1772. This new advance even to Kentucky and the unwarranted aggressiveness by the whites on the upper Ohio led to a new and more elaborate campaign against the Ohio Indians, who had sought revenge by harassing the whole southwestern frontier. This expedition called forth an army of volunteers and a line of fortifications garrisoned by volunteer soldiers through the valley of Clinch River as far west as the Indian line at Moccasin Gap. Through the bravery and determination of the troops under Col. Lewis the engagement with the Indians at Point Pleasant resulted in a victory for the frontiersmen who returned home to answer the call of the Continental Congress in its stand against the encroachments of the English Government.

The sentiment of the Freeholders of Fincastle County expressed in a set of resolutions declaring a willingness to fight for freedom and right, gave a second to the motions already made in New England as well as in Virginia. Col William Christian, chairman of the Fincastle meeting, was a member of the House of Burgesses and a brother-in-law of Patrick Henry, so there was an understanding between the low country and the high. When a few months later a call came for troops against Dunmore, Capt. William Campbell responded with a bunch of volunteers and while at Williamsburg made plans that gave the Southwest another brother-in-law of Patrick Henry.

In the course of the Revolution a new set of backwoodsmen became necessary. The Cherokees in alliance with the British were giving trouble in Tennessee. A fight at Long Island between the local militia and the Indians followed by a well-planned campaign under Col. Christian once more set right affairs on the border. The New River, Holston and Clinch settlements of Fincastle County had expanded into Kentucky and absorbed the activities of Daniel Boone and Col. Henderson of North Carolina.

Ready for a county government of its own, that territory was cut off as a separate county and the remainder of Fincastle divided into Montgomery and Washington. These two counties then with a part of Botetourt became the Southwest Virginia that we know today. The militia of each of these counties had "tours of duty" to aid the American cause whenever and wherever help was most needed, in Carolina, in Illinois, in Kentucky.

A group of Roanoke men under Colonel John Bowman went to the aid of Kentucky. A company of volunteers from this territory was with George Rogers Clark in his most daring drives and the Illinois Regiment commanded by Col. Joseph Crockett of Montgomery County, was made up largely of Southwest Virginia men. The horses of Clark's campaign were purchased by William Madison on the upper branches of the Roanoke River. The Washington County militia won new laurels under William Campbell at King's Mountain and Montgomery County did a triple service in sending troops to the various campaigns against Cornwallis in Carolina, in putting down Tory insurrections about the lead mines and joining the campaigns in Virginia leading to Yorktown. The British prisoners taken in Carolina were assigned to this territory to be guarded here and transferred to Winchester. Thomas Jefferson visited the lead mines and suggested extensive improvements in the operations going on there.

At the close of the War, there was the usual readjustment to conditions. Fortunes and positions had

been lost and new openings were in view. Commissioners were appointed for each county to adjust land titles, preemption warrants were issued to land holders so as to close out land entries, mountain lands began to be taken in large areas, mineral rights sought after and farming lands developed. There was an inrush of Pennsylvania Germans and a migration of Scotch-Irish pioneers. Household industries were enlarged and special developments came with establishment of charcoal furnaces in the iron belts and the skinning of salt wells in the meadows of North Holston. With an increased utilization of timber in better buildings for home comforts came a more extensive and remunerative use of pasture lands. There was improvement in all classes of livestock and a special pride in beef cattle and saddle horses. In this plantation life in the valleys of the Southwest there is suggested and preserved a Virginia tradition found nowhere else in the state. To accommodate travel and accelerate the transportation of freight, turnpike roads and railroads were built throughout the length and breadth of the land. Houses of brick and stone, monuments to slave labor, were erected and courthouses rebuilt. New counties were established, so that no man lived more than a day's ride from a seat of justice.

In a war that tried men's convictions and tested their loyalty, Southwest remained Virginian. When the call came for troops, old men and young men responded. When ammunition was needed, it was found in the quantities of lead at our mines, when salt was needed for home use and for armies in the field, the whole South came to our salt wells for it. When raids were made into the territory for the destruction of property, our home guards repulsed them.

Every county furnished its quota of men and every family its share of provisions. Even the cloth for Lee's uniform was woven in a county in the Southwest and when the suit was no longer needed it was sent back to that county to be preserved by the family that gave the cloth.

The long list of men distinguished in service in times of peace and war needs to be given here. Of Colonial and Revolutionary days men like Andrew Lewis, William Preston, William Fleming, William Christian, William Campbell and William Russell belong to all history. In the early days of the republic, Daniel Sheffey, Alexander Smyth and Francis Preston held a high place in the nation. And the annals of our own Commonwealth are brightened by the names of Governors furnished: James P. Preston, John B. Floyd, J. Hoge Tyler, Robert C. Kent, Henry Carter Stuart, E. Lee Trinkle and George C. Peery.

The lines of industrial progress followed have been the natural ones. And because of the great variety of resources present, the wealth developed has been one of the state's great assets. Until after the reconstruction period, little capital was invested in our timber and mines but the day came when more railroads were to be built to move the products of the mines and factories. This meant the building of more towns and the founding of commercial cities.

Roanoke came because it was needed; it grew fast because there was much for it to feed upon. Coal operations developed because there was coal and coal was needed.

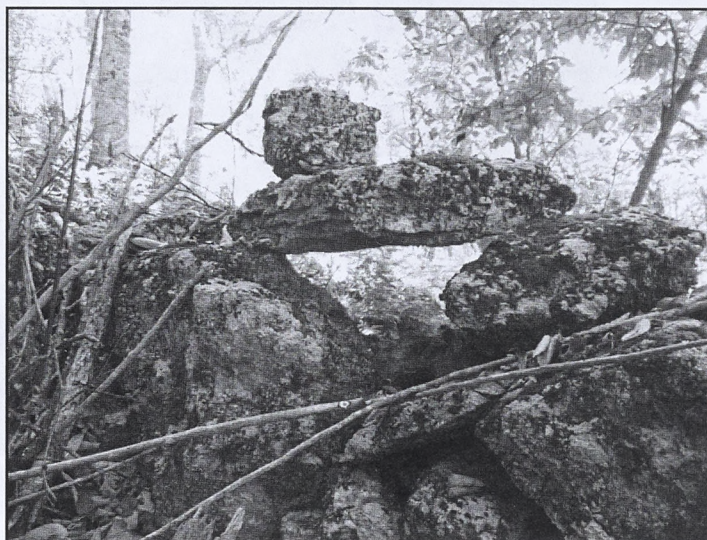
Here was the logical place for furniture factories, because here was the timber. Power and carbide plants were suggested because the streams are here on which to build them and the factories are here to use the power that is produced. From the stage road to the air line is a long way in transportation, but with the state and the nation we have gone the whole way. As people came into this region because of greater opportunities in the new and greater west, they are now coming back to it because its fertility has been preserved, its population sustained and its natural wealth undeveloped. Its growth has kept pace with the communities around it, but in making that progress its resources have not been exhausted. As Smith and Patton and Walker stimulated settlement in pioneer days, as Wharton and Imboden and Carter and Lincoln stimulated industrial development when industry was in its pioneer age. Now progress is seen in the multiplicity of industries in evidence.

# The Enigmatic Stone Structures of Western Virginia

By J. Daniel Pezzoni

What is the oldest standing building in Virginia? A lot of research has gone into answering that question. The current front-runner, based on historical documentation, is Jamestown Church, built in 1639 (actually, only the church's brick tower and foundations are original; the rest dates to 1906).

But Jamestown's buildings were not the first Virginia architecture. When the colonists arrived in 1607 they encountered thriving Native American communities, all with rich architectural traditions. A few decades before, in the 1580s, Roanoke Island governor and artist-in-residence John White painted meticulous renderings of the coastal region's architecture. The buildings depicted by White were wooden, which is not surprising given the lack of building stone on the coast, but even where stone was available inland the East's precontact Native Americans did not build their houses of it.<sup>1</sup> At village site after village site archaeologists find post molds, the vestiges of perishable wooden architecture, not evidence of stone construction.



A bridge cairn at Cole Mountain, Amherst County, Virginia.  
(This photo and others by the author unless otherwise noted.)

The situation is dramatically different in the higher elevations of western Virginia, where mountains like Sinking Creek Mountain on the Craig/Montgomery border preserve precontact Native American architecture virtually intact. At 3,000 feet above sea level, Sinking Creek Mountain is high and wild and would be little visited were it not for the fact that a section of the Appalachian Trail runs along it. The trail passes through a complex of stone piles and cairns at a high point known as Bruisers Knob where hikers have photographed some of the structures and posted images online. A branch trail descends to a cluster of springs and a shelter in Sarver Hollow a few hundred feet below the knob where more stone constructions dot the woods. Considered holistically, taking into account form, construction, context, and function, the 200-plus structures in the two complexes are unlike the lime kilns, grave memorials, field clearing piles, and other stone structures built in Virginia during historic times. Instead, the evidence points to construction of the Sinking Creek Mountain complexes and others located throughout Virginia and the East by precontact Native American peoples. The most sophisticated structures in the complexes rival, albeit at smaller scale,

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*Long House (ca. 1200 AD) at Colorado's Mesa Verde, the product of a well-documented Native American masonry architecture tradition.*

the ancient Ancestral Pueblo stone architecture of the American Southwest, sites like Mesa Verde and Chaco Canyon.

Researchers have known about the East's enigmatic stone structures since at least the eighteenth century. In 1762 future Yale president Ezra Stiles sketched a "monument of stones" near Stockbridge, Massachusetts, and noted "Every time [an] Indian came along [he] cast a stone upon it." More recently, retired Princeton University art conservator and stone structure researcher Norman Muller teamed with James Feathers of the University of Washington Luminescence Dating Laboratory to date a stone construction in the Oley Hills complex in Berks County, Pennsylvania, using a technique known as optically stimulated luminescence (OSL). The date they obtained was approximately 500 BC. (As this article went to press, the New England Antiquities Research Association was launching its NEARA OSL Dating Project 2020 with the objective of dating stone complexes throughout New England.)

Radiocarbon dating of cremations found under a low oval-shaped stone mound at the Viney Branch Site in Boyd County, Kentucky, yielded a date of 520 AD (+/- 125 years), a thousand years later than the Oley Hills cairn but well within the precontact period. Closer to home, a painted pictograph

<sup>1</sup> Precontact means before contact with Europeans, which in the Southeast generally occurred from the 1500s to the 1700s, depending on region. The article uses the term pile (from the same Latin root that gives us the word "pillar") to describe stone constructions that do not have a markedly stacked appearance. The term is not meant to suggest these constructions are less important than others or were less meaningful to their builders. Pillar-like constructions with a more stacked appearance are typically referred to as cairns.



*Front view and niche detail of the jagged niche structure on Sinking Creek Mountain.*

depicting a bird (possibly a thunderbird) was recently discovered at a western Virginia stone construction broadly similar to the Sinking Creek Mountain cairns. The pictograph recalls similar Native American rock art of precontact date on Paint Lick Mountain in Tazewell County, the best known of Virginia's rock art sites.

To an architectural historian such as myself, the more deliberately constructed Sinking Creek Mountain structures signal their non-historic character through aspects of their construction, form, and detail. At the east end of Bruisers Knob, where the ridge descends to a small gap, a bulbous stone structure stands next to the trail. The angular stones of which the structure is built, most tabular or brick-like in shape with flat faces that facilitated stacking, were collected from the Rose Hill Formation. The formation is a Silurian sandstone of dull reddish-gray color that outcrops at Bruisers Knob and elsewhere on the mountain.

The structure has frontality, with a front facade that differs markedly from the back. The facade has a slight backward lean (the architectural term is "battered") and wraps around the structure's sides like form-fitting sunglasses or a mask. The back, in contrast, consists of a sloping pile of loose stones that trails off to about fifteen feet behind the facade. Structurally, the piled stones serve to buttress the facade and constitute the structure's core.

At the foot of the facade is a low niche spanned by a slender lintel stone about four feet in length. The stone has an irregular or jagged lower edge with a tooth-like protuberance that points down into the niche. The lintel stone's irregularity distinguishes it from the other stones of the structure, which were chosen for ease of stacking, and makes it clear it was selected for the purpose of making the opening of the niche appear jagged. The facade above the niche steps down to the left, but on the right it wraps around at a consistent height to form a parapet which rises over the sloping stones of the back.

Like the rest of the facade the parapet leans, giving it a precarious teetering look. The end of the parapet consists of a stack of small tabular stones capped by a larger block. In other words, the parapet is top heavy, which adds to the appearance of precariousness. In actuality, the parapet is not precarious at all since it has been leaning since it was built. Its precariousness is a carefully contrived architectural effect. Another one of these rounded structures with a facade, also beside the Appalachian Trail, looks from behind like a cracked egg with the yolk spilling out. The more pronounced of this second structure's parapets has the same precariously stacked and leaning form as the parapet in the first structure. Rounded structures constructed of reddish-gray Rose Hill stones are also numerous in the Sarver Hollow Complex, which includes later historic-period resources.

## Erratum

“The Enigmatic Stone Structures of Western Virginia.”

by J. Daniel Pezzoni

Pages 14-15, “painted pictograph”: Additional study has determined the feature is not a painted pictograph. Its true nature remains uncertain.

It should already be evident that the Sinking Creek Mountain structures are not field clearing piles, but for the sake of putting that common misidentification to rest I'll list some of the arguments. The structures are not field clearing piles because they do not serve the essential function of a field clearing pile: they do not clear a field. Instead, they occupy the acreage they would ostensibly clear. Field clearing piles do not have architectural features like frontality, stacked stonework, niches, or parapets. It's hard to envision someone creating hundreds of separate field clearing piles when farmers in the nearby Sinking Creek and North Fork of the Roanoke valleys typically created just one or two piles next to their fields (I have documented field clearing piles in both valleys).

How could the Sinking Creek Mountain structures and others be missed by modern researchers for so long? The historiography of the lapse would be an article in itself, but I'll offer a few preliminary observations. One is the misidentification discussed above, the unexamined assumption that any stone feature is the result of historic-period activities. The complexes, many of them located on mountaintops and other high places, are not in the valleys where artifactually rich (and hence more readily datable and contextualized) village sites are found. Elevated siting undoubtedly had a ritualistic aspect, though not all stone structure complexes were located on high ground. The Rye Cove Complex in Scott County occupies a boulder-strewn slope on a valley floor near one of Virginia's most impressive landscape features, the Natural Tunnel (not to be confused with the Natural Bridge in Rockbridge County).

A deeper reason for the lapse has to do with a disconnect between the world views of the two groups of researchers who would be most likely to study the complexes, archaeologists and architectural historians. Archaeologists, the researchers who most often encounter the complexes in the field and should be on the front line of their analysis, rarely study above-ground resources, leaving them to architectural historians, and architectural historians assume archaeologists have anything from the pre-contact period covered. Fortunately, a few archaeologists active in the middle and southern Appalachians, people like Hannah Harvey, Harry Holstein and Charity Moore, have taken a special interest in the structures and their documentation.

The Sinking Creek Mountain complexes also include wall-like constructions. In Sarver Hollow these cluster near a concentration of springs and runnels where water bubbles out of the ground and ducks back under before coalescing to form Sarver Hollow Branch. One wall-like cairn tops a small natural cave feature where water can be heard running underground. Stone walls are the dominant feature of another important western Virginia stone structure complex, the Dutton Gap Complex on Pine Mountain on the border between Virginia's Dickenson County and Kentucky's Pike County (Pine Mountain is one of Kentucky's highest elevations with views said to reach as far as Ohio). One set of Dutton Gap stone walls forms a roughly rectangular enclosure containing about 3,000 square feet. The enclosure is similar to a class of such constructions in the region where Virginia, Kentucky, and West Virginia join. Some of the enclosures were massively built, like the lost "fort" near Beckley, West Virginia, described in an 1842 article and commemorated as the Big Beaver Creek Ancient Fortification on a recently dedicated West Virginia Division of Highways historical marker, though whether the enclosure was a fortification or not is debatable (see image on page 21).

The Dutton Gap enclosure stands on a cliff with one of its four sides demarcated by the edge of the cliff instead of a wall. With the trees below the cliff removed, individuals standing in the enclosure would have had sweeping views of eastern Kentucky and the skies above. Possible functions include a celestial or landscape observatory or possibly apotropaic use (protection from evil influences). At the very least it seems the cliffside enclosure defined some sort of ritualistic/ceremonial space.



*The cliffside enclosure at Dutton Gap.*

The largest precontact stone complex yet identified in Virginia is the Cole Mountain Complex, a system of wall-like lines and other features extending for over two miles on the heights of Cole Mountain, a 4,022-foot peak in the Blue Ridge Mountains of Amherst County. The complex's longest line climbs to the top of the mountain twice, roughly encircling it, in the process stair-stepping up a series of outcrops at over 30-percent grade and connecting springs on the north and south mountainsides. Sections of the line have

more the appearance of connected rows of cairns, rather than the regular height of most historic-period walls, and in fact the line is so varied (and long) as to suggest piecemeal construction over decades or centuries. The line sprouts offshoots at some of the outcrops and boulders that punctuate its length, and it often steers toward outcrops and goes up and over them.



*A lichen-covered wall on Cole Mountain ascends to the outcrop where the possible vision quest structure is located.*

One of the most dramatic features is found at the top of a high outcrop on the line's western offshoot. The feature consists of a short wall segment wedged between upright slabs of rock and constructed of long pointed rocks with the points facing outward, creating a jagged or bristling appearance. A person has to rock-climb to reach the feature, which may be analogous to a vision quest structure or prayer seat, a type of stone structure built by the Klamath and Modoc peoples of southern Oregon in connection with vision quests. Also of interest are two bridge cairns consisting of lintel stones that span between rocks, in each case with small stones perched on the lintels. One of these bridge cairns is located deep inside a jumble of outcrop boulders; like the possible vision quest structure, a person has to look for it to find it.



*A section of Cole Mountain wall with a five-foot-high peak, a possible snake effigy.*

Historically, the gaps on the two ends of Cole Mountain, Cowcamp Gap and Hog Camp Gap, were used by drovers who herded cattle and hogs from western farms to eastern markets, but the wall-like lines on the mountain have nothing to do with these activities (for one, multiple breaks of a hundred feet or more would have rendered them useless as livestock enclosures). As at Sarver Hollow, springs—specifically springs that play hide-and-seek before forming fully above-ground branches—seem to have been important to the line builders of Cole Mountain, and intermittent watercourses (plus a river and waterfall) were also of interest to the builders of the Panther Falls Complex, located five miles southwest of Cole Mountain.

At Panther Falls, the constructions are mixed, with individual cairns and piles, wall segments, and elongated hybrid constructions, perhaps as many as a hundred constructions in all. The wall segments exhibit a range of behaviors: linking boulders, running perpendicular and parallel to watercourses, rising above the ground surface or built into it in embankment fashion. The complex also has several constructions that superficially resemble hearth rings, in one case with part of the circumference built up to form a crescent-shaped wall. The abundance of piles and cairns at Panther Falls and their virtual absence at Cole Mountain, even though the complexes are located so close together, must be telling us something about the circumstances and objectives of the peoples who built the complexes.

The jaggedness of the possible vision quest structure at Cole Mountain, which also appears at the end of a wall on top of a high outcrop on the mountain, is an architectural treatment, though the architectural meaning is obscure. The jaggedness of the niche in the cairn at Bruisers Knob is also architectural but here the meaning may be more comprehensible to a modern observer, for the opening resembles and may have been built to represent an animal's mouth or the mouth of a cave. The latter

interpretation seems more likely, considering the niche is built into a stone facade, just as a cave may exist on a rocky mountainside, though it is certainly possible caves were equated with mouths and stalactites with teeth, in which case both interpretations would be accurate.

Caves are known to have been sacred to Native Americans of the southern Appalachians, and they are not without precedent in Native American art, though one has to go far outside the region to Mesoamerica for the closest analogs, for example the circa 100 BC Mayan murals at San Bartolo in Guatemala, one of which depicts a cave with a fang-like stalactite at its mouth. If Bruisers Knob's jagged niche represents a cave then the lintel stone protuberance can be interpreted as a stalactite.

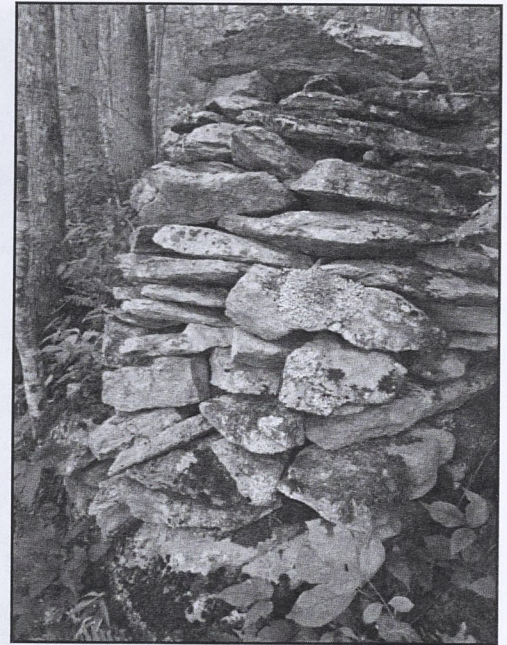


*The ring structure with crescent wall at Panther Falls. The feature may be an example of a vision quest structure, also known as a prayer seat, a structure used to facilitate the vision quests that were a common practice among Native American peoples.*

Niches are observed in precontact stone structures elsewhere in western Virginia and the East, though they are rarely as clearly expressed as at Bruisers Knob, where the naturally sharp-edged and stackable Rose Hill stone enabled the builders to create crisply defined architectural features. I noted above that the cultural affinities of the Virginia stone structures are unknown, but the lintel stones of the niche cairns at Bruisers Knob and the bridge cairns at Cole Mountain may hint at an affiliation. The lintels are architectural spanning elements, and as such they serve a function similar to the stone lids or "topstones" that span the stone-box graves of Tennessee and Kentucky, typically attributed to the Mississippian cultural period (800/1000-1600 AD). Mississippian influence extended into western Virginia.

Or the idea of spanning an opening with a stone may have been suggested by the natural rock formations of Sinking Creek Mountain, Cole Mountain, and other mountains in the region. Mimicry of natural forms may explain the precarious-looking parapets; the region abounds with rock formations that look as though they were purposefully stacked or balanced. Emulation may be a better term for the process than mimicry. Native American builders with a pre-scientific but intimate understanding of unusual rock formations may have thought they were built by supernatural forces and may have wished to emulate the forms in their own constructions.

Note that construction of the world by a deity is central to the Judeo-Christian tradition, and the southern Appalachian's European settlers invoked supernatural forces (probably with varying levels of seriousness) to explain puzzling natural features like Virginia's Devil's Marbleyard and West Virginia's Devil's Tea Table. Links between natural rock formations and prehistoric architecture have been proposed by British archaeologist Richard Bradley to explain megalithic stone construction in southwest England. Native American groups in the East interacted with the landscape just as later settlers did, but it was a different kind of interaction, one that ascribed ritual significance to the mountains, or at least selected mountain locations, as the stone complexes demonstrate.

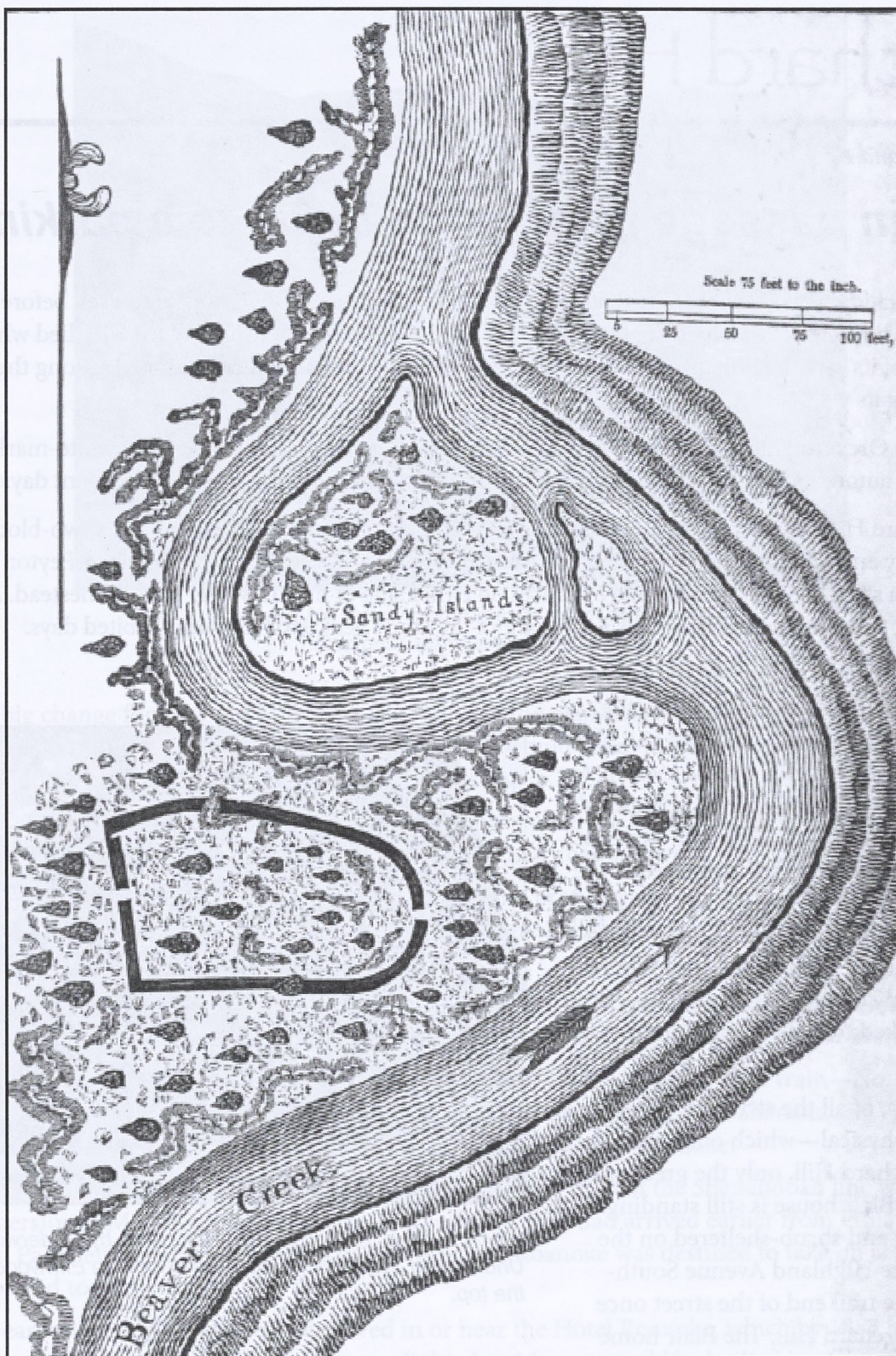


*The image on the left shows a presumed precontact cairn at Ludlow Creek State Forest in Chenango County, New York. Its rounded form, also seen in certain cairns on Sinking Creek Mountain, is reminiscent of the form of a beaver lodge. As liminal creatures that pass between the above-and below-water worlds, beavers may have been important to the builder. The image on the right shows a pillar-like cairn on the North Carolina/Tennessee border near the top of Harmon Den Mountain in Haywood County, North Carolina. Similar pillar-like cairns in Virginia have been documented in Franklin, Scott, and Wise counties. (Ludlow Creek photo by Charity Moore. The Harmon Den Mountain cairn was brought to the author's attention by archaeologist Scott Shumate.)*

When we think of precontact Native American architecture in the East we usually picture the earthen mound complexes of the Ohio Valley and the Southeast, places like Grave Creek Mound in West Virginia, Moundville in Alabama, and the Great Serpent Mound in Ohio. These are impressive Native American constructions, but their original appearance has been impacted by erosion, treefalls, plowing, and other forms of natural and cultural disturbance. We see only a semblance of the intended architectural effect. Contrast this with the stone architecture of the western Virginia complexes where the precontact appearance often survives virtually intact.

The state of preservation is comparable to the better-protected cliff dwellings of Mesa Verde, where the ancient inhabitants simply walked away and left their rooms and kivas to the blowing dust. Ancestral Pueblo architecture has generated insights into the lifeways and thought processes of the Southwestern peoples who built it. The East's precontact stone architecture likewise has the potential to provide important and even transformative information about American prehistory.

