HIGHWAYS TO HEALTH AND PLEASURE:
THE ANTEBELLUM TURNPICKES AND TRADE OF THE MINERAL SPRINGS OF
GREENBRIER AND MONROE COUNTIES, VIRGINIA

by

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HIGHWAYS TO HEALTH AND PLEASURE:
THE ANTEBELLUM TURNPIKES AND TRADE OF THE MINERAL SPRINGS IN
GREENBRIER AND MONROE COUNTIES VIRGINIA

by
Lana Martindale

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(ABSTRACT)

Turnpike building in Greenbrier and Monroe counties coincided with the period of their springs' greatest development and prosperity. The development of both the springs and the turnpikes in this region reflected the cyclical nature of the national economy. The springs of Greenbrier and Monroe counties at the heart of the antebellum Virginia Springs Tour provided a seasonal internal marketplace for the region. Turnpikes were built primarily to connect these springs with each other and with the state's major road arteries through southwestern Virginia. Without other internal improvements prior to the Civil War, this region fared comparably with the rest of western Virginia and the state as a whole in their bid for state assistance for turnpikes. Generally turnpike investments at both the local and the state level, provided
better access to the springs. Though inextricably connected through the springs tour, Greenbrier and Monroe Counties fared differently in their struggle for internal improvements.
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CHAPTER ONE
THE SPRINGS' IMPACT ON ROADBUILDING
IN GREENBRIER AND MONROE COUNTIES

THE HEART OF THE SPRINGS TOUR

Amid the flurry of stages and carriages arriving and departing, belles and beaux strolling the grounds, and servants scurrying about, the curious searched for familiar faces among the disembarking passengers. Travel worn and dust covered socialites scrambled for an opportunity to occupy any empty room or hallway to be a part of the hustle and bustle at this "gay metropolis of the springs." Just to be nearby sometimes required sharing lodging and even a bed with three or four others. No inconvenience seemed too great. Such was the antebellum popularity of this Greenbrier County mineral spring.²

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"Nowhere, perhaps, does there exist a region where one finds in a relatively limited and circumscribed radius so great a variety of mineral waters as in Virginia." The mineral content of the springs in Greenbrier and Monroe counties varies from sulphur to iodine to the bubbly sodium and ferrous carbonates. Hundreds of these mineral springs can be found up and down the Appalachian chain, but the proximity and variety of the springs in the southwestern Virginia counties of Greenbrier and Monroe provided the key to marketing them successfully. The springs' proprietors, with the assistance of doctors, travel writers, and newspapers, promoted the "springs tour" for health and social reasons. Guests did not normally travel to "a spring" but rather to "the springs." J. Bowyer Caldwell, editor and owner of the Western Enquirer and Virginia Springs Gazette, objected strenuously to travel writers like Mark Pencil, who focused on one spring, and called his article "incomplete, imperfect, and incorrect."  

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4 Ibid.; Paul H. Price, John B. McCue, Homer A. Hoskins, West Virginia Geological Survey: Springs of West Virginia (Charleston, 1936) identified more than 175 springs in West Virginia alone, 17 in Monroe County, 13 in Greenbrier County, and 3 in Summers County; Mark Pencil, The White Sulphur Papers or Life at the Springs of Western Virginia (New York: Samuel Colman, 1839), 60; Reniers, Springs of Virginia, 25; Account
During the "season," visitors trekked to this mountain vacation land for the "springs tour." Although the season ran from early June to early September, it reached its peak from mid-July through August. In the 1830s, the fashionable tour began at the White Sulphur Springs with preliminary stops at the Warm and Hot Springs in Bath County. Many from the Deep South travelled up the Ohio River to Guyandotte instead, then overland to the Blue Sulphur Springs to await accommodations at the White Sulphur. From the White Sulphur Springs, guests ventured to the Salt Sulphur, Grey Sulphur, Red Sulphur, and Red Sweet Springs and officially ended the season at the Sweet Springs. Personal preferences and the direction and mode of travel established the springs order for most visitors.\(^5\)

Virginia encouraged the development of its vast abundance of natural resources in the western part of the state and the improvements to link them with the East. In 1835,

\[\text{of the Medical Properties of the Grey Sulphur Springs,}\]
\[\text{Virginia, 2d. (Charleston, South Carolina: A. B. Miller,}\]
\[\text{1837); Western Enquirer and Virginia Springs Gazette (Lewisburg, Virginia) 17 July 1839, Miscellaneous West Virginia Newspapers, (Morgantown: West Virginia University, text-fiche), 2.}\]

the General Assembly appointed W. B. Rogers to do a
gеоlоgісаl survey of the state "soils, minerals, and mineral
wаtеrs." Though few turnpikes in western Virginia provid-
ed dіvіdеnds to investors, both state and company officials
rеаlіzеd tіrеm bеnеfіt "tо tеh dеvеlорmеnt оf rесоurсes,
соmmunitіеs, аnd tе hоmеnuоwnth." Аs one оf tе hаti-
nіоn's fіrst аnd fоrmеsіоу tоurіst аttrасtіоns, tе springs
оf Gееnbrookеr аnd Mоnroе соuntrіеs p роvіdеd а рlауgrоund fоr
thе wеalthу аnd а mаrkеtрlасе fоr а multitudе оf
еntrepreneurѕ.

Bеtweеn 1830 аnd 1861, Gееnbrookеr аnd Mоnroе соuntrіеs
еnjoyеd а реriоd оf unparalleled, thоuсh іntеrmittеnt,
development аnd fаmе аs tе сеаrt оf tе аntеbеllum springs
tоuг. J ust аs thе drovеrs mаrkt wаnеd, thе springs' mаrkеt

6Twentieth and Twenty First Annual Reports of thе Bоаrd
оf Publіс Wоrkѕ tо thе Gеnеrаl Ассеmbly оf Vіrgіniа Аlsо А
Cоllесtіоn оf thе Асtѕ аnd Рlесіsіоnеs оf thе Gеnеrаl Ассеmbly
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Іmрrоvеmеnts (Rісhmоnd: Sрехеrd аnd Соlіn, 1837), 575, 196.

7Sеcond Аudіtоr's Рорrt, Тwееntіfоurth аnd Twееntіfіfth
Аnnuаl Rерорtѕ оf thе Bоаrd оf Publіс Wоrkѕ tо thе Gеnеrаl
Ассеmbly оf Vіrgіniа аnd Оthеr Dоcumеnts оn Subjесts Соnnеctеd
wіth thе Fund fоr Іntеrnаl Іmрrоvеmеnt vоl. XI (Rісhmоnd:
Sареlеm Sрехеrd, 1841), 248; Dос Nо XVII Yеаr Еndіng Sерt 30,
1858 Роrtаts, Роrtаtѕ, Rеtурtѕ, аnd Оthеr Dоcumеnts Rеlаtіng tо Jоіnt
Sоtсk Соmраnіеs, оthеr Thаn RаIlwауѕ Sерt 30, 1858 (n.p.,
n.d.), 456; Chіеf Еngіnееr's Рорrt, Тwееntіvеn Еnthіе Fіftһ Аnnuаl
Rерорt оf thе Bоаrd оf Publіс Wоrkѕ tо thе Gеnеrаl Ассеmbly оf
Vіrgіniа wіth thе Ассоmраnуіng Dоcumеnts Dес 5, 1842 (Rісhmоnd:
Sареlеm Sрехеrd, 1842), 570.
boom. Primarily a region of subsistence farmers, these counties capitalized on their scenic beauty and natural mineral springs. Entrepreneurs developed the White and Blue Sulphur Springs of Greenbrier County, the Salt, Red, and Grey Sulphur Springs, and the Sweet Springs of Monroe County and the Red Sweet Springs of Alleghany into resorts of renown and built turnpikes to connect them. Numerous smaller less fashionable springs developed over the years utilized by travellers and folks from all walks of life.

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9 The similarity in names of the springs can lead to confusion. The Red Sweet Springs, Red Springs or Sweet Chalybeate, in Alleghany County are one in the same. One of the springs at the Salt Sulphur was known as the Sweet Sulphur Spring, the other as the Iodine Springs. These are not to be confused with the Sweet Springs also in Monroe County. The Grey Sulphur Springs is now located in Giles County, but at its peak was marketed as a Monroe spring. Grey Sulphur Springs was developed by a South Carolinian, John Legare. Giles County Deed Book D, Courthouse, Pearisburg, Virginia, 514. James A. Lewis and James McFarland of Charleston, West Virginia and George Buster and John A. North from Greenbrier County developed the Blue Sulphur Springs. John Dunn, Lewisburg, Virginia to James Lewis or George Buster, LS, 25 December 1833; J. A. Lewis, Kanawha C.H. (Charleston, West Virginia), to [John North, Lewisburg, Virginia], LS, 17 April, 10 June 1834; George Buster, Charleston, West Virginia to [John North, Lewisburg, Virginia], LS, 24 September 1836, Caldwell Collection, [photocopy], North House, Lewisburg, West Virginia.

10 During the first half of the nineteenth century, the Barger Springs, now located in Summers County, West Virginia, catered to hunters, trappers, and local people. Between 1830 and 1844, Isaac Carden the proprietor was licensed as a merchant and then in 1841 for a house of private entertainment in Monroe County. Stan Cohen, Historic Springs of the Virginias: A Pictorial History (Charleston, WV: Pictorial Histo-
While the springs may not have provided a booming year round business, they put Greenbrier and Monroe counties on the antebellum maps. No other enterprise provided this region with both national and international fame. Yet, historians have typically underestimated the impact of the springs on the local and Virginia economies, and the impact of the economy on the springs’ roadbuilding.

**REGULATIONS AND ROADBUILDING**

Early access to Greenbrier and Monroe counties had been in the form of wagon roads from Warm Springs to Lewisburg and Sweet Springs, from Lewisburg and Sweet Springs to Kanawha, from Sweet Springs to Fincastle and Lynchburg, from Lynchburg to Lewisburg, and from Union to the New River.\(^{11}\)

These routes formed the basic travel patterns of visitors to the area and to the springs.

During the early part of the nineteenth century, Virginia's reticence and the local inability to fund internal improvements caused a perpetual lag in development in the Trans-Alleghany counties of Greenbrier and Monroe. The state authorized roads to be built by counties and funded by taxes or by lottery. However, the difficult topography, small amount of capital, sparse population, and reluctance to be taxed for roads slowed development here.\textsuperscript{12} The state

\textsuperscript{12} Phillip Morrison Rice, "Internal Improvements in Virginia, 1775-1860," (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1948), 41, 47.
approved lotteries to open intercounty roads between Lewisburg and Monroe, Monroe and Big Sandy, Red Sulphur Springs and Newbern, and Red Sulphur Springs and Covington. Some of these appear to have been stage routes, or parts of later turnpikes.\textsuperscript{13}

With the completion of the James River and Kanawha Turnpike, residents began petitioning for roads, primarily to the springs. In October 1829, the \textit{Palladium} carried at least four notices of intents to petition the General Assembly for a turnpike. Two would have linked the Sweet Springs with the state turnpike from either Robert or Richard Dickson’s property. One proposed a turnpike across Sweet Spring Mountain through Jennings Gap to Harrisonburg. Another planned for a road across Muddy Creek to the Blue Sulphur Springs "to run with the present road west of the mountain and to intersect the turnpike near Handleys."\textsuperscript{14} In 1831, the state authorized this road to be built by lottery. That same year the difficulty in supervising lotteries led to the replacement of this system with a state matching fund

\textsuperscript{13}Williams, \textit{Enrolled Bills}. 242, 295, 376.

\textsuperscript{14}\textit{Palladium} (Lewisburg, Virginia), 3, 17 October 1829 (\textit{Miscellaneous West Virginia Newspapers}, (Morgantown: West Virginia University, text-fiche)).
program for the counties.\(^{15}\)

Beginning in the 1830s, Greenbrier and Monroe counties, like others throughout the state, took advantage of the state's relaxed turnpike standards, funding, and technical assistance to enter Virginia's turnpike era. Roads or turnpikes in this region generally developed to link the mineral springs, the commercial centers of Greenbrier and Monroe counties, with each other and the main travel arteries rather than the customary towns and ports. Entrepreneurs planned and invested in these turnpike ventures to stimulate trade with springs' visitors.

Although frustrated with almost insurmountable building and repair difficulties, few seemed to lose hope in the possibilities associated with the springs' trade. While the mountainous terrain hindered road construction, the limestone cartography handicapped road maintenance and travel with mud and dust.\(^{16}\) Comments from travellers, engineers, and turnpike companies alike all attest to these problems on the turnpikes of Greenbrier and Monroe.