*Researchers Hannah Harvey, Harry Holstein, and Charity Moore contributed to the review of this article.*



"Plan of an Ancient Fortification on Big Beaver Creek, Fayette Co., Virginia. Surveyed by A. Beckley, Oct. 1837." The enclosure, which stood in what is now Raleigh County, West Virginia, was surveyed by Alfred Beckley and described in the September 1842 issue of the "American Pioneer" magazine (vol. 1 no. 9, pp. 298-299), which was published in Pittsburgh by Beckley's brother-in-law, Isaac Craig. Note that the image is a portion of the original.

# Orchard Hill

By Mary Bland Armistead

## ***A calm passage from graceful life to a parking lot***

**T**he secluded, placid way of life that graced Roanoke's Orchard Hill disappeared even before the first of its houses was sent crashing in to the dust in recent years. The real Orchard Hill died when scions of its early inhabitants moved out and apartments gradually were fashioned among the gallant homes along its way.

To see Orchard Hill now is to see four acres of convenience; a houseless block of white-marked asphalt where automobiles nose in and park in a compactness unknown in the old and elegant days.

Orchard Hill, formerly Nelson Street Southeast and now First Street Southeast, is a two-block expanse between Day and Highland avenues, one block east of Jefferson Street. Once it was part of Peyton L. Terry's lands, which stretched for considerable distances on either side of his Elmwood Park homestead. A Terry apple tree at the south end of the hill is a remnant of the land's very early and uninhabited days.

The stone mounting blocks for horse riders of later days are gone; so are the stately shelters for their carriages and phaetons. And today, there's no use looking for the front-porch footprints of the Breslins' young son; the latticed play "jail" beneath Garrets' back porch is an unmarked space now. The ground is bare where the Goodwins' rathskeller was and the Blairs' redolent greenhouse where lemon trees grew and the shady old yard where a funny little black dog liked to walk around on its front legs.

Indeed, of all the structure—both social and physical—which once were the pride of Orchard Hill, only the great gray mass of the Blair house is still standing. It is sprawling and shrub-sheltered on the hilltop where Highland Avenue Southeast joins the trail end of the street once known as Orchard Hill. The Blair home is a chiropractic office.



*Orchard Hill in 1924 from an aerial photo by Underwood & Underwood. Note the Peyton Terry home in Elmwood Park at the top.*

*The late Mary Bland Armistead was a longtime editor of the women's department of the Roanoke World-News. This article, used with permission, was published in the Roanoke Times & World-News on Feb. 13, 1980. The former Blair home was razed.*



*Orchard Hill today, pictured from the 10th floor of  
Radford Community Hospital.*

The big change for Orchard Hill came in 1962 with the plans for a downtown hospital along the first block of Elm Avenue east of Jefferson. With the decision would come the death knell of Orchard Hill, for its land would be needed for expansion plans and parking.

So, almost in rhythm like a bell tolled in sorrow have gone the stately hill homes of early Roanoke... and with them many of the city's last memories of maids and chauffeurs and fine families flourishing.

Change was kind because time aged between the first property acquisitions by the proposed Community Hospital of the Roanoke Valley and the demolition of all the properties needed to complete its facilities.

And while this writing is not to be a lament for the past, it is nevertheless, a remembrance of it from those who once knew it and an appreciation of what has been removed and never will be seen again.

Roanoke was plain and unpainted and muddy in 1883 when a doughty little train—No. 3 to railroaders of the day—came chuffing in. It carried the top accounting staff of the Shenandoah Valley Railroad which had decided to connect with the Norfolk and Western at Roanoke.

It was an auspicious day for the ambitious and well-born men of the Shenandoah line who came out of Hagerstown, Md. to join other enterprising officials who had arrived earlier from Philadelphia and Pottstown, Pa. Their destinies were to be in Roanoke and Roanoke was destined to take on at least part of their flavor and to grow and prosper thereby.

The earliest of that backbone group lived in or near the Hotel Roanoke, which by 1883 had risen grandly on top of a barren hill. Later, nicer gas-lighted residences would be built along Church and Salem avenues and to the westward on Patterson.

By the turn of the century, a pattern of life had become established in the young city, with blue-collar families on one side of the railroad tracks and the white-collar gentry on the other.

And for many reasons, Orchard Hill was soon dubbed "Officials Hill" as it became a private enclave

for many of the city's leading figures. It was within walking distance of midtown banks and rail offices; most of the too-few wooden walks went out Jefferson to just past Elm and Mountain avenues, so well-to-do businessmen chose to cluster in that vicinity. And they all came home for lunch.



*Cockespur, the Lucian Cocke home on Orchard Hill.*

There is a story that railroad cinders were spread along Jefferson when wooden sidewalks wore out and there was no money to replace them. Cinders were hard on the long skirts of the day and "a fashionable woman who lived on Orchard Hill" is said to have chided a city official about the street conditions.

Declaring that the cinders not only were offensive but also that they ruined her skirt and stockings, the Roanoker allegedly added, "*I have to wash my feet every day.*" The city official responded, "*Madam, you are supposed to wash your feet every day!*"

The hill's heydays ran from the early 1900s to about the early 1940s. And quite possibly its most impressive event was the Cockes' 1914 reception for the vice president of the United States. The Cocke home was a Queen Anne frame, as were most of the homes of the day. Also like them, it had a very large yard, a shadowed veranda and wealth and tradition to hold it in place.

The owner, Lucian Howard Cocke, was a son of the founder of Hollins College. In his 69 years, he became an outstanding lawyer and civic leader, serving as the last mayor of the Town of Roanoke and the first mayor of the city after it was incorporated in 1884.

Following the death of his wife, Lelia Smith, he married Sarah Cobb Hagan, a widow from Atlanta, Ga., in 1903. She was a person soon to be recognized as leader in the "smart set," as social columns were later to note.

Quite naturally, she staged a private luncheon and public reception at her home when Woodrow Wilson's vice president Thomas R. Marshall, and wife came to the area, visiting at "Kern Cliff, the summer home of Sen. and Mrs. J. W. Kern of Indiana, near Hollins in 1914. The Kerns' daughter later married Dr. George B. Lawson of Roanoke.

It was early May and wisteria time at the Cocke home when Roanoke policemen showed up in dress uniforms and white gloves and a large, open touring car swept grandly up the rise with the VIPs of the day. Bunting and banners fluttered every place that rambling roses and honeysuckle left bare.

And the receiving line formed in the pergola, a latticed walkway where Virginia creeper cast a springtime shade. If other hostesses of the era were green with envy at the Cockes' social coup, they were soothed with punch and small cakes and by a band "dispensing national and old familiar southern airs" behind the snowball bushes.

Mrs. William Bagbey, the Cockes' granddaughter, said a portion of the original land was chopped off and presented to her father, the late C. Francis Cocke, "for the sum of \$1 and love and affection." The colonial stucco he built where Elm and Orchard Hill connect weathered the years until 1962 when the hospital bought it for \$85,000 at the height of the hospital's acquisitions.

Mrs. English Showalter of Roanoke has vivid memories of growing up on the hill where there was a long shady block for roller skating and street games.

Her grandparents, Mr. and Mrs. Allen Watts, acquired a home on Mountain Avenue, Southeast, behind the Lucian Cocke home in 1889. Tradition says the Watts home once was a carriage house on Peyton Terry's estate. At other times in its history, it served as a bachelors' roost for many young men who were to become prominent in the city's affairs.

Mrs. Showalter said the residence was remodeled and enlarged by her grandfather, an attorney for the Norfolk and Western. After his death in 1904, his widow continued living there with her three children.

A daughter, Jean, married Abram P. Staples, who became Virginia's attorney general and then a judge in the Virginia Supreme Court. Mrs. Showalter is one of the four Staples children who grew up on Orchard Hill in the old Watts family home.

Mrs. George Payne, mother of actor John Payne, ran a boarding house in the residence after the Staples left. Later it was occupied by the family of I. V. Jessee, father of Evans Jessee of Roanoke. The last occupants before hospital acquisition in 1962 were Dr. and Mrs. Earle Glendy. According to records, the home was sold for \$28,000.

On the Watts/Staples' left was a house built by Mrs. Watts as an investment. It was a brown shingled structure with a wide porch and big rooms. One of the early occupants, W. J. Jenks, was to become president of the N&W.

D. D. Hull, president of Virginia Iron, Coal & Coke Co., later purchased the home and moved his wife and three young daughters there from a house on Clarke Avenue. The family remained a dozen years or so. Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Taylor established a residence then; the house was sold in 1962 for \$17,000.



*Cockespur decked out for a reception honoring Vice President Thomas R. Marshall.*

The Orchard Hill area has two dead-end streets—Mountain Avenue, which terminates at an eastern cliff where the hospital's new 580-car parking garage is going up and the southern end of the old street that was called Orchard Hill.

Perched near the cliff, across from the Jenks/Hull house, was the home of Mr. and Mrs. DeLos Thomas. He was NW general freight agent at the time of his death in 1918. His daughter, Ria, married Carter Glass of Lynchburg, who later became a US senator; his son, William, was the father of Mrs. G. Scott Shackelford of Roanoke.

Dr. and Mrs. John Randolph Garrett lived next door to the Thomases. Their son, John R. Garrett of Roanoke, said the home was built in 1908 by Ronald Fairfax, an early Roanoker, who headed the city's first "real" stock exchange. Fairfax lived at "Greenway Court," a spectacular Victorian residence now gone from the triangular tract bounded by Jefferson, Maple and Walnut.

Fairfax is believed to have built several of the angular Queen Anne-type homes on Orchard Hill prior to his helping develop the Villa Heights, Waverly and Morningside Heights additions. Mrs. Fairfax was said to have been presented to the Court of St. James in England. She owned a diamond tiara that she wore on elaborate occasions.

The commodious home of Charles S. Churchill stood across Mountain Avenue from the Lucian Cocke house. The large fenced yard contained one of the area's most elaborate gardens. The house, as remembered by his grandson, Robert C. Churchill of Roanoke, had five bedrooms, two baths, a sun parlor and two kitchens, one with a coal stove. It was acquired by the hospital for \$20,000.

Churchill was from Pottsville and became NW vice president in charge of properties. His wife was mentioned prominently as "a social leader," as were Mrs. Watts, Mrs. James Schick and Mrs. Joseph W. Coxe, whose homes faced each other on the hill.

Mrs. Schick became Virginia DAR regent. Her husband, a civil engineer with the Pennsylvania Railroad before coming to Roanoke in its Big Lick days, achieved prominence for mapping out the layout of Roanoke and other settlements along the NW line. The couple's adopted son was Randall Knisely, who later became an official of the Roanoke Coca-Cola Bottling Company.

Across from the Schick home was the home of Joseph W. Coxe, one of the passengers on train No. 3 coming from Hagerstown. In addition to becoming comptroller of the Norfolk and Western, he was chairman of Roanoke's first school board and president of the First Federal Savings & Loan Corp.

His wife was the former Mollie Syester of Hagerstown, Md.; among his Roanoke grandchildren are Kathleen Koomen, Hugh Fisher, Mrs. O. Halsey Hill and Thomas G. Fisher. The latter remembers the 11-foot ceilings and leaded glass in the Orchard Hill home and estimated it was built in 1905. His grandparents, Fisher said, first lived on Jefferson Street, "behind the filling station that has just been torn down; and changed residence because Mrs. Coxe considered the site "too far out in the country."

It was a matter of some distinction that the area's first tiled bathroom was in the home of J. Tyler Meadows, 818 Orchard Hill. The house was very imposing in its corner lot; its owner was imposing too. In his later days, he was said to bear a strong resemblance to Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes.

Certainly, he was a pioneer in Roanoke banking. A native of Staffordsville in Giles County, Meadows came to Roanoke as a messenger boy for the First National Bank in 1889. Soon he was assistant cashier, then cashier, then vice president and a director and in 1918 was made president of the banking house. In 1926, when first National consolidated with National Exchange Bank, the stately and bearded Meadows was named chairman of the board of the merged institutions that became the First National Exchange Bank. He was elected president in 1935 and died in 1938.

His home is believed to have been the first constructed on the breezy rise to the south of town. A family named Lafferty is said to have been associated with it, then Taylor Gleaves, who was vice president and manager of Adams, Payne and Gleaves, a building supply company.

Immediately preceding the Meadows' occupancy was the family of Col. Alfred Reynolds, according to Mrs. Dirk Kuyk, who was raised at 1010 Orchard Hill. Her father, Thompson W. Goodwin, was a banker and president of Peoples Federal Savings and Loan at the time of his death in 1932.

He built his 26-room home at the southern end of Orchard Hill where it ended at Highland. There was a formal rose garden there and a lilac hedge, Mrs. Kuyk remembers; "people would walk up on Sundays to see the lilacs," she said.

Some of the visitors were interested in the hundreds of beer steins her father displayed in the rathskeller; all were intrigued by the family dog, which waltzed happily around on its two front feet.

Mrs. Mary Terry Kuyk's late husband was judge of the old Roanoke Hustings Court. She is a granddaughter of Peyton L. Terry of "Elmwood." Her aunts, Miss Lucinda Terry and Miss Lila Terry, lived in a shingled frame home, 928 Orchard Hill, across Highland from the Goodwins.

To the right of her aunts' home was the Franklin residence, formerly owned by Versal Spaulding, superintendent of the eastern division of the Southern Express Company. A son, Branch Spaulding, died in late January this year.

M. Clay Ferguson was a successful contractor. He drove a 12-cylinder Packard touring car, which grandly outshone the smaller Nash cars parked in other driveways near a fine-riding Chalmers sedan. The Franklin home was a handsome buff-colored frame featuring fine interior woodwork and leaded glass windows.

Next in line on the block was the Coxe home and next to that was the rectory of St. John's Episcopal Church. The original house was rather rambling and "the most ramshackle place you ever saw," according to Mrs. W. W. Krebs, who lived on the rectory's right.

Charles Coe had the property before it had a church connection. It was demolished in 1933 and a Georgian brick Colonial was built for the family of Dr. Alfred R. Berkeley when he became St. John's rector.

After a brief tenure by Dr. Richard R. Beasley, who succeeded Berkeley, the home was sold to Viola Conner and became a boarding house. Finely constructed and of gracious appointments, the handsome home was the last to be leveled by the hospital.

D. J. Breslin bought the northeast property at Orchard Hill and Mountain Avenue about 1900, his daughter said. He was a haberdasher and owned the old Blue Ridge Overall factory. He came to Roanoke from Clifton Forge and after moving to Orchard Hill had the home encased in brick and installed a concrete porch. That's where his son, Daniel, put his three-year-old footprints.

Mrs. Krebs recalls "the nice shady street and the wonderful neighborhood times." In 1920, her father sold the home to Ernest G. Penn, a partner in the wholesale firm of Barrow-Penn, and moved to "Huntingdon," an historic property on Huntingdon Boulevard, N.E. Penn provided his family with "large cases of canned goods," according to a daughter, Mrs. Warren Wellford of Roanoke.

"No one thought the refrigerator should be in the kitchen," she said, "so our refrigerator was in the butler's pantry along with a big double sink and shelves for the dishes." The spacious home had five bedrooms plus a sleeping porch and three bathrooms. The hospital bought it in 1968 for an undisclosed price.

Facing the Penns across the street was the home of James B. Andrews, who was mayor in 1896 and the father of Mrs. Wallace Clement of Roanoke. The home was on a large corner lot where a big magnolia grew. A family named Woodson owned it later and converted it into apartments. The late Miss Mary Tice was living there when it was sold for demolition.

The Andrews home was next door to the property of K. W. Greene, a prominent jeweler. His wife was Charles Churchill's sister. Some years after Greene's death, the home was occupied by L. C. Gardner, general claim agent for the NW.

Mrs. Wellford tells the following story which seems to picture the life of old Orchard Hill. During a long-ago census, a volunteer recorder knocked at each door on the hill and was duly received by the women at home. She left with a puzzling impression.

"The most peculiar neighborhood I ever saw," she allegedly reported later. "None of the women has a job, yet none of the families seems hungry."

# N & W, WW II

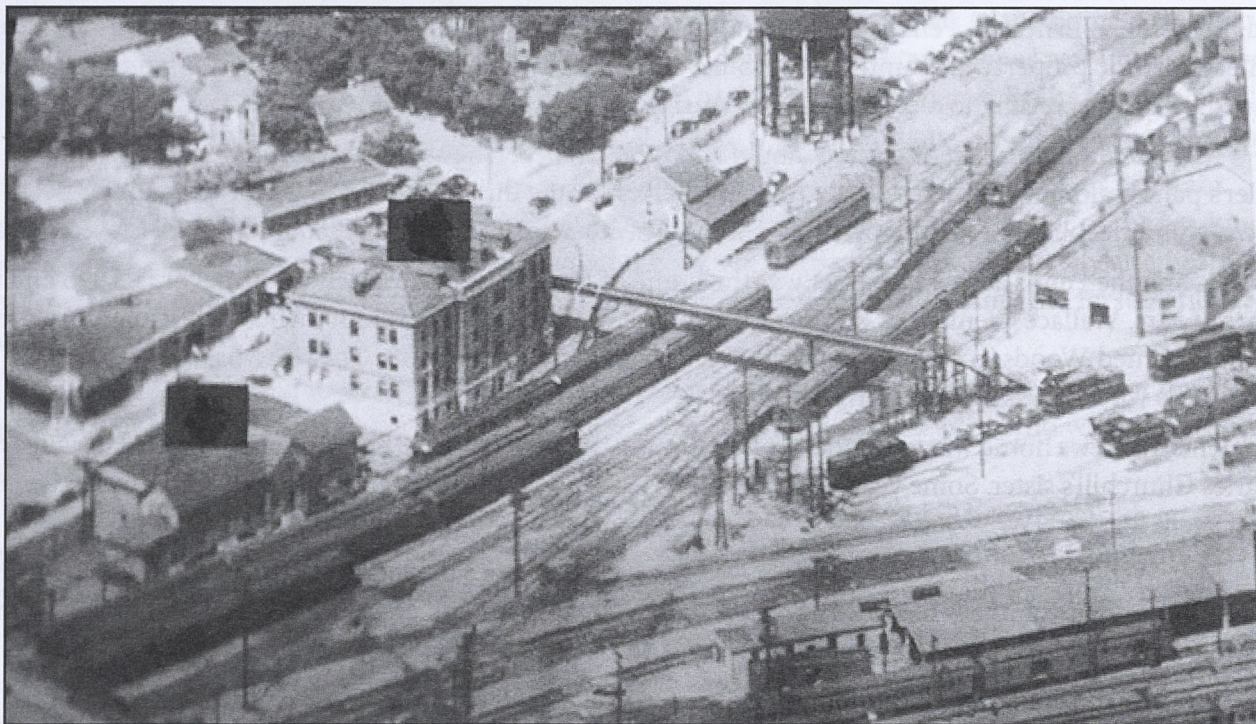
By Colonel Lewis Ingles "Bud" Jeffries, USA (Ret)

## Roanoke's Railroad in World War II

### Introduction

"Roanoke's Railroad and the War" describes the Norfolk and Western Railway's involvement and accomplishments in supporting this nation's effort during World War II. N&W was not alone in this effort for this article brings out how the US railroads cooperated and supported the nation during this national crisis in a world conflict.

Norfolk and Western, and all US railroads, achieved extraordinary transportation results for meeting all demands of the war effort here on the home front. This article covers what the railroads did in general, and N&W in particular, meeting transportation needs of wartime industry, movement of large amounts of military personnel and equipment, disruption of traffic flows, and how different facets of N&W operations adapted to changing demands.



Aerial view of Norfolk and Western Railway motive power building (left) and railroad shops (right).

This railroad was probably the best prepared railroad going into World War II of any railroad in the country. Roanoke was the center of N&W's rail operations as well as being its corporate headquarters. This is about what Roanoke's railroad did during this very important period of American history.

How did I collect this much information?

The content to this subject is a result of some 60 years of reading US history, the study of US military operations with a particular interest in World War II as a career Army officer, a special interest in military unit histories of major combatant forces used in American wars, and the very special interest in the Norfolk and Western Railway's development and use of steam motive power that set the standard for railroads in this country. From this broad background of gathering data for this article, the talk and this article brought together a lot of information that had been collected over many years.

In the course of researching, documenting and publishing the story of Roanoke's railroad and steam power, often information was collected about what N&W did during World War II. That was always saved so as to be available for future use when needed and because of the author's strong interest in WW II and how this great railroad supported the war effort on the home front. During my military career, I published an article in a military journal about the use and capabilities of this country's railroads as a US military asset. This last endeavor was written not only because of my Army background, but also from my interest in US railroading I developed over the years.

What N&W specifically, and the nation's rail industry in general, did in World War II is a very complex subject but a very fascinating one. At the heart of this is trains moving things from one point to another. In wartime the things being moved changed as well as routes and movement patterns because of special needs and demands. But railroading is more than running trains; all aspects of a railway's operation and all facets of the corporate organization were affected by wartime requirements.

A special thank you to my friend Ed King, a fellow published author, who worked for N&W and later retired from the railroad industry. His knowledge of N&W and railroading was invaluable with my talk and in this article. He and I are co-authoring a future book telling the complete story about N&W Railway's development of steam motive power right here in Roanoke.

Here is the story of Roanoke's Norfolk and Western Railway and the US rail industry during World War II. It is a story of accomplishment.

*Col. Lewis "Bud" Ingles Jeffries, a Virginia Tech graduate, retired from 27 years of Army service to his seventh generation Radford farm. He is the author of Norfolk and Western, "Giant of Steam," official historian of the 611 steam locomotive project and is working as co-author of a book on the N&W's motive power policy. He's a past chairman of the N&W Historical Society board. This article is based on a talk by the author on May 2, 2019 for the Kegley Lecture Series.*

## ||||||| Roanoke's Railroad and the War |||||

**O**n 7 December 1941, Imperial Japanese Forces brutally attacked the US military installations at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, plunging this country into the conflict of World War II. A few days later, Nazi Germany declared war on the United States. Virtually overnight we went from a nation struggling to prepare for war to a global conflict requiring the United States to fight a two-ocean war of epic proportions. This being a total war with our national existence at stake, US railroads became a key factor to victory. This is how N&W and the US railroad industry contributed to victory in this conflict from 1939 to 1945.

From the end of World War I to the beginning of World War II, there was prosperity in the first half of that period and a Great Depression in the second. There were significant technological advances in this time and even with the Depression, American railroads spent \$10 billion on improvements and modernization programs between 1923 and 1941.

Norfolk and Western was a highly profitable, well-led and managed, superbly engineered, coal hauling road, spending considerable on its physical plant, rolling stock and all facets of its transportation system. At the depth of the Depression, N&W hauled annually about half of the tonnage it did in 1929 when the Depression began, yet coal was consistently about 80 percent of the total tonnage each year. Even having to go through the Depression, N&W was perhaps the best prepared American railroad going into WW II.

Despite the Depression, Roanoke's railroad modernized and made improvements to its operation that would pay big dividends in the near future. The hallmark and most notable of this effort was the development of its own homegrown steam motive power, designed and built in the railway's Roanoke Shops.



There were three modern classes of steam produced before the war and these three types were so successful that they carried N&W to dieselization two decades later. First were the Class Y6's used for heaviest freight work primarily in the mountainous territories of the system. Thirty-five were built in Roanoke Shops from 1936 to 1940, and 19 similar engines, Class Y5's, were "modernized" in 1940-41, for a total of 54 on hand at the war's beginning.

*Organized troop movements within the continental US resulted from the buildup and training of millions of military personnel before they were deployed overseas. Troops were loading passenger cars for a movement to another station in preparation for war. Ninety-seven percent of all organized movement was by rail.*

*(Photo courtesy of Landon Gregory collection.)*

The second type was the Class A articulated locomotive, a wholly N&W designed engine for heavy passenger and manifest freight work in the mountains and the heaviest freights on the flatter portions of the system. Ten of these locomotives, built at Roanoke during 1936-37, were a huge success. One of these Class A's, number 1206, went to the New York World's Fair in 1939-40 as an example of the latest technological

advances in steam motive power development in America after the First World War to the beginning of World War II.

Lastly is the beautifully streamlined Class J's that arrived just before the war began. Five were built from October 1941 to January 1942 and were the latest thing in steam passenger power. All three of these N&W classes proved during the war to be the ultimate in efficiency and dependability, and had a lot to do with the railway's success during and after the war.

There had already been a World War earlier in the Twentieth Century and one must look at what happened to the US rail industry then. The Federal government and railroads had not adequately prepared for that conflict. There was such a glut and chaos at ports that the railroads were unable to sort out the mess; consequently, the US government nationalized the rail industry to get the coordination needed for shipping men and material to our forces and allies overseas. The experience from WWI left a bad taste in everyone's mouths, and so the preparation of the rail industry and the US government for the Second World War was in sharp contrast to that of the first war.

In September 1939, Nazi Germany invaded Poland and this started the Second World War in Europe. It became inevitable that the USA was going to be drawn into war. There were alarmists forecasting that the American rail industry would be unable to cope with the demands of a future conflict since it was not able to do so in World War I. Since the rail industry had about 20 thousand fewer locomotives, half a million fewer freight cars and 16 thousand less passenger cars available than for the earlier war, these doubters said no way could America's railroads meet the transportation requirements for a larger scale war. Yet, the memory of nationalization of railroads from 1917 to 1920 lingered in the minds of the industry and government.

Despite the alarmists, the US government and the railroad industry began preparing for conflict should that occur. Congress passed the Transportation Act of 1940 to determine the demands of commerce and the needs for national defense in our transportation system, and to review the advantages and disadvantages of each mode in that system.

In that same year, the Association of American Railroads (AAR), a trade organization for the rail industry, pledged that member railroads individually, and in cooperation with one another and with the Government, would continue to meet the full demands of commerce and the needs of national defense. Very significantly, the Federal government was setting the stage for the US railroad industry to remain in private ownership in the case of hostilities. The AAR was voicing the industry's commitment to support this effort and to avoid nationalization.

Norfolk and Western began its preparation for possible war service. The 1941 annual report stated it had expanded and authorized more than \$60,000,000 since September 1939 in a comprehensive upgrade to expand its capacity for anticipated requirements, and that all military and civilian transportation demands during this period have been met and will continue to do so. A few days after Pearl Harbor, the president of the United States created the Office of Defense Transportation to coordinate all public and private transportation, to supervise all modes for meeting war traffic needs, and to encourage maximum use of each mode. With the creation of this office, the stage was now set for American railroads to remain under private control now that America was at war.

What the rail industry accomplished was not imaginable as the war began. As each year passed, new records were set in the industry for freight and passenger movements, and there were the organized troop movements on top of that. As ton-miles and passenger-miles were figured up month after month and year after year from 1942 through 1945, the prewar alarmists and doubters just faded away. Even railroaders felt that the impossible had been accomplished.

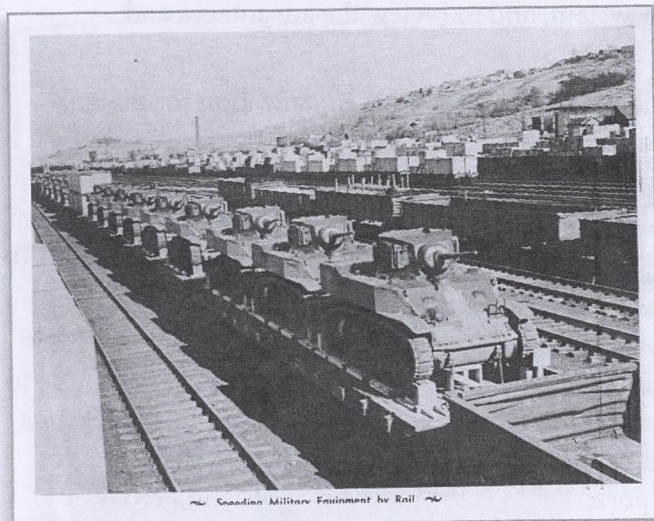
Norfolk and Western and US railroads had prepared for this war and they met the challenges in an exemplary manner. In 1941 (the last prewar year for the US), the total intercity freight volume was 1,051 billion ton-miles of which American rails hauled about 50 percent of the total. During 1944 (the last full war year), the total intercity freight volume increased only by about 13.5 percent. That year, railroads moved 795 billion ton-miles, this being two-thirds of the total intercity freight.

The rail industry was moving more than 165 percent of the previous record set in 1929. What is not shown in these figures was the total Army freight moved by rail from Pearl Harbor to V-J Day amounted to 293 million tons, for a total of more than 206 billion ton-miles. This total Army freight is included in the intercity freight figures.

With US railroads hauling this much of the total intercity freight traffic, what were the other modes carrying the rest? They were trucks, pipelines, inland waterways, and intercoastal and coastal shipping. The other modes experienced changes during the war that will be later noted.

Beginning with the prewar buildup, Norfolk and Western had dramatic increases in tonnage. In 1939 it carried 47,841,955 actual tons of revenue freight of which about 80 percent (some 39 million tons) was coal. For 1944, it hauled 71,563,960 tons with coal being about 75 percent (about 53 million tons). From 1939 to 1944, N&W's tonnage increased by almost 50 percent. The years of 1942-44 were all about the same, so the big increase took place between 1939 and 1942.

Huge demands were placed on US rail passenger service and the rail industry achieved extraordinary success in meeting the challenge that this war generated. Civilians and military personnel traveling as revenue passengers increased exponentially due to gas and tire rationing that greatly limited the use of the automobile. By 1944, revenue passenger volume had increased to 96 billion passenger-miles which doubled 1920—the highest volume before World War II.



*Ninety per cent of freight was moved by rail during the war years, as seen in these light tanks loaded on rail flat cars. War freight amounted to 293 million tons, about 7 percent of freight moved within the continental United States. In 1944, American railroads hauled two-thirds of total freight traffic; the other third was carried by trucks, pipelines, inland waterways, coastal and intercoastal shipping. (Photo courtesy of Landon Gregory Collection.)*

American railroads carried this greatly expanded passenger volume without any new passenger equipment being available. In addition to the revenue passenger figures, the railroads hauled a total of 32 million military personnel (mostly Army) on organized troop movements. This accounted for 27.5 billion passenger-miles from Pearl Harbor to VJ Day. These were special moves for transporting military personnel from one installation to another for training in preparation for shipment overseas. American railroads carried 97 percent of all organized military passenger traffic during the war in the continental United States.

Norfolk and Western's revenue passenger traffic experienced a phenomenal increase during the war like that experienced throughout the industry. Coming out of the Depression in 1939, the railway carried about 1.1 million passengers, which was near the low end for the previous 10 years. By 1942 this had risen to 3.2 million, a passenger-mile increase of five. During 1944, N&W carried a whopping 5.2 million revenue passengers but when factoring in the average distance per passenger rode, the volume was almost 11 times that of 1939.

*One of N&W's famous Class J's is pulling a long, heavy passenger train during the war years. N&W, like all major US railroads, had a major increase in passenger traffic during the war, because of gas and tire shortages. N&W hauled five times as many passengers in 1944 as it did in 1939.*

*(N&W photo, courtesy of author's collection.)*



Each passenger being carried in 1944 averaged about 168 miles per trip; in 1939 was less than half that. On N&W, breakdown for revenue passengers was about 60-65 percent civilian and 35-40 percent military personnel traveling either individually or on leave (furlough). This was just revenue passenger service and did not include organized troop movements. There are no N&W total figures available for military moves, but they were considerable from what will be described later.

The area served by Norfolk and Western became a vital link in wartime traffic for the US railroad system. The east end of N&W's system was anchored to Norfolk which was part of the port of Hampton Roads, the nation's third largest for shipping troops and war material overseas. During the war, slightly more than 19 million tons of war freight and almost three-quarters of a million troops were shipped from there, N&W being one of the major rail carriers to this port.

There were three major military bases that were served directly by N&W: Camp Lee at Petersburg and Camp Pickett at Blackstone, both in Virginia, and Lockbourne Army Air Base near Columbus, Ohio. Also, Norfolk Naval Base and the Army's Camp Butner near Durham, North Carolina, were served by N&W along with other carriers. These camps and bases were heavily used to train troops and equip units for overseas service.

Then there were four munitions (powder) plants located along the N&W: Buckeye Ordnance Works at Kenova, West Virginia, Radford Ordnance Works near Radford, Virginia, New River Ordnance Works near Dublin, Virginia, and National Fire Works Company at Bristol, Virginia.

So, the N&W system was of strategic importance serving military installations by providing them with much needed rail transportation. Not including Norfolk and Hampton Roads, the railway delivered 165,859 carloads of freight to these above listed military installations and "powder" plants between Pearl Harbor and September 1, 1945. During the same time 43,573 carloads were received—this last figure equates to 3,490 sixty-car trains:

Very importantly at the center of this railway's network were the coalfields of southern West Virginia, southwestern Virginia and eastern Kentucky that fueled the economy and heated the homes

of the American people. A total of 190 million tons of revenue coal was hauled by N&W during the war toward the east coast and through the Midwest gateway from these coalfields. Norfolk and Western met all these wartime demands and requirements.

Wartime rail traffic resulted in shifts of what was being moved and the routes used. It was previously mentioned that rail traffic increased about 50 percent from 1941 levels while the total freight volume only increased about 13.5 percent by the end of the war. To understand this change we must look at what happened with the other modes of transportation.

Trucking and highway movement was reduced by about 25 percent because of fuel and tire rationing. Inland waterways remained about the same. Pipelines doubled their capacity while coastal and intercoastal shipping was reduced by about 75 percent during the war. This great reduction of coastal shipping was caused by German U-boats interdicting this traffic along the east coast and all this traffic was diverted to the other modes, mostly the railroads. This is the major reason that the US railroad industry was carrying two-thirds of the intercity freight traffic at the end of WW II. This, too, greatly affected N&W.

The best example of changing traffic flows on the N&W is the Shenandoah Valley line. Because of the interruption of coastal shipping by submarines, this single track, 238-mile line between Roanoke and Hagerstown had very significant increases in traffic (mainly bituminous coal and petroleum) to the northeast as a result. In 1939, the traffic on this line was about 100,000,000 gross ton-miles per month. By March 1943, this volume had increased by six times that amount and a real "bottleneck" resulted on the heavy grades approaching both sides to the summit on Lofton Hill—the highest point on this line.



*Coal accounted for about 90 percent of all freight moved by N&W before the war. Coal was the lifeline to fuel America's economy. The war caused a significant increase in total freight moved by Roanoke's railroad and the proportion of coal to the total remained about the same. Here is one of the railroad's home-built heavy freight locomotives with a coal train at Montvale, east of Roanoke, heading toward Norfolk in 1941.*

*(N&W photo, courtesy author's collection.)*

The railway double-tracked and installed heavier rail on more than 10 miles of Lofton Hill between Vesuvius and Greenville, with about half of the new double track being on each side of the summit. A wye was added at Lofton (the summit) to turn helper engines, and traffic control was extended on 118 miles of the line. These improvements boosted traffic volume to a monthly capacity of 840,000,000 gross ton-miles. The cost to the railway was \$1,154,000 and this was later amortized over a five-year period as a direct expenditure for the war effort.

During the 44 months from January 1, 1942 to August 31, 1945, the Shenandoah Valley line handled about 17 million tons of diverted coal which was far above that normally carried before the war. This diverted coal equated to about 287,000 carloads which is equivalent to 4,783 extra 60-car trains using this line.

Another victim from interdicting coastal shipping was the movement of refined petroleum and its products. The east coast and the northeast received much of its oil products by the way of coastal and intercoastal shipping from the Gulf of Mexico around the Florida Keys and up the eastern seaboard. The U-Boat menace forced much of this interdicted oil traffic to the railroads and to a greatly expanded pipeline system after 1943.

The US rail industry answered this call by pooling over 150 thousand rail tank cars to move refined petroleum and its products on 66 routes to fuel the economy and to meet military needs. Norfolk and Western was involved but only about 1.5 percent or less of its total freight traffic being oil. Nonetheless, solid tank car trains were moved between Bristol and Roanoke and then either on the Norfolk or Shenandoah Valley lines. N&W moved more than twice as much refined petroleum and its products in 1944-45 than in 1939.

A major requirement was the need to move very large numbers of military units, including personnel and equipment, from one location to another in preparing for overseas deployment. The US Army had the greatest need for these moves since its strength went from less than 187 thousand troops in September 1939 to six million by August 1943. There were 90 Army divisions of which 88 were trained and deployed from the continental United States during the war. It was a herculean task to train this vast combat force which required the movements of these divisions from one installation to another for different levels of training. This was the reason the rail industry moved a total of 32 million troops in organized troop movements.

After Pearl Harbor, railroads were not allowed to build or buy new passenger equipment. With the big increase in civilian passenger patronage due to gas and tire rationing, there just wasn't enough passenger equipment to meet demands for both civilian passenger and troop movements. The government came to the relief of the railroads by building from late 1943 to early 1946, 2,400 troop sleepers and 800 troop kitchen cars for use in organized troop movement. These cars were government owned and operated by the Pullman Company. They were used nationwide in pool service when and where needed. Each sleeper car had a Pullman porter assigned and the kitchen cars were manned by military cooks and mess personnel from the unit being moved. These sleeper and kitchen cars enabled the railroads to meet war-time demands of organized troop movements.

Norfolk and Western was caught up in these "special" movements—unscheduled trains based on a requirement generated for a specific move. Having major military installations along its right of way, this had to be a considerable number, but there is no record of the total special trains N&W handled during the war. It is known that 52 special trains of 24 to 42 cars each delivered the 3d Armored Division to Camp Pickett in November 1942. This was the only armored division sent to Pickett; it was moved to another post in January 1943. There were also six infantry divisions delivered to and moved from there between mid-1942 and the fall of 1944.

To deliver a division to Camp Pickett, or any division to any installation for that matter, required a lot of coordination and this was a highly orchestrated affair. As an incoming full troop train was spotted, it was unloaded and immediately was removed so the next full troop train could be brought in and unloaded. Trains carrying vehicles were similar, being unloaded and removed to receive the next loaded train. This was done thousands of times throughout the country during the war by all railroads. The coordination required was done between all railroads involved and the government. To load out a unit was just as demanding to orchestrate. There were about 2,500 "special" trains each month nationwide. To move an army division required an average of 1,350 cars and sometimes as many as 65 trains. Norfolk and Western lived up to its motto of "Precision Transportation" when handling these organized movements.

After the last division was shipped in 1944, Camp Pickett was converted to a large hospital for

wounded service members to convalesce and recover from severe combat injuries. N&W operated specially equipped hospital trains between the port of Norfolk and Camp Pickett as trains of mercy for this caring task.

Another area of the railroad greatly affected by the war was the Dining Car Department to accommodate the tremendous increased numbers of revenue passengers traveling and riding longer distances on N&W trains. The Dining Car Department was not responsible to feed troops on organized troop movements. But to feed its revenue passengers, dining cars served 577,742 meals in 1942, in 1943 that was 777,710 and 812,870 meals were served in 1944. To alleviate the need to serve meals only in dining cars, N&W began in 1944 serving sandwiches and beverages to passengers at their seats in coaches; this being 452,980 meals served in coaches that first year. During the first eight months of 1945, the totals served were at about the same level. From January 1942 through August 1945, the Dining Car Department served about 2.6 million meals in its dining cars and almost 800 thousand in coaches. This equates to more than 2,550 meals being served every day of the war, or 107 for each hour of the war. This feat was accomplished despite food shortages and rationing, manpower losses and the railroad not allowed to acquire new dining cars.

Hauling munitions and explosives increased by leaps and bounds during the war. In 1942, N&W carried a total of 188,379 tons of explosives. By 1944, this had risen to 938,748 tons, a five-time increase in two years. N&W constructed a temporary yard at Windsor, Virginia (33 miles west of Norfolk), to store loaded cars of explosives. Because of the hazard of storing explosives in populated areas and ports, this yard allowed better security; then cars were staged from this yard to dockside for immediate unloading into ships as they arrived in port. This yard had eight tracks totaling 5.9 miles; each track could hold 50 cars, and the yard handled 11,091 carloads of explosives from June 1944 through April 1945. The direct cost to the railway was \$180,000 and the yard was dismantled soon after the war ended when no longer needed. The cost of this was worth it since N&W had no devastating incident or mishap from explosives during the war.

War traffic generated many more trains and motive power availability became critical. N&W addressed locomotive availability by designing its modern road power to minimize servicing and for making longer runs before servicing was needed. In 1940 it took almost four hours from the time a locomotive finished an assignment to being ready for its next assignment. In 1942 Roanoke's railroad began using the "assembly line" method to service its engines, first at Roanoke's Shaffers Crossing engine terminal and later at other terminals. At Shaffers under the old system, 80 locomotives could be dispatched daily while the new method was designed for 135 in a 24-hour period.

Central to this new procedure was the new engine service and inspection buildings where locomotives were inspected, lubricated and given light repairs without passing through the roundhouse. The latest lubrication equipment included hoses suspended from the ceiling for dispensing various oils and greases to the many lubricating points on each engine. Light running repairs were made as the locomotive was being lubricated. Time was reduced to less than two hours for an engine to be ready for its next assignment.

Roanoke Terminal received and forwarded more trains than any other on N&W's system. Shaffers Crossing was the railway's largest and busiest engine terminal with locomotives coming in and going out in five directions in addition to engines working in the large Roanoke yards. March 1945 was the busiest month during the war when Shaffers dispatched 3,836 locomotives for an average of 124 per day, the highest number ever dispatched in a month from a single terminal in the steam era. The busiest day ever was March 2, 1945 when 141 locomotives were serviced and dispatched, an average of one being made ready every 10 minutes. This engine servicing method became standard on N&W and it was the only railroad to ever use this servicing system on steam power.

Roanoke's railroad had in its arsenal of weapons the Roanoke Shops that added mightily to its prosperity and well-being before the war. This institution, also known to the railway as "East End Shops", contributed significantly to N&W's war service. Its 2,850 employees kept the extensively used passenger equipment repaired and in service, repaired and built freight cars, built 47 new steam locomotives, and performed classified repairs on N&W's own steam power as well as 284 engines from eight other railroads.

The shops also filled 85 war orders for some 438,000 items of equipment and parts for other industries and the armed forces. One such war order for the Shops made components for Bailey bridges (prefabricated bridges which could quickly replace those damaged or destroyed by war). Very significantly, the Norfolk and Western sponsored the 755<sup>th</sup> Railway Shop Battalion, a unit of the Army's Military Railway Service. It is only right that the N&W sponsored a shop battalion and then furnished personnel from its own Roanoke Shops for this unit. The 755<sup>th</sup> saw service in England and Western Europe, and this distinguished unit was cited for meritorious service by keeping locomotives and equipment serviceable in that war zone. It only seems natural that this unit should be cited since it was composed mostly of skilled personnel from the most efficient railway shop anywhere, performing duties they knew so very well.

The Norfolk and Western Railway set a standard of excellence during World War II that was as good as any railroad in America. That is a credit to the leadership and management, but is also a credit to its loyal and faithful employees who went beyond what was asked to be done for their country in this national crisis. There were approximately 25 thousand employed during the war years. Yet no part of the railway's contribution to Victory was greater than the approximately 4,600 members of the N&W Family who served their country in the armed forces, and the 95 who paid the supreme sacrifice in their nation's defense. N&W's President William J. Jenks said,

*"To the N&W men who gave their lives for our country we owe a debt of gratitude, which can be repaid only by our sustained devotion to the task of helping to preserve peace and freedom throughout the world."*

*These words by President Jenks are as true today as they were 74 years ago.*

Not only did the railway's Family put its wholehearted effort into doing its railroad job, they fully supported the war by buying War Bonds. The *N&W Magazine* stated that "N&W employees were the first large group of rail workers to achieve the distinction of having 99.8 per cent of their number buy War Bonds." From August 1941 to July 1945, 376,046 War Bonds were purchased through payroll deduction having a par value of \$11,021,825. Furthermore, the railway's Family sacrificed to support the war effort in other ways, such as collecting and disposing of scrap metal, rubber and paper. Like all Americans, they grew and shared their Victory Gardens with their friends and neighbors.

This is how the Norfolk and Western and US railroads performed their service to the nation in World War II. This is in sharp contrast to the railroad industry during the First World War and the railway industry met the challenge par excellence. For N&W, this involved enlarging its equipment program and facilities to meet the greater volume of traffic. The railway met all military and civilian transportation demands during the war, and maintained and upgraded its physical plant while continuing development of its motive power and equipment.

Remaining as private companies during WW II is a credit to labor and the all-out cooperation of managements between rail companies; railroads achieved wartime transportation records that are unprecedented in US history. The N&W Magazine gave this eye-catching statistic: "During World War I the railroads were operated by the government at a loss of \$2,000,000 a day, which had to be made up by the taxpayers. During World War II, the railroads not only operated in the black but paid to the government taxes amounting to \$3,000,000 daily." What a compelling reason for the free enterprise system and justification for US railroads to remain private.

So what did the Norfolk and Western Railway pay in taxes? Remaining a private company, it paid \$175,835,504.43 in taxes from January 1942 through July 1945. That was enough to build 293 B-29 Superfortresses, America's largest and most advanced bomber of WW II.



*War not only increased traffic, wartime conditions created major changes in traffic flows and routing. When German submarines interdicted coastal shipping along the eastern seaboard, almost all petroleum and its products from the Gulf of Mexico was diverted to pipelines and railroads for delivery to the northeast. N&W carried very little oil before the war. Here is a solid tank car train on the line from Roanoke to Hagerstown, Maryland enroute to the northeast.*

*(N&W photo, courtesy author's collection.)*

Between 1941 (the last prewar year) and 1944 (the last full war year), the total intercity freight volume increased only about 13.5 percent. Yet, the US railroads' volume increased by 50 percent during the same time for two reasons: one was the increased need for land transportation generated by the war and secondly was that eastern seaboard coastal shipping was interdicted by German submarines and three-fourths of that traffic was absorbed mostly by the eastern railroads. The US railroads magnificently met the transportation requirements of World War II and did the job speedily and safely with little congestion and delays.

US railroads moved annually twice the freight volume of any year in the First World War. Total revenue passenger volume in 1944 was more than double of the prewar high in 1920. The rail industry did all of this with one-third fewer locomotives and passenger cars and one-fourth fewer freight cars than during World War I. The rail industry's modernization programs prior to the war made this possible. This excess capacity came from technological improvements and advancements in motive power, rolling stock, track, shops, yards, terminals, signals and traffic control.

World War II ended with victory on the battlefields. As N&W's President Jenks said, we do "owe a debt of gratitude" to those who sacrificed and suffered so much to win the war. Fighting forces won this war, yet victory was only possible having railroads providing the needed transportation on the home front. America was involved in this war for only 44 months, but it would have lasted much longer if the US rail industry hadn't performed as well as it did. Norfolk and Western and all US railroads deserve the credit as private companies working together in this great human effort. It was a time of unparalleled accomplishment in the rail industry and for Roanoke's railroad.

The period of 1939 through 1945 was US railroading's finest hour. The record speaks for itself!

# N & W Shops

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By Ken Miller

## **Roanoke Shops/East End Shops, Recalling 137 Years of History**

**I**n 1881, in the small community of Big Lick would become a junction of the Atlantic Mississippi and Ohio (AM&O) and the coming Shenandoah Valley Railroad. In October 1881, the Roanoke Machine Works was founded to become a major repair and manufacturing facility for the two roads as well as others. The Norfolk and Western (descendant from the bankrupt AM&O) was the owner but it was operated as a separate organization until 1897.

Construction on the Roanoke Machine Works was generally completed by summer of 1883 and repair work commenced. The Roanoke Machine Works built or repaired equipment for many railroads in the eastern United States.

In 1885, the Roanoke Machine Works completed its first nine locomotives. The Machine Works had been operating at limited capacity due to financial depression in the country. But in 1886, they were up to full operation. In the ensuing decade, the Roanoke Machine Works constructed a total of 152 new locomotives for the N&W.

In 1897, the company was folded into the Norfolk and Western and became their Roanoke Shops or East End Shops. At that time, roughly 1,000 workers were employed there. The Shops would be a major employer in the Roanoke Valley for nearly a century. Over time, the Shop complex grew to roughly 90 acres.

Locomotive production resumed in 1900 at the facility. Over the next 53 years the shops built 295 locomotives. From 1927 to 1953, the shops built every new steam locomotive acquired by the N&W, and repaired or rebuilt countless others.

During the 1930's, even with the Depression, N&W kept workers on, despite a reduced schedule to maintain the skills they knew they would need later when times improved.

During World War II, the Shops were a vital wartime industry, employing some 2,850 people in 1943. The Shops continued building new locomotives for the N&W, repairing countless cars and locomotives. The Shops also did war contract work for the US Army and US Navy as well as a wide variety of other companies. During 1943 alone, they built 21 locomotives, repaired 259 others, repaired over 4,500 steel hopper cars as well as many other cars and rebuilt 43 steam locomotives for other railroads.

Steam locomotive production continued until December 1953 when the last steam locomotive built for a Class One railroad in the United States left the shop. Alas, it was not to last, as the N&W rapidly dieselized and steam operation ended in May 1960.

After the steam era, the Shops became a major repair facility for the system's diesel locomotives. New car construction continued and at one point the Shops were shipping out 16 cars per 24-hour day. In 2000, Norfolk Southern closed its freight car production line, moving work to Altoona, PA. In early 2020, NS announced the closure of the locomotive repair shops ending 137 years of work in Roanoke.

*Ken Miller is managing editor of "The Arrow," magazine of the Norfolk and Western Railway Historical Society.*

# Lost Colony

By Jeff Hampton

## Roanoke Island Mystery Solved

*"The mystery is over." Researchers say they know  
what happened to the "Lost Colony"*

*Virginian-Pilot, Aug. 17, 2020*

**B**UXTON, N.C. — The English colonists who settled the so-called Lost Colony before disappearing from history simply went to live with their native friends—the Croatoans of Hatteras, according to a new book.

"They were never lost," said Scott Dawson, who has researched records and dug up artifacts where the colonists lived with the Indians in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. "It was made up. The mystery is over."

Dawson has written a book, published in June, that details his research. It is called "The Lost Colony and Hatteras Island." And echoes many of the sentiments he has voiced for 11 years.

Dawson and his wife, Maggie, formed the Croatoan Archaeological Society. When the digs began, Mark Horton, a professor and archaeologist from England's University of Bristol, led the project. Henry Wright, professor of anthropology at the University of Michigan, is an expert on native history.

Teams have found thousands of artifacts 4-6 feet below the surface that show a mix of English and Indian life. Parts of swords and guns are in the same layer of soil as Indian pottery and arrowheads.

The excavated earth looks like layer cake as the centuries pass. "In a spot the size of two parking spaces, we could find 10,000 pieces," he said. Pieces found during the project are on display at the Hatteras Library. The rest are in storage.

Dawson's book draws from research into original writings of John White, Thomas Harriot and others. Most of their writings were compiled at that time by English historian Richard Hakluyt. Records from Jamestown also helped Dawson understand more about the tribes' political structure.

The evidence shows the colony left Roanoke Island with the friendly Croatoans to settle on Hatteras Island. They thrived, ate well, had mixed families and endured for generations. More than a century later, explorer John Lawson found natives with blue eyes who recounted they had ancestors who could "speak out of a book," Lawson wrote.

The two cultures adapted English earrings into fishhooks and gun barrels into sharp-ended tubes to tap from trees.

The Lost Colony stemmed from a 1587 expedition. Just weeks after arriving, White had to leave the

*(Editor's note: For centuries, historians have wondered about what happened to the Lost Colony at Roanoke Island in 1587. After landing on the North Carolina coast, the leaders left a group and returned to England for supplies. When they returned the colony had disappeared. Their island name followed the river upstream to what became Roanoke, Va. This article is used with permission.)*

group of settlers—including his daughter, Eleanor Dare, and newborn granddaughter, Virginia—to get more supplies from England. White was not able to return for three years. When he arrived at Roanoke Island in 1589 he found “CROATOAN” carved on a post and “cro” on a tree. He found no distress marks.

They literally made a sign. It was expected that the colonists would go with their friends, the Croatoans and tribe member, Manteo, Dawson said. Manteo had traveled to England with earlier expeditions and was baptized a Christian on Roanoke Island.

White later wrote of finding the writing on the post. *“I greatly enjoyed that I had found a certain token of their being at Croatoan where Manteo was born.”*

A bad storm and a near mutiny kept White from reaching Hatteras. He returned to England without ever seeing his colony again.

Archaeologists found a flower-shaped clothing clasp belonging to a woman with the other items. Sir Walter Raleigh sent three expeditions to the New World in 1584, 1585 and 1587. The first two had more military purposes and did not include women. The 1587 group brought 15 women with it, Dawson said.

They also found round post holes where Indians built their long houses, 25 feet to 60 feet long and they uncovered square post holes made by the English during the same period.

*“They were in the Indian village surrounded by long houses,”* Dawson said.

Bones of turtle, wild fowl and deer bones indicate good eating. Pigs’ teeth turn up for generations. They never had to eat the last pig, Dawson said. Any skeletons uncovered in the digs were left untouched out of respect, Dawson said. One artifact could depict a recorded event.

A lead tablet and lead pencil found at the dig could have belonged to White himself, Dawson said. White was also part of the 1585 group, working as an artist who drew natives and wildlife. The British Museum has the originals.

He likely used the newly discovered tablet or a similar one to draw the miniature pictures. The uncovered tablet has an impression of an Englishman shooting a native in the back. The paper drawing has never been found.

Wingina, the chief of the Secotans, was shot twice in the back by an Englishman in 1586 at a village near what is now Manna Harbor, Dawson said. The Croatoans assisted the English in the ambush, Dawson said.

The Secotans and the Croatoans hated each other, Dawson said. Secotans enslaved Croatoans just a few years before the English arrived. The English had burned a Secotan village in 1585.

The Croatoans befriended the English as powerful friends with guns and armor. White’s colony welcomed their friendship, especially after one of their members, George Howe, was killed by the Secotans.

White was concerned about the danger posed by the Secotans when he left for England. The Croatoans saved the colonists by taking them away from Roanoke Island to their Hatteras Island village, Dawson said.

*“You’re robbing an entire nation of people of their history by pretending Croatoan is a mystery on a tree,”* he said. *“These were a people that mattered a lot.”*

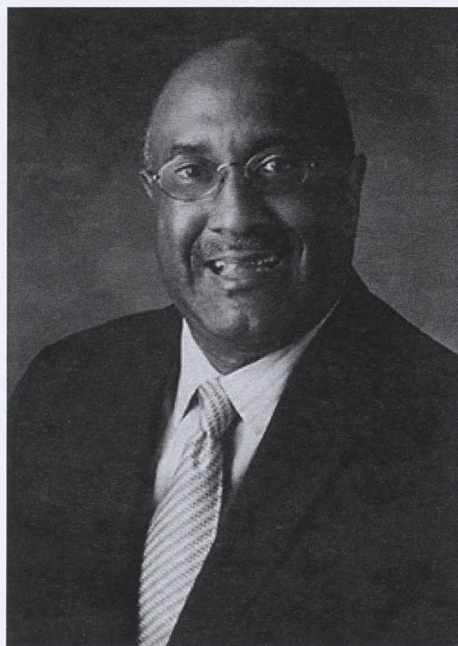
# Slavery as America's "Peculiar" Institution: an Economic, Social Psychology and Value-Relative Analysis

By Reginald Shareef

Slavery remains one of the oldest and most widespread institutions on earth. It was not unique to America. The English word "slave" is derived from "Slavs" who were enslaved on a massive scale and sold into bondage all over Europe and in the Ottoman Empire. Enslaved people—whether the enslavement was based on religion or ethnicity—might be despised or treated with contempt both during and after enslavement but that is not what caused them to be enslaved in the first place. Racial hate followed, rather than preceded, American slavery. Africans were enslaved in the United States for economic reasons, and a racist rationale was used to justify American slavery because religious justifications for slavery were no longer tenable.

## What Made American Slavery a "Peculiar" Institution?

Conservatives make the argument that it was only "peculiar" because it was at odds with the founding principles of the founding fathers.



Reginald Shareef

American economist Thomas Sowell wrote: "Slavery was 'peculiar' only because human bondage was inconsistent with the principles of American democracy especially liberty and property." Newt Gingrich, writing a rebuttal about the New York Times 1619 Project, had a similar opinion: *"Certainly if you are African American, slavery is what you see at the center of the American experience. But for most Americans, most of the time, there were a lot of other things going on. There were several hundred thousand white Americans who died in the Civil War to free the slaves."*

This worldview views American slavery as essentially an issue of liberty, and that issue of societal freedom for blacks was fundamentally settled in 1865. And if not in 1865, certainly in 1868 with the civil war amendments, especially the 14th amendment, that you could not deny a citizen of life, liberty, or property without due process. No longer were African Americans property. So for Conservatives the issue really stopped in 1868; if you were free and had due process.