The Turnpike Act of 7 February 1817 regulated the incorporation of turnpike companies and permitted the state to subscribe up to two-fifths of the capital after private sources had subscribed at least one-fourth of the remaining three-fifths stock. Although the act limited the cost of shares to between twenty-five and one hundred dollars, it left the number of shares, the amount of capital, and the medium of exchange for subscriptions to the commissioners' discretion. In this region, shares generally sold for twenty-five to fifty dollars through the installment plan and were often purchased through labor on the road. Once half the stock had been subscribed, the company became incorporated and elected a president and five directors.¹⁷ This act required all roads to be at least sixty feet wide with eighteen feet well covered with gravel or stone, where necessary, and at all times kept firm and smooth, free from all mud holes, ruts and other obstructions, and in all respects fit for the use of heavy laden waggons, and of other carriages in dry weather, between the first day of May, and thirty-first day of October, and fit for the use of horses and foot travellers at all times.¹⁸

The Virginia Turnpike Act also regulated the erection of toll gates and established tolls and fines for noncompliance. Tolls varied from $.065 for a score of sheep or hogs

¹⁸Ibid., 216.
to $0.20 for a four-wheeled carriage, and were half price for a return load. Distances, destination and toll rates had to be posted at each gate. Tolls could be charged on every five-mile segment of the road as long as it was kept in repair. The Act also provided for filing annual reports, road disrepair, discontinuance of tolls or the roads themselves, and restrictions for winter travel on the roads. Once authorized turnpike companies had two years to begin their construction and ten years to complete the road. 19

The fact the turnpikes of Greenbrier and Monroe counties met few of the criteria first established by the state or produced little revenue detracted little from their importance. They were narrow (generally fifteen to twenty-two feet wide), poorly drained, earthen toll roads. Their lack of width prevented an allowance for "summer roads". 20

19 Ibid., 216-224. Tolls were not the same for all roads, nor were toll gates placed the same distances apart. The Red and Blue Sulphur Springs toll gates could be no closer than every ten miles. Every fifteen miles, they were permitted to charge tolls commensurate with the James River and Kanawha Turnpike. The 32 3/4 mile long Red and Blue Sulphur Springs Turnpike had three tollgates and the 20 1/2 mile long White and Salt Sulphur Springs Turnpike two gates. Presumably most of the turnpikes in this area had gates approximately every ten miles. Virginia, Act Incorporating the Red and Blue Sulphur Springs Turnpike Company, Acts (1836) 142:214-15; Doc. No. XVII Reports, Returns, and Other Documents, relating to Joint Stock Companies, Other Than Railroads, Sept. 30, 1857 (n.p., n.d.), 207, 222.

20 According to Hunter, this was typical of Virginia turnpikes and others. Grades and surfaces unacceptable to professional engineers were standard here. Hunter states
However, the "turnpikes" here, like elsewhere, were the best roads which charged tolls and serviced the more important routes. In Greenbrier and Monroe counties most of these roads led to the springs. As centers of commerce, these "watering places" provided the incentive for roadbuilding. Fortunately, these roads, impassable for a good portion of the year, had been constructed to serve a limited seasonal clientele. Not too surprisingly, revenues from tolls seldom kept pace with the cost of needed repairs. Few turnpikes, even in high volume areas like New England, earned a profit.

Location, drainage, and grades were the most serious mistakes. Claudius Crozet, Virginia's most noted principal engineer, also found these much more detrimental than the lack of macadamized surfaces—a common traveller's complaint. Robert F. Hunter, "Turnpike Construction in Antebellum Virginia," Technology and Culture 4 (1963): 179-200.

Virginia law required roads to be kept in repair to charge tolls. (Virginia 1817, 234:211-25). J. Bowyer Caldwell, newspaper editor and stage owner, not only complained of the condition of the Kanawha Turnpike and other state and county roads, but reminded road overseers of their responsibilities and printed excerpts on road macadamization and repair. Palladium 14, 28 November, 12, 19 December 1829, Miscellaneous West Virginia Newspapers (Morgantown: West Virginia University, text-fiche). With a vested interest in road conditions, operational turnpike companies appeared to keep their roads in better condition. This removed much of the burden from the county court and appointed overseers.

Virginia entered the turnpike era as the rest of the nation switched to rail travel. In 1831, Virginia had interest in only fifteen turnpikes. By 1839, this number had increased to sixty-three. During this same decade, most of the turnpikes connecting the springs of Greenbrier and Monroe counties were begun. By 1861, Virginians had started, if not completed approximately two hundred joint stock turnpikes.\(^{23}\)

The opening of the James River and Kanawha Turnpike, the improvement of the economy and the relaxation of Virginia's turnpike standards spurred a road boom which coincided with the golden years of the springs. Improved roads led to improved commerce. These springs provided an internal market for area residents and tax revenues for the state. In spite of a wildly fluctuating economy which resulted in

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\(^{23}\)Taylor, *Transportation Revolution*, 75-80; Rice, "Internal Improvements," 292; *Annual Reports of the Board of Public Works to the General Assembly of Virginia [1830-1861]; In The Supreme Court of the United States October Term, 1913, No. 2 Original. Commonwealth of Virginia vs. The State of West Virginia in Equity Before Hon. Charles E. Littlefield, Master, At Richmond, Virginia, August 17-19 and September 2-12, 1914*, vol. III (Charleston, WV, 1914), 901-940.
much indebtedness and many business failures, local entre-
preneurs worked to develop and hold their share of the
seasonal springs trade.

Turnpike construction in Greenbrier and Monroe counties
was affected more by the cyclical national economy than by
legislative, political, social, or sectional factors.
Entrepreneurs invested in roads to the springs as the econo-
my permitted. The seasonal and nonessential nature of the
springs' commerce made them particularly subject to economic
trends. Both the development of the springs and the turn-
pikes in Greenbrier and Monroe counties can be directly
correlated to the fluctuating national economy. However,
despite financial panics and depressions, many of these
roads endured and contributed significantly to the advance-
ment of the region.

A study of the development of this region's turnpikes
and other roads is in itself a study of the antebellum
commercial history of Greenbrier and Monroe counties. Here,
like elsewhere, profit motivated road construction and roads
controlled the flow of commerce and ideas.24 This region

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24 Christy Borth, Mankind on the Move: The Story of
Highways (Washington, D.C.: Automobile Safety Foundation,
1967), 9, 13. Anne Royall complained of the "yeomanry"
emulating the wealthy springs' crowd. Anne Royall, Sketches of
History, Life and Manners in the United States, Series in
American Studies, ed. Joseph J. Kwiat (New Haven: By the
author, 1826; reprint, New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation,
1970), 72.
developed a transient-based commerce dependent on travellers through or to the area. With no banks until mid-nineteenth century, this barter based economy relied on the seasonal cash stimulation from western emigrants, court participants and spectators, and spa visitors. In addition to these visitors, the multi-purpose mineral springs serviced rural communities with stores, blacksmiths, mills, stage and post offices and provided outlets for their surplus farm goods and handiwork. Though roads to these springs were built primarily to accommodate an elite market, they served as symbols of civilization, and a defense against economic

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25 Monroe County Legislative Petitions to the General Assembly for banks in Blacksburg and Lewisburg respectively due to their dependence on banks in Buchanan and Wythe, DS, 10, 25 January 1850, Virginia State Library and Archives, Richmond. Monroe County Legislative Petition to the General Assembly for a Savings Institution in Lewisburg, DS, 13 February 1840, Virginia State Library and Archives, Richmond. In 1849, Monroe County received the Monroe Savings Bank. In 1852 the Farmers Bank of Virginia opened a branch in Lewisburg. Williams, Enrolled Bills, 295, 138; The agricultural based economy of both Greenbrier and Monroe spawned a number of manufacturing businesses such as tanneries, saddlaries, a glove factory, a plough manufactory, distilleries, and mills for grain, oil, lumber, and wool. By 1860, Greenbrier County claimed 70 mills. Tailors, dressmakers, and hat makers abounded during "the season." Rice, Greenbrier County, 128-133; Palladium, 9, 16, 23 May, 14 November 1829, The Alleghanian, 22 February 1833, The Observer and Western Advertiser, 11 April 1844, Miscellaneous West Virginia Newspapers (Morgantown: West Virginia University, text-fiche); John Francis, "Reminiscences of Union as it was over Forty Years Ago." Lewisburg hosted four courts the Greenbrier County Court, Greenbrier District Court of Chancery, the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals, the U. S. Court for the District West of the Alleghany Mountains. Rice, Greenbrier County, 118-119.
stagnation for all residents. In Greenbrier and Monroe counties the material advantages of the springs proved the adage, "A road is worth as much as the places it connects." Only turnpikes connecting these springs drew enough investors to incorporate.

The James River and Kanawha Turnpike provided the catalyst for the growth of this region. This major thoroughfare unleashed a tide of visitors to this undeveloped, scenic region and initiated Virginia's tourist industry. The roads built to the springs in these counties initially acted as feeder roads for the James River and Kanawha Turnpike which funneled travelers from the North, East, West, and Deep South into the area. Monroe County entrepreneurs also petitioned for a number of connector roads for the Cumberland Gap and Price's Mountain Turnpike, the Southwestern Turnpike, and the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad to

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26 Borth, Mankind on the Move, 2, 10, 11. According to Klein, the most travelled routes were turnpiked first. Later turnpikes over lesser routes had more difficulty raising the necessary capital. Daniel B. Klein, "The Turnpike Companies of Early America," Economic Inquiry 28 (4: 1990): 798.

27 Borth, Mankind on the Move, 18.

28 Prior to the Civil War, the James River and Kanawha Company was the state's chief commercial venture and its improvements the "chief commercial artery." Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University, ed. Studies in History, Economics and Public Law (New York: Columbia University, 1922), vol. 104, History of the James River and Kanawha Company, by Wayland Fuller Dunaway, 9, 183, 82, 83.
tap the large numbers of travellers.\textsuperscript{29}

To stimulate road building, the state eased regulations to accommodate these areas, whose lack of capital, mountainous terrain, and poor soil conditions prevented them from building roads of the same standards as more affluent areas. Virginia provided technical assistance in the form of state engineers to help survey and locate roads. In many instances, Virginia subscribed as much as three-fifths of the capital stock of turnpike ventures.\textsuperscript{30} By 1840, the Lewisburg and Blue Sulphur Springs Turnpike, the Sweet Springs and Price’s Mountain Turnpike, and the White and Salt Sulphur Springs Turnpike had been completed. The Red and Blue Sulphur Springs, the White Sulphur and Sweet Springs, and the Giles, Fayette, and Kanawha Turnpikes had been started in the counties of Greenbrier and Monroe.\textsuperscript{31}

\textsuperscript{29}Rice, "Internal Improvements," 280-283. Rice termed these "feeder turnpikes." Many of these routes were in place early, but later petitioners looked to improve them into turnpikes. See Moorman’s "Map of Distances and Routes to the Virginia Springs."


Although the Newbern and Red Sulphur Springs, Salt and Red Sulphur Springs, Indian Draft, Sweet and Blue Sulphur Springs, New River and Salt Sulphur Springs turnpikes never became individual corporations, they appear to have been built as segments of later turnpikes or common roads. By 1860, the Sweet and Salt Sulphur Springs and the Mountain Lake and Salt Sulphur Springs joint stock turnpikes had been built. The state had funded the Princeton and Red Sulphur Springs and the Huntersville and Lewisburg turnpikes.

Due to the nature of the springs' tour and trade, roadbuilding in these two counties cannot be easily separated, yet the level of involvement and the impact on each

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32 These roads were authorized, but never received state funds or filed annual reports. However, roads between these points can be found on the Map of the State of Virginia Constructed in Conformity to Law, from the late Surveys Authorized by the Legislature and other original and authentic Documents, by Herman Böye, 1825. Corrected by order of the Executive, 1839. The nine-part 1859 Böye--Buchholtz Map of Virginia best shows the number of roads in this region before the Civil War. Though no known accurate maps of Virginia existed until the twentieth century, the Böye--Buchholtz Map of Virginia was the best available for this study since it includes common, stage, and turnpike roads. The state's internal improvement maps do not show any which were not incorporated, but may have been built to the springs. For purposes of this paper a photocopy of a segment from sections 4, 5, 7, and 8 of the facsimile in E. M. Sanchez-Saavedra's, A Description of the Country: Virginia's Cartographers and Their Maps 1607-1881 (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1975) has been used.

county was distinctly different. The more accessible Greenbrier County had less incentive for turnpike building than Monroe County. Therefore, the impetus for turnpike building in this region fell primarily on the Monroe County merchants and proprietors. These capitalists invested in a number of ventures to facilitate travel between the springs and into their county from the James River and Kanawha Turnpike, the Cumberland Gap and Price's Mountain Turnpike, the Southwestern Turnpike and the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad. These roads were conceived for commercial, not altruistic purposes. The joint stock turnpikes were built primarily to accommodate and direct travellers to the springs. Although of secondary importance, the benefit to the general public seemed taken for granted. Everyone stood to gain from the numerous indirect benefits.  