However, Liberals like the late Harvard Sociology Professor and US Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan have a more expansive

*Dr. Reginald Shareef of Roanoke is a political science/public administration professor at Radford University where he has taught for 30 years. He gave this talk to the Society in September 2019. Shareef holds degrees from Virginia State University, Lynchburg College and a doctorate from Virginia Tech. He has been adjunct professor at Virginia Tech and Roanoke College. As a public intellectual, he has written many articles.*

view of the peculiarity of American slavery. Moynihan wrote:

*"American slavery was profoundly different from—and in its lasting effects on individuals and their children—indescribably worse than any recorded servitude, ancient or modern."* What Moynihan did was compare slavery in Brazil, which also imported a lot of African slaves, to slavery in America. This is what he said:

*"The feudal Catholic society of Brazil had a legal and religious tradition that offered a slave a place—a miserable place to be sure—as a human being in society. A slave could legally marry; a slave could be baptized and become a member of the Catholic Church. A slave family could not be broken up for sale. A slave had days to rest or earn money to buy his freedom."*

He said nothing in English law or Protestant theology accommodated the fact of human bondage. Slaves were reduced to the status of chattel property and totally removed from the protection of organized society. Existence of African slaves as human beings had no recognition by any religious or secular law (see e.g., the 1857 Dred Scott ruling). Slave children could be sold, marriages were not recognized, and a man's "wife" could be violated or sold. Slaves could be subjected—without redress—to barbaric punishment. Even if a master wanted to free his slaves, every legal obstacle was used to prevent that action. In concluding, Moynihan said: *"This is not what slavery meant in the ancient world, in medieval and early Europe, or in Brazil or the West Indies"* (Moynihan, 1965).

While I agree with both Sowell's and Moynihan's analysis concerning the peculiarities of American slavery, they both ignore the most salient independent variable. Since the legitimacy for the Christians of Western Europe to enslave "pagans" from the Balkans and Eastern Europe was no longer tenable, a new justification for slavery was needed.

What made American slavery unique was the religious/legal justification of genetic black intellectual and moral inferiority. As one writer from the New York Times' 1619 Project noted, white Americans, whether invested in slavery or not, *"had a considerable psychological as well as economic investment in the doctrine of black inferiority. While liberty was the inalienable right of the people who would be considered white, enslavement and subjugation became the natural station of people who had any discernible drop of 'black' blood."*

So that's where the doctrine of innate black inferiority—the institutional reducing of human beings to subhuman status—was developed to justify American enslavement.

The framers of the Constitution were not the first to believe, based on Natural Law, that people came in two types—slaves and non-slaves. They inherited these philosophical justifications for slavery from the Greeks. Aristotle was the first to articulate that slaves were born (a) incomplete (without souls and (b) the ability to think so they needed masters to tell them what to do.

Furthermore, Aristotle thought that slaves were "living tools" fit only for physical labor. These ideas became an integral part of a "slave race" ideology. Plato, likewise, thought it was for the "better" to rule over the "inferior" based on slave and non-slave status.

The U.S. Supreme Court enshrined this thinking in the law in its 1857 Dred Scott ruling, which said: Black people, whether enslaved or free, came from a slave race. This made them inherently inferior to white people and, therefore, incompatible with American democracy. Democracy was for white citizens and the "Negro race" was a separate class of persons which the Founders had not regarded as a portion of the people or citizens of the government and had no rights which the white man was bound to respect."

This belief that black people were a slave race became the root of the endemic racism that the country still suffers. If black people could never be citizens, if they were a caste apart from other humans, then they did not require the rights bestowed by the Constitution. Thus, America—while an economic class system of upward social mobility—is also a sociological racial caste system based on the ideology of genetic black inferiority.

These socially constructed ideas are deeply embedded in both the national and global culture. This social construction shapes how both blacks and other groups “make sense” of African Americans.

Both Conservatives like Sowell and Liberals like Moynihan have a psychological “blind spot” in acknowledging that while America is a class system, it is simultaneously a racial caste. However, black thinkers beginning with sociologist W.E.B. Du Bois have viewed America as a racial caste and this worldview led to the development of Critical Race Theory as a legal and public policy discipline that analyzes America as a racial caste.



*Sweet Potato Planting, Hopkinson's Plantation, Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Gladstone Collection of African American Photographs (329), LC-DIG-ppmsca-11398, Library of Congress Control No. 2010651644.*

This social construction of reality concerning genetic black inferiority—and thus that the group deserves to be at the very bottom of the social caste—is not conditional. It is heritable and immutable. We are talking talk about institutional racism, not about overt racism. We're talking about a process of social learning of deeply-embedded cultural beliefs that are often unconscious.

As such, whenever a black gets “out of his/her place” in America's racial caste (e.g., thinks for himself or herself or has ideas that differ from the status quo), there is an unconscious visceral reaction to put him/her back in his place. Hence—from this worldview—since President Obama really was most often “the smartest guy in the room,” the vicious libel from President Trump against Obama that he was not born in the US should not have been

unexpected. Moreover, that people believed it, should not have been unexpected.

### **The Economics of American Slavery**

Before the abolishment of the international slave trade was ended in the British Parliament in 1807, 400,000 enslaved Africans would be sold into America. We are all familiar with African slaves picking cotton in the South before the Civil War and generating tremendous wealth. Yet, the North, especially New York City, also benefited economically from this free labor. The relentless buying, financing insuring and insuring of black bodies—and the products of their labor—made Wall Street a thriving banking, insurance and trading sector and New York City the financial capital of the world.

There were all types of slaves.

*The Buttonwood Agreement of 1792 became the New York Stock Exchange (NYSE) and covered transactions and companies involved in the slave trade including the purchasing of slaves on credit, shipping,*

insurance and cotton. Many prominent Americans in the North made their economic fortunes directly from the slave trade.

For example, John Jacob Astor, America's first multimillionaire, made his fortune in furs, China trade, and the slave trade. Astor, who died in 1848, is the namesake for the Waldorf Astoria Hotel and popular neighborhoods in NYC.

Moses Taylor's banking operations helped finance the illegal slave trade and evolved into the giant bank, Citibank. Phillip Livingston, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, used his slave-based wealth to endow Yale University's first professorship. He was also a founder of Kings College, which later became Columbia University.

Charles Tiffany got financing from his father—who owned a cotton mill in Connecticut that processed cotton picked by slave labor—to open a fancy goods store in 1837 in New York. Thus, slaves' profits were instrumental in launching Tiffany & Company, the world renowned jewelry company. In sum, the slave trade was economically profitable for both the North and South.

### **Framers' Reaction to Calls for Ending the Slave Trade**

By 1776, Britain had grown deeply conflicted over its role in this peculiar and barbaric institution known as the slave trade and called for an end to it. These calls would have upended the economies of the colonies in both the North and South.

Conveniently left out of America's Founding mythology is the fact that one of the primary reasons the colonists sought independence from Great Britain was over the slave trade issue. We think of the Boston Tea Party, but another reason for breaking with British Empire was the slave trade.

The wealth and prominence that allowed Jefferson, at 33, and the other founding fathers to believe they could break off from the mighty British Empire came from the astronomical profits generated by chattel property.

Ten of America's first 12 Presidents were enslavers. Ironically, in making the argument against British tyranny, one of the colonists' favorite rhetorical devices was to claim that they were the slaves—to Great Britain.

For this duplicity, they faced intense criticism—both at home and abroad—as evidenced by Samuel Johnson, a British Tory opposed to independence, who wrote: *"How is it that we hear yelps for liberty among the drivers of Negroes?"*

When I was starting my master's degree in public administration, we had to read a 1913 book by Charles Beard, *"An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution."* It provides further evidence that the Framers' economic interests—rather than notions of democracy—shaped the Founding Period.

Beard argued that the structure of the Constitution of the US was primarily shaped by the economic interests of the Framers. He also contended the Constitution was a counter-revolution between Northern bankers and merchants—those who financed the slave trade—and Southern farmers and plantation owners.

The Constitution protected the economic interests of both the banker-merchant class and plantation owners by:

- a. Protecting the "property" of those who enslaved black people
- b. Prohibiting the federal government from intervening to end the importation of enslaved Africans for 20 years; and
- c. Allowing Congress to mobilize the militia to put down insurrections by the enslaved and forced states that had outlawed slavery to turn over enslaved people who had escaped.

In 1800, plantation slave owners overthrew the capitalists by electing Thomas Jefferson as President, establishing Jeffersonian Democracy. However, both the Northern bankers and merchants and Southern plantation owners continued to get rich off of free black labor.

Adam Smith, the founder of modern capitalism, talks about the natural law justifications for slavery in his books, "The Theory of Moral Sentiments" and "The Wealth of Nations." He sought to refute the linkage of natural law and slavery and believed that tyranny, not economic utility, was the basis for slavery.

In "The Wealth of Nations," Smith said slave labor was less productive than free labor since freemen work for themselves and work harder. He also said slavery reduces productivity since slaves have no incentive to innovate and argues that slavery has held back societies' economic growth throughout history.

In "The Theory of Moral Sentiments," Smith noted found that only two groups like slavery, aristocrats and wealthy merchants, because they fear the humbling competition domain of market competition. Adam Smith was adamantly opposed to slavery and condemned those engaged in the institution for both economic and moral reasons.

In sum, despite Natural Law justifications from the Greeks and the forthcoming establishment of Jeffersonian Democracy, the third President of the United States feared God's punishment for the "peculiar" institution that he benefited from as he wrote in "Notes on the State of Virginia" in 1784.

Here's what Jefferson said:

*"And can the liberties of a nation be secure when we have removed their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are the gift of God? That they are not to be violated but with his wrath? Indeed, I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep forever: that considering numbers and nature means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situations, is among possible events: that it may become probable through supernatural interference. The Almighty has no attribute that can take side with us in such a contest."*

Like the Jewish tribes with Moses, Jefferson made the conscious choice to worship the profits derived from the golden calf of the "peculiar" institution rather than heed God's warnings against the inhuman, man-made system of chattel slavery. He feared God's punishment individually and on American society for participation in the "peculiar" institution.

### **Social Psychology of the "Peculiar" Institution: Contemporary Implications**

Claude Steele, a social psychologist and professor at Stanford University, pioneered research into the relationship between what he called Stereotype Threat and Educational Achievement. He sought to demonstrate the cause and effect relationship between the fear of confirming a negative stereotype, like innate intellectual inferiority negatively affecting black student test-taking abilities. The results research demonstrates a self-fulfilling prophecy.

In a set of experiments, Steele and his colleagues gave black and white college students half-hour tests using difficult terms from the verbal GRE. In one group, the students were told the test diagnosed intellectual ability thus eliciting the stereotype-threat that blacks are less intelligent than whites. In the other group, researchers told the other group the test was a problem-solving task that was not the catalyst for triggering stereotypical behaviors, thus rendering stereotypes irrelevant.

What the research found was the intelligence test triggered the stereotype-threat and blacks did less

well than whites. In the non-stereotype-threat group, black performance matched that of equally skilled whites. Further Steele and his colleagues' research revealed that by merely asking students to record their race—thus making the stereotype salient—black students performed worse than white students.

Consequently, the socially constructed belief in black intellectual inferiority—that began with the racist justification for the “peculiar” institution—is so deeply embedded in American culture that an emotional fear of confirming the stereotype has been validated as an independent variable in lower test-taking achievement scores.

Researchers in my field of Leadership Studies have conducted studies to determine how workers view black leaders. A 2013 study, reported in the *Academy of Management Journal*, is instructive: White leaders are viewed as the norm or standard so there is nothing to compare them against. Black leaders are viewed as incompetent; that is, having a lack of intelligence. Even when black leaders are successful, these outcomes are not attributable to “intelligence” but to friendliness, approachability and compassion. Both black and white workers were represented in this particular study.

Consequently, the socially constructed belief in black intellectual inferiority—that began with the racist justification for the “peculiar” institution—is so deeply embedded in world culture that despite black leadership organizational success and performance, respondents will attribute that success to other characteristics than intelligence.

### **The “Peculiar” Institution and Value-Relativity**

Value Relativity is “The sociological proposition that moral values change over time.” Conversely, universal, religious values are “Transcendent moral values that do not change over time.”

Thus, slavery was always wrong whether practiced by the Romans against the Jewish people, the Ottoman Turkish Muslims or Western European Christians on the peoples of Eastern Europe, the Arab slave trade, or the American slave trade. Contemporary sex trafficking of young women is a form of slavery, and it is as morally wrong today and was wrong 2,000 years ago. Slavery was always wrong.

Thomas Sowell makes the value-relative argument for why the “peculiar” institution existed—and was condoned—in America by the Framers: “Those who criticized the writers of the Constitution for con-doning slavery by their silence on the subject have a valid point only if its abolition was in fact an option open to them at the time, in a new country struggling for survival. A much larger and more powerful United States was shaken to its foundations by the Civil War generations later. Had the US split over the issue of slavery when the constitution was written in 1787, it is no means clear that the North would have prevailed militarily or that either region would have survived.”

Sowell makes a classic political, Machiavellian argument for the Framers condoning slavery. That's a great example of value-relativity.

Yet, Thomas Jefferson makes no such Machiavellian political argument against slavery. He understands the immoral social psychology of slavery and rails against the “peculiar” institution while simultaneously loving the economic benefits of free labor.

This is what Jefferson wrote:

*“There must doubtless be an unhappy influence on the manners of our people produced by the existence of slavery among us. The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submissions on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate it. The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the*

*circle of smaller slaves, gives loose to his worst of passions, and thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities. The man must be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances."*

Jefferson was not a social psychologist, but he understood how social learning inculcates the belief of innate inferiority between master and slave.

Yet, for over 50 years, Jefferson was locked—along with the other Framers—into the slave system for purely economic reasons. He simply could not afford to free his slaves because he needed them to work his 10,000 acres of land which, without their labor, would have lost its value. Thus, Jefferson not only devoted himself to an economy based on slave labor but also to a defense of the idea that (a) *slaves themselves constituted a legitimate form of property* and (b) *slavery was an indispensable social practice*.

In sum, Jefferson simply put economic profit maximization over moral economics but was not hypocritical about his decision. There was no value-relativity in his decision to profit from the slave economy.

## Conclusion

The foregoing discussion does not seek to make slavery of Africans by Europeans unique due to some type of inherent moral deficiencies in the West. There's no moral deficiency. We are all human beings. African tribes enslaved other African tribes as a result of war. The earlier discussion of the Ottoman Turks (Muslims) and their enslavement of the Slavic people of Eastern Europe in the 1500s led to centuries of deeply-embedded hatreds that exploded—five hundred years later—in the deadly Bosnian War of the early 1990s that killed thousands of Muslims.

The story of Arab Muslims enslaving thousands of Africans in the 14th Century—like that of the Ottoman Turks—severely tarnishes the fundamental Islamic principle of egalitarianism. Slavery, for whatever reason, is not unique.

However, what this discussion does do is to empirically demonstrate the "uniqueness" of America's "peculiar" institution. It also demonstrates how, for the first time in history, that religious/legal/educational institutions were used to justify the genetic inferiority of a race in order to condone slavery.

Most important in my mind, however, is that the how and why of slavery—in any form—is always a moral wrong.

## ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

**I. Creating A Shared Reality:** The best discussion of organization sensemaking—where people find meaning to their collective experiences—is provided by Karl Wick in his classic 1995 *Sensemaking in Organizations*. For a review of how the English word ‘slave’ is derived from the enslavement of Slavic people and how racial hate has followed, not preceded, enslavement, see Thomas Sowell’s *Race and Culture: A Worldview* (1994), Chapter 7-Race and Slavery.

**II. What Made American Slavery a “Peculiar” Institution:** See Sowell, Chapter 7; “Newt Gingrich calls 1619 Project a ‘lie’,” *USA Today*, August 19, 2019; and Daniel Geary’s “The Moynihan Report: An Annotated Edition,” “The Atlantic,” September 15, 2015. Sowell also discusses the shift from a religious to racist rationale for slavery in Chapter 7 of his book. An examination about the psychological, as well as economic, investments in using a genetic inferiority to justify American slavery in Nikole Hannah-Jones’ lengthy August 14, 2019 New York Times article “Our democracy’s founding ideals were false when they were written. Black Americans have fought to make them true.” In 1903, W.E.B. Du Bois wrote an influential essay encouraging a “Talented Tenth”—educated black men who were expected to dispel the libel of genetic intellectual inferiority—in *The Negro Problem*. An assessment of Aristotle’s and Plato’s attitudes toward Natural Law and slavery can be found in the *BBC Series* “Philosophers Justifying Slavery,” @ [bbc.co.uk/ethics/slavery/philosophers](http://bbc.co.uk/ethics/slavery/philosophers)

**III. The Economics of Slavery:** For a insightful look at how slavery made New York City the financial capital of the world in the 1850s, see Peter Alan Harper’s “How Slave Labor Made New York,” *The Root*, February 5, 2013. The idea that the American Revolution was actually fought to maintain the slave trade can be found in Hannah-Jones’ *New York Times* article. When I was working on my PhD at Virginia Tech in Public Administration & Policy in the 1980s, Charles Beard’s *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution* was standard reading in normative economic and public policy classes. Modern capitalism’s founder Adam Smith’s criticism of slavery can be found in both of his seminal works: *The Wealth of Nations* and *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*. An excellent journal article reviewing Smith’s anti-slavery views can be found in a 2010 article in *Real-World Economic Review*: “Adam Smith’s real views on slavery:” A Reply to Marvin Brown @ [www.paecon.net/PAE/Review/issue 53/Wells](http://www.paecon.net/PAE/Review/issue%2053/Wells). Thomas Jefferson’s concerns about Divine Punishment for slavery can be found in “Notes on the State of Virginia, 1784.” @ [encyclopediavirginia.org/Query-XVIII/an excerpt from Notes on the State of Virginia by Thomas Jefferson, 1784](http://encyclopediavirginia.org/Query-XVIII/an_excerpt_from_Notes_on_the_State_of_Virginia_by_Thomas_Jefferson,_1784).

**IV. The Social Psychology of the “Peculiar” Institution: Contemporary Implications:** Claude Steele’s and Joshua Aronson’s 1995 journal article *Stereotype Threat and the Intellectual Test Performance of African Americans* has been cited more than 9,000 times in the academic research. The article was published in the *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*. Carlton’s and Rosette’s 2011 research concerning how workers perceive black leaders’ success on attributes other than intelligence—“Explaining Bias Against Black Leaders: Integrating Theory in Information Processing and Goal-Based Stereotypes”—can be found in the *Academy of Management Journal*.

**V. The “Peculiar” Institution and Value-Relativity:** See Sowell, Chapter 7, for a discussion of the supposed political reasons the Framers could not condemn chattel slavery. For an economic analysis why Jefferson—although clearly understanding the intolerable high social costs—fought to maintain chattel slavery, please see Mark Malvasi’s 2018 article “Thomas Jefferson and the Paradox of Slavery” in *The Imaginative Conservative* @ [theimaginativeconservative.org/2018/04/Thomas-jefferson-paradox-slavery](http://theimaginativeconservative.org/2018/04/Thomas-jefferson-paradox-slavery).

# Roanoke-Norfolk Photographer

By Michael E. Blankenship

## Richard Aufenger, Photographic Artist



Ruby Lee Garst, ca 1925.

In 2008 I discovered a treasure where so many objects d'art would surface over the years...the flea market. My lifelong fascination with the Roaring Twenties drew me to her immediately, a true flapper in every sense of the word. With marcelled hair, beaded straps on her gown, pearls on her neck and a very conspicuous spit curl in the middle of her forehead, she was my ideal. Her image held the added delight of the slightest hint of dimples. Her dark eyes contained a tiny speck of light making them very mysterious. All of this beauty was held in an art deco frame. I turned it over and found her name: Ruby Lee Garst. She looked like a Ruby Lee. I had to have her and for a dollar she was mine.

After I got home, on closer inspection, I felt that no local photographer could have produced this wonderful piece of portraiture. It was signed in red ink and the strange name looked like Avfenger to me. I called my friend, Dan Jones, a former Roanoke City librarian, to see if he knew anything about the artist.

He corrected me immediately, the name was Aufenger (pronounced Offen-ger...ger as in German), Richard Aufenger to be precise, and he was a local photographer.

I had to know more and thus began my quest into the life of Richard Aufenger. I was fortunate enough to get in contact with both of his children. The first I contacted via email was Richard Fox Aufenger Jr. and he told me many memories of his father, unfortunately, they were not his own because he was only three months old when his talented father passed away. Aufenger's daughter Patricia was a little older, so the remembrances of her father were lasting and more substantial. Patricia was also kind enough to share incredible copies of photographs from her family's collection. Through both children, then in their 80s, I gained knowledge about their father, his business and family life.

Richard Bernard Aufenger was born June 24, 1898 in Brooklyn New York to George and Wilhelmina Aufenger. George worked in a shoe factory. Richard's sibling, George Jr., by 1910 was already working as a photo-engraver, so it was perhaps this connection that spurred Richard's initial interest in photography.

Family tradition has it that, as a child, Richard actually knew Betty Smith (original name: Wehner) and he is included in the book, "A Tree Grows in Brooklyn." He appears as a Jewish boy on his way to

*Michael Blankenship wrote a biography of Dr. John Henry Pinkard and has completed research on the Rev. William James Simmons of Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church and Luther Frierson, Roanoke's first black disk jockey and a history of that church.*

temple. The brother of the protagonist and his friends stop to harass the boy as they're headed to play baseball. When told to stay away from Christian girls, the badgered boy is truly amazed that the Gentile boys thought him mature enough to be interested in girls and he goes on his way mumbling "Golly" over and over. The brother says he knows the kid and that he is a "white Jew," although his friends don't believe such a thing exists. Due to the fact that Richard had blond hair and blue eyes, it is easy to see why others might think he was a "white Jew."

In actuality, the families of Richard Aufenger and Elizabeth Wehner (both with German ancestry) lived about two and a half miles apart, however, Bushwick Avenue connects their two addresses, and chapter 25 in the book is about Bushwick Avenue. So it is entirely possible they knew each other.

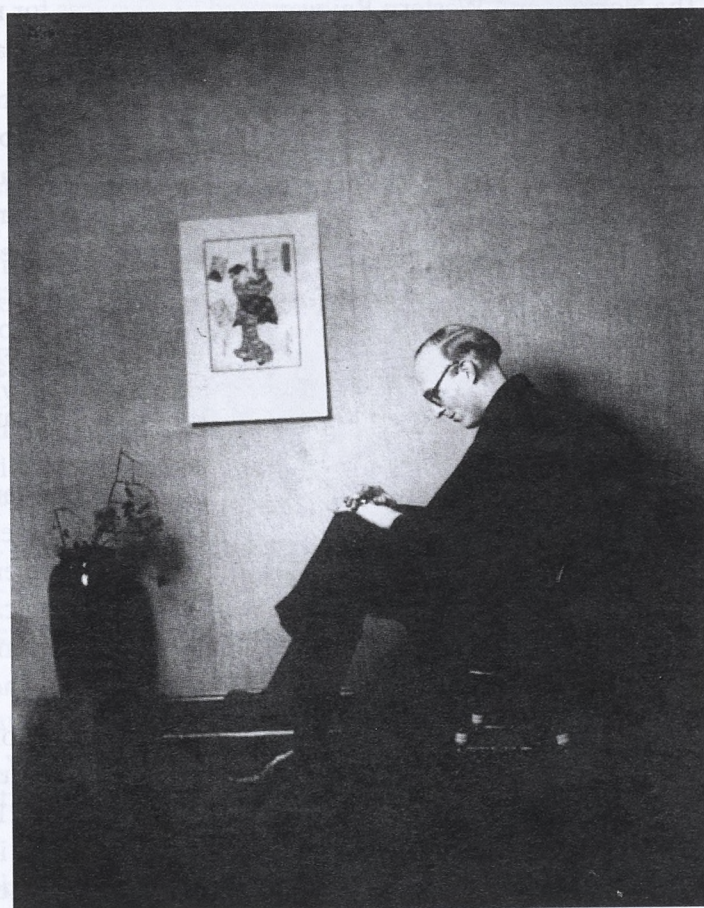
Richard attended Manual Training High School in Brooklyn where he was a member of the Camera Club. He was already winning prizes for his photography in high school. In June 1916 he was awarded second place in the landscapes division with a photo entitled "Five Brothers." The following year he won second and third place prizes in the miscellaneous division.

By the time of his graduation, June 28, 1917, it was announced in the newspapers that he was "a Manual [High School] boy of great promise. [He] is to become a farm photographer...slated for an \$18 weekly position." A part of his resume probably included the two courses in forestry he took at Cornell University during the summer session of 1915. He did not continue at Cornell following graduation from high school but he was proud of his brief connection with the university and always called himself a "Cornell man."

When Aufenger registered for the draft in June, 1918 he had set his sights a little higher and was working as a New York photographer for Underwood and Underwood, the largest publisher of stereoviews in the world and a major manufacturer of stereo optical equipment. By 1920, Underwood and Underwood sold their business to the other giant in the stereoscope industry, Keystone View Company.

In 1921, Aufenger, along with fellow Brooklynite, William H. Dunn, landed in Roanoke. Dunn had worked as an aerial photographer during World War I and since then had held various other jobs in the photography field. The company was set up as Aufenger and Dunn, and their original office was at 506 Jefferson Street, next to Hammond Printing and Lithograph, across the street from the Park Theater.

By the following year, Aufenger and Dunn had relocated to 119 Campbell Avenue, SW, near the Roanoke City Market and directly across the street from their worthy competitor, George Davis. It appears that the Davis and Aufenger studios were some of the few respectable



*Richard Aufenger, profile.*

businesses that were not segregated in Roanoke; both without distinction served the black and the white communities.

On August 9, 1922 Aufenger was married in Harrisonburg to Elise Augusta Loewner, daughter of Charles Emmanuel Loewner, the oldest monument dealer in Virginia and a member of one of the pioneer Jewish families in Harrisonburg.

Following the marriage, Aufenger and his bride moved into an apartment in the 500 block of King George Avenue in Roanoke. It appears that the marriage brought some financial stability to the family and shortly afterward Aufenger bought out Dunn's share of the business. The company was thereafter known as Aufenger Photographic Portraiture. By the mid-1920s another Aufenger studio was opened on the mezzanine floor of the West Virginian Hotel, in Bluefield, West Virginia. Because of his style and professionalism Aufenger quickly established himself as a first-rate art photographer. Everyone from socialites to new parents wanted portraits taken by Aufenger.

Businesses also sought out Aufenger because he owned a panoramic camera and his photographs (typically called "yard long photographs" even though they were not a yard long), were excellent for documenting large gatherings spread out over a wide area. The Norfolk and Western Railway used his services for many annual company picnics during the 1920s. One of his N&W "yard long" photographs is on display in Hotel Roanoke.



*Richard Aufenger*



*Elise Aufenger*

About 1925 Richard and Elise had a home built at 915 Lafayette Avenue in South Roanoke. The street name was later changed to Maywood Road. They needed more room because a baby was on the way. Patricia Sharlie Aufenger was born September 15, 1925. The home on Maywood was a log cabin in the woods, like something from a fairy tale.

Things were changing rapidly for the Aufengers. Early in 1928, advertising featuring toddler Patricia Aufenger, announced that the studio was moving. When the American Theater opened on March 26, 1928, Aufenger had already moved his studio into a second floor location. Early photographs of the theater show attention-grabbing Aufenger portraits in all the windows above the marquee.

Coinciding with the studio relocation, in March 1928, Aufenger moved his family to Norfolk and on August 1, 1928, they sold their Roanoke property on

Maywood. The studio in Bluefield was closed and all of its equipment was shipped to Norfolk to establish a new studio there. And, there was a new addition to the family, on November 27, 1928, Richard Fox Aufenger Jr. was born in Norfolk. (The senior Richard had obviously changed his middle name to Fox.)

Life was going well for the Aufengers. Richard and Elise were in the process of building a beautiful

home on the Elizabeth River in the Edgewater section of Norfolk. They were living a marvelous, luxurious life with two automobiles, a Packard and a Chrysler, complete with a full-time chauffeur and housemaid and cook, along with a greyhound dog, named Eagle. Then tragedy struck. Richard was doing yard work at the new home one afternoon, got pneumonia and died on February 10, 1929. During Richard's illness Eagle, the greyhound, stayed outside of his bedroom door and when he died, Eagle would not eat and also died. Elise was truly heartbroken and thereafter only spoke of Richard in the most endearing words and as a marvelous man/husband who could do no wrong.

Elise, who had never worked, took over the reins of the studios during a time when women rarely owned and operated businesses. Eventually she had to close all but the newest studio in Norfolk because people took advantage of her. She had no experience in photography but hired professional photographers to do the actual work. She operated the studio through the Depression and the World War II Years. It survived until Richard Aufenger Jr. took over the operation of the office following his graduation from UVA in 1950 with a degree in business administration.



*Patricia Aufenger*

Although initially, Richard Jr. was disinterested in photography, he eventually got some training in the field, took tips from various photographers who worked for the studio and became a first-rate photographer himself. When he had completed his first bridal proofs, he took them to show Elise, who was in the hospital with cancer. They both were very proud of his work.

Attorney Richard Aufenger III, of Norfolk, pointed out that although his father entered the field reluctantly, he was a very accomplished, nationally award-winning photographer, proudly expanding upon his father's legacy. He photographed the daughters of three United States presidents. In 1952 he formed the Tidewater Photographers Association which was later integrated into the Virginia Photographers Association and the Professional Photographers of America.

After a life well lived, Richard Fox Aufenger Jr. passed away on January 6, 2020 at the age of 91. Perhaps fate has been merciful. Richard Aufenger Sr. was spared the ordeal of living through the hardship of a worldwide depression. And, Richard Aufenger Jr. passed away before he could witness the Earth in the grip of a deadly virus.

For eight years Roanoke was fortunate to have had Richard Aufenger Sr. as one of its own. He brought beauty to the Valley through his art and, without a doubt, had his life not been cut short, in his new American Theater studio he would have continued to add his flair, elegance and creative ability to the local photographic profession.

So, I was left with one final question: What became of Ruby Lee Garst? Born July 4, 1905, this little Lutheran flapper was probably still a student at Roanoke College when she sneaked away to Roanoke to have her picture snapped by Aufenger. Upon graduation she led the mundane life of a school teacher



*N&W Railway picnic at Egleston Springs, Giles County.*

and dutiful stay-at-home daughter until 1934 when she broke the mold and took a two-week Caribbean cruise aboard the RMS Mauretania. Following this brief adventure her life seems to have settled back into the routine of work and domestic activities. Those who knew her, even in middle age, say she was a beauty but it appears she was not lucky in love. However, when her chance for happiness came along, at the age of 42, she was ready to grab it. On August 21, 1947, Ruby Lee and her beloved fellow-Salemite, Seibert Welford Lavinder (mercifully nicknamed "Pete") married. Pete was a jack of all trades and, to many, it seemed a mismatch but those who knew them say they adored each other until Ruby Lee passed away on January 14, 1994. She was born in Salem and she died in Salem and her 88 years there were spent in service to others, she certainly deserves this final footnote in history.

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# How Three Hiking Clubs became the Roanoke Appalachian Trail Club

By Diana Christopulos

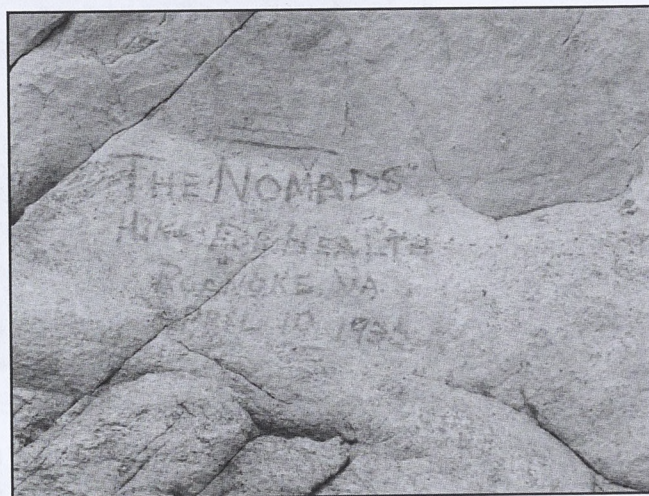
## The Founding

**H**ow do you make a trail building club out of three hiking clubs? Let them build trail where they like to hike. In 1932, Roanoke College had an outings club. So did Hollins College. And hikers from Roanoke and Salem, mostly women, had their own hiking club called The Nomads. On November 13, 1932, members of all three groups went for a walk in Carvins Cove, followed by supper at the home of Donald Gates, an economics professor at Roanoke College. Then they founded the Roanoke Appalachian Trail Club. Their own favorite hiking spots like Tinker Cliffs, McAfee Knob, Carvins Cove, Poor Mountain and Bent Mountain Falls would shape an immediate relocation of the originally planned AT route.

Like other clubs south of Washington, DC, RATC was the brainchild of Myron Avery, the driven and meticulous implementer of Benton McKaye's visionary Appalachian Trail. Avery became chairman of the Appalachian Trail Conservancy in 1931, when about 1,000 miles of the AT had already been completed. He was also president of the Potomac Appalachian Trail Club and, like Johnny Appleseed, was busy planting new clubs between Georgia and Maine.

The founders of the RATC were hikers. Under Avery's guidance, some of them would also become expert trail builders. After encountering Avery at an ATC event in the Smoky Mountains, Prof. Gates began corresponding with Avery, and he called a meeting of interested parties at the Roanoke YMCA on October 24, 1932. Next came a two-day meeting with Avery and other RATC members at the Hotel Mons near the Peaks of Otter on October 29-30. It must have been an impressive show. After day hikes to Sharp Top and Flat Top, RATC members showed movies and slides on how to mark and build trail along with scenic views on the completed northern sections. The next day they demonstrated exactly how to construct a trail.

No doubt energized by the training, Gates hosted a meeting and supper on November 13, prefaced by the Carvins Cove hike. Over 20 people showed up, and almost all became founding members of



Hikers' Landmark

*RATC has been around since 1932, and we are finally pulling together all the records. Acting as the RATC Archivist, I am working to digitize it and write about it. This is the first story. There will be more, both in the Blazer and on the RATC website, [www.ratc.org](http://www.ratc.org). If you have minutes, important documents or outstanding photos—especially from pre-2000—let me know. [dianak16@earthlink.net](mailto:dianak16@earthlink.net). Diana Christopulos is president of Roanoke Valley Cool Cities Coalition and past president of Blue Ridge Land Conservancy and Roanoke Appalachian Trail Club.*

RATC. There were nine men and eight women, not counting Gates' wife and son. RATC was a very social organization from the beginning, with hiking as the hook for everyone and trail building as the passion of a few. The founding members were:

*F.S. Baird, Virginia Caldwell, Mary Lane Charles, Grace Cheveraux, Membership Coordinator; E. B. Coxwell, Secretary; David Dick, Trail Supervisor; Donald S. Gates, President; Evelyn Gillenwater, John McGinnis, Trail Committee member; Velma Moeschler, Membership Committee member; Selma Mosher, Harold Pearn, Trail Committee member; Elmer Phelps, Trail Committee member; Mae Pond, Grace Pownall, Vice President; Lawrence Pownall, Treasurer; Philip Trout.*



*Some are pictured here, at the founding meeting. Donald Gates is in front, second from the left. Grace Cheveraux, in charge of Membership, is fourth from the left. Even though eight of the founding members were women, none were originally named officers. This must have caused further discussion. As reported in a club history written in 1951, at the November 26, 1932 meeting "it was decided that a fifth officer was needed, and Grace Pownall was elected vice-president."*

*The club fell into a monthly pattern of hikes followed by supper, with destinations including Tinker Ridge and McAfee Knob (January 23, 1933), Fort Lewis Mountain, Mason's Knob, and Apple Orchard.*

### **Building Tinker Cliffs and McAfee Knob into the Trail**

From Avery's standpoint, the real purpose of the RATC was to build trail. The route laid out by Shirley Cole, extension agent for Floyd County, followed the Blue Ridge for 200 miles. RATC was assigned 55 miles between Black Horse (Tavern) Gap (currently the northern boundary of our territory) and Sweet Annie Hollow, later extended about 15 miles south to include Tuggles Gap, near Rocky Knob. The long section between Tuggles Gap and Pinnacles of Dan, near the North Carolina border, was handled by the Mountain Club of Virginia, which included members from RATC, the Natural Bridge Appalachian Trail Club, Myron Avery and a resident of Pinnacles of Dan.

RATC members did not want to follow the Blue Ridge between Black Horse (Tavern) Gap and Adney, preferring their favorite haunts like McAfee Knob and Tinker Cliffs. A 1945 history of the RATC noted that, "The main problem facing the club in 1933 was the re-routing of the trail from East

of Roanoke to Bent Mountain to what club members felt was the more desirable route North and West of the city." Avery allowed the change, and he personally supervised it. He would "come to the Roanoke area [from Washington, DC] by train on Friday night, often staying at the Meadow View Inn in Daleville where by bus, train, or car club members would meet with him and spend the weekend marking, measuring and mapping the new trail." The new route descended the Blue Ridge to Cloverdale and climbed Tinker Mountain, running below McAfee Knob on the Carvin's Cove side, dropping in Mason's Cove before climbing Ft. Lewis Mountain and crossing US 11 near Dixie Caverns. It then climbed Poor Mountain, passed near Bent Mountain Falls and arrived at Adney Gap. The details of this relocation will be the topic of another blog.



*Myron Avery  
(second from right)  
leads a crew measuring the  
route for the Appalachian  
Trail near Devil's Backbone  
on Bent Mountain in 1940.*



*The club took a hike to Potts Mountain in Craig County in 1939.*

It is clear that hiking and socializing were at the center of the original RATC, with trail building spurred on by Avery. Long and short hikes were scheduled each month and first shared by post cards, later by the Bulletin, a monthly mimeographed production that included information about ATC happenings. Short hikes were the most popular, with many originating at Roanoke's downtown YMCA, with hikers reaching the trailhead by train or bus. Very few people owned cars at this time. Members went on excursions to Cave Mountain Lake, a YMCA camp, Arcadia and Virginia Beach. They rented Wild Air, the specious old building near McAfee Knob that now exists only as a fire place with the name engraved. They had an annual photo contest, though the results have not survived.

Myron Avery managed to harness the energy of a hiking social club to get 70 miles of the new AT blazed, and RATC members played key roles in completing the entire section in southern Virginia. By 1933, Trail Supervisor David Dick created a trail map for the southern half of Virginia that was sold by Avery's RATC. Our archives include several hard copies! But that is a story for another day.

### **Edited excerpt from 1945 history of Roanoke Appalachian Trail Club**

In 1933, the hike schedule was first posted weekly by post cards, later the Bulletin, a monthly publication of long mimeographed sheets, listed the hikes and kept members abreast on happenings with the Trail Conference. Today, of course, the Blazer does it all, quarterly. During the early period, hikes were either short or long.

The short hikes were the most popular while the longer reserved for the more serious walkers such as Harold Pearn and Elmer Phelps who did travel 30-plus miles on an overnighiter. The mode of transportation, for the most part, was by train or bus. The datum point was the YMCA.

What has not endured over the years are the moonlight hikes and the Friday Night Special, an evening walking cruise covering the miles between Salem and Williamson Road. The early members liked having a good time and held excursions regularly. There was also an annual photo contest. Work hikes were important, but reserved for cooler weather, however, the pioneers of the RATC got the job done. They blazed a 70-mile section of our national pathway and in the process evolved a stewardship that has been copied and improved upon by the membership of the post-war years.

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Unsigned. RATC archives, 1930s.

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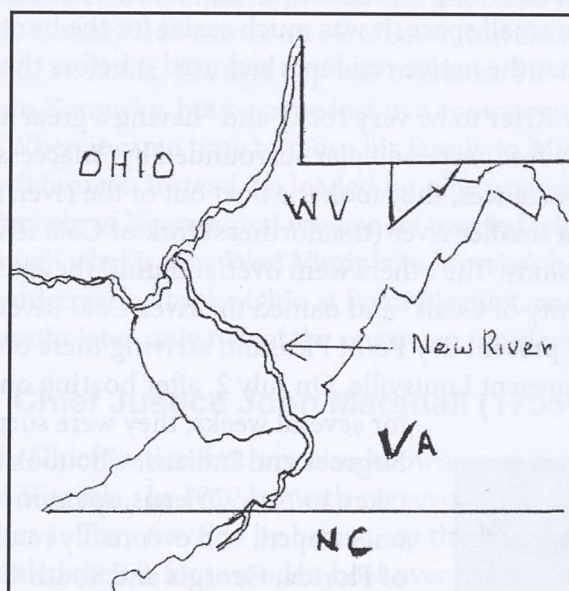
RATC History, 1932-1945. Unsigned. RATC archives, 1940s.

# New River

By Mary B. Kegley

## Travel on the New River

In the 1740s little was known about the Mississippi and the land that lay between Virginia and that great river. What is now West Virginia was wilder than today, but probably just as beautiful and just as wonderful. The New River begins near Blowing Rock, North Carolina, and flows northwesterly through Virginia and becomes the Kanawha River at the confluence of the Gauley River near Charleston, West Virginia. The mouth of that river joins the Ohio at Point Pleasant. In the past, dams were built providing electricity and encouraging recreation. In other places the lack of such changes in the river has saved destruction of hundreds of homes and businesses where the canoe, fishing, and resting on the banks are very much treasured and enjoyed. Some delight in jumping off the New River Gorge bridge or running the rapids with a raft full of friends. A variety of boats have been used on the New River over the years within the three states, and the question of exploration and navigation of the river has often been discussed.



*The New River in NC, VA and WV.*

### The Oldest River

Although authors in all forms of media have proclaimed that the New River is the oldest in America, this statement appears to have begun about 1970. And in 2000 there was a strong denial by Llyn Sharp of the Virginia Tech Museum of Natural History, who found it to be a myth. No one has measured all of the rivers in America, and in addition, the age of the rocks in the river bed does not tell us how old the river is. How do we measure the age of river water?[1]

*Mary B. Kegley, Wythe County lawyer, genealogist and historian, has written more than 60 books.*

## Abraham Wood

One of Virginia's earliest expeditions to the west was under the auspices of Abraham Wood, although he is credited with actually making a trip himself in 1654. A few years later, in 1671, under Wood's sponsorship, he sent Batts and Fallom to explore what was on the other side of the mountains, where they are credited with realizing there was a river that flowed north. The river got its colonial name of Woods River from Abraham Wood, and the names New and Woods were in the records together until about 1750.[2]

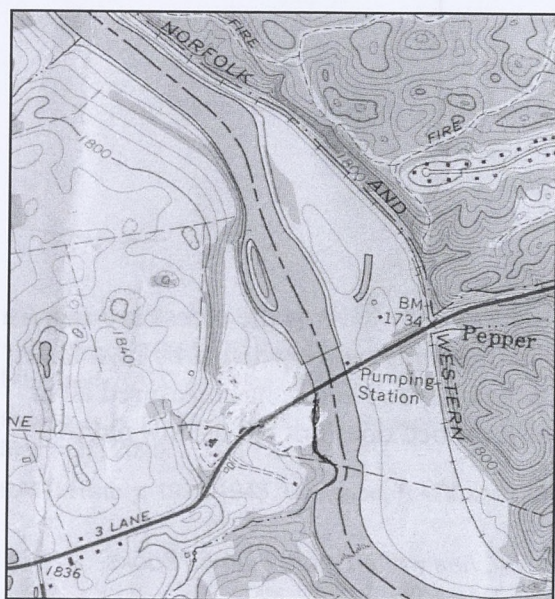
## Boats of Buffalo Hides

One of the earliest white men to travel on this river was John Howard, who received a commission from the Virginia Governor to travel westward "as far as the Mississippi." His reward was 10,000 acres of land. Howard agreed to share his land with the adventurers who would travel with him: John Poteat, Charles Sinclair, Josiah Harwood, his son, and John Peter Salley (sometimes Salling).[3]

On 16 March 1742, the men left Natural Bridge, Virginia, and traveled to the Mondongachate River (otherwise known as the Woods or New River). Here, near present Radford, at a place not far from the Peppers Ferry crossing of later times, the men killed five buffaloes and covered the frame of a boat with their hides. The boat was large enough to carry the five men, their utensils and provisions. The location is known as the "Buffalo Pound Bottom." The word "pound" in this sense indicates an enclosure with probably a driving lane leading into it used to trap wild animals. Once they were in the enclosure, they could not escape, and being confined in a small space, it was much easier for the hunters to kill them. It is not known if the explorers built it or that the native residents had used it before them.[4]

These boaters found the New River to be very rocky and "having a great many Falls therein," one of which was computed to be thirty feet perpendicular surrounded by "inaccessible mountains and high precipices." Because of these circumstances, they took the boat out of the river. After traveling an estimated eighty-five miles, they came to a smaller river (the northeast fork of Coal River), made another boat for two of the men and their provisions. The others went overland until they were reunited with their friends. They discovered "great plenty of Coals" and named the river Coal River. From there they traveled to the mouth of the river near present day Point Pleasant, arriving there on May 6. On the Allegany or Ohio River their next stop was present Louisville. On July 2, after boating on the Mississippi River

for several weeks, they were surprised by ninety French, Negroes and Indians, who took them prisoners. They were taken to New Orleans, spent more than two years in prison, escaped, and eventually returned to Virginia by way of Florida, Georgia and South Carolina. They were gone for three years, two months and one day. Salley calculated that he had traveled by land and water four thousand six hundred and six miles.[5]



*Samuel Pepper owned the 100 acres of the Buffalo Pound in 1770 (Botetourt County Deed Book 1, pp. 151-152).*

*The area extends above and below State Route 114 that crosses the New River, dividing the Pound into two parts. It is bounded by the river for a distance of 310 poles or 2,015 feet.*

## **Canoes on the River**

More than thirty years later, in 1774, the surveyors of Fincastle County traveled over Gauley Mountain on foot to Kelly's Creek in Kanawha County, where they hoped to find a canoe. When they found none, they proceeded to Elk River near the site of present-day Charleston and there they found one that needed repair. When it was restored, they named it Good-Hope.[6]

Canoes were also used by the army who marched from Virginia to Point Pleasant in 1774. William Christian had sent several of his men to work on canoes. At least twenty men of the Fincastle County troops were paid for such work, some working seven days, others more than forty-six.[7]

The sutler who followed the army and supplied provisions was reprimanded because of his selling liquor "in such quantities & so frequently as to make many of the troops drunk." The sutler was warned about selling to the soldiers, and guards were placed over the canoes and the ammunition. Only the Commissary and Quartermaster were to enter the canoes. The trip to the Point from Elk River was not without incident. A sutler's canoe was overturned, and two canoes fastened together were "overset" and twenty-seven bags of flour "were floated." All were "much wett" but all but two or three were rescued. On October 3, the following day, another canoe overturned, and another double canoe split, although the "flour was mostly saved." [8]

## **The Flat Boats**

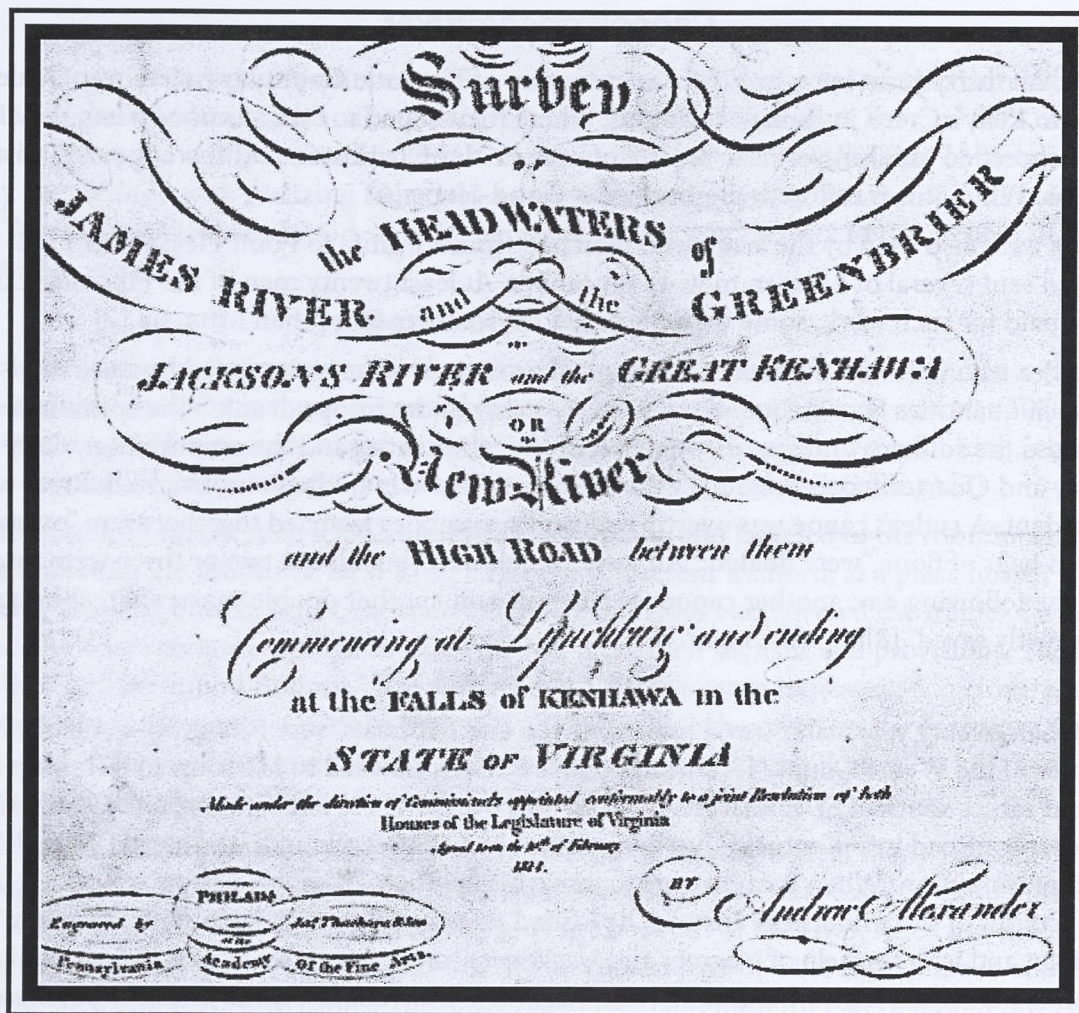
More than twenty years later travel had improved and flat boats were becoming available. Moses Austin, owner of the Wythe County lead mines on New River, traveled to Missouri to follow up on a report of lead mines south of St. Louis. His first trip was overland. He traveled through Cumberland Gap on the Wilderness Road into Kentucky, but became lost in a snowstorm in the winter of 1796-1797, and almost died of starvation. When it came time to move his family to Missouri a short time later, he did not risk the difficulties of the wilderness. Instead, he loaded up nine wagons at Austinville, Virginia, took a coach and four, and with the help of Negroes and waggoners traveled with his family, including his young son, Stephen F. Austin, through what is now West Virginia to Morris's boatyard where he purchased a flat boat, loaded his family aboard, traveled to the Ohio at Point Pleasant, and on to the Mississippi. When they reached Kaskaskia three months later, only two of the seventeen travelers could walk ashore.[9]

## **Chief Justice John Marshall (1755-1835)**

Marshall was not only Chief Justice, but was also known as an early explorer on the waters of the rivers in Virginia and West Virginia. In 1812 he, with surveyor Andrew Alexander and a crew of twenty, left Lynchburg on September 1. They traveled by bateau, up the James and Jackson rivers to present Covington. From there they hauled the 60-foot wooden boat over the mountains and entered the Greenbrier River, near Lewisburg. They reached the New River at present Hinton. They kept records of velocity of the current, long rapids and waterfalls along the river. They reached Kanawha Falls at present Glen Ferris, on October 9, 1812. Their trip took them through the New River Gorge. The cliffs at Hawks Nest were known for many years as Marshall's Pillars. His pathway essentially became the route of the James River and Kanawha Turnpike, the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad, and Interstate 64.[10]

## **The Bateau Era**

In 1988, J. Lawrence Smith presented a valuable paper called "New River Bateaus" which showed that these boats were on the river in 1869, when Collis P. Huntington, of railroad fame, traveled with a party of railroad executives from near Hinton to Hawks Nest. They were inspecting a proposed route through the gorge for a railroad line. His primary interest was the development of a rail line across America, which was what he was best known for.[11]



Marshall's survey.

A bateau had a rounded front and back, was usually ten feet wide and up to seventy feet long. They usually had a rudder at both ends, and were moved along the river by poles twelve feet long. In the 1870s, Tom Quinn had a "fleet" of four boats which operated from Hinton to Shanklins Ferry. The boats were used to transport timber, farm products, and especially tobacco. A few were used as excursion boats. By 1920 the bateau period had ended.[12]

In the detailed lawsuit, in the District Court of the United States for the Western District, *United States of America vs. Appalachian Electric Power Company*, there is a discussion of the "Miscellaneous use of river by batteaux or 'keelboats.'" In this report for 1883, there were about "17 keel boats," with "ten or twelve such boats now on the river...the commerce is altogether local." [13]

### The Steamboat Era

The first steamboat on the New River was said to have been built at Hinton in 1878 by the New River Steamboat Company. The boat named Cecilia Miller made a few trips and was soon withdrawn because she was too large for that particular navigation. Others followed with brief voyages or wrecks in their history. The most extensive trip was made by Robert C. McWane and his boat the Altha. He began at the New River bridge and soon realized that was a mistake. He later took the boat to Hinton and described his trip as "just one series of chute the chutes all the way down, over one falls after another." [14]



*Fighting the Rapids on the New River. Harper's Weekly, February 21, 1874.*

## 1872 Report of the Corps of Engineers

The War Department of the Federal government sent out the Corps of Engineers to make a survey of the New River from the lead mines in Wythe County to the mouth of the Greenbrier River. Work began on 26 July 1872. Colonel Hutton of Baltimore was in charge and was assisted by Charles R. Boyd, noted geologist and engineer of Wytheville, Virginia. Others from Wytheville also assisted. These included J.L. Gleaves, E.M. Phelps and Charles Crawford. General William Terry and C. J. Noel, also of Wytheville, accompanied the party as far as the mines.[15]

In January 1873, a further report stated that the engineers had surveyed the route and reported favorably in regard to the introduction of the steam boat navigation between the Greenbrier and the lead mines in Wythe County. The cost was estimated to be \$750,000.[16]

The next month a report was published in the paper, summarizing their findings. The survey extended from the lead mines in Wythe County to the mouth of the Greenbrier River, 128 miles. They reported that no previous known examination had been undertaken, except a lower 54 miles from the Greenbrier to Sinking Creek, which was surveyed by Moore and Briggs in 1819. The party organized at Wytheville, but operations actually began on July 25 at the dam of the Wythe Union Lead Mines near Austinville in Wythe County. The width of the river at the mines was 350 feet with an average depth of five feet, gradually expanding to a width of 900 feet and a depth of six feet just above the Greenbrier.