COMMUNITY LEADERS AND CAPITALISTS

Though many stood to benefit directly and indirectly, 

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Klein, "The Turnpike Companies of Early America," 788-812. Klein hypothesizes that turnpikes were built with the knowledge they were poor investments for the "public good" due to a "strong cooperative spirit" and community pressure. Klein notes Philip Taylor ("The Turnpike Era in New England," Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1934) differs from other historians in his belief in "speculative fanaticism," that investors fully expected to make a profit. Although "speculative fanaticism" seemed the primary motivator in the turnpikes of Greenbrier and Monroe, the community support and interest for these roads cannot be denied. Stockholders in turnpikes, here like elsewhere, were generally those who had the most to gain.
the development of this internal market and access to it fell on the local merchants and springs' proprietors, primarily from Monroe County. Greenbrier County already held the primary drawing cards to the region: the White Sulphur Springs, hub of the springs tour, and the James River and Kanawha Turnpike, the busy east-west thoroughfare along which it was situated. Most citizens of Greenbrier and Monroe counties had neither the funds nor the inclination to build roads to open the area. Typically, county courts met local needs for access to mills and court, but they did not provide roads to central markets. Roads for which no investors could be found were sometimes built at state expense. The lack and quality of roads and the distance from large commercial centers limited the trade of this agricultural region. From the early part of the nineteenth century, residents had disposed of their surplus crops locally to drovers and at the springs or transported them in the form of livestock or spirits out of the area with other non-perishables. With their improved roads, the turnpike companies of Greenbrier and Monroe sought to entice and expand the internal springs' market of wealthy consumers from outside the region.35

Community leaders were commonly linked through marriages and business partnerships with a number of the developers of the roads and springs in both counties. The same names consistently showed up in the county license records, on road petitions or acts of incorporation for turnpikes, and as public officeholders.\textsuperscript{36} Andrew Beirne and Hugh Caperton, wealthy merchants and prominent politicians from Monroe County, played major roles in the development of the area. They served as commissioners of subscriptions, signed petitions, bought stock, financed expansion projects at the springs, and undoubtedly used their political influence to promote the area. Later, their sons, Oliver Beirne and Allen T. Caperton provided active leadership in the springs’ trade. In 1852, Oliver Beirne purchased the Sweet Springs, made extensive improvements, and led this spring to its greatest prosperity. In 1857, Allen T. Caperton, with twenty-seven shares, became the major shareholder in the White Sulphur Springs Company. These wealthy families shared credit for the development of the region’s commerce with many others who may have lacked

\textsuperscript{36}Auditor of Public Accounts License Returns 1806-1861 for Greenbrier and Monroe counties, Virginia State Library and Archives, Richmond; \textit{Acts of the General Assembly of Virginia (1834-1860)}; Oren F. Morton, \textit{A History of Monroe County West Virginia} (Staunton: The McClure Co., 1916), 300, 308-311, 318-324, 336-340, 342, 370-371, 412-413, 464-467. Samplings of the license returns for these years were examined at intervals.
their wealth, but not zeal.  

James Calwell of the White Sulphur Springs and William Erskine and Isaac Caruthers of the Salt Sulphur Springs made significant contributions to the advancement of the springs trade. These springs' proprietors developed the resorts first started by their fathers-in-law into renowned spas. Calwell's panache and vision created the elitist ambience that enticed sojourners with funds to travel to the springs.

Erskine and Caruthers' initiative and perseverance in road-building improved access to the tour. At some level, they were involved in most of the turnpikes built in or to Monroe County. They planned, petitioned, subscribed, and contracted work for many of these toll roads.\textsuperscript{38}

Joint stock companies formed to build turnpikes to facilitate travel to and between the springs, though turnpike here meant simply better earthen roads. Between 1834 and 1860, six joint stock, two state-funded, and at least two private turnpikes were built in Greenbrier and Monroe counties. While most just improved on existing routes, some followed new and better locations. Through their roadbuilding efforts, the Monroe springs remained competitive first with the White Sulphur Springs and later with more than fifty others throughout Virginia. When threatened by competition from more accessible springs and by the lack of a railroad, Monroe capitalists built roads to these sources of springs' travellers. Few turnpikes earned a profit, but merchants, springs' proprietors, and adjacent

\textsuperscript{38}Reniers, \textit{Springs of Virginia}, 57-66; Western Enquirer 25 January 1839, \textit{Miscellaneous West Virginia Newspapers}, (Morgantown: West Virginia University, text-fiche), 3; Monroe County Legislative Petitions to the General Assembly for roads, 1 February 1839, 21 December 1841, 13 December 1855, 31 January, 30 October 1856, Virginia State Library and Archives, Richmond; Erskine & Caruthers Day Book, Jan 1 1857 to Sept 28 1863, West Virginia Regional History Collection, Colson Hall, West Virginia University, Morgantown.
property owners benefitted indirectly from the convenience, heavier traffic, and increased property values. Of the toll roads built to the springs in this region, only the White and Salt Sulphur Springs Turnpike and the Sweet and Salt Sulphur Springs Turnpike actually showed a profit to investors.³³

³³Cohen, Historic Springs, v; Taylor, Transportation Revolution, 10, 27; Joseph Durrenberger, A Study of the Toll Road Movement in the Middle Atlantic States and Maryland, (Valdosta, GA, 1931), 104; Rice, "Internal Improvements," 290-291; Annual Report(s) of the Board of Public Works to the General Assembly... [1834-1861]. According to Klein, ("The Turnpike Companies of Early America," 805) turnpikes typically followed preexisting routes.
Figure 1. Stagecoaches at the Sweet Springs' Grand Hotel, ca. 1900. Photograph courtesy of the Monroe County Historical Society, Union, West Virginia.
FIGURE 2
MAP
OF ROUTES & DISTANCES
to the
VIRGINIA SPRINGS.

Figure 3

CHAPTER TWO
WAYS TO THE WATERING PLACES

LIFELINES TO THE SPRINGS

The White Sulphur Springs was the primary reason for the springs' season. A number of elements combined to make this the star of Virginia's mineral springs. Located on the region's only major thoroughfare, blessed with a picturesque setting, and managed by the genteel James Calwell, this resort thrived. Despite the bad food and crowded, flea-ridden accommodations, James Calwell developed the White Sulphur Springs into a mecca for the most "select" society in America. Virginians, Carolinians, and Louisianans dominated this social and political center housed in the hotel or in the log, frame, and brick cottages. The wealthiest ensured their family's lodging with investments in cottages owned by the springs, but used by them during the season. Neighboring springs both acknowledged the White's preeminence and clamored to capture a share of its prosperity.¹ Monroe County entrepreneurs built turnpikes to tap this source of overflowing springs' visitors.

¹Reniers, The Springs of Virginia, 7, 10-13, 21, 63-65
The organization and management of the White and Salt Sulphur Springs Turnpike Company made it the most profitable of the local joint stock turnpike companies. In the Second Auditor's Report of 1847, this was the only investment in either Greenbrier or Monroe counties listed as a productive stock. Initially, with no superintendent, this company contracted out its repair work. It paid its toll collectors ten percent of their collections and the treasurer one percent of the receipts and disbursements.\textsuperscript{2}

In 1834, the White and Salt Sulphur Springs Turnpike Company was authorized to incorporate with a capital stock of ten thousand dollars ($130,500, 1990 dollars) and a state subscription of four thousand dollars. All but twenty shares of individual stock belonged to the company directors, who included Andrew Beirne and Hugh Caperton, wealthy merchants and politicians. Isaac Caruthers and William Erskine, merchants and owners of the Salt Sulphur Springs, held 59 of the 120 shares.\textsuperscript{3}

\textsuperscript{2}The Thirty-Second and Thirty-Third Annual Reports of the Board of Public Works to the General Assembly of Virginia and Other Documents on Subjects Connected with The Fund for Internal Improvement vol. XV (Richmond; Wm. F. Ritchie, 1849), 207-208. See Böye-Buchholtz Map of Virginia.

\textsuperscript{3}Plaintiff's General Exhibit 1, Virginia vs. West Virginia, 939; Annual Reports 1836-1853; A list of stockholders 30 November 1836 Annual Report, Minutes of Organizational Meeting 30 November 1835, White and Salt Sulphur Springs Turnpike File; The Seventeenth, Eighteenth and Nineteenth Annual Reports of the Board of Public Works to the General Assembly.
More than three years lapsed between the authorization and the completion of the White and Salt Sulphur Springs Turnpike. In the summer of 1834, engineer Thomas DeWitt located the road with extensive surveys, but someone pulled up the stakes before construction began. With the exception of the bridges over Howards and Second Creek, Isaac Caruthers contracted to construct the road within three years for eight thousand dollars to be paid incrementally at the completion of each mile. His contract required him to keep completed sections in good repair until the toll gates could be erected and to construct the culverts of white oak and the bridge abutments of stone. Construction began at the Kanawha Turnpike near the Greenbrier River bridge. By November 1836, due to a shortage of labor, less than five miles had been completed. Though still under construction when viewed by the engineer, the road showed promise as a "fine summer turnpike." By December 1837, the entire 20 1/2

passed at the session of 1832-33, 1833-34, and 1834-35, and other documents on subjects connected with The Fund for Internal Improvement. vol. VII (Richmond: Samuel Shepherd, 1835), 574; Lewisburg Alleghanian, 14 March 1834, Miscellaneous West Virginia Newspapers (Morgantown: West Virginia University, text-fiche). By 1831, Virginia had approved a road between White Sulphur Springs and Union. Williams, Enrolled Bills, 492. This turnpike most likely followed this approximate route. These early earthen roads were in a constant state of flux and were easily changed for convenience or to avoid obstructions. It is very difficult to know today the exact location of these old roads, but remnants of some of the roadbeds can be seen parallel to today's routes.
miles was finished with two toll gates. Nevertheless, to prevent weather damage, the three miles between Union and Salt Sulphur did not open until spring.  

Though travellers may have disagreed, the White and Salt Sulphur Springs Turnpike Company prided themselves in their road. Henry Alexander, president of the company, reported to the Second Auditor that he believed "...the expense of keeping this road in repair will be less than

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4 Twenty-first Annual Report of the Board of Public Works to the General Assembly of Virginia with the Accompanying Documents, January 26, 1837 (Richmond: Shepherd & Colin, 1837), 371; Twenty Second Annual Report, 340-341; Twenty Third Annual Report of the Board of Public Works to the General Assembly of Virginia with the Accompanying Documents, January 31, 1839 (Richmond: Shepherd & Colin, 1839), 428; Twenty fourth and Twenty fifth Annual Reports, 428; Hugh Caperton to Board of Public Works, 30 December 1835, Contract with Caruthers 5 January 1836, White and Salt Sulphur Springs Turnpike Company File; Twenty-first Annual Report, 371; Twenty-second Annual Report, 95, 340; Thirty-second and Thirty-third Annual Reports, 207-208. Labor shortages plagued road construction. With the increased roadbuilding during this time in Virginia, demand for slave labor rose and increased prices. Some companies purchased slaves at $130 to $160 or hired whites at $10 to $30 per month. Rice, "Internal Improvements," 452. Even the springs had difficulty procuring slaves—only undesirable ones seemed available. Wm. Vass, Blue Sulphur Springs to [John North, Lewisburg, Virginia], 1 March, 14 June 1836, LS, Caldwell Collection. Turnpikes provided access without responsibility to county residents whose small numbers were overwhelmed by the vast expanses of this region (Greenbrier County is the second largest county east of the Mississippi). Efforts on these roads were rewarded by wages or shares in the stock. For road location see Table of Turnpike Locations. Locations have been determined through research by the West Virginia Department of Transportation.
(perhaps) any other in Western Virginia." He attributed this to the low grade which would not "be subject to wash." Except for the three hundred dollar replacement of the dust filled culverts, commissioners judged the road acceptable.

From 1857 through 1861, Erskine and Caruthers charged the White and Salt Sulphur Springs Turnpike Company for many repairs to bridges and the road. Charges of $50 to build a new bridge, $18.88 for "2 1/2 Days hailing Stone on Road to fill in Mud holes," $5.00 for two wooden culverts, $3.00 for printing, and various amounts for laborers hired to work, blast rock, or haul stone or provisions fill the spring's ledgers. Some workers like James Monnahah were paid for work on both the White Sulphur and the Mountain

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5 Twenty-Second Annual Report, 340. Henry Alexander, an early ordinary operator in Monroe County, played a significant role in many area turnpikes. He acted as the first president of the Sweet and Salt Sulphur Springs Turnpike. He also served as president "pro tem" for the Red and Blue Sulphur Springs Turnpike in 1842 during one of their scandals. Monroe County License Returns. Doc. No. XVII Thirty-Eighth Annual Report to the Board of Public Works to the General Assembly of Virginia with the Accompanying Documents 1853-4 (n.p., n.d.), 126; Twenty Seventh Annual Report, 405.

6 Ibid.

7 Twenty Third Annual Report, 428-429; Twentieth Annual Report, 371; Twenty Second Annual Report, 340; Hughes in Practice of Making and Repairing Roads attributes this problem to the limestone cartography.