*An early steamboat.*

Total fall of the river from the lead mines to the Greenbrier was 531 feet or about 4½ feet per mile. In order to navigate around Foster Falls in Wythe County, the engineers suggested a sluice way with a slope of one to 10 and a lateral canal at least over the first falls of eighteen feet. The canal with two locks, nine feet lift would cost \$200,000 of the total of \$750,000.[17]

For a distance of eighty-three miles, level and compass lines were run, sketches of the valley, and a notation of the obstructions and the meanderings of the river were mentioned. At mile eighty-three, there was a sudden rise in the river (between four and six feet) and the party disbanded and individual examinations of the river were made of the rapids and shoals. The conclusion was that there would be plenty of water at all seasons "for any navigation improvement that may be adopted." They also reported that the "present system of transportation is by keel boats which carry from two to three tons and are rowed or floated down the river and poled up." [18]

Four years later, a report indicated that a party of engineers were making the survey from Central Depot (now Radford) to Hinton, West Virginia, "for the purpose of ascertaining the amount of work necessary to make the river navigable for boats." [19]

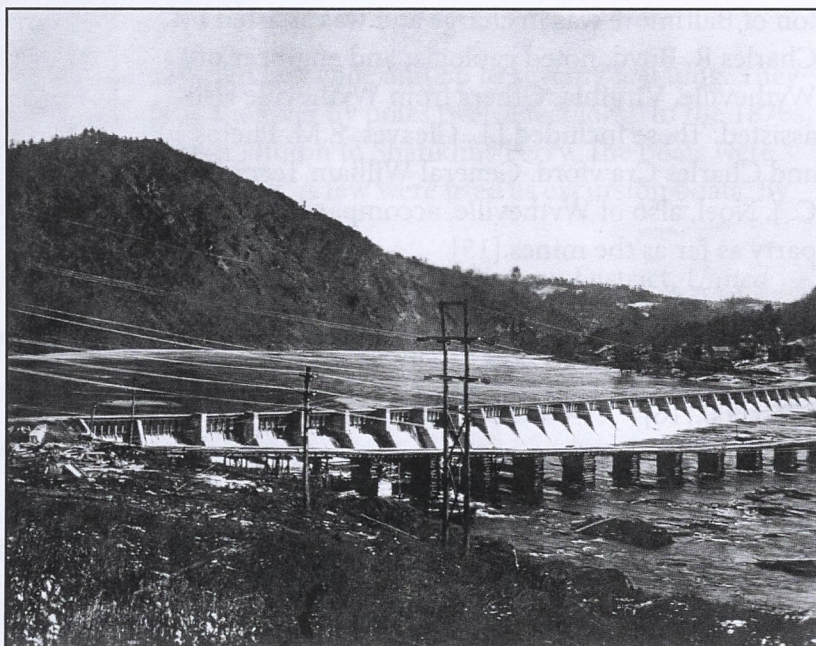
In 1881, it was reported that parties were at work on the New River under the old Congressional appropriation, building derrick boats for improvement of the stream, "with a view of making it navigable to the lead mines." [20]

### **Byllesby and Buck Dams**

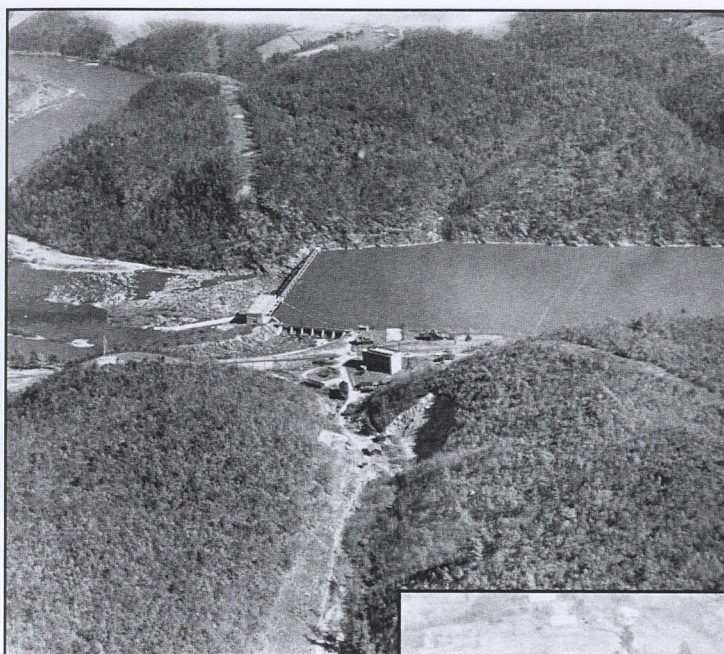
About 1913, the construction of the two hydro-electric dams on the New River in Carroll County, Virginia, helped establish APCO as a leader in the so-called "Electric Age." Henry Marison Byllesby and Harold Winthrop Buck were the leaders in "design and construction of hydroelectric and steam power plants and transmission systems in the United States and Canada." The two dams were about four miles apart with Byllesby about three miles long and Buck with a reservoir about one mile long. Their first year provided electricity to more than 1,500 customers.[21]

### **Navigability**

Navigability was the key issue many years later before Claytor Lake and the dam were constructed by Appalachian Power Company in Pulaski County, Virginia. If the 341 miles of the New River was navigable the law indicated that no construction was allowed. Both parties in the lawsuit brought extensive evidence and many notable witnesses. F.B. Kegley, prominent historian of Wythe County, was among those who testified in the original case. Kegley answered a variety of questions and like others on the side of the Power Company, the conclusions were that the river was not navigable.



*Buck Dam spillway.*



*Byllesby Dam on the New River, aerial view navigability.*

The lead from Austinville from earliest times was transported the entire distance by wagon to Lynchburg. In later years, boating was attempted to transport pig-iron but it was discovered that the "boats stuck on the river bed frequently and boatmen had to throw the iron out into the river in order to lighten the load." This excluded the New River as navigable, even on a local level.



*New River near Foster Falls in Wythe County, Virginia. Aerial photo by Mary B. Kegley, 1990s.*

References were made to earlier accounts such as the trip made by the commission headed by Chief Justice Marshall in 1812 and the surveying expedition of Moore and Briggs. These trips were undertaken to locate a possible water route connecting the Ohio and the James Rivers, as mentioned above. In the lawsuit, the government attempted to show that the river was navigable, and if not, then building a dam across the river in Pulaski County would affect the waters of the New River in other areas, especially West Virginia. They lost on both counts.[22]

Historically the land chosen for the site was first known as the Dunkard Bottom settlement a reference often used today to identify the site. The Eck-erlings from Pennsylvania were early residents followed by military leader, William Christian. A chimney, said to be from his house, has been reconstructed at the Claytor Lake State Park.

The Cloyd family was next and was always noted for owning the best land in the area. When local promoter, O.L. Stearns, began to purchase rights to property along the New River in Grayson, Carroll, Wythe and Pulaski counties, the interest was the explor-



*New River before Claytor Dam and Lake. Courtesy Wythe County Genealogy and Historical Association.*



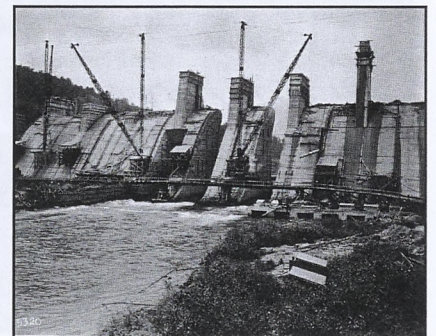
*Chimney from the house of William Christian.  
(Photo by Ray Mitchell.)*

ation of potential water power sites on the river. Following the formation of the New River Power Company, six sites were designated as suitable for dams, including Byllesby and Buck already mentioned. Number six was Claytor dam.[23]

The construction of the dam at Claytor Lake was started in 1937 and completed in 1939; the lake was ready for visitors in 1940. Since that time the river there has been used for fishing, boating and recreation, and is one of Virginia's beautiful State Parks.



*Claytor Lake Dam interior.*



*Claytor Lake Dam under construction.*



*The New River in North Carolina and Virginia from the map of Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson of the 1750s. Notice that Wilson Creek is mentioned.*

### Blue Ridge Project

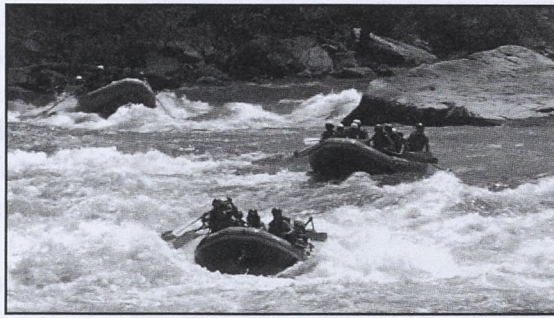
Twenty years after the Supreme Court decision regarding the Claytor Lake dam was made, the Appalachian Power Company, a subsidiary of American Electric Power Company, requested permission to build a two-dam hydroelectric and pump storage facility in Grayson County on the New River which it named the Blue Ridge Project.

The construction would involve counties Ashe and Allegheny in North Carolina and Grayson County, in Virginia. More than eleven years of arguments in several courts (local, district and the Supreme Court, as before) and decisions in Congress, and support from the White House, led ultimately to September 11, 1976, when Congress declared that the New River was a National Wild and Scenic River and therefore construction was banned. This time the issues of exploration and navigability on the river were not the issue. Recreation, to a lesser extent than if the government was involved, came to the surface together with a major concern for the environment. [24]

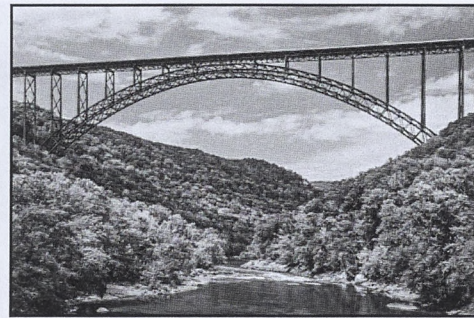
During the struggle to keep Grayson County, and parts of North Carolina free from this kind of development many individuals and government entities were involved, each with their specific strategies: the Department of Interior, Congress, the Secretary of the Army, Secretary of Agriculture, Federal Power Commission, the Environmental Protection Agency, professional archeologists, governors of the states, media blitzes by both sides, National Register of Historic Places, National Public Radio, and Unions.

Even environmentalists, Earl Hamner, Jr., creator of the popular series, "The Waltons," and Elizabeth McCommon, folk-singer, and her ballads about the New were involved. Lobbyists, festivals, and various citizens' committees and many lawyers were lined up on both sides. The issue became one of national importance and at the end of the eleven years the threat of any dam construction was eliminated.[25]

Canoe trips on the New River in North Carolina and Virginia are still popular and in West Virginia, kayaks and rafts and canoes are all used in key recreation centers. At the New River Gorge, the rapids, the bridge and the State Park have become a major recreational area for boaters of all kinds who want to



*Rafting on the New River.*



*New River Bridge.*

challenge the rapids, and if brave enough, many may even jump off of the bridge.

Thomas Schoombaum describes the present-day experience. "A trip down the New River in a canoe is a magnificent experience. Stretches of flatwater alternate with white-water rapids as the river winds past low hills with cultivated bottomlands or steep cliffs." [26]

Whether the river is old or new, the New River has proven to be a great waterway for exploration from the earliest times to the present. Although not a navigable river, even on the local level, it has served the community with electrical power for thousands of residents. Because of the designation of the "Wild and Scenic River" the various places in North Carolina, Virginia and West Virginia are protected from future development. Many parts of the river are specially known for recreation and tourist interests and that special canoe or raft trip is no doubt a "magnificent" experience.

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- [9] Eugene C. Barker, ed., *The Austin Papers, Annual Report of the American Historical Association*. (Washington, D.C., 1924), "Genealogical Notes, Record of Moses Austin and Family," 2, 40, 41.
- [10] "The Marshall Expedition of 1812," *The West Virginia Encyclopedia*, article 1524. <https://www.wvencyclopedia.org/articles/1524>, accessed June 1, 2019. Please note that the *National Geographic* recorded the Marshall Expedition Recap undertaken in 2012. The group, led by Andrew Shaw, a young explorer, traveled in a James River bateau measuring 43 feet by 7 feet, named the Mary Marshall. When they reached the New River Gorge they described it as a "five-mile series of huge III-IV rapids." The group "traveled 225 miles upstream and 130 miles downstream." <https://blognationalgeographic.org/2012/10/09/marshall-expedition-recap/> accessed June 1, 2019.
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# Botetourt: 250 + 1 Years of Delight

*By Ashely Webb, curator of collections and exhibits, Historical Society of Western Virginia*

**2020** marks the 250th anniversary of the founding of Botetourt County, and while the current global pandemic has altered so many plans and celebrations surrounding the anniversary, it's hard to let such a momentous occasion pass us by. Opening in April 2021, the Historical Society of Western Virginia, partnering with the Bank of Botetourt, is proud to present *Botetourt County: 250 + 1 Years of Delight*, an exploration of the Decorative Arts throughout Botetourt's rich history.

Founded in 1770, Botetourt was formed from Augusta County and is named after the popular Virginia Governor Norborne Berkeley (ca 1717-1770), also known as Lord Botetourt. At the time of its creation, Botetourt County continued west to the Mississippi River, and stretched northward into the Ohio River Valley Territory, covering the present state of Kentucky, and much of what is now West Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin. Incentives from colonial governors pushed Scots-Irish and German settlers into Botetourt and the Virginia frontier along the Great Wagon Road from Philadelphia.

Although its sprawling territory was short-lived, Botetourt's county seat of Fincastle quickly became a bustling commercial outpost. It was not only the last town to obtain the necessary supplies before migrating westward, but also became the closest place for outlying residents to transact legal business and conduct trade. Its proximity to turnpike roads and the James River and Kanawha Canal allowed manufactured goods to be transported east to Richmond, north to Staunton, and finally to the port city of Baltimore.

In the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, Fincastle attracted a number of skilled craftsmen, targeting settlers who needed specialized goods. Gunsmiths, potters, clockmakers, cabinet makers, silversmiths, and many others lived, worked and apprenticed in Botetourt. The county was also rich in natural resources: there were over 14 iron furnaces in use at various points in Botetourt throughout 19<sup>th</sup> century, with emphasis on mining, smelting and transporting iron ore. This ore became essential to Richmond and the Confederate States during the Civil War.

Several natural springs advertised healing powers, and the mountain air offered a relaxing change from the hustle and bustle of Virginia's metropolises. Botetourt's colonial importance in the expansion of the United States is often overlooked today, as are many of the key makers that started in, moved to, or migrated west out of Botetourt. With key collections coming from over 50 lenders across the country, both from museums and private collectors alike, the Society's exhibit will capture Botetourt's vibrant artistic community throughout the 19<sup>th</sup>, 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries.

The exhibit will not only highlight the decorative arts, but will delve deeper into historical topics in a series of lectures funded by the Virginia Endowment for the Humanities and Norris, Inc. These lectures and activities will take place throughout the summer and fall of 2021 either on-site at the museum, or will be presented digitally as a series of "Conversations with the Curator." A full listing of topics, activities and speakers will be released in April 2021.

In addition to lectures, the Society is excited to again partner with Mill Mountain Theatre, thanks to the Virginia Commission for the Arts. The museum hopes to facilitate several story circles or group oral histories that will influence the creation of a final production with Mill Mountain's conservatory students in the fall of 2021. This collaboration not only fosters creativity for burgeoning actors, directors and costumers, but presents topics derived from recent memory and history in a fun and unique way.

We are delighted to be able to present Botetourt's history for the 250<sup>th</sup> anniversary, and hope you'll set some time aside to join us in the celebrations!

***Bank of Botetourt***

***Blue Ridge Institute***

***George Kegley***

***Harry and Natalie Norris***

***Howell's Motor Freight***

***General James Breckinridge Chapter of the  
Daughters of the American Revolution***

***Norris, INC***

***Peter Ring***

***Roanoke Chapter of the National Society of the  
Colonial Dames of America***

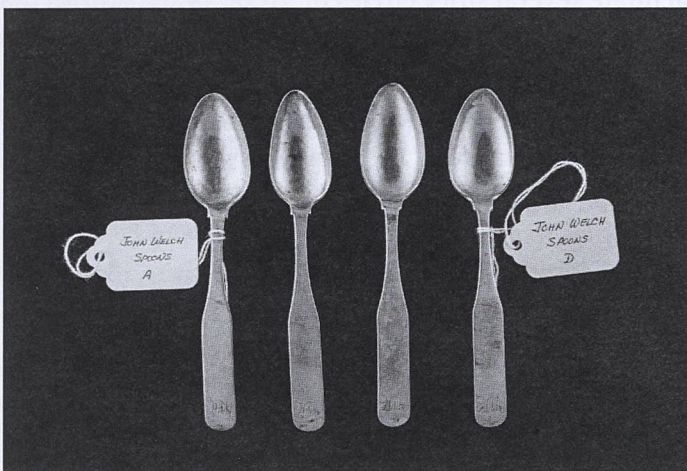
***Virginia Association of Museums***

***Virginia Commission for the Arts***

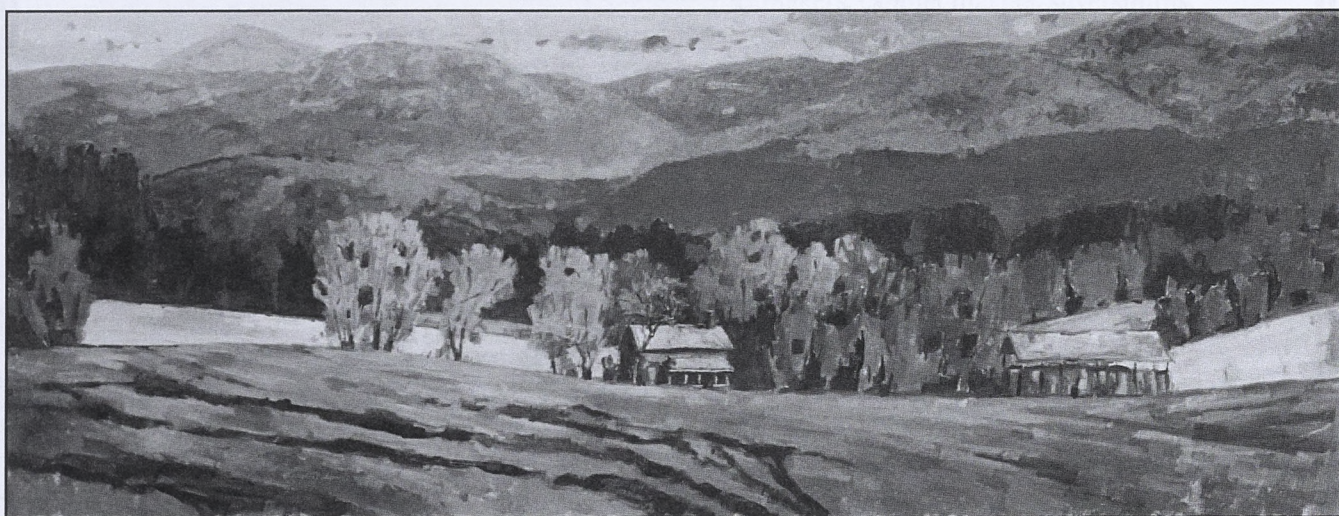
***Virginia Foundation for the Humanities***



*Boot pistol made by Botetourt gunsmith John Painter.*



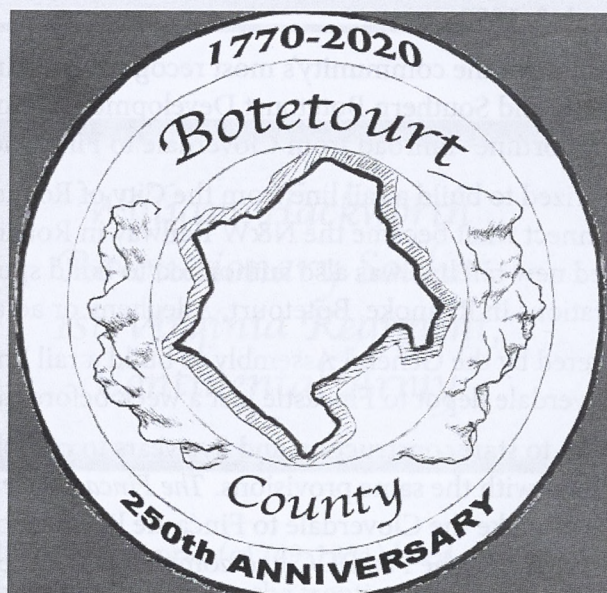
*Botetourt exhibit  
Spoons made by Fincastle  
silversmith John Welch.*



*Botetourt landscape by Brett LaGue.*

# Botetourt 250 + 1

## **Botetourt Marks its 250<sup>th</sup> Anniversary**



**B**otetourt County has many plans for a delayed 250<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebration, postponed until next year because of restrictions of the pandemic. A 250<sup>th</sup> birthday party, featured a talk by retired Judge Bo Trumbo, was held in February; a new county history by Ed McCoy, an illustrated magazine edited by Anita Firebaugh, a film about historic Looney's Ferry at Buchanan, an anniversary seal on the county's website and a video on "Picturesque Botetourt County" were featured in 2020.

Girl Scouts Ashley Crowder and Sarah Montgomery prepared a film on scenic views of Fincastle's old buildings and scenes from Eagle Rock, Troutville, Buchanan and other points from the county's long history.

Planned for next year, if and when the pandemic subsides, will be a dedication of an anniversary plaque at the courthouse, a tour of Fincastle, an event at Blue Ridge Vineyard at Eagle Rock, a quilt show, a genealogy and history fair and a musical event. Botetourt County Historical Society, Historic Fincastle Inc. and many churches and civic clubs are planning an observance of the 250<sup>th</sup> anniversary in a variety of county-wide events

A major exhibit by the Historical Society of Western Virginia is planned to span Botetourt's decorative history from 1770 to today. With the Bank of Botetourt, the society will present *Botetourt County: 251 Years of Delight*, exploring Botetourt's material culture from the extravagant to everyday with leading artisans and craftsmen. It will be shown at the Link Museum, March to November 2021. rco

# A Railroad to Fincastle

By Ed McCoy

In the late 1880s and early 1890s, Fincastle businessmen thought they were finally going to have access to a railroad. Fincastle, Roanoke and Clifton Forge Railroad Co. (FR&CFR) was authorized by the General Assembly on March 3, 1890.

The directors included some of the community's most recognized businessmen. The railroad acquired land from the Fincastle and Southern Botetourt Development Company (F&SBDC) which had already started grading for a "shortline" railroad from Cloverdale to Fincastle.

The FR&CFR was authorized to build a rail line from the City of Roanoke to Clifton Forge "through Fincastle." The idea was to connect what became the N&W Railway in Roanoke with the C&O Railway in Clifton Forge. The proposed new rail line was also authorized to build spur lines to any springs, ore banks, quarries or other operations in Roanoke, Botetourt, Allegheny or adjacent counties.

The F&SBDC was chartered by the General Assembly to build a rail line from the Shenandoah Valley Railroad at or near Cloverdale depot to Fincastle just a week before the F&CFR was authorized.

Both were given two years to start construction and five years to complete the ventures. Both were reauthorized two years later with the same provisions. *The Fincastle Herald* noted in 1893 the two railroads were in negotiations to make the Cloverdale to Fincastle line part of the extended railroad to Clifton Forge. *The Herald* reported that the F&SBDC had completed 11 miles of grading and ties and rails were about ready to go down.

Alas, for Fincastle, the line was never finished and the county seat was again denied what was an important economic driver in those days—a railroad. In 1892, the idea that the railroad would come through Fincastle became an argument for keeping the courthouse in Fincastle rather than moving it to Buchanan, as was proposed—an idea that finally failed during a county-wide referendum.

## Rails in the Mountains

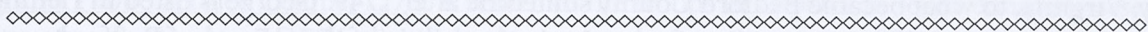
There were other rail lines in Botetourt, "dinkies" that were used to pull ore and timber out of the mountains. Old small rail beds, while tree and brush-grown, are still visible in many places in the Blue Ridge Mountains along the county's eastern border and in the Allegheny Mountains where mining and timbering companies operated. One branch of the Norfolk Southern Railway that came along later and is still operated, runs from Cloverdale to the Roanoke Cement Co. plant west of Fincastle. It was under construction in 1950 when the cement plant was built.

## Railroad jobs

For more than two-thirds of the county's history, the railroads provided hundreds of jobs to Botetourt citizens, both in the county and at the railroad shops and offices in Clifton Forge and Roanoke. As the C&O consolidated into the Chessie, the CSX Railroad, the jobs in Clifton Forge evaporated. Much the same happened in Roanoke when the N&W became part of Norfolk Southern, for many office and

*This vignette appeared in "Chronicles of Botetourt County," a 360-page history written by Ed McCoy, retired editor of The Fincastle Herald. The history was sponsored by the Botetourt County Historical Society as part of the 250th Anniversary celebration of the county.*

shop jobs were moved to Norfolk and Atlanta. Technology and the end of passenger and freight depots on the rail line also ended jobs in several localities on the three lines that run through Botetourt.



# William Hackworth

By William M. Hackworth

*William Hackworth  
Revolutionary Soldier,  
1st Virginia Regiment,  
Continental Army*

The times in which William Hackworth (c1749-1831) lived were momentous ones for Virginia and the nation. Hackworth fought Indians on the frontier in 1774, helped run the Colonial governor out of Virginia and defend the Virginia capital at Williamsburg in 1776, participated in some of the notable battles of the Revolution, including Trenton, Brandywine, Germantown, Monmouth, and Stony Point, and endured the winter encampments at Morristown, Valley Forge, and Middlebrook.

During the Revolution, three types of soldiers served Virginia: militia, state troops, and Continentals, and Hackworth served in each. He survived the war to return to farm in Bedford County, where the "old soldier" raised his family and died in 1831 at the age of 82. Other than the declaration he made in 1828 in Bedford County in support of his application for a Revolutionary War pension, he apparently left no written statements, diaries, or the like.

Most writings about the Revolutionary War are about battles, generals, and other notable figures and heroes. Few are about the common soldier. A notable exception is the autobiography of a Connecticut soldier, Joseph Plumb Martin (1760-1850), originally published in 1830 as "A Narrative of Some of the Adventures, Dangers and Sufferings of a Revolutionary Soldier, Interspersed with Anecdotes of Incidents That Occurred Within His Own Observation." Martin joined the war effort at age 15 in 1777 and served until 1783. He participated in many of the same campaigns during the Revolution that Hackworth did, so I have quoted in this article some excerpts from Martin's book to give a sense of what life was like for the ordinary soldier during these times, from a soldier's point of view.

*William ("Bill") M. Hackworth is a retired city attorney for the City of Roanoke and the g-g-g-g-grandson of the subject of this article. This article is a condensed version of a much longer paper (first privately printed in 1995 and now in its second edition) that is more heavily annotated. Bill has been researching his family history since he was in high school. He has visited almost all the battlefields and encampments in which his ancestor participated.*

William Hackworth is probably the son of George Hackworth, Sr. (I have found no definitive documentary evidence of this, but the circumstantial evidence is strong.) George moved from Caroline County, Virginia, to what became Bedford County sometime after 1749. George is listed in Henning's Statutes of 1758 as receiving compensation for service in the militia of the County of Bedford, possibly during a period of attacks by Cherokee Indians in Bedford and Halifax Counties in early 1758.

Five other Hackworths from Bedford County saw some form of service during the Revolutionary period; all of them are most probably William's brothers (but again, I have found no definitive documentary evidence of their relationship):

**John Hackworth** (1743?-1826) served two tours of three months each in the Bedford County militia and was present, as was Thomas Hackworth, at the surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown in 1781. (One of John's descendants, Col. David H. Hackworth (1930-2005), was one of the country's most decorated soldiers. He was the author of "About Face" and other military-oriented books, a military affairs correspondent and a syndicated newspaper columnist, and a campaigner for military reform.)

**Augustine Hackworth** (1746-1847) served with William in Lord Dunmore's War at the Battle of Point Pleasant. After he moved to Tennessee, he served three months in 1789 in an expedition against the Cherokees and fought them in a battle at Lookout Mountain.

**Joseph Hackworth** (before 1750-c1823) was compensated by Virginia for his services, apparently as a civilian, in 1781 at the New London (in what was then Bedford County) "laboratory," an arsenal, munitions factory, and gun repair shop for both the Continental and Virginia governments.

**George Hackworth, Jr.**, (1752-c1815) served 69 days during Lord Dunmore's War in Captain William Leftwich's Company. He then served a two-year enlistment from February 5, 1776, to March 1, 1778, in the 5th Virginia Regiment, Continental Army. During his service, the 5th Regiment engaged in the same campaigns as did William Hackworth; they were often under the same over-all command.

**Thomas Hackworth** (April 11, 1763-November 29, 1857) guarded the magazine located at New London for three months, served another three months in the campaign that ended at Yorktown, then served another month guarding the prisoners taken at Yorktown and marching them to the prison camp in Winchester, beginning the day after the surrender.

### **Lord Dunmore's War and the Battle of Point Pleasant—October 10, 1774**

In 1774, Indian raids and retaliation by Virginia frontiersmen led to what is sometimes called "Cresap's War" or "Logan's War," after Michael Cresap, an Indian fighter, and Chief Logan, a sachem of the Cayuga Indians and war chief of the Mingo Federation, whose family was massacred by a party of frontiersmen. The "war" prompted the royal governor, John Murray, fourth Earl of Dunmore, to leave Williamsburg in July 1774 with 1,000 Virginia militia to wage war against the Indians.

Lord Dunmore charged Colonel Andrew Lewis of Botetourt County with recruiting nearby militia and marching them across the Alleghenies to the Kanawha River to meet up with the governor. Lewis was expected to raise about 1,000 men from the counties of Augusta, Botetourt, and Fincastle in units of 50 men per company. When it appeared that it would be difficult to raise enough men from these counties, Bedford and Pittsylvania counties were asked to raise companies. Lewis commanded the militia from Botetourt County, which command he turned over to Colonel William Fleming to lead during the expedition.

Among the militia companies raised was that of Captain Thomas Buford, who recruited an independent company from Bedford County that included Augustine Hackworth and William Hackworth as privates. Augustine served for 108 days; William for 98 (for which he was paid 7 pounds, 7

shillings). Augustine was also paid 7 shillings, 6 pence for "5 days' work in canoes," and William was paid 4 shillings, 6 pence for "3 days' work in a fort." Augusta, Bedford, Botetourt, Culpeper and Fincastle Payrolls and Public Service Claims, 1775. A return of the troops in Captain Buford's company assembled in Botetourt on September 7, 1774, shows that it consisted of one lieutenant (Thomas Dooley), one ensign (Jonathan Cundiff), 4 sergeants, and 44 rank and file, who were recruited to serve three-month enlistments. Thwaites, pp. 315, 409.