8 Erskine and Caruthers 1857-1863, 69, 70.
Lake roads. In 1858, at a cost of eight hundred dollars the company obtained a three year contract for road repairs presumably awarded to Erskine.\(^9\)

With the exception of a few years, the White and Salt Sulphur Springs Turnpike was reported to be in good condition and generally paid a dividend of 3 to 12 percent. The torrential rains of 1850 did cause damage to the wooden culverts and roads which required considerable repair and eliminated the normal dividend. By 1853, the road had become too flat and had to be repaired. Although dividends generally fell below the anticipated 8 to 10 percent after expenses, stockholders of this company received a good return on their investment. By September 1860, this turnpike company had collected $22,621.75 in tolls.\(^10\)

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Figure 4. Cattle crossing at the Salt Sulphur Springs on what was likely a section of the White and Salt Sulphur Springs Turnpike, ca. 1900. Courtesy of Richard Ballard.
Turnpike and stagecoach companies disagreed on fair toll rates. In 1842, the White and Salt Sulphur Turnpike Company attributed their decrease in revenues to more people travelling by stage. The stages refused to pay more than the standard rate for carriages, yet hauled three times as many people and weighed ten times more. The Red and Blue Sulphur Springs Turnpike had the same problem with John Walker, the mail contractor. These turnpike companies, like many others, complained of reduced revenues and increased repairs from stage travel. They recommended that the rates for stages be the same as for a wagon with four horses.\textsuperscript{11} J. C. Caldwell, stage proprietor, had a different perspective. On the basis of his increased usage, he objected to even paying tolls commensurate with the pleasure carriages who used the roads "but once a year."\textsuperscript{12} Though they caused significant damage to the roads, the consequences of stages

\textsuperscript{11}Twenty-eighth Annual Report of the Board of Public Works to the General Assembly of Virginia with the Accompanying Documents Dec 4, 1843 (Richmond: Shepherd, 1843), 45, 56-57; Twenty Ninth Annual Report of the Board of Public Works to the General Assembly of Virginia with the Accompanying Documents December 2, 1844 (Richmond: S. Shepherd, 1844), 307; James Adair to Second Auditor, 7 February 1843, Alexander Dunlap to Board of Public Works, 23 December 1845, Red and Blue Sulphur Springs Turnpike Company File, Box 310, Board of Public Works Inventory, Virginia State Library and Archives, Richmond. Locals had a special yearly rate, turnpike companies also considered too low. Ibid.

\textsuperscript{12}J. F. Caldwell and David Surbaugh Petition for Reduced Tolls, 6 December 1827, Greenbrier Legislative Petitions, Virginia State Library and Archives, Richmond.
leaving a route were usually more severe.\textsuperscript{13} No doubt these
tolls seemed burdensome to many who used the roads for their
livelihood, but few complaints arose on their condition.

Generally, those travelling by private carriage were
not only very wealthy, but lived far from stage routes.
Although everyone from farmers along the way to innkeepers
to turnpike companies preferred the carriage born travel-
ners, most travelled by stage. The expense of tolls, grain
in route, and board for horses at the springs increased the
cost of travel considerably.\textsuperscript{14}

The stage routes typically ran between the springs
with Lewisburg as an important hub. In 1829, Joseph F.
Caldwell ran the Springs' Stage and offered bi-weekly stages
between Fincastle, Flukes, and the springs. By 1832, the
Springs' Stage expanded the line and provided tri-weekly
service between Lewisburg, Union, the White Sulphur, Salt
Sulphur, and Sweet Springs or daily service on the Springs'
Mail Coach to Wythe Courthouse and Newbern between May and
September. Another coach provided service at least weekly

\textsuperscript{13}The Fincastle and Blue Ridge and the Front Royal
turnpikes suffered from stages travelling other routes. Fourth

\textsuperscript{14}Viator, "A Trip to the Virginia Springs," Knickerbocker
Magazine (October 1852), 320; Featherstonhaugh, Excursion
Through the Slave States, 50, 59; Alexis de Tocqueville,
Journey to America, ed. J. P. Mayer, trans. George Lawrence
(New York: Harper and Brothers, 1844), 249.
between the White, Salt, Red, and Blue Sulphur and Sweet Springs to accommodate the overflow. These and other coaches connected with lines from the North, East, West, South, Southeast, and Southwest, most importantly Porter & Belden of Richmond. These stages offered connections for travellers from Nashville, Wythe Courthouse, Newbern, Staunton, Lynchburg, Charleston, Guyandotte, Warm and Hot Springs, and Salem, North Carolina. Staunton, Lynchburg, Newbern, and Guyandotte were very important termini for the springs' trade. By 1838, Porter and Belden of Richmond ran daily mail stages between Washington City and Guyandotte. Prior to 1840, mail routes from the Red Sulphur Springs to Logan, from Union via Sinks Grove to the Greenbrier River and from there to either Hinton or Lewisburg, and from Lewisburg north through Pocahontas County were in place in addition to the turnpikes.\(^{15}\) Prior to the turnpike era, complaints of road conditions from travellers and stage operators abounded. Virginia held county surveyors and company officials

\(^{15}\)Palladium of Virginia and the Pacific Monitor, 16, 23 May, 4 July 1829, The Alleghanian, 4 May 1832, 15 February 1833, Western Enquirer 17 August 1838, Miscellaneous West Virginia Newspapers (Morgantown: West Virginia University, text-fiche); Roberts, Map of The Post and Stage Roads of Virginia 1830-1840 in "The Roads of Virginia, 1607-1840," n.p. By 1834, the Grey Sulphur Springs, situated on the stage route, was accommodated by tri-weekly stages in route between the Red, Salt, and White Sulphur Springs. Fares on the Springs' Mail Coach ranged from $1.25 between Red and Salt Sulphur Springs to $8.00 between Lewisburg and Wythe Courthouse. The Alleghanian 15 February 1833, 4.
accountable for both public and private road conditions and prohibited charging tolls on a road cut of repair.\(^{16}\)

The public circumvented toll roads with "shunpikes," passing after toll collectors had quit for the day, or by taking a more roundabout route. In 1843, the White and Salt Sulphur Springs Turnpike Company had to move its toll gates closer to Union, to prevent people bypassing them on county roads.\(^{17}\) For this reason, Crozet believed toll collection an ineffective way to support roads. The very people "who are most benefitted, whose property is increased in value, who are relieved by the improvement from working on the road, and who obtain from it greater facilities for their business, those people pay hardly anything..."\(^{18}\)

\(^{16}\) J. F. Caldwell and others petitioned the General Assembly for improvement in the road conditions in sparsely populated areas. In 1830, the James River and Kanawha Turnpike, was in such bad shape, horses were falling through the bridges and culverts. Caldwell proposed stage routes from Lewisburg through Pocahontas, Pendleton, Randolph, Frederick counties to Winchester; from Moorefield in Hardy to Hampshire and Morgan; and from Huntsville to Gauley Bridge. Caldwell also petitioned for an increase in rates. Greenbrier County Petitions to the General Assembly January 1830, 20 December 1832, 4 January 1834, Virginia State Library and Archives, Richmond; 1817 Virginia Acts, 234:219.

\(^{17}\) Taylor, Transportation Revolution, 28; Twenty-eighth Annual Report, 416; This turnpike also offered reduced rates for the local residents, but they objected to paying any tolls.

Though the state legislated fines for people escaping payment, according to Philip Rice the practice was common. In Greenbrier County many used the Old State Road to avoid tolls on the James River and Kanawha Turnpike and forded the Greenbrier River to avoid bridge tolls. The tollkeeper at the Blue Sulphur Springs Turnpike complained of a gentleman who refused to pay even the half price return fare. "Mr. (Samuel) Flack has never paid any toll at this gate, and he has assisted in cutting roads around the gate which you are (contious) of." The most famous shunpike in local legend was supposedly built by Oliver Beirne, owner of the Sweet Springs (son of Andrew, son-in-law of Hugh Caperton). Upset that a toll collector on the White Sulphur and Sweet Springs Turnpike made him dismount to pick up a coin tossed astray, he vowed to build his own road and purportedly did so with slave labor at great expense.

The White Sulphur and Sweet Springs Turnpike had trouble getting started and never became a joint stock corporation under Virginia rule. In 1831, the state first

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19 Rice, "Internal Improvements," 54; Greenbrier Legislative Petition, January 4, 1834, Virginia State Library and Archives, Richmond, in Rice, Greenbrier County, 140; Greenbrier Legislative Petition 9 December 1829, Virginia State Library and Archives, Richmond; Joseph Hedrick Sen. to Jno. A. North, LS, 25 February 1843, Caldwell Collection.

20 Sometimes referred to as "the slave road" or "Beirne's folly."
authorized the construction of the Sweet Springs and White Sulphur Road to intersect the Kanawha Road. Seven years later additional commissioners, Henry Alexander and John Crow were added. In 1841, the commissioners changed the route to make it easier, though "less permanent." Two years later the route was changed again "for convenience" and to prevent washouts from the twenty-one stream crossings. This proposed change of 4 1/2 miles was estimated to cost as much as the entire original road. Petitioners, as usual, pointed out the necessity "to connect eastern and western communication"—verbage used repeatedly both by Trans-Alleghanians and Richmond. This road passed through parts of Greenbrier, Alleghany, and Monroe counties. After the Civil War, West Virginia rechartered this turnpike which linked the Sweet Springs with the White Sulphur Springs and the newly built railroad.\textsuperscript{21}

A number of turnpikes were planned to intersect with the White Sulphur and Sweet Springs Turnpike. Entrepreneurs

\textsuperscript{21}Williams, Enrolled Bills, 441; Virginia, Act to amend the construction act for a turnpike between Sweet springs and the White Sulphur springs, Acts, (1838), 176:125-26; Greenbrier County Legislative Petitions, 22 December 1841 and 30 January 1843, Virginia State Library and Archives, Richmond. This was the only one of the area’s turnpikes to receive a charter under the new state. Particularly interesting is the lack of any charters to roads which received state funds under Virginia rule. West Virginia Department of Highways, Right of Way Division, Exploring the Old Turnpikes of West Virginia, (Charleston, WV, 1987), n.p.
associated with the springs sometimes attempted improvements outside the county to complement their network of turnpikes. In March 1842, Isaac Caruthers, Hugh Caperton, Andrew P. Beirne, Henry Alexander and Augustus A. Chapman major stockholders in turnpike ventures associated with the White Sulphur, Salt Sulphur, and Sweet Springs were authorized to construct the James River and Sweet Springs Turnpike. This turnpike’s proposed route passed through no part of Greenbrier or Monroe, but intersected the White Sulphur and Sweet Springs Turnpike in Alleghany County and would have provided a more direct route between the springs and the James River and Kanawha Canal above Pattonsburg and Lynchburg. The James River and Sweet Springs Turnpike never incorporated or received state funds, but the Rich Patch Turnpike did and followed approximately the same route. However, neither appeared on the Böyö-Buchholtz Map of Virginia. The Dunlap Creek Turnpike proposed to connect Oglee’s Creek near Callaghan with the White Sulphur and Sweet Springs Turnpike (most likely an improvement of a section of the road between the Warm and the Sweet Springs.\textsuperscript{22}

\textsuperscript{22}Virginia, Act incorporating the James river and Sweet springs turnpike company, Acts (1842), 129:80; Monroe County Legislative Petition, 1 February 1839, Virginia State Library and Archives, Richmond; Second Auditor’s Report, Doc No XVII Fourth Biennial and Forty-first Annual Report, n.p.
from Sweet Springs and Lewisburg to build the Kate's Mountain Turnpike, a competitor for the White Sulphur and Sweet Springs Turnpike. Christopher J. Beirne, William Lewis, and James L. Woodville of Sweet Springs and Robert F. Dennis, Thomas Mathews, and Daniel Stalnaker Greenbrier County businessmen failed to sell enough of the twenty-five dollar shares to raise the twelve thousand dollar capital and incorporate. This turnpike, like many others, never filed annual reports nor appeared on the Böye-Buchholtz Map of Virginia as either a turnpike, stage route, or common road. However, rugged county roads do connect these points today. This turnpike aimed to connect the Sweet Springs with the James River and Kanawha Turnpike between the Greenbrier Bridge and White Sulphur Springs.\textsuperscript{23}

\begin{center}
TO THE "CELEBRATED AND ANCIENT" SWEET SPRINGS
Peregrine Frolix
\end{center}

Prior to the Revolutionary War, the Lewis family began to develop the Sweet Springs. This western Virginia family

\textsuperscript{23}Virginia, Act to incorporate the Kate’s mountain turnpike company, Acts, 199:139. The Sweet Springs belonged to the Lewis family for years. William married Governor John Floyd’s oldest daughter. Governor Floyd is buried in the Lewis cemetery. Christopher J. Beirne leased the springs for a few years before Oliver purchased the resort. James L. Woodville served as the physician for the resort. Morton Monroe County, 311, 419. Robert F. Dennis, son-in-law of John North, was a prominent businessman and politician. Daniel Stalnaker ran a hotel in Lewisburg. Rice, Greenbrier County, 250-251, 256, Dayton, Greenbrier Pioneers and Their Homes, 87-88.
Figure 4. Top. Sweet Springs’ Grand Hotel built in the 1830s. Figure 6. Bottom. Sweet Springs’ Bath Building. Courtesy of Roselyn Humphreys and the Monroe County Historical Society, Union, West Virginia.
claimed ties through birth or marriage to General Andrew Lewis and Governor John Floyd and were well connected in Richmond. As one of the country's earliest healing and social centers, this venerable spa hosted many of America's great names. For a short while, Sweet Springs even held the District Court. Over the years, accommodations changed from a few log huts to one of the most impressive brick structures in the country. Located at the base of the imposing Peters Mountain, this spring was closest to Fincastle, the former county seat of Greenbrier and Monroe and an important source of travellers.24

The Sweet Springs and Price's Mountain Turnpike, sometimes called "Shanks Turnpike" or "improperly Peters Mountain Turnpike," passed through Monroe, Alleghany, and Botetourt counties. Commissioners from each county viewed and reported on its good condition and widths varying from fifteen to fifty feet. In 1836, the Sweet Springs and Price's Mountain Turnpike Company had been authorized to incorporate for seven thousand dollars at fifty dollars per share. When this amount proved insufficient to finish construction, James Shanks agreed to complete the road in

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return for all the shares of stock. The state had no investment in this road.\textsuperscript{25}

In many cases it was difficult to distinguish between impropriety and sour grapes in the dealings of the turnpike companies and this one presented such a case. From 1837 to 1846, James Shanks charged tolls, but did not file an annual report. In 1847, William Booth, Sr., one of the original stockholders, questioned not only Shanks' authorization to charge tolls, but the amount and the fact that he did not file an annual report. In a letter to the Board of Public Works, Booth complained that Shanks tolls amounted to thirty to fifty percent of the amount expended on the road. These allegations led to an investigation, a report from the attorney general, and a rebuttal by Shanks.\textsuperscript{26}

Shanks claimed that his actual toll receipts, less repairs, had not exceeded 10 percent of the ten thousand dollar cost of the road. Since his rates had been established by the legislature in the act of incorporation, he

\textsuperscript{25}Road commissioners reports 9 October, 20 November 1837, 14 August 1846; Virginia, \textit{Act incorporating the Sweet springs and Price's mountain turnpike company}, \textit{Acts} (1836), i46:217; This act required a width of twenty feet, fifteen at a minimum, and a grade of five degrees or less. Wm. Booth, Sr. to [Board of Public Works], LS, 27 August 1847, 21 September 1848, Sweet Springs and Price's Mountain Turnpike File, Box 340, Board of Public Works Inventory, Virginia State Library and Archives, Richmond.

\textsuperscript{26}Ibid.
saw no need to file annual reports to the Board of Public Works. Tolls at his only gate had been set at $0.125 ($1.44 to $1.81, 1990 dollars) for a man and horse; $0.10 for a drove horse or mule; $0.30 ($3.45 to $4.45, 1990 dollars) for a score of cattle or sheep; $0.20 ($2.30 to $2.90, 1990 dollars) for every score of hogs; $0.10 a wheel for a cart or [waggon]; $0.25 for every two-wheeled riding carriage; $0.50 ($5.76 to $7.25, 1990 dollars) for every four-wheeled riding carriage; $0.05 for every draught horse, mule, or ox. Although this never became a joint stock corporation, the state permitted him to charge tolls. Alexander Kitchen before him, had been permitted to charge tolls on the Sweet Springs to Fincastle road for keeping it in repair and later for widening it. In 1838, the Salem and New Castle Turnpike Company proposed to build a road to connect these towns with the Sweet Springs Turnpike at the base of Price’s Mountain.

First chartered in 1840, the Sweet and Salt Sulphur

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27 Ibid; James Shanks, Fincastle, to Second Auditor, 8 June 1850 Sweet Springs and Price’s Mountain Turnpike File; Virginia, Act concerning the Sweet springs and Price’s Mountain turnpike company, Acts (1838) 175:125; Monroe County Legislative Petition, 22 December 1830, Virginia State Library and Archives, Richmond. Between 1818 and 1830 and perhaps longer, Alexander Kitchen appeared to charge tolls on this road. Shanks operated the ordinary at the Sweet Springs 1848-1849. Monroe County Court Order Book 6, 11, 86.

28 Virginia, Act incorporating the Salem and New Castle turnpike company, Acts (1838), 167:120.
Springs Turnpike Company took more than twelve years to sell enough of its twenty-five dollar shares to be incorporated. Although rechartered in 1849, by 1852 they still had only sixteen shareholders and the road had not been improved. After Andrew Beirne, the major shareholder, increased his holdings to eighty-six shares, the company collected two dollars per share, then requested the state subscription and an increase in stock. By 1853, the company had a total of 680 shares with a capital stock of seventeen thousand dollars. By this time, the road between Sweet Springs and Union had been improved, but the extension to the Indian Draft had yet to be built.\textsuperscript{23}

Divided in two sections, the Sweet and Salt Sulphur Springs Turnpike utilized three miles of the White and Salt Sulphur Springs Turnpike. When the company petitioned to have the road divided into two separate roads, William Erskine, the state director and a stockholder, presented an oppositional petition. He stressed that this would separate the already completed profitable section from the soon to be completed "profitless" segment. Prior to March 1857, when

\textsuperscript{23}Williams, \textit{Enrolled Bills}, 441; Minutes of stockholders organizational meeting, 29 January 1852; Letters from company officers to the Board of Public Works 16 March 1852, 30 November 1853, 23 February 1853, 30 June 1857, Sweet and Salt Sulphur Springs Turnpike Company File, Box 340, Board of Public Works Inventory, Virginia State Library and Archives, Richmond; \textit{Doc. No. XVII, Thirty-Eighth Annual Report}, 126-127.
Oliver Beirne accepted the position, Henry Alexander served as president. William Erskine, Allen T. Caperton, Andrew Beirne, Benjamin F. Steele and Augustus A. Chapman served as directors and John Vawter as superintendent. These same entrepreneurs, as a group, played a leading role in the development of several of the turnpikes in the area.  

This toll road which began at the Sweet Springs and ended at the intersection of the Indian Draft and the Red and Blue Sulphur Springs Turnpike at Centreville also suffered construction problems, location changes, and labor shortages. Construction costs for the twenty-nine mile long road ranged from $500 to $560 per mile and totalled $14,842.41. By 1855, the company paid 9 percent dividends on the finished portion of the twenty miles to Union which had been constructed by Napoleon B. French. In 1857, the remaining nine miles had been completed after great inconvenience and expense to the company. Sullivan, the first contractor accepted five thousand dollars and then "failed

30 Doc. No. XVII Fortieth Annual Report of the Board of Public Works to the General Assembly of Virginia with the Accompanying Documents, 1857 (n.p., n.d.) 549. Petition against a Petition to be presented requesting an extension of the Sweet Springs and Salt Sulphur Turnpike, 31 January 1856, Monroe County Legislative Petitions, Virginia State Library and Archives, Richmond. The Sweet and Salt Sulphur Springs Turnpike was 28-29 miles long. Benjamin F. Steele was a merchant. Augustus Chapman, a Monroe County attorney, served the county as a Delegate and Congressman. Morton, Monroe County, 406, 325, 462, 464.
or ran away" without completing the road. The state's
tardiness in fulfilling its subscription obligations left
the company short of funds to pay the second contractors and
resulted in lawsuits. In 1860 and 1861, however, the
effects of heavy rains and war increased repairs, decreased
tolls, and eliminated dividends for this and other roads.\textsuperscript{31}

William Erskine did not appear to win the maintenance
contract on the Sweet and Salt Sulphur Springs Turnpike.
Some of the Salt Sulphur Springs account books showed
numerous credits and payments for roadwork and hauling
supplies to and products from the various springs. However,
few entries exist for charges on this turnpike other than
for toll gate hinges, setting posts, and boarding road
workers.\textsuperscript{32}

During the 1850s, in spite of its difficulties, the
popularity of the Sweet and Red Sweet Springs and the
changed direction of travel produced handsome dividends on

\textsuperscript{31} Doc. N. XVII Thirty-Eight Annual Report, 126-127; Doc
No. XVII Fortieth Annual Report, 549; Reports, Returns, and
Other Documents, 1857, 216-223; Doc No XVII Fourth Biennial
and Forty-First Report, 434-435. Centreville is now known as
Greenville.

\textsuperscript{32} Erskine & Caruthers 1857-1863, 70, 504; Doc No XVII
Fourth Biennial and Forty-First Report, Pt. 2, 567; William
Erskine was probably one of the most active proponents of
roadbuilding in Monroe County. He served as a "gentleman
justice" in the county. His brother Henry was a Greenbrier
County merchant partner of Hugh Caperton and his sister Jane,
Hugh's wife. (Morton, \textit{Monroe County}, 342, 464.)
Figure 7. Sweet Springs-Sweet Chalybeate Omnibus, ca. 1880. Used to carry guests between the springs and on short outings. Owned by the Monroe County Historical Society, Union, West Virginia. Photograph by Karen Mitchell, Union.
the Sweet and Salt Sulphur Springs Turnpike. To capitalize on these conditions Monroe Countians petitioned for a turnpike to access the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad at Roanoke. They proposed a route from the Cumberland Gap Turnpike in the Sinking Creek Valley of Craig County to the intersection of the White and Salt Sulphur and Sweet and Salt Sulphur Turnpikes in Union "where it would intersect with all the roads leading west & north which are great thoroughfares."  

**MOVERS AND SHAKERS AT THE SALT**

From 1821 until their deaths, William Erskine and his brother-in-law, Isaac Caruthers worked to develop the accommodations and amenities of the Salt Sulphur Springs. Situated in a rugged narrow valley, this mineral spa reaped many road benefits from its close proximity to Union, the county seat. This distinctive resort with its gray lime-

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stone buildings and frame cottages, including Nullification Row, catered to South Carolinians. In contrast to the White Sulphur Springs, these proprietors took pride in their reputation for cleanliness, order, and excellent food. In addition to their involvement in the region’s two most profitable turnpikes, Erskine and Caruthers were often the "movers and shakers" for the development of other roads in Monroe County. Their relentless efforts for state and county roads as well as turnpikes benefitted their own resort and ensured its viability.\footnote{Viator, "A Trip to the Springs," Knickerbocker Magazine (October 1852), 325; Prolux, Letters Descriptive of the Virginia Springs, 54-57.}

By 1838, Monroe County graded a road from Union which intersected the turnpike from Tazewell Courthouse at New River and benefitted a number of the mineral springs. This road connected Staunton with Abingdon by way of the Warm, Hot, White Sulphur, Salt Sulphur, and Grey Sulphur Springs. The well graded completed road to Salt Sulphur offered an "attractive alternative for travellers heading north." For travellers in private carriages this road provided a shorter route between the Salt and Grey Sulphur Springs. This road, like many others, most likely followed the general course of a preexisting county road. In this case, the Peters Moun-
tain Road ran from Union to Peterstown.\textsuperscript{35}

In Monroe County, even most of the proposed routes that never incorporated would have provided better access to the springs, either directly or indirectly. A number of them, most likely were built either privately or by the county. In 1841, the General Assembly authorized construction of the New River and Salt Sulphur Springs Turnpike. This proposed thirty foot wide road ran from a point on the Cumberland Gap and Price's Turnpike near Thomas George's in Giles County to the Salt Sulphur Springs. This proposed route probably utilized much of the county graded road between Union and the New River. Also, later, a small portion of the Mountain Lake and Salt Sulphur Springs Turnpike undoubtedly passed this way. Isaac Caruthers, William Erskine and Lewis E. Caperton at Salt Sulphur and Thomas J. George, James M. Byrns, and John Peters at Petersburg received the fifty dollar subscriptions for this twelve thousand dollar capital venture which never incorporated.\textsuperscript{36}

\textsuperscript{35}Western Enquirer, 16 February 1838, Miscellaneous West Virginia Newspapers (Morgantown: West Virginia University, text-fiche) 3; Account of the Medical Properties of the Grey Sulphur Springs Virginia, 2d., Charleston: n.p., 1837, n.p.; Monroe County Order Book January 1811, Courthouse, Union, West Virginia, 38; The stage used the road to the Red Sulphur Springs. Ibid.; The Alleghanian, 15 February 1833, Miscellaneous West Virginia Newspapers (Morgantown: West Virginia University, text-fiche).

\textsuperscript{36}Virginia, Act incorporating the New river and Salt Sulphur springs turnpike company, Acts (1841), 105:114.
Figure 8. Salt Sulphur Springs' Limestone Hotel Building housing the ballroom and carriage house. Photograph by Karen Mitchell, Union, West Virginia.
Figure 9. Erskine Building at the Salt Sulphur Springs. Courtesy of Richard Ballard and the Monroe County Historical Society, Union, West Virginia.
Virginia built other roads in the area through direct appropriation. One of these in particular, built for drovers, opened an inaccessible area and benefitted the springs as well. Virginia constructed the Kentucky Line Road at a cost of five thousand dollars. In 1839, Crozet reported this road to be the only turnpike of "a general character" needed below the Kanawha Road. The Kentucky Line Road rerouted drovers past the Salt Sulphur Springs on their drives between Kentucky and the Sweet Springs and saved more than 120 miles. Over six hundred petitioners pointed out the savings in pork prices to all Virginians. This changed route passed from Pond Creek, Kentucky through Logan, via Madam's Creek, across Pack's Ferry to the Salt Sulphur Springs.