Andrew Lewis left Camp Union (now Lewisburg, West Virginia) on September 12, 1774, with his Botetourt troops and Captains Shelby, Russell, and Buford's companies. They traveled the 165 miles to Point Pleasant (now in West Virginia), where the Kanawha and Ohio rivers meet, and arrived on October 6. (Ironically, Lewis owned "the Point," 9,000 acres there having been conveyed to him in 1772 as partial payment for his services during the French and Indian War.) While resting and waiting on their rear guard, and before meeting up with Lord Dunmore, they were surprised and attacked on October 10 by Shawnee Chief Cornstalk and at least 1,000 Indians. In a letter to his uncle dated October 16, 1774, Isaac Shelby gave an eyewitness account of the battle, from which these extracts are taken:

*"Col. [William] Fleming was ... ordered to take command of one hundred & fifty more consisting of Botetourt, Fincastle & Bedford Troops, viz. Capt. Buford of Bedford, Capt. Love of Botetourt, Capt. Shelby & Capt. Russell of Fincastle.*

*Col. Fleming with his division went up the bank of the Ohio to the left...*

*In about a second of a minute after the Attack on Col. Lewis's Division the Enemy engaged the Front of Col. Fleming's Division on the Ohio; and in a short time Col. Fleming rec'd two balls through his left arm and one thro his breast... and returned to camp...*

*[W]e had a very hard day its really Impossible for me to Express or you to Conceive Acclamations that we were under sometimes, the Hideous Cries of the Enemy and the groans of our wound[ed] men lying around was Enough to shudder the stoutest hart..."* Thwaites, pp. 273-275.

A fierce day-long battle resulted in the Indians slipping away after nightfall after suffering many casualties. The most reliable count of casualties among the militia is nine commissioned officers dead (including Lewis' brother Charles, Captain Buford, and Ensign Jonathan Cundiff of his company), 46 enlisted men killed, and 92 wounded, of whom 15 died. William Fleming, a physician, was wounded with a lung protruding from his body. He was in great pain but eventually managed to push the lung back in himself. (Fleming survived, but lost the use of a hand and arm for the rest of his life.) Johnson, p. 179.

In an application for a pension for his service filed November 21, 1832, in Marion County, Tennessee (where he had moved after leaving Botetourt County, Virginia), Augustine (Austin) Hackworth recounted his service during this period:

*"Austin (X) Hackworth, Senr., of said county, aged about 86, declares in June 1774 in Bedford Co., Va., he was drafted as a private to serve three months under Capt. Thomas Bluford Buford]... against the Shawnee Indians. He was marched from Bedford County to Roanoke in Botetourt Co., Va., where he joined the main army commanded by Gen. Lewis, Colonels Fields and [Charles] Lewis. He marched with the army from there to the levels of the Greenbriar, Va., where they were reinforced by Col. Christian's regiment and there remained about six weeks. He then marched to the mouth of the Kanawha river at which place they had been encamped about two weeks when on 10 Oct. 1774 they were attacked by and had a severe engagement with the Shawnee Indians, in which battle he fought. The army remained there about two weeks after the battle had been fought, he having served in the troops as a volunteer in the company in which he started about one month after the term for which he was drafted had expired, and then returned and was*

*discharged by Lt. Doolin, his captain having been killed in battle."* Abstracted in John Frederick Dorman, *Virginia Revolutionary Pension Applications*, Vol. 49.

Before marching off to war, Capt. Buford made a will, dated August 20, 1774, which was witnessed by Augustine Hackworth and others. On November 28, 1774, Augustine "proved" (attested to the authenticity of) this will after Buford's death. Bedford County Will Book I, pp. 213-215.

Nine days after the battle, Dunmore signed a treaty with Chief Cornstalk, who yielded all the territory south of the Ohio to Virginia. Referred to on historical markers at Point Pleasant as the "First Battle of the Revolution," the fight was really between colonists and Indians, although historians have concluded, for a variety of reasons, that it probably marks the end of the Colonial era and the beginning of the Revolutionary period. It did serve to stabilize the frontier for some three years, enabling the Americans to concentrate against the British instead of the Indians. Dabney, p. 125.

### **Action in Tidewater—Defense of the Capital and the Peninsula**

The February 10, 1775, "Virginia Gazette," p.3, col.2 (Purdie, ed.), published in the then Virginia capital, Williamsburg, reported that a Committee of Safety had been elected in Fincastle on January 20, 1775, and issued a set of resolutions (the "Fincastle Resolves") to the Continental Congress against the misrule and oppression of the British government, and that among the members of the committee were Colonel William Christian, Captain William Campbell, and Captain Stephen Trig. The resolves concluded with the assurance that "If no pacific measures be proposed or adopted by Great Britain and our enemies attempt to dragoon us out of those inestimable privileges to which as subjects we are entitled and reduce us to slavery we declare that we are resolutely determined never to surrender them to any power but at the expense of our lives."

"In May, 1775, the royal governor of Virginia, John Murray, Earl of Dunmore, suddenly realized that he had lost control of the province, a situation hastened by his seizure [as a reprisal against the Second Virginia convention passing an act to assemble and train militia] of the public stock of gunpowder the previous month [the night of April 20], and thinking himself in danger, fled from the Governor's Palace at Williamsburg to H. M. S. *Fowey*, anchored off Yorktown. From his floating sanctuary, Governor Dunmore issued a call for all loyal followers of the King to come to his aid, leaving no doubt that he planned to regain control of Virginia by force." Sellers II, p.3.

In response to Dunmore's actions, by passage on August 21, 1775, of "An Ordinance for Raising and Embodying a Sufficient Force for the Defence & Protection of this Colony," the Third Virginia Convention created a two-regiment army and divided the colony into 16 military districts, including the district of Pittsylvania (Bedford, Botetourt, Fincastle and Pittsylvania Counties) and provided that each of the districts was to contribute one company of 68 men. On August 5, 1775, the Convention named Patrick Henry as colonel of the 1st Regiment and commander in chief of all Virginia forces then in actual service, despite his complete lack of military experience. Van Schreeven, 4:125 n. 4.

William Campbell was appointed a captain in the 1st Virginia Regiment, serving under Colonel Patrick Henry, with whom he became a friend (and brother-in-law). (In the fall of 1780, Campbell led a group of 400 Virginia riflemen who engaged on October 7, 1780, in the battle of King's Mountain. When a new county was carved out of Bedford County in 1781, it was named, at the suggestion of Patrick Henry, after his late brother-in-law William Campbell, the "Hero of King's Mountain." George, Jr., John, and Joseph Hackworth had all signed a petition to the Virginia General Assembly dated May 24, 1779, against this division of Bedford County.)

In his application for a Revolutionary War pension made on December 22, 1832, in Bedford

County, Hackworth declared that he enlisted for one year in the latter end of 1775 at Liberty in Bedford County in the company of Capt. William Campbell of the 1st Virginia Regiment. At the end of that year he reenlisted in Williamsburg in the company of Capt. Alexander Cummings in the same regiment.

On September 14, 1775, the "Virginia Gazette" reported that, "Thursday last, arrived here, Patrick Henry, Esq., Commander-in-Chief of the Virginia forces. He was met and escorted to town by the whole body of Volunteers, who paid him every mark of respect and distinction in their power." Henry "had issued directions for picking a camp site; by the 29th it had been marked out behind William and Mary College, and tents and other equipage were being prepared "with the utmost expedition."

Lord Dunmore declared martial law on November 7, promising freedom to slaves and indentured servants who would fight for the Crown. On November 8, 1775, the Virginia Committee of Public Safety ordered that the Capitol and "other houses" be prepared for winter quarters of the 1st Regiment. Van Schreeven, 4:344. On December 13, 1775, the Committee ordered that the "Company of Regulars" under the command of Capt. Campbell, which company had just arrived in Williamsburg, "[m]arch forthwith from hence to Hampton." On February 10, 1776, the Committee assigned the 1st Virginia Regiment to a station between the York and James Rivers. Van Schreeven, 6:85, 5:131.

On February 13, 1776, the Continental Congress elected Patrick Henry as colonel of the 1st Virginia. The Committee of Public Safety in Williamsburg faced a problem when the Continental commissions for Virginia officers arrived from Philadelphia. As recounted by Selby, p.88:

*"When Patrick Henry received his..., he read it silently and handed it back to the committee chairman without comment. Henry had been offered only a colonelcy, and, moreover, the Continental commission omitted the key phrase in the Convention's former appointment, 'Commander in chief of the forces in Virginia.' Instead of the popular hero, Congress appointed the veteran Indian fighter from Augusta County, Andrew Lewis, as Virginia's new brigadier general ..."*

Henry promptly resigned his commission, which brought near mutiny. The next day, according to the "Virginia Gazette," troops of the 1st Regiment "went into deep mourning" and marched under arms to his quarters, where emotional addresses were exchanged. Later in the day, the regiment's officers honored Henry with a testimonial dinner at the Raleigh Tavern. While they were dining, the men assembled in a "tumultuous manner" at the camp and, resolving never to serve under another commander, demanded their discharges. Henry spent the entire night going from barracks to barracks to pacify the soldiers. His eloquence finally persuaded the men at least to complete their terms of service, although most still vowed not to reenlist.

On May 15, 1776, the Virginia Convention, without a dissenting vote, directed the delegates from Virginia at Philadelphia to "declare the United Colonies free and independent states, absolved from all allegiance to, or dependence upon, the Crown or Parliament of Great Britain." There was great jubilation in Williamsburg, with firing of cannon, and the British flag was pulled down from the Capitol. Dabney, p.135.

Life during this time in General Lewis' camp, then at Spring Field, near Williamsburg, must have been interesting, as attested by these orders that he gave: **July 7** "The officer of the Quarter guard is to take care that there is no rioting or noise made in Camp after tat-too beating; should any be guilty of this offense the officer is to send a file of men and take them prisoner." **July 8** "Officers of the companies are to return a list of the names and number of women they have, and whether single or married, in order to have them examined." The Virginia Convention backed General Lewis by unanimously recommending that he place restrictions on the diversion of gaming; it also outlawed the sale of spiritous liquors of any kind within a mile of the main headquarters at Williamsburg. Sellers II, p.117.

## Gwynn's Island—July 9, 1776

Dunmore had retreated from Hampton Roads to Gwynn's Island (in present day Mathews County), accompanied by his ship *Dunmore*, the flagship *Roebuck* of forty-four guns, the *Fowey* of twenty guns, the *Otter* of ten guns, and about eighty other ships of various sizes. Dunmore picked the island believing it to have ample water; it also was home to sympathetic Tories. *"Though he had many sick, Dunmore was not idle. Throughout June he erected a stockade fort, a battery of four embrasures, breastworks of great length and became entrenched on the island."* Johnson, p. 203.

"[H]aving assembled enough men to guard the capital in his absence, the general [Lewis], accompanied by a bevy of colonels, rode out of Williamsburg on July 8 at the head of ten companies of the veteran 1st [including Campbell's company] and 2nd regiments for the assault on Dunmore." Selby, p. 125. Arriving at Gwynn's Island at dusk on the 8th, Lewis erected two batteries of guns and ordered preparations for an attack on the island. *"One battery was erected on Cricket Hill named (so claimed) when Dunmore seeing Lewis' men said, 'I will drive those crickets from that hill.'"* Johnson, p. 205.

On July 9th *"Lewis put the first match to the first gun, an eighteen pounder. The gun was pointed directly at the Dunmore and the shot passed through her. Splinters from a large timber wounded Dunmore in the legs and his china was 'smashed about his ears.' He roared, 'Good God, that ever I should come to this!'"* Johnson, p. 206. The island was bombarded much of the day. The next day, Lewis landed troops on the island. The *Williamsburg Gazette* of July 19, 1776, (Purdie) describes the scene:

*"We were struck with horror at the number of dead bodies in a state of putrefaction, strewed all the way from their battery to Cherry Point about two miles in length, without a shovelful of earth upon them; others gasping for life; and some had crawled to the water's edge, who could only make known their distress by beckoning to us. By the smallpox and other malignant disorders they have since their arrival at Gwynn's Island lost near 500 souls. Many were burnt alive in brush huts which in their confusion got on fire. In short such a scene of misery, distress and cruelty my eyes never beheld."*

The only man lost by the Virginians was Captain Arundel of the artillery, killed by a mortar of his own making, which General Lewis and the officers told him not to fire. Johnson, p. 208. Dunmore and his fleet managed to sail away during the night. (In mid-August, Dunmore sailed out of the Chesapeake for good and did not return to Virginia.)

On July 4, 1776, the Continental Congress in Philadelphia adopted the Declaration of Independence (one of the signers was Capt. Thomas Nelson, Jr., of the 1<sup>st</sup> Virginia Regiment, who signed it on August 2). "[When] the official copy of the declaration that John Hancock mailed to Virginia arrived... The Council ordered the document read publicly at the Capitol, the Palace, and the courthouse in Williamsburg on Thursday, July 25. At four o'clock that afternoon General Lewis mustered all off-duty Continental troops for a grand parade. Cannon and small arms were fired amid the cheers of the crowd, and the newspapers recorded that there were 'illuminations in the evening &c, &c.'" Selby, p. 99.

### The 1<sup>st</sup> Virginia Regiment Prepares to Join the Continental Army

From March 18 to August 28, 1776, Andrew Lewis was in charge of the camp at Williamsburg, where the 1<sup>st</sup> Regiment trained. On July 2, 1776, General William Howe had landed on Staten Island, New York, with the vanguard of a British army that eventually totaled 34,000 men. Soon calls for reinforcements for the Continental Army under Washington in New York reached Williamsburg. Selby, p. 127. On August 5, General Lewis issued this general order at Deep Spring:

*“The noble principal actuating the Soldiers of the first Regiment to take up Arms in defense of their Country, Gives General Lewis the greatest reason to believe they will again enlist and continue in the service of their Country, until they make theirs and their Countrys enemies feel the Wait of their just Resentment.” Lewis.*

On August 4, 1776, Hackworth reenlisted for three years' service in the 1st Virginia Regiment, for which he received a bounty of ten dollars. His widow Dorothy's pension application states that he did not return home between enlistments.

The *Virginia Gazette* ran the following announcement in its August 9, 1776, issue, p. 3, col.2:

*“We have the pleasure to inform the public that the first regiment have nobly reenlisted for three years longer, and are on marching orders for New York. The 3d regiment is already gone forward.”* (Among the officers of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Regiment were Lt. James Monroe, later the fifth president, Lt. John Marshall, later Chief Justice of the United States, and Marshall's father, Major Thomas Marshall.)

According to Selby, this noble action of reenlisting may not have been easily attained:

*“In Virginia, discipline continued to be a problem through the summer of 1776... courtmartial, frequently of officers, occurred almost daily. A captain and a lieutenant were cashiered and the latter was drummed through Williamsburg for ‘behaving in a scandalous and infamous manner’... On another occasion, when red tape delayed their pay, General Lee [Charles Lee, commander in chief in the South] was informed that units teetered ‘on the brink of mutiny and general desertion.’” Soldiers stole from neighboring farms, gambled and rioted, and discharged weapons indiscriminately to the consternation of the townspeople. A stray musket ball killed one sergeant in the middle of the camp near the College of William and Mary.*

*Most serious was the dissension in the 1st and 2nd regiments, among which the Henry affair still rankled. The men of both units announced that they would not reenlist under their current officers when their year expired in September...*

*In answer to Congress's call for two regiments to join the main army in early August, General Lewis made a concerted effort to win over the two that should have been his best. He offered additional bounties and personally appealed to the men to ‘seize the post of Honour’ with Washington. In the words of one cynic, the 1st ‘almost to a man swallowed the bait,’ but when [General] Woodford called for those of the 2nd who would follow him for another term to step forward, not a man stirred. In the end the 3rd Virginia under Colonel George Weedon marched north with the 1st instead.” Selby, p. 127.*

The August 17, 1776, “Williamsburg Gazette” reported, p. 2, col. 2, that, “Tuesday, the 1st. Virginia Regiment, in the Continental service, marched from this city to New York.” The 3rd Regiment left first; one author describes the event as follows. “The march... began in the heat of August... few men dropped out despite the steady strain of rapid, day long marches over nearly five hundred miles of difficult terrain... The march route went through the town of Fredericksburg... crossed the Potomac and slanted east and north through Maryland. The ordinary marching pace of the army was 120 steps to the minute, and each company had one drummer and one fifer to set the rhythm of the march...” Hanser, pp.56-57.

In General Orders issued from Harlem Heights, New York, on October 5, 1776, Washington directed that the “two Virginia Regiments be formed into a Brigade, and for the present be under the Command of the eldest Colonel thereof [George Weedon]...” Washington, 6:171. “As the British threat

became more menacing, Washington ordered the Virginia regiments to join Lord Stirling's brigade and sent the entire unit northward to seize the best ground at White Plains. The main army followed on October 18, 1776. Sellers II, p. 165. During the battle that ensued at White Plains on October 28, the Virginia troops were largely spectators.

### **Trenton-December 26, 1776 and Princeton-January 3, 1777**

In a letter to the president of Congress from his headquarters at Trenton, New Jersey, Washington wrote on December 3, 1776, that, "*I arrived here myself yesterday morning with the Main Body of the Army, having left Lord Stirling with two Brigades at Princeton and that neighborhood to watch the Motions of the Enemy and give notice of their approach...*" Washington, 6: 324. "[General] Howe returned his main British forces to New York for the winter, departing on 14 December. The chase across New Jersey had convinced him that the war was all but over but the end could wait for spring. He left some 3,000 Hessians along the Delaware with detachments at Amboy, Brunswick, and Princeton to guard the lines of supply from New Jersey to New York." Minnis, p. 26.

"*Washington decided to stage a surprise attack before the end of the year when enlistments of many his troops were due to expire. On the afternoon of Christmas Day, he moved his main army of 2,500 men to the Delaware River for a night crossing and attack on the Hessian garrison at Trenton the next morning. Weather conditions could not have been worse; the river was full of clumps of ice, and snow and sleet fell steadily.*" Neagle, p. 17. As it approached Trenton, "[t]he third and main division, which was made up of about 2,400 men [including the 1<sup>st</sup> Virginia Regiment]... was to embark at McKonkey's Ferry and descend on Trenton from above... The patriots suffered extreme adversities as they continued toward Trenton [it was a nine-mile march]. Many of the men were barefooted, some had rags tied around their feet, and nearly all wore clothing that was practically threadbare... Stirling... had drawn up his battalions of Virginia [1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Regiments] and Delaware regulars and a Pennsylvania rifle regiment at the head of King and Queen streets to give a covering fire for captains Thomas Forrest and Alexander Hamilton [later our first Secretary of the Treasury] while the artillery was being wheeled into place. Soon the Americans were enfilading both of Trenton's main streets with grape and canister shot." Sellers I, pp. 190, 193, 194, 196. "The Hessians were completely surprised, and after a short fight of about an hour, they surrendered. The Hessians had 105 casualties and 950 were taken prisoner. Two Americans were wounded in the battle and five froze to death on the march to and from Trenton." Neagles, p. 17. Only 291 Hessians of the garrison escaped, and all their staff officers and their commander, Colonel Johann Rall, were mortally wounded. Minnis, p. 28.

At Trenton, the 1<sup>st</sup> Virginia Regiment was commanded by twenty-one-year-old Captain John Fleming, the senior officer in command - all the officers senior to him being wounded, sick or absent. The "Virginia Gazette" reported on January 17, 1777, p.1, col.2 (Dixon-Hunter, eds.) that, "the 1<sup>st</sup> Virginia regiment had distinguished themselves greatly for their valour, and suffered most..."

Hackworth does not mention in his pension application having participated in the ensuing battle at Princeton, New Jersey, which occurred on January 3, 1777, but elements of the 1<sup>st</sup> Virginia were involved. Among the Virginia officers killed at Princeton were Captain John Fleming and eighteen-year-old Second Lieutenant Bartholomew Yates, both of the 1<sup>st</sup> Virginia Regiment. Sellers I, p. 208. The British were routed at Princeton and fled to Trenton. Washington in his haste to avoid another encounter with the British left his dead and wounded at Princeton and pushed on to the New Jersey hills [to Morristown], and made camp, where he would remain until the following May.

## Winter at Morristown—January 6, 1777–May 1777

After going to winter quarters at “Morris Town,” New Jersey, twenty-five miles west of New York, which Washington reached on January 6, 1777, conditions for the 1st Virginia Regiment must have been terrible. For Washington informed the president of Congress on January 19, 1777, that the five Virginia regiments had been “reduced to a handful of men.” By mid-March only 2,500 Continental troops remained with Washington. On May 20, 1777, Washington began breaking up his winter camp at Morristown and advanced most of his command to the Watchung Mountains near Boundbrook. Martin<sup>2</sup>, p. 22. A return of Greene’s division dated May 20, 1777, showed that the 1<sup>st</sup> Virginia Regiment only had sixty-four privates fit for duty. Sellers I, p. 232. In recounting his service in the war, Joseph Plumb Martin recalled that soldiers were promised the following articles of clothing per year:

*“One uniform coat, a woolen and linen waistcoat, four shirts, four pair of shoes, four pair of stockings, a pair of woolen, and a pair of linen overalls, a hat or a leather cap, a stock for the neck, a hunting shirt, a pair of shoe buckles, and a blanket. Ample clothing says the reader; and ample clothing say I. But what did we ever realize of all this ample store – why perhaps a coat (we generally did get that) and one or two shirts, the same of shoes and stockings, and, indeed, the same may be said of every other article of clothing – a few dribbled out in a regiment, two or three times a year, never getting a whole suit at a time, and all of the poorest quality, and blankets of thin baize, thin enough for straws shot through without discommoding the threads. How often have I had to lie whole stormy, cold nights in a wood, on a field, or a bleak hill with such blankets and other clothing like them, with nothing but the canopy of the heavens to cover me. All this too in the heart of winter, when a New England farmer, if his cattle had been in my situation, would not have slept a wink from sheer anxiety for them.”* Martin, p. 284.

On May 22, 1777, at Morristown, Washington ordered that the 1<sup>st</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup>, and 13<sup>th</sup> regiments from Virginia, with Hazen’s Regiment, were to compose the 1st Virginia Brigade under the command of Brigadier General Peter Muhlenberg. This brigade, together with General Weedon’s, were a part of General Nathanael Greene’s Division. On August 24, 1777, the entire Army marched through Philadelphia in a show of force, and probably to show the residents how poorly equipped the soldiers were. General Muhlenberg and his Virginia Brigade led the line of infantry. Hocker, pp. 76, 78.

## Brandywine, Pennsylvania—September 11, 1777

On August 25, British General Howe, with about 13,000 British infantry, sailed up the Chesapeake toward Philadelphia, and landed at Head of Elk. After resting for a week, the British began marching on Philadelphia. *“Washington concentrated his army along Brandywine Creek at the fords to intercept the British move toward Philadelphia... [he] placed Major General Nathanael Greene’s division [which included the 1<sup>st</sup> Virginia in Muhlenberg’s brigade] and Brigadier General Anthony Wayne’s brigade on the east side of Chadd’s Ford, his main defensive position.”* Neagles, p. 20.

*“While Hessian troops diverted the Americans at Chadd’s Ford, the main British army moved north to come behind them... Washington shifted Alexander’s, Stephen’s, and Sullivan’s divisions toward the Birmingham Meeting House where they engaged in battle late in the afternoon. Washington, with General Greene and his division, arrived just as the American lines were beginning to crumble. Night was falling, however, and the fighting was halted for the day... That night Washington withdrew his army to Chester. American casualties were high; at least 1,000 killed or wounded.”* Neagles, p. 20. Thirty of the Americans killed were from the Virginia regiments along with 171 wounded. Hackworth’s then company commander, Captain Joseph Scott, was seriously wounded and taken prisoner.

**"M**uhlenberg's brigade, together with the other Virginia brigade of Weedon, rendered service of incalculable value by holding back the British advance long enough to permit the badly battered American regiments to retire from the meeting house towards Dilworth. At one time Muhlenberg's men alone, after having marched four miles in forty minutes, faced all of Cornwallis' army, and their commander led them in desperate hand-to-hand bayonet fighting. This fortitude of the Virginians prevented the defeat from becoming a rout, for by stemming the onrush of the British it became possible for the American commanders to check their men and bring about an orderly retreat to the neighborhood of Chester. Muhlenberg's brigade was the last to leave the field of battle." Hocker, p.79.

### **Germantown, Pennsylvania—October 4, 1777**

**"A**fter the British took Philadelphia on September 26, 1777, the main body of their army was camped at Germantown. There were 9,000 British troops in the camp . . . Washington planned a surprise attack by marching his army of 11,000 Continentals and militia by night to engage the enemy early in the morning." Neagles, pp. 20-21. "What could have been a smashing American victory, turned into a disastrous defeat. Movement of the army was slow, and they met severe resistance from the British outposts. The Americans gradually forced their way towards Germantown; however, a dense fog had arisen which caused a great deal of confusion. At one point Brigadier General Anthony Wayne's men and Major General Adam Stephen's troops mistook each other for the enemy in the fog and began firing upon one another. After their ammunition was expended they retreated, followed by the rest of the army. The British, reinforced by troops from Philadelphia, counterattacked . . . The American army lost over 1,000 men in this battle, either killed, wounded, or captured. British casualties were about 500 killed or wounded." Neagles, pp. 20-21.

Joseph Plumb Martin, who was part of the retreat, recounted that:

**"A**fter the army had collected again and recovered from their panic, we were kept marching and counter marching, starving and freezing, nothing else happening, although that was enough, until we encamped at a place called White Marsh, about twelve miles to the northward of Philadelphia . . . The ground, which was soft and loamy, was converted into mortar, and so dirty was it, that any hogsty was preferable to our tents to sleep in; and to cap the climax of our misery, we had nothing to eat; nor scarcely anything to wear." Martin, pp. 74-75.

### **Fort Mifflin**

The Philadelphia campaign had another aspect than the confrontation between Howe's and Washington's armies. It was essential for Howe that his troops in Philadelphia be supplied; he intended to do this with the British fleet coming up the Delaware River. Consequently, he sought to take control of the river, which was defended by a small American flotilla, and two forts, Fort Mercer south of Philadelphia, and Fort Mifflin on Mud Island in the middle of the river.

On October 18, 1777, Washington ordered the 1st Virginia Regiment to Fort Mifflin to defend the garrison. For the soldiers who were "manning the fort," conditions were miserable. The fort was under constant bombardment from a fleet of British ships and land-based mortars and guns. Joseph Plumb Martin was on duty there and recalled that "[h]ere I endured hardships sufficient to kill half a dozen horses. Let the reader only consider for a moment and he will be satisfied if not sickened. In the cold month of November, without provisions, without clothing, not a scrap of either shoes or stockings to my feet or legs, and in this condition to endure a siege in a such a place as that was appalling in the highest degree... It was

*impossible to lie to get any rest or sleep on account of the mud... I was in that place a fortnight and can say in sincerity that I never lay down to sleep a minute in all that time.*" Martin, pp. 85, 89. Hackworth's company remained at the fort for almost five weeks. After the 1<sup>st</sup> Regiment was relieved, British ships were able to maneuver such that their fire necessitated evacuation of the fort after the Patriots set fire to it. Minnis, pp. 47, 48, 287.

By the fall of 1777, as Joseph Plumb Martin describes it, Washington's army was *"not only starved but naked," the greatest part "were not only shirtless and barefoot, but destitute of all other clothing, especially blankets."* Martin, p. 101. Sellers I, p. 282. Martin relates that Congress declared a Continental day of Thanksgiving, on which day each soldier received half a gill of rice (equal to a quarter of a pint) and a tablespoonful of vinegar. Martin, p. 100. (The vinegar was to ward off scurvy.)

### **Valley Forge, Pennsylvania—December 19, 1777–Spring 1778**

Only by remaining close to Philadelphia could Washington hope to inhibit the movements of the enemy. He chose as the site of his camp Valley Forge, a few miles northwest of Philadelphia; the Army arrived there on December 19, 1777. This location offered excellent natural fortifications, easily strengthened by redoubts and entrenchments. The men constructed log huts, stopping the cracks with mud. It is said Muhlenberg's brigade completed the work of felling trees and constructing their huts in four days. The camp apparently smelled quite bad because of the dirtiness of the men, the number of dead horses, and the overflowing "necessaries" (latrines). Washington ordered patrols of the camp, which were authorized to shoot anyone relieving himself anywhere but where authorized. Shortage of food was probably a more severe problem than the lack of shelter when the troops first reached Valley Forge. There was no meat available, and only 25 barrels of flour. *"Such was needed as the Army could consume over 30,000 pounds of meat and 150 barrels of flour per day."* Minnis, p. 55. The troops were supposed to receive a daily allowance of a pound of meat or fish, but were sometimes lucky to get that much in a week. Martin<sup>2</sup>, p. 175. For much of January there was no food in camp at all.