Both Greenbrier and Monroe counties found justifiable reasons to build or maintain roads which would specifically

37 Twenty fourth and Twenty fifth Annual Report, 25, 204-205; Statement E, Amount Expended West of the Alleghanies, Doc. No. 39, (Second Auditor's Office, 1846), n.p. On March 19, 1832, the money had been appropriated for this road, sometimes called the Cabell and Monroe Road. Williams, Enrolled Bills, 65.

38 Monroe County Legislative Petition, 1 February 1839, Virginia State Library and Archives, Richmond: Statement E, Doc. No. 39, 6. The road actually began on the Salt and Red Sulphur Springs road at the residence of Thomas Smith. Principal Engineer's Report, Twenty fourth and Twenty fifth Annual Reports, 204-205. A road contemplated in 1839 to decrease the distance between Lynchburg and Salt Sulphur Springs by twenty miles did not materialize. Monroe County Legislative Petition, 1 February 1839.
aid the springs and generally aid the citizenry. In addition to the more important proposed turnpikes which never incorporated but appear on the Böyê-Buchholtz Map of Virginia, others were either built or maintained by the counties. Isaac Caruthers built a road from the Salt Sulphur Springs to his gardens on the Greenbrier River which the Monroe Court agreed to maintain.  

Three routes from Gap Mills, the Peters Mountain Turnpike, and the Centreville and Peters Mountain Turnpike were proposed to provide more direct access to the Cumberland Gap and Price's Mountain Turnpike or the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad. By 1859, none of these roads had been built, but some may have become common routes later. Although these never successfully incorporated, the Mountain Lake and Salt Sulphur Springs Turnpike finally provided this link.  

The Salt Sulphur Springs was heavily involved in the building of the Mountain Lake and Salt Sulphur Springs Turnpike, probably even more than with their other turnpike interests. These versatile springs' proprietors became

39 Monroe County Court Order Book 5, Courthouse, Union, West Virginia, 313.

40 Williams, Enrolled Bills, 161, 308, 310, 139. These routes did not appear on the Böyê-Buchholtz Map of Virginia which included turnpikes, stage routes, and common roads. As roads continued to intersect the Red and Blue Sulphur Springs Turnpike, residents petitioned for a number of turnpikes from here. None of them became incorporated.
involved in every aspect of turnpike operations from serving as directors to contracting to supplying provisions and printing. They often used the same workers and sold tools from company to company.  

In 1856, the Mountain Lake and Salt Sulphur Springs Turnpike incorporated with a capital of twenty thousand dollars ($279,570, 1990 dollars). In 1860, this joint stock corporation received a forty-eight hundred dollar subscription from the state. Individuals invested $13,625 in 545 shares. The General Assembly required a width of only fifteen feet and a maximum five degree grade for this road. This road would furnish an "important outlet for the surrounding counties" and connect the Christiansburg Depot of the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad with the "watering places." The route passed the Yellow Sulphur Springs, Blacksburg, Newport, and within five or six miles of the Montgomery White Sulphur and the New River Springs in Giles County. From a point between the Lybrook hotel at the base of Salt Pond Mountain (Mountain Lake) and Snidow's Ferry over the New River on the Cumberland Gap and Price's Mountain Turnpike this road headed over the mountain to the Salt

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Sulphur Springs in Monroe County.\textsuperscript{42}

The forty-eight mile long Mountain Lake and Salt Sulphur Springs Turnpike was constructed by entrepreneurs with interests in the various sections it passed through. William Erskine subscribed ninety-three shares for his work on the road through Monroe County. Phillip Lybrook, William Snidow, William Eggleston, Joseph Hoge and a few others received forty shares of stock, presumably for constructing a section of the road. The Montgomery White Sulphur Springs became the largest stockholder with 235 shares for a commitment to build approximately fourteen miles of the road. Many others acquired stock in exchange for their labor on sections of this road.\textsuperscript{43}

\textsuperscript{42} Virginia, Act to incorporate the Mountain lake and Salt sulphur springs turnpike company, Acts (1856), 193:137; Monroe County Legislative Petition, 30 October 1856, Virginia State Library and Archives, Richmond.

In this cash poor region, some roads were built in much the same way goods were procured—through the barter sys-
tem. In August 1857, E. Hopkins, the president, and
Philip Lybrook collected the installments for subscriptions.
Madison Pine subscribed four shares worth one hundred
dollars half of which would "...be paid in work or provi-
sions." John S. Smith had two shares "to be paid out on
Section of Road between Hanks and Salt Sulphur." Some of his
subscription fee had been paid for him by others and some
credited for his work. William Ballard, uniquely, paid in
cash for himself. Most people paid in installments. Miles
K. Lucas held two of the shares for which he had paid $10
down and received $10.12 credit for produce. Some, like
John W. Larew, paid their first installment in a bank
requisition. In November 1859, Wm. H. Snidow paid twenty-
five dollars in cash "for his subscription to Repare (the)
TurnPike Road from Salt Pond to (the) top of Peters Moun-
tain." In May 1861, John Smith received credit for $33.37
worth of work on Salt Pond Road out of his subscription,
depted to Madison Pine. Anderson Brown was credited

44 According to Saalstrom this moneyless exchange was
common to the subsistence farmers of West Virginia until the
early twentieth century. Paul Saalstrom, "Substance Barter
and Borrow System: An Approach to West Virginia Economic
History," West Virginia History 51:1992, 47.

45 Giles Co Field Book Feb 1821 Philip Lybrook.
$769.11 for building 3 miles 24 1/2 poles of this road at
$250 per mile.\textsuperscript{46}

Erskine and Caruthers hired the workers for the
Mountain Lake and Salt Sulphur Springs Turnpike and supplied
them with wages, tools, bed, board, and numerous provisions.
While Patrick Cavenaugh, superintendent of the road, earned
eighteen dollars a month ($260.82, 1990 dollars), they paid
the common laborers ten to twelve dollars. Cavenaugh was
sent to the White Sulphur on one occasion and to the rail-
road on another to hire hands. A journal entry specifically
noted a twelve dollar payment to an Irishman, Edmond Flan-
ders for his work on Salt Pond Road. They equipped laborers
with tools--the long handled shovels, picks, mattocks, "broad
mouth shovles," crowbars, sledge hammers, powder, and a road
plow for the work. In April 1860, they built a shanty to
house eight laborers previously boarded locally or at the
springs. They furnished them with "under beds, bed spreads,
sheets, and pillows..." Wagons hauled coffee, sugar, baked
bread, heads of "cabich," bushels of beans, potatoes, and
onions, and lots of salted beef and bacon to the work crews.
They supplied such provisions as coffee pots and mills,
knives, forks, tin plates and cups, and soap.\textsuperscript{47}

\textsuperscript{46}Erskine & Caruthers 1857-1863, 305, 425, 431.

\textsuperscript{47}Erskine & Caruthers 1857-1863, 314, 316, 333, 295, 304,
By the fall of 1859, at least a part of the Mountain Lake and Salt Sulphur Springs Turnpike had opened for business. The failure of the owners of the Montgomery White Sulphur Springs to fulfill their commitment and damage from severe rains lessened anticipated tolls, increased expenditures, and eliminated dividends. The company had three gates and collected around three hundred dollars during the season as did the Montgomery White Sulphur Springs' proprietors on the section they completed between Newport and Blacksburg. Prior to the war, Kent Ficklin & Company, John H. Walker, and William Eggleston, all stage lines, were this turnpike's largest customers.\(^{43}\)

In 1860, although the Mountain Lake and Salt Sulphur Springs Turnpike Company had collected all but twenty dollars in unpaid private subscriptions, they could not claim a dividend. Expenses exceeded their receipts by almost a thousand dollars. Several factors contributed to this. The Montgomery White Sulphur Company had forfeited fifteen hundred dollars worth of stock by failing to build a section of the road within the allotted time. William Guy, the clerk, reported outstanding debts of an unknown sum incurred by the previous president had to be paid.

Extremely harsh rains had also increased the amount of road repairs. This road never became a major thoroughfare nor is it still in service.  

Figure 10. Top. Red Sulphur Springs' covered walkway and hotel. Figure 11. Bottom. Red Sulphur Springs' spring pavilion, ca. 1900. Courtesy of the Monroe County Historical Society, Union, West Virginia.
CHAPTER THREE

UNPRODUCTIVE IMPROVEMENTS TO OUT OF THE WAY PLACES

ROADWAYS TO THE RED SULPHUR SPRINGS

Though tied through their proximity on the tour and their Carolinian clientele, the Salt and Red Sulphur Springs entrepreneurs shared few road ventures. While both these resorts provided the customary music, dancing, and recreation, they were less lively than the White Sulphur Springs, particularly the Red. The Red Sulphur Springs catered to consumptives, and sufferers flocked to these waters, but not enough to pay the construction bills. This resort developed a reputation for both its piazzas and its cure for phthisis pulmonalis. Prior to knowledge of the contagious nature of this disease, people thought little of travelling and socializing with its sufferers. Like the White, Blue, and Salt Sulphur Springs, Dr. William Burke the proprietor began a tremendous building program to accommodate the anticipated crowds. His resort sported cottage rows (the Carolina House, and Bachelors’, Alabama, and Philadelphia Row) to rival the White Sulphur Springs—all embellished with piazzas. To complement the resort’s development, Dr. Burke and other entrepreneurs associated with the Red Sulphur
Springs initiated road building schemes to better connect and divert traffic to this resort at the far southern tip of the tour.¹

The springs' proprietors, merchants, businessmen, and prominent citizens in the vicinity of the Red Sulphur Springs played an important role in directing a number of roads to and through this section of the county. The same names showed up repeatedly as petitioners, contractors, engineers, shareholders, or as commissioners, directors, or officers for the joint stock turnpike companies. William Burke, James A. Dunlap, James Harvey, William Adair, Jr., John Peters, John Vawter, William Ellis, Addison and Alexander Dunlap at Red Sulphur Springs cooperated with John and Joseph Alderson and others in the surrounding counties.²


²Most of these gentlemen, except John Vawter, were heavily involved as contractors, directors, or officers of the Red and Blue Sulphur Springs Turnpike. William Burke, the proprietor of the Red Sulphur Springs, continued to promote the springs through travel books, even after his bankruptcy. Dunlaps ran a store at the Red Sulphur Springs in partnership with Andrew Beirne, served in numerous political positions, and were related to John Vawter through marriage. Monroe County Order Book 1811, 75; Morton, Monroe County, 462, 467, 336; William Adair, a prominent merchant, contracted the road. Ibid., 298; Specifications for Red and Blue Sulphur Springs Turnpike, 21 October 1837, Red and Blue Sulphur Springs Turnpike Company File.
John Vawter played the leading technical role in the construction of roads in both Monroe County and the surrounding area. Vawter, a businessman, served the county as a delegate, gentleman justice, and surveyor. In addition to his deep involvement with the Giles, Fayette, and Kanawha Turnpike, he acted as superintendent of the White and Salt Sulphur Springs and Sweet and Salt Sulphur Springs turnpikes. He worked as the engineer on the Cumberland Gap and Price's Mountain, Pulaski and Giles, and the Princeton and Red Sulphur Springs turnpikes.\footnote{Morton, Monroe County, 462-465; Twenty Ninth Annual Report, xviii, xxxix; Doc. No. XVII Thirty-Eighth Annual Report, 263, 126, 763; [Doc. No. XVIII] Thirty-Seventh Annual Report of the Board of Public Works to the General Assembly of Virginia with the Accompanying Documents 1852-3, Year Ending Sept 30, 1852 (n.p., n.d.), 201; Reports, Returns, and Other Documents, 1857, 223.}

The local residents' lack of money and the careless management of company affairs generally limited the success of the roads associated with the Red Sulphur Springs. However, some of these endeavors opened previously inaccessible regions. Many more roads were authorized than built. Those built required state assistance to overcome their financial and construction difficulties.

Although the Salt and Red Sulphur Springs Turnpike had been authorized to incorporate in 1834 with a ten thousand dollar capital, this important road never received its
charter. In 1837, after numerous changes in its course, a writer in the *Southern Literary Messenger* called the road from the Salt Sulphur to the Red Sulphur Springs "the best in the mountains." Travellers leaving the White Sulphur Springs by stage after breakfast could make the trip to the Red Sulphur Springs by afternoon with a dining stop at the Salt Sulphur.¹

In 1838, the Indian Draft Turnpike Company formed to construct a road from the Salt Sulphur Springs to intersect the Red and Blue Sulphur Springs Turnpike near the mouth of the Indian Draft at Centreville. This road would have replaced the previously authorized Salt and Red Sulphur Springs Turnpike and used portions of that road that had been located by a state survey. The Indian Draft Turnpike Company intended to provide a valuable link to the Red and Blue Sulphur Springs and the White and Salt Sulphur Springs turnpikes. Although the General Assembly authorized the incorporation of this road in 1838 with a seven thousand dollar capital, it never received its charter or state funds. However, fifteen years later the Sweet and Salt Sulphur Springs Turnpike extended their road to complete

¹Wandy O'Malley, "Taking the Waters": *Archaeological Investigations at Five Mineral Springs in Southern West Virginia* (Lexington: Program for Cultural Resource Assessment, Kentucky Anthropological Research Facility, Department of Anthropology, University of Kentucky, 1988), University of Kentucky Archeological Report 178, 49.
The Red and Blue Sulphur Springs Turnpike Company made a name for itself as one of the state's most disreputable joint stock companies. The lack of capital, willful independence, and disregard for state authority and assistance ensured this company's failure before construction even began. On January 18, 1836, an Act of the General Assembly chartered the Red and Blue Sulphur Springs Turnpike Company. When seventy-five shares had been subscribed at fifty dollars each, the company became incorporated. The Blue and the Red Sulphur Springs each owned twenty shares of stock in this turnpike company. Most of the subscribers of this company, including Andrew Beirne and William Erskine, were from Monroe County.\(^6\) Advertisements warned delinquent subscribers to pay current installments or risk the loss of their stock at public auction. Some did, like Joseph Alderson, whose five shares sold illegally for ten dollars.

\(^{\text{5}}\)Virginia, *Act incorporating the Indian Draft turnpike company*, *Acts* (1838), 179:127; Monroe County Legislative Petition, November 1837, Virginia State Library and Archives, Richmond; *Doc. No. XVII Thirty-Eighth Annual Report*, 126; It seems a bit strange that neither Erskine, nor Caruthers were named as commissioners for this road. The attempted Salt and Red Sulphur Springs Turnpike appeared to be their only involvement in roadbuilding with this group of entrepreneurs from the Red Sulphur Springs area.

\(^{\text{6}}\)Act to incorporate the Red and Blue Sulphur springs turnpike company; List of stockholders, Red and Blue Sulphur Springs Turnpike Company File.
By 1843, when the company had still not collected their private subscriptions, the Second Auditor opposed paying the three-fifths subscription. By 1845, President John Alderson noted that all but three shares of private stock had been subscribed.\(^7\)

In 1837, Claudius Crozet and an assistant located the Red and Blue Sulphur Springs Turnpike. They attempted to locate the route to maximize the insufficient allocated funds. The engineers aimed to take advantage of a section to be shared with the proposed Salt and Red Sulphur Springs Turnpike, county roads, and a route along Indian Creek which could be travelled unimproved. Rather than begin as suggested on the most rugged section of this proposed road, the company improved the already passable Indian Creek section and ran out of funds to complete the project.\(^8\)

Not too surprisingly by November 1837, the initial $12,500 ($143,875, 1990 dollars) capital proved inadequate.

\(^7\)Western Enquirer, 16, 17 March 1838, Miscellaneous West Virginia Newspapers (Morgantown: West Virginia University, text-fiche); Twenty Seventh Annual Report, 52, 405; Report of J. Brown, Second Auditor, 10 February 1843, Twenty-eighth Annual Report, n.p.; The Thirtieth & Thirty-First Annual Reports of the Board of Public Works to the General Assembly of Virginia and Other Documents on Subjects Connected with the Fund for Internal Improvement vol. XIV (Richmond, S. Shepherd), 226.

\(^8\)Claudius Crozet, "Examination of the Red and Blue Sulphur Springs Turnpike," Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth Annual Reports, 465-470.
and the capital was increased to twenty-two thousand dollars. That same year, the Red and Blue Sulphur Springs Turnpike Company petitioned the General Assembly for permission to use a ferry rather than build a more expensive bridge. This company, like others in the area, was not required to build a summer road, pave, or cover the road with stone or gravel. The legislature required a width of twenty-two feet, but allowed fifteen in "difficult places" and a grade of four degrees or less. By November 1845, nine years after being chartered, the entire road had been constructed, but only ten miles received by the county commissioners.⁹

This road, like the Lewisburg and Blue Sulphur Springs Turnpike, had been constructed contrary to specifications and shared many of the same flaws. Despite the terms of William Adair Jr.'s 1837 contract, he constructed the road less than twenty-two feet wide with insufficient drains and shallow ditches. His rounded roadbed holstered with logs

⁹Jacob Johnson to Governor David Campbell, 6 January 1838, LS, Red and Blue Sulphur Springs Turnpike Company File; Virginia, Act to increase the capital stock of the Red and Blue sulphur springs turnpike company, Acts (1838), 178:126; Williams, Enrolled Bills, 375; November 1837 Monroe County Petition from Red and Blue Sulphur Springs Turnpike Company, Greenbrier County Legislative Petition from Red and Blue Sulphur Springs Turnpike Company, 2 January 1837, Virginia State Library and Archives, Richmond; The Thirtieth & Thirty-First Annual Reports, 226. The Alderson family operated the ferry across the Greenbrier River.
could not maintain repairs.\footnote{Claudius Crozet, "Examination of the Red and Blue Sulphur Springs Turnpike," Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth Annual Reports, 465-470; Virginia Acts 1836, 142: 214-15; Specifications for Red and Blue Sulphur Springs Turnpike, 21 October 1837, Red and Blue Sulphur Springs Turnpike Company File.}

Many allegations surfaced regarding improprieties in the Red and Blue Sulphur Springs Turnpike's location and operation. After allegedly receiving fifty dollars from Joseph Jarrett, the contractor changed the route to follow a loamy bottomland and a rocky ridge which could not be kept in repair. While these changes saved a matter of only a few poles in distance, they increased the cost and grade considerably. To entice the other directors to relocate the route, Joseph Alderson purportedly agreed to build a bridge to their specifications and to waive damages to his property in both Greenbrier and Monroe counties. Former directors wrote an addendum to Crozet's report citing other irregularities in damage assessment and stockholder meetings. In 1839, even John Alderson, the state's director, had been accused of trying to relocate the road for his benefit. Alderson claimed he had voted against the change even though he favored it and believed it would save twelve to sixteen hundred dollars. The Board of Directors assured the Board of Public Works that their motive had been only the improvement of the road. In 1840, president William Ellis denied all of
the above allegations, offered an explanation for each, and vindi-
cated Alderson. The accusations and lawsuits which sur-
rounded this turnpike company led to general distrust by both the public and government. Although the parties involved resigned their positions, within a few years they served again as officers or directors. In 1846, Oliver Beirne declined to serve as a proxy for the state’s inter-
ests in this company.\textsuperscript{11}

Addison Dunlap assumed the presidency with four judg-
ments against the Red and Blue Sulphur Springs Turnpike 
Company, no money to repair the slips in the road or the 
bridge that had fallen, and more than nine hundred dollars of debt. During the investigation to determine the condi-
tion of the company, Dunlap paid or credited workers out of 
his store at Red Sulphur Springs. In 1850, the state legis-
lated relief to pay the debt of this insolvent company, 
build a bridge, and keep the road in repair. In addition to 
the salt traffic on this road, the potential for increase in 
the value of stock with the planned railroad provided

\textsuperscript{11}Crozet, "Examination of the Red and Blue Sulphur Springs 
Turnpike," 465-471. George Alderson to J. Brown Second 
Auditor, 18 September 1839, LS, John Alderson to Board of 
Public Works, 20 April 1840, LS, Red and Blue Sulphur Springs 
File; Twenty fourth and Twenty Fifth Annual Reports, 52; The 
Thirty-Second and Thirty-Third Annual Reports, 458, 459; 
Thirty-fourth and Thirty-Fifth Annual Reports, 72, 73, 75, 76; 
Twenty-seventh Annual Report, 405; Oliver Beirne to J. Brown, 
Second Auditor, 13 May 1846, LS, Red and Blue Sulphur Springs 
Turnpike File.
reasons for not selling the road.\textsuperscript{12}

Many factors contributed to the failure of the Red and Blue Sulphur Springs Turnpike Company. Phillip Rice attributed the company's lack of success to the fact they built the only turnpike to connect two of the springs exclusively. These two springs, like the Grey Sulphur Springs, which also floundered, were located off the beaten track. However, timing probably had as much to do with the failures of the Red and Blue Sulphur Springs Turnpike as it did with many others in this area which attempted to sell shares and construct a turnpike in the wake of the 1837 financial panic. They never sold their limit of capital stock, nor did they pay dividends. This 32 3/4 mile long road had three toll gates which charged $.095 ($1.38, 1990 dollars) per man and horse. Tolls, based on those for the James River and Kanawha Turnpike, ranged from meager to less than the disbursements. Ideally, the Red and Blue Sulphur Springs Turnpike would have provided a better connection for these

Monroe County springs to this important artery.\textsuperscript{13}

The state authorized many turnpikes to incorporate to connect with existing improvements and to decrease distances in Monroe County. Many of these, like the Sweet and Blue Sulphur Springs, Indian Draft, and Union and Crossroads turnpikes were authorized to connect with the Red and Blue Sulphur Springs Turnpike, but never incorporated. However, roads were built to connect these locations. In 1850, Monroe citizens also petitioned for a road from Centreville to the mouth of Indian Draft on the Red and Blue Sulphur Springs Turnpike. The extension of the Sweet and Salt Sulphur Springs Turnpike provided this link.\textsuperscript{14}

Other roads sought to bring travellers into the springs region. Initiated in anticipation of the expected crowds the

\textsuperscript{13}\textit{Rice, "Internal Improvements," 290; Virginia Acts 1836, 142: 214-15; Twentieth Annual Report, 494; Thirtieth Annual Report of the Board of Public Works to the General Assembly of Virginia, with the Accompanying Documents, December 1, 1845 (Richmond: Samuel Shepherd, 1845), 226-227; Western Enquirer, 16 March 1838, 3; Greenbrier County Legislative Petition, 2 January 1837, Virginia State Library and Archives, Richmond; Rice, Greenbrier County, 144; Rice, "Internal Improvements in Virginia, 1775-1860," 290; Doc. No. XVII Biennial Report, 1859-60 & 1860-61, 184; Doc. No. XVII Fourth Biennial and Forty-First Annual Report, 1859, Pt. 2, 504; Doc. No. XVII Thirty-fourth Annual Report, 72-73.}

\textsuperscript{14}\textit{Virginia, Act incorporating the Sweet and Blue Sulphur springs turnpike company, Acts (1838) 177:126; Virginia, Act incorporating the Indian Draft turnpike company, Acts (1838), 179:127; Virginia, Act to incorporate the Union and Cross roads turnpike company, Acts (1860), :147; Monroe County Legislative Petitions, 22 January 1850, 13 December 1855, DS, Virginia State Library and Archives, Richmond.}
Tennessee Railroad would bring, the Newburn and Red Sulphur Springs Turnpike provided the shortest and most convenient route for the springs travellers from the south and southwest to the many springs via the Red Sulphur. In 1836, the legislature authorized the Newburn and Red Sulphur Springs Turnpike Company to build a road with a capital of twenty thousand dollars.\textsuperscript{15} Prior to the formation of the company or subscription of stock, a preparatory survey located the route. The construction cost of the twenty-two foot wide road was estimated between six and seven hundred dollars per mile. Although this road never incorporated, the survey from Giles Courthouse to the Red Sulphur Springs became part of the Giles, Fayette, and Kanawha Turnpike.\textsuperscript{16}

Chartered in 1837, the 118 mile long Giles, Fayette, and Kanawha Turnpike had a difficult time getting started and appealed to the state on many occasions for aid. This road made up the third segment of one of the longest turnpikes built by joint stock companies. The road extended

\textsuperscript{15}Virginia, \textit{Act to incorporate the Newburn and Red Sulphur springs turnpike company}, \textit{Acts} (1836), 143:216; "Survey from the Red Sulphur Springs to Newberne," \textit{Twenty Second Annual Report}, 80-81.

\textsuperscript{16}Ibid., Survey of Red Sulphur Springs to Newbern, Giles, Fayette, and Kanawha Turnpike Company File, Box 266, Board of Public Works Inventory, Virginia State Library and Archives, Richmond.
from Raleigh, North Carolina to Wheeling.\textsuperscript{17} Claudius Crozet, the state’s principal engineer provided assistance in locating portions of the road. The state required this turnpike to charge the same tolls as the James River and Kanawha Turnpike.\textsuperscript{18} This company, like the Red and Blue Sulphur Springs Turnpike, suffered from delinquent subscribers and filed suits against offenders, except in Monroe County. By 1848, subscribers in Monroe had completed the road from the Narrows to the Red Sulphur Springs for six hundred dollars worth of stock, but no toll gates were erected on this section of road. This road purchased Pack’s Ferry and continued through a sparsely populated area near Bluestone. Although the state did not initially subscribe to this company, by 1861 Virginia had invested more than

\textsuperscript{17}Rice, "Internal Improvements," 290; Virginia vs. West Virginia, 910-911; Williams, Enrolled Bills, 167; Virginia subscribed, then increased the state subscription three times. Petition from the Red and Blue Sulphur Springs Turnpike Company noted the importance of this road for connecting the Southwest and Northwest and urged the state to increase the capital and subscribe three-fifths. Monroe County Legislative Petitions, 9 November 1839, Virginia State Library and Archives, Richmond.