**"O**n February 5 some 3,989 were unfit for duty because of a lack of clothes or shoes." Martin<sup>2</sup>, pp. 176-177. *"Over 4,000 men were on the sick rolls in May, and 18 percent of the army's strength (2,300 men) were reported to be sick in camp as late as June 17."* Martin<sup>2</sup>, p. 178. It is not surprising that Hackworth was listed as "sick in camp" on the June muster roll, that he was "sick at Brunswick" in July, and at the "Flying Hospital" in August.

### **Monmouth, New Jersey—June 28, 1778**

After evacuating Philadelphia on June 18, 1778, the British army of 15,000 marched across New Jersey during an oppressive heat wave. While resting at Monmouth Courthouse they were overtaken by the pursuing American army.

**"M**ajor General Charles Lee in command of 6,000 men, which included over 1,100 militia, was ordered by Washington to attack the British column as it moved out from Monmouth Courthouse on the morning of the 28th. Lee, who disagreed with Washington's orders, issued no orders to attack [for which he was relieved of command for a year], and several of his brigade commanders initiated action themselves. The British then turned to attack the Americans who, with no clear directions from General Lee, began to retreat in confusion. Washington, with the main army of 8,000 men, en route to join Lee, stopped and rallied the retreaters near the Freehold Meeting House. Washington deployed his army along a shallow ravine where they withstood four British attacks and counterattacked the exhausted British troops." Neagles, p. 23.

*“Clinton made several attacks... but never with coordination resulting in withdrawal each time. As the British Black Watch pulled back from an advance on Stirling on the American left, the First Virginia and the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> New Hampshire of Scott’s Light Infantry flanked the Highlanders through the woods. The Highlanders turned and stood in line as did the Americans both firing from short range. Such determination forced the enemy to retreat back to their main body.” Minnis, p. 61.*

About 360 were killed in the battle (including Maj. Edmund B. Dickinson of the 1st Virginia) and wounded on each side, and about 40 of the deaths on each side were due to sunstroke. Neagles, p. 23.

The 1st Virginia spent most of July and August at White Plains performing routine duty and serving on reconnaissance parties, and September at Camp Robinson’s Farm, opposite West Point. Minnis, pp. 64-65. At the end of November, the 1<sup>st</sup> joined the main army at Middlebrook, New Jersey. Hocker, pp.105-106. From January to July 1779, the 1<sup>st</sup> Virginia was quartered at Smith’s Clove.

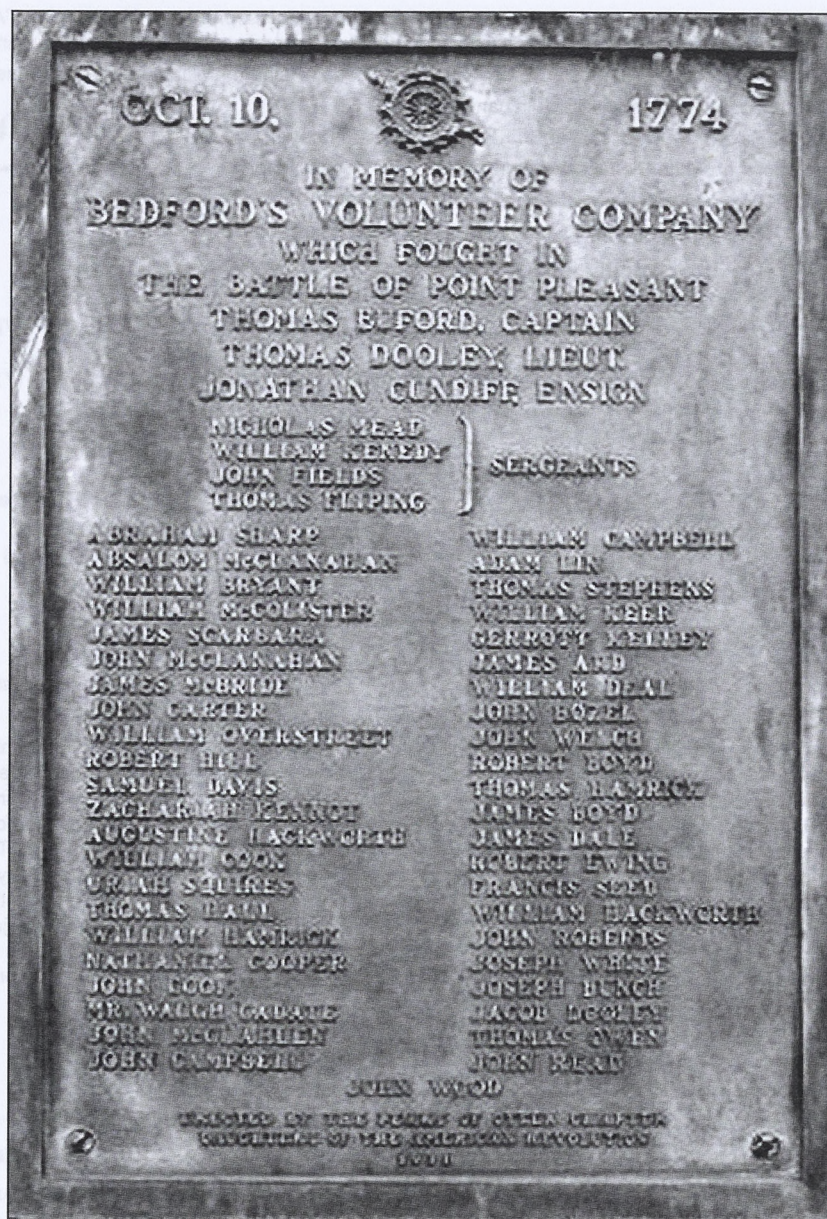
### **Stony Point, New York–July 15, 1779**

*“The British had come up and seized a little American unfinished fort at Stony Point, New York, just 10 miles below West Point. This fort and one across the river at Verplanck’s Point could control the Hudson. King’s Ferry ran between the two sites and was for most of the war the southernmost crossing of the Hudson that could be safely used by the Americans.” Minnis, p. 71. Washington determined to retake the fort. “The British had highly fortified the rocky heights of Stony Point... and believed it to be impregnable. At midnight on the 15<sup>th</sup> [of July], Brigadier General Anthony Wayne with his elite infantry of 1,400 picked men...staged a surprise bayonet attack and took the fort in less than a half-hour. The British casualties were heavy; 100 had been killed and wounded and 500 taken prisoner. Fifteen Americans were killed and eighty wounded.” Neagles, p. 23. “General Muhlenberg, with 300 men from his brigade, was stationed so they could either come to the aid of Wayne in the attack upon the British or else cover the retreat of the assailing force if it met with misfortune. Wayne executed the duty assigned him so effectively (it earned him the sobriquet “Mad Anthony” for his audacity) that the help of Muhlenberg’s detachment was not needed.” Hocker, p. 106.*

On August 4, 1779, Hackworth’s three-year enlistment in the 1st Virginia Regiment ended and he was discharged August 3 “at a place about a day’s march from Stony Point fort.” How he returned to Virginia is unknown, but presumably it was by the same means that he had left Virginia – by foot. On September 21, 1784, the General Assembly authorized the payment of the balance of pay owed Hackworth in the amount of 4 pounds, 18 shillings, and 8 pence.

On August 5, 1786 Hackworth was issued Warrant #4192 for 200 acres for his service of “three years corporal Virginia line.” He may have sold the warrant, a common practice, which was for land in the Virginia Military District. (The land shows up as part of a larger tract surveyed in 1800 for someone else.) The Virginia Military District was an approximately 4.2 million-acre area of land in what is now the state of Ohio that was reserved by Virginia to use as payment in lieu of cash for its veterans of the Revolutionary War. For years after Hackworth’s death, petitions were filed with Congress on behalf of his heirs seeking to have another grant of 200 acres made to them, apparently claiming that the original warrant had been “lost.” In 1854, they were successful and an additional grant of 200 acres was made.

Hackworth received a Federal pension of \$8 a month from 1828 until his death in Bedford County on May 31, 1831. His widow, Dorothy Newman, daughter of Conrad Newman and Anna Margaretta Brubeck Newman, whom he married in Bedford County on May 22, 1790, received a pension of \$80 a year from 1838 until her death in 1849.



A marker stands in memory of Bedford's volunteer company which fought at Point Pleasant on Oct. 10, 1774.

#### APPENDIX 1 RECORD OF WILLIAM HACKWORTH'S SERVICE IN THE 1ST VIRGINIA REGIMENT

The following record of Hackworth's service has been abstracted from the records of the 1st Virginia Regiment found in the National Archives Microfilm Publications, Revolutionary War Rolls 1775-1783, Microfilm Series No. 246, Rolls 92 and 93, and Series M-881. These records are not complete, especially for the early period of the war.

May, June, and July 1777 Pay Rolls-Capt. William Lynn's company, Col. Isaac Read.

June and July 1777 Muster Rolls-Capt. Lynn's company (June roll notes that Lynn was in Virginia recruiting); "on guard."

July and August 1777 Muster Roll-Capt. Joseph Scott's company.

August, September, October, November, December 1777 Pay Rolls - Capt. Joseph Scott's company.

September, November, and December 1777 Muster Rolls-Capt. Scott's company.

January, February, March, April, and May 1778 Muster Rolls (at Valley Forge)-Capt. Joseph Scott's company; only 10 privates are on the roll that month; "on guard" in February.

February, March, April, May, and June 1778 Pay Rolls-Capt. Joseph Scott's company; \$6 2/3 per month pay (this was the standard pay for privates beginning in 1775; it was paid in Continental dollars, which actually came in denominations of 2/3 dollars; the Continental dollar became

greatly devalued by 1779, thus giving rise to the expression "not worth a Continental." Joseph Plumb Martin wrote, "And what was six dollars and sixty-seven cents of this 'Continental currency,' as it was called, worth? It was scarcely enough to procure a man a dinner." Martin, p. 287).

June, July, August, September, and October 1778 Muster Rolls - Captains Charles Pelham, William Lewis, and Joseph Scott's companies

In June 1778 Hackworth is listed as a private, and as "Sick in camp"

In July 1778 the roll indicates that Hackworth was "sick at Brunswick" (in New Jersey)

The August 1778 roll, taken August 1 at White Plains. Hackworth was at the "Flying Hospital"

In September the roll indicates that Hackworth was "on fatigue" at Camp Robinson's Farm

September 8, 1778, roll of Capt. Pelham's Company of Col. Parker's Regiment; "sick hospital"

June and July 1778 Pay Roll - pay \$6 2/3 a month; "sick absent"

September 1778 Pay Roll - paid \$20 for three months; "deducted July & omitted August pay roll"

October 1778 Pay Roll - Major Anderson's company, Col. Richard Parker, commanding. Hackworth is listed as a corporal; pay was \$7 1/3 per month

November 1778 Pay Roll through and including April 1779 Pay Roll - Major Anderson's company (in December 1778, only 13 were on the pay roll for this company); January roll at Smith's Clove

January 1779 Muster Roll Smith's Clove

January, February, March, April 1779 Pay Roll Maj. Anderson's company

May, June, July 1779 Pay Rolls Capt. Pelham's Company \$7 1/3 per month (in May 1779, the 1st and 10th Regiments were combined into the 1<sup>st</sup>)

May, June, July 1779 Muster Rolls Capt. Pelham's Company; Hackworth discharged August 3, 1779. The June and July rolls were taken at Smith's Clove; the July roll was taken August 3 at Camp Ramapough

## APPENDIX 2-1ST VIRGINIA REGIMENT

In 1998 M. Lee Minnis published "The First Virginia Regiment of Foot 1775-1783" (Willow Bend Books), the first comprehensive history of the regiment, and it is very helpful for anyone researching an ancestor who served in that unit.

Writing of General Pickett's charge against Cemetery Ridge at Gettysburg during the Civil War, historian Virginius Dabney wrote that "[t] here were 4,500 Virginians in that charge out of a total of 15,000 Confederates, including the historic First Virginia regiment, most famous of all Virginia regiments, which traces its origins back to early Colonial times. It had fought under George Washington in the French and Indian War, under Andrew Lewis at Point Pleasant, and under Washington's overall command at Trenton, Princeton, and Yorktown. What was left after Pickett's charge - it sustained 80 per cent casualties - would fight on through to Appomattox." Dabney, p. 337. Two of William Hackworth's grandsons, Sgt. Uriah Hackworth and Pvt. Lewis Hackworth, were in units that charged with General Pickett at Gettysburg - respectively, the 14th Regiment of Virginia Infantry (Company B, originally formed as the Bedford Rifle Greys, and the first company that left Bedford for war on April 24, 1861), and the Virginia 38th Light Artillery Battalion (Company D). William's great-nephews, Privates Elijah Hackworth, George D. Hackworth, and Tazewell Ward Hackworth were also in Company B of the 14th Regiment; at Gettysburg, Elijah was wounded in the leg and captured; Tazewell was wounded in the forehead by a shell; George D. was also captured and later died in the Union prison camp at Point Lookout, Maryland. Uriah, too, was later captured, and imprisoned at Fort Monroe, Virginia.

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# A Voice from the Past



*LeRoy Gresham*

LeRoy Gresham was the pastor of Salem Presbyterian Church from 1909 until 1947, faithfully serving the Lord and the congregation. A detailed personal record of his pastoral activities during this period is included in the Church's archives: names and dates of baptisms, confirmations, marriages, pastoral visits, member transfers and funerals. Also included are copies of his sermons for children and an inventory of his extensive library, then located in his home on Market Street.

The Congregation is fortunate that these records have been preserved for they constitute a significant chapter in the history of Salem Church. But there is one of his documents which cannot be cataloged. Titled *An Oratorical Medley, Arranged by LeRoy Gresham*, the medley consists of thirty-four passages taken from classical English and American poetry, plays and prose arranged to form a unique poem. The medley is typewritten on four legal size pages. It is undated and, at a later time an unknown person made handwritten notes in the left margin indicating the title of several of the works from which Gresham selected passages for his Medley. Beside the title the word "copyrighted" had been written but crossed out by hand notation.

The Medley reads as follows:

# An Oratorical Medley

Arranged by LeRoy Gresham

"Far up the lonely mountainside  
My wandering footsteps led;  
The moss lay thick beneath my feet,  
The pine sighed overhead.  
The traces of a dismantled fort lay in the forest nave,  
And in the shadow near my path  
I saw a soldier's grave,"<sup>1</sup>

"But Linden saw another sight  
When the drum beat, at dead of night,  
Commanding fires of death to light  
The darkness of her scenery,"<sup>2</sup>

"Half a league half a league,  
Half a league onward,  
All in the valley of Death  
Rode the six hundred,"<sup>3</sup>

"Like a tempest down the ridges  
Swept the hurricane of steel,  
Rose the slogan of McDonald —  
Flashed the broadsword of Lochell!"<sup>4</sup>

"Had I been there with sword in hand,  
And fifty Camerons by,  
That day through high Dunedin's streets  
Had pealed the slogan cry,  
Not all their troops of trampling horse,  
Nor might of mailed men,  
Not all the rebels in the south  
Had borne us backward then!  
Once more his foot on Highland heath  
Had trod as free as air,  
Or I, and all that bore my name,  
Been laid around him there!"<sup>5</sup>

"There came a burst of thunder sound —  
The boy-oh where was he?"<sup>6</sup>

"Ask Cossinius; ask Claudius; ask Varinius; ask the bones of your legions that  
fertilize the Lucanian plains."<sup>7</sup>

"Then, for a little moment, all people held their breath;  
And through the crowded Forum was stillness as of death;<sup>8</sup>

There's only the sound of the lone sentry's tread  
As he tramps from the rock to the fountain,  
And thinks of the two in the low-trundle bed,  
Far away in the cot on the mountain.  
His musket falls slack; his face, dark and grim,  
Grows gentle with memories tender,  
As he mutters a prayer for the children asleep,  
For their Mother—may Heaven defend her!<sup>9</sup>

But hark hear ye yon lion roaring in his den? It is three days since he tasted flesh,  
but tomorrow he will break his fast upon yours; and a dainty meal for him ye will be!<sup>10</sup>

Are ye all there my vassals true, mine eyes are growing dim;  
Draw forth each trusty sword  
And let me hear your faithful steel clash once around my board.  
I hear it faintly, louder yet! What clogs my heavy breath?  
Up all and shout for Ruddier, defiance unto death!  
Down rang the massy cup,  
And from its sheath the heavy blade came flashing—halfway up,  
And with the dark and heavy plumes scarce moving on his head,  
There in his dark carved oaken chair of state old Rudiger sat dead!<sup>11</sup>

But he was not the only one, oh dear no!<sup>12</sup>

With that, straight up the hill there rode,  
Two horsemen drenched with gore,  
And, in their arms, a helpless load,  
A wounded knight they bore!<sup>13</sup>

And the foremost said: "Behold me!  
I am Famine, Bukadawin!"  
And the other said: "Behold me!"<sup>14</sup>

I am thy father's spirit,  
Doomed for a certain term to walk the night  
And for the day confined to fast in fires,  
Till the foul crimes done in my days of nature  
Are burned and purged away!<sup>15</sup>

An hour passed on, the Turk awoke,<sup>16</sup>  
Oh, I have passed a miserable night,

So full of ugly dreams, of ugly sights,  
That, as I am a Christian faithful man,  
I would not spend another such night  
Though 'twere to buy a world of happy days,  
So full of dismal terror was the time.<sup>17</sup>

Last night, as I lay fettered in my dungeon, I heard a strange ominous sound; it seemed like the distant march of some vast army, their harness clanging as they marched, when suddenly there stood by me Xanthippus, the Spartan general, by whose aid you conquered me, and, with a voice low as when the solemn wind mourns through the leafless forest, he thus addressed me;<sup>18</sup>

How doth the little busy bee  
Delight to bark and bite  
To gather honey all the day,  
And eat it all the night,<sup>19</sup>

He woke, to die 'mid flame and smoke,  
And shout, and groan, and saber stroke,  
And death-shots falling thick and fast  
As lightnings from the mountain cloud;  
And heard, with voice as trumpet loud  
Bozzarris cheer his band<sup>20</sup>

Once more into the breach,  
Dear friends, once more;  
Or close the wall up with our English dead.<sup>21</sup>

So we shuddered there in silence,  
Each one busy with his prayers  
"We are lost!" the Captain shouted,  
As he staggered down the stairs.  
But his little daughter whispered,  
As she took his icy hand<sup>22</sup>

O father, I hear the sound of guns; Oh, say, what may it be?<sup>23</sup>  
The terrible grumble, and rumble, and roar  
Telling the battle was on once more,  
And Sheridan twenty miles away.<sup>24</sup>

I sprang to the stirrup, and Joris, and he;  
I gallop'd, Dirck gallop'd, we gallop'd all three:<sup>25</sup>  
There was mounting 'mong Graemes of the Netherby clan;  
Forsters, Fenwicks, and Musgraves, they rode and they ran;

There was racing and chasing on Cannobie Lee,  
But the lost bride of Netherby ne'er did they see.<sup>26</sup>

Then Reuben Paine cried out again before his spirit passed<sup>27</sup>

"Stand up, stand up now, Tomlinson, and answer loud and high  
The good that ye did for the sake of men or ever ye came to die—  
The good that ye did for the sake of men in little earth so lone!"  
And the naked soul of Tomlinson grew white as a rain-washed bone.<sup>28</sup>

Then out spake brave Horatius,  
The Captain of the Gate:  
"To every man upon this earth  
Death cometh soon or late."<sup>29</sup>

Go, tell the telegraph.  
The railroad killed a calf.  
He ran on the rail,  
And curled up his tale;  
The engine came by, And sent him sky-high.<sup>30</sup>

There we found him gashed and gory,  
Stretch'd upon the cumbered plain  
As he told us where to seek him,  
In the thickest of the slain.  
And a smile was on his visage,  
For within his dying ear  
Pealed the joyful note of triumph,  
And the clansmen's clamorous cheer<sup>31</sup>

And you'll not weight him down by the heels and dump him overside,  
But carry him up to the sandhollows to die as Behring died'  
And make a place for Reuben Paine that knows the fight was fair,  
And leave the two that did the wrong to talk it over there!<sup>32</sup>

Slowly and sadly we laid him down,  
From the field of his fame fresh and gory;  
We carved not a line and we raised not a stone,  
But we left him alone with his glory<sup>33</sup>

Duncan is in his grave.  
After life's fitful fever he sleeps well.  
Treason has done his worst; nor steel nor poison,  
Malice domestic, foreign levy, nothing can touch him further.<sup>34</sup>

The Medley is an unusual form of composition, its passages selected by Gresham from classic American and English tragedies. Many involve the death of heroes of ancient military conflict. Taken together, the passages form a tragic poem whose message is difficult to discern. The mystery of his purpose and the message he hoped to convey could possibly be answered if the date of arrangement were known. To this end, two possible time periods in his life will be considered; first as a student and then later as a Presbyterian minister.

Gresham attended Lawrenceville Academy in New Jersey, and received BA and MA degrees from Princeton University. A Phi Beta Kappa, his liberal arts education included classical American and English literature and Roman and Greek history. Oratory, the art of public speaking, would have been an important and required part of his undergraduate studies. Familiar passages from the works of Shakespeare, Longfellow, Scott, Browning, Kipling, Tennyson and others would have been memorized and quoted by a student to practice and develop the ability to speak in a formal and eloquent manner. A young student of Gresham's intellect could easily have crafted the Medley from memory without thought of a larger purpose or simply to respond to a classroom assignment.

There are two reasons to believe that this was not the case. First, and most important, Gresham had a greater purpose in life. Following graduation from Princeton he pursued graduate studies for a year before receiving a LLB law degree from the University of Maryland in 1896. He practiced law in Baltimore for the next six years before being called to the ministry, receiving his Bachelor of Divinity in 1906 from the Union Theological Seminary in Richmond, Virginia. His first pastorate was the Presbyterian Church in Chapel Hill, North Carolina and in 1909 he and his family answered the call of the Salem Church. Second, the Medley's passage selected from Rhyme of the Three Sealers was written by Kipling in 1893 when Gresham was twenty-two years old and had completed his undergraduate studies at Princeton.

It is in the history of Gresham's thirty-eight year pastorate of the Salem Church that the answer to his purpose and intended message in arranging his Medley may be found. On All Saints Day, October 31, 1999, Reverend Dean Lindsey preached a sermon titled The Rev. LeRoy Gresham a Towering Figure. Selected passages from that sermon are quoted below in bold type, describing Dr. Gresham's personality, theology and relationship with the young people of the Congregation.

**An Old School Presbyterian through and through, he added to this tradition by his own erudition and broad learning. In his sermons, he quoted literature, opera, and poetry—Robert Browning was one of his favorites. He included illustrations from history, the law, and science. He sincerely believed that there was no branch of human learning which could not illuminate the meaning of the gospel.**

**When Dr. Gresham reached an age when he reasonably could have been expected to retire, the clouds of war had moved over the face of the globe. With so many of the young men and women of the church entering into military service and the support of the War effort, he did not feel that he could abandon his pastoral work.**

**Indeed, I am certain that there was no more anguished period of his long ministry than during World War II, when those whom he called his "adopted children" went into danger, into battle, and a number of them never returned. He prayed with the families as they anxiously awaited news from their sons. He stood by their side when a flier was missing in action. He wept with them when a loved one was lost."**

**I came across a letter he wrote to those serving in the Armed Forces, dated December 1944, which both expresses the anguish of those times, but also the great Christian hope which LeRoy Gresham sought to share with those he deeply loved. The letter concludes, finally, with a benediction upon them and upon us.**

It reads:

*Dear Boys and Girls:*

*We are not saying "Merry Christmas" this year. We realize only too well that amid the circumstances in which so many of you find yourselves at this time all merely conventional greetings are quite out of place.*

*They are also out of place for us, who in heart-heaviness and anxiety wait here at home. And so we do not use the old words. What we do want to say to you is that on Christmas Day you will be as near to us in thought as you ever were in bodily presence, and that we shall be looking forward in eagerness and expectation to the time when you may be with us again to join with us in a happy and unclouded Christmas here at home. We still believe in Him Whose coming to the world is celebrated at this season. We still believe that he will verify to us His blessed name of "Prince of Peace," and that he will fulfill for us the promise of "Peace on Earth" that was made in His name.*

*In the meantime, our prayer for you is the same that the Apostle Paul made for his Philippian friends long ago—that "the peace of God which passeth all understanding may garrison (garrison—that is what the word means in Greek)—may garrison your hearts and minds through Christ Jesus."*

*Your old friend,*

*LeRoy Gresham*

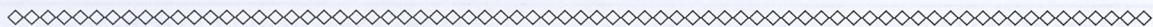
One has to believe that Dr. Gresham's anguish for his boys and girls also led him to arrange his An Oratorical Medley during the final days of World War II. It was his way of personally honoring Alexander Brown, David Oakey, Gordon Maxwell and Elmore Hood, those young men of his flock, who, like the heroes of the ancient battles cited in his tragic poem, gave their lives for a greater cause.

John R. Hildebrand, Presbyterian Elder  
August 5, 2015

## ENDNOTES

A listing of the original sources for LeRoy Gresham's An Oratorical Medley

- 1 from the poem, A Georgia Volunteer, Mary Ashley Townsend
- 2 from the poem, Hohenlinden, Thomas Campbell (1777-1844)
- 3 from the poem, Charge of the Light Brigade, Alfred Lord Tennyson (1809-1892)
- 4 from the poem, The Burial-March of Dundee, William E. Aytoun (1813-1865)
- 5 from the poem, The Execution of Montrose, William E. Aytoun
- 6 from the poem, Casabianca, by Felicia Hemans (1793-1835)
- 7 from Spartacus to the Roman Envoys in Etruria, by Epes Sargent (1813-1880)
- 8 from The Death of Virginia, Helene A. Guerber, (1859-1929), from The Story of the Romans
- 9 from All Quiet along the Potomac, Ethel Lynn Eliot Beers (1827-1879)
- 10 from Spartacus to the Gladiators, Elijah Kellogg (1813-1901)
- 11 from the poem The Baron's Last Banquet, Albert Gordon Greene (1802-1868)
- 12 from the song, Not the Only One, copyright 1892, words by William Jerome and Matt Woodward, music by John Mayhew
- 13 from the poem, Marmion, Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832)
- 14 from the poem, The Song of Hiawatha, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807-1882)
- 15 from the play Hamlet, Act I, Scene 5, William Shakespeare (1564-1616)
- 16 from the poem Marco Bozzarus, Fitz-Greene Halleck (1790-1867)
- 17 from the play Richard III, Act I, Scene 4, Shakespeare
- 18 from the poem Regulus to the Carthaginians, Elijah Kellogg
- 19 from Julian Home, A Tale of College Life, by Fredric William Farrar
- 20 from the poem Marco Bozzarus, Fitz-Greene Halleck
- 21 from the play, Henry V, Act 3, Scene I, Shakespeare
- 22 from the poem, Ballad of the Tempest, James T. Fields
- 23 from the poem, Wreck of the Hesperus, Longfellow
- 24 from the poem, Sheridan's Ride, Thomas Buchanan Read (1822-1872)
- 25 from the poem How They Brought the Good News from Ghent to Aix, Robert Browning (1812-1889)
- 26 from the poem Lochinvar, Sir Walter Scott
- 27 from the poem Rhyme of the Three Sealers, Rudyard Kipling
- 28 from the poem Tomlinson, Kipling
- 29 from the poem Horatius, from Lays of Ancient Rome, Thomas Babington Macaulay
- 30 from the poem A Boy's News Item, from Cats Cradle, Rhymes & Pictures For Children, Edward Willett
- 31 from the poem The Burial March of Dundee, from Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers, William E. Aytoun
- 32 from the poem Rhyme of the Three Sealers, Rudyard Kipling
- 33 from the poem Burial of Sir John Moore after Corunna, Charles Wolfe
- 34 from the play Macbeth, Act 3, Scene 2, Shakespeare



## Correction in 2019 Journal article

Three incorrect dates were printed in an article, "How the Mother County Began," by R. D. Stoner, in the 2019 edition of the Journal, as a result of typing errors.

The original article correctly stated that Augusta County residents petitioned the House of Burgesses for a division of the county in 1767 and again in 1769. Also, Lord Botetourt was succeeded as governor by John Murray, Lord Dunmore, in 1771.









Kegley   
PUBLICATIONS

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