\textsuperscript{18} Virginia, Act to amend the act entitled "an act incorporating the Giles, Fayette and Kanawha turnpike company," Acts (1841), 107:115; Claudius Crozet to Board of Public Works, 25 June 1842, LS, A. Beckley to James Brown, Second Auditor regarding Crozet’s pledge to finish locating road by spring if still in office, 18 April 1842, LS, Giles, Fayette, and Kanawha Turnpike Company File, Box 267. This toll requirement would eliminate any disadvantage to the James River and Kanawha Turnpike.
forty-four thousand dollars with sixteen thousand designated for use in Monroe and Fayette counties. However, as late as 1859, William Adair, the company president blamed the terrible condition of the incomplete section along the New River in Monroe County for the lack of tolls and dividends on this road. He repeatedly appealed to the state to complete the road.  

Although the state directors reported the books in good order, this company also suffered from numerous complaints of impropriety, mismanagement, and disputes which required state investigation. Much like the Red and Blue Sulphur Springs Turnpike Company, allegations arose regarding the use of improper procedures in the location of the road and election of officers along with possible fraud.  

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By 1855, the Giles, Fayette, and Kanawha Turnpike with
eighteen incomplete miles claimed 1,198 individual and 1,200
state shares at twenty-five dollars each. Despite its
difficulties, the state continued to appropriate money for
the completion of this road.\textsuperscript{22}

In March 1850, the Princeton and Red Sulphur Springs
Turnpike Company was authorized to incorporate. They
planned to build their turnpike along the route surveyed in
1834 between Saltville and Red Sulphur Springs. John Floyd,
president of the Board of Public Works, received a letter
from William French with a proposal for a twelve foot wide
road with no side ditches. He agreed to clear the road "by
grubbing all stumps of a foot in diameter or more, smooth
of(f) timber brush and cut tall timber off, level with the
surface of the road..." French would do all of this for
thirty-seven hundred dollars down and the balance on comple-
tion. However, the attorney general ruled against the
substandard proposal.\textsuperscript{23}


\textsuperscript{23} Survey, Salt and Red Sulphur Springs Turnpike Company
File (Confusion of Saltville and Salt Sulphur Springs must
have led to the missfiling of this item.), Box 312, Board of
Public Works Inventory, Virginia State Library and Archives,
Richmond; Wm. French to John B. Floyd, n.d., L.S., Correspon-
dence and Contracts File, Box 309, Board of Public Works
Inventory, Virginia State Library and Archives, Richmond.
French's proposal was probably not that unusual for roads of
the day, but definitely substandard for turnpikes. Even
though few in the area appeared to have artificial surfaces,
Monroe County citizens also voiced their objections to this road. Surveys located the Princeton and Red Sulphur Springs Turnpike by Stuart's Saltwell, but the Mercer Salt Works argued they serviced more people. Local residents preferred a shorter route with a safer ferry landing and a southern exposure which passed through a more populated area "wholly destitute of any road" and required no toll on the Giles, Fayette, and Kanawha Turnpike. Though authorized, the Princeton and Red Sulphur Springs Turnpike never incorporated but became a free road constructed for forty-two hundred dollars at state expense.\textsuperscript{24}

**INTERCEPTIONS AND DIVERSSIONS TO THE BLUE**

Like the Red Sulphur Springs, the Blue Sulphur Springs was located in a remote area. However, these mineral waters were within reach of the busy county seat of Lewisburg and the James River and Kanawha Turnpike. This resort aspired to lure visitors away from the White Sulphur Springs or to intercept them in route to that popular spa. Unlike its Greenbrier County competitor, the Blue Sulphur Springs became known for its elegant and comfortable lodging and adequate drainage was essential.

\textsuperscript{24}Monroe County Petition, February 1852, Correspondence and Contracts File; "Plaintiff's General Exhibit 1," Virginia vs. West Virginia, 919.
solicitous attention. However, it was "not fashionable." Guests impatiently stopped here in anticipation of the excitement of the White Sulphur Springs, regardless of that spas deplorable food and accommodations. This watering place offered all the amenities and amusements their select travelling clientele demanded and a store and church frequented by local residents. 25

A February 12, 1834 petition to the General Assembly asked for a road from Lewisburg to the Blue Sulphur Springs which will not only contribute to the ease & convenience of those who may find it necessary to visit said springs for health, recreation or amusement, but will greatly enhance the interest of that portion of the citizens of Greenbrier residing on the south side of muddy creek mountain, who are at present deprived of an easy and safe outlet to market. 26

These roads opened inaccessible areas and provided the egress for sparse populations to seek potential markets.

In March 1836, the state authorized the Lewisburg and Blue Sulphur Springs Turnpike Company to construct a road upon any route between Lewisburg and the springs. Engineer J. D. Brown believed his 1 1/4 mile longer route which

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26Greenbrier County Legislative Petition, 12 February 1834, Virginia State Library and Archives, Richmond.
Figure 12. Blue Sulphur Springs’ spring pavillion. Courtesy of the Monroe County Historical Society, Union, West Virginia.
crossed Muddy Creek only once would be both agreeable to springs’ visitors and beneficial to the company. However, Greenbrier and Monroe turnpike companies consistently shortened the distances of the engineers’ preferred locations of their roads. An inspection the following year found the road too narrow, steeply graded, and poorly drained with a rounded bed sustained by timber.²⁷

This turnpike, like others, suffered from delinquent subscriptions from both the state and private shareholders. Beginning in 1836, John North, president of the company, sent many letters requesting the promised state subscription. Virginia subscribed $4,950 of the $12,500 capital for this road. The influential North, clerk of the western division of the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia, served as a merchant and silent partner of the Blue Sulphur Springs. By 1837, John North and Henry Chappell had supplied more than sixty-nine hundred dollars in labor, provisions, and materials for this road and sought reimbursement. Typically, subscribers paid four annual installments on their commitment. In May and again in August 1838, the

²⁷Virginia, Act to authorize a subscription on behalf of the state to the stock of the Lewiburg and Blue Sulphur springs turnpike company, Acts (1836) 141:214; The Seventeenth, Eighteenth, and Nineteenth Annual Reports of the Board of Public Works, 394; Twenty-second Annual Report of the Board of Public Works, 95. Both road builders and travellers, like the ancient Romans, typically preferred the straight line method of construction. Borth, Mankind on the Move, 19.
Lewisburg and Blue Sulphur Springs Turnpike Company notified shareholders to pay the balance of their subscriptions and assessed them first an additional five then three dollars more per share.28

By July 1836, with the exception of a bridge, the road had been completed and a toll gate established at David Eagle’s blacksmith shop. The company authorized the toll-keeper to make annual contracts for use of the road and to exempt those travelling "to or from preaching," hauling produce to the springs, and guests riding for recreation. Peregrine Prolinx described the new twenty-five mile long Blue Sulphur Springs Turnpike as a good road. However, it was never a productive improvement.29

In February 1835, the Virginia Assembly authorized the

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28 John North to Board of Public Works and Second Auditor, 30 August 1836, 7 January 1837, 4 October 1837, 16 March 1838, Lewisburg and Blue Sulphur Springs Turnpike Company Folder, Box 276, Virginia State Library and Archives, Richmond; Twenty-third Annual Report of the Board of Public Works, 384-385; Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth Annual Reports of the Board of Public Works, 500, 515; Rice, "Internal Improvements," 272; Western Enquirer, 4 May and 31 August, 1838, Miscellaneous West Virginia Newspapers (Morgantown: West Virginia University, text-fiche).

incorporation of the Blue Sulphur Springs Turnpike Company with a capital of $5,000 at $50 per share. Based on the potential for tax revenue, this company presumptuously also requested state aid if tolls fell below 6 percent. This turnpike never incorporated, but may have been built later as a county road.38

In 1838, to divert springs traffic from the White Sulphur Springs, their greatest competition, the Blue Sulphur Springs and Sweet Springs collaborated on a joint turnpike. Once half of the eighteen thousand dollar capital shares had been subscribed at fifty dollars a share the Sweet and Blue Sulphur Springs Turnpike Company would be incorporated. This never happened. However, these two springs were connected by county roads and existing turnpikes. In bypassing the White Sulphur Springs and directly connecting these distant springs, this road potentially would have increased visitors from the East for the Blue Sulphur Springs and from the West for the Sweet Springs. John B. Lewis, Philip Rogers, John Shawver, John Hull and Jacob Wickline of Sweet Springs; James B. Shanklin,  

38 Act of Incorporation, 10 February 1835, Notice of Opening of Books for the Blue Sulphur Springs Turnpike Company on 11 May 1835, Caldwell Family Papers; Lewisburg and Blue Sulphur Springs Turnpike Company File. Statement B, Doc. No. 39 (Second Auditor’s Office, Richmond, 1846), 16; Greenbrier Legislative Petition, 16 January 1836, Virginia State Library and Archives, Richmond.
Benjamin F. Steele, Andrew P. Beirne, John M'Carty and Andrew Nickle at Union; and Joseph Hill, John Alderson, Andrew Miller, Joseph Alderson, William Ellis and James Hill took subscriptions for this turnpike.\textsuperscript{31}

The Blue Sulphur Springs Company sought county assistance with at least one road. In 1839, the Greenbrier County Court ordered commissioners to view a road from the Blue Sulphur Springs to intersect the Meadow Road. The Blue Sulphur Springs Company had contemplated the road for a few years and discussed the possibility of money and labor assistance from the residents. Company officials concluded that the road would be seen by some, though not all, as either an "exclusive benefit to the Springs, or that the proprietors of the Springs view the road of such importance to them that they will make it without any aid..." County residents eagerly signed petitions for roads to provide them with new markets. Many even purchased stock in these roads, but they resisted paying either taxes or tolls for the

\textsuperscript{31}Virginia Acts 1838, 177:126; John Disturnell, \textit{Springs, Waterfalls, sea-bathing resorts, and mountain scenery of the United States and Canada...} (New York: author, 1855), 125. In 1844, Monroe County already had a public road from the Greenbrier River up Wolf Creek to Union which would provide a connection between the Sweet and Blue Sulphur Springs. Monroe County Court Order Book 5, 297.
In 1851, the state authorized the Fayette and Blue Sulphur Springs Turnpike to connect the Blue Sulphur Springs resort with the Fayette Courthouse. Though never incorporated, this road appears to have been built. The Logan, Raleigh, and Monroe Turnpike planned an extension to connect the Blue Sulphur Springs to their road at Raleigh Courthouse. By 1853, although considered the most "valuable and desirable portion of the improvement," this extension had obtained only $1,325 in subscriptions. The improvements associated with the Blue Sulphur Springs were primarily unsuccessful.

\[32\text{Greenbrier County Court Order, July 1839, D, Caldwell Collection; Unsigned, unaddressed letter from Blue Sulphur Springs appears to be a draft in John North's script, 28 November 1836, Caldwell Collection. This road accessed the James River and Kanawha Turnpike west of the springs.}\]

\[33\text{Virginia vs. West Virginia, III, 909; Doc. No. XVII Thirty-Eighth Annual Report of the Board of Public Works, 750. See 1859 Böye-Buchholtz Map of Virginia. The Logan, Raleigh, and Monroe Turnpike never came within Monroe County's border, but would have provided easy access to the Red and Salt Sulphur Springs. Although the resort no longer existed, West Virginia chartered the Raleigh Courthouse and Blue Sulphur Springs Turnpike. Exploring the Old Turnpikes of West Virginia, n.p.}\]
CHAPTER FOUR
GREENBRIER AND MONROE COUNTY MINERAL WATERS
AND THEIR MARKETS

TAKING THE WATERS

Prior to the Civil War, the turnpikes and other major roads built in Greenbrier and Monroe counties almost exclusively provided new or improved routes to the important commercial centers, the mineral springs. In 1782, the first major road built into the region connected both Greenbrier and Monroe counties with the Warm Springs and set the stage for the development of the famed Virginia Springs Tour. Built as "the common market road for all the inhabitants of the county" this early road established the commercial nature and importance of roads to the springs.¹

¹Greenbrier County Legislative Petition, 14 Nov 1782, Virginia State Library and Archives, Richmond. This early road displaced by turnpikes later became a county road which connected the White Sulphur Springs with the Warm Springs. The Observer and Western Advertiser 11 April 1844, Miscellaneous West Virginia Newspapers (Morgantown: West Virginia University, text-fiche). In 1772, the first toll road in America was built to connect Augusta County with Warm Springs. Virginia Department of Transportation’s Office of Public Affairs in cooperation with the Virginia Transportation Research Council, A History of the Roads in Virginia “the most convenient ways,” (Commonwealth of Virginia, 1989), 4.
The springs' trade involved much more than marketing health spas and bottled water. Springs' proprietors and others built turnpikes and accommodations. Supplying the seasonal springs' visitors with provisions, lodging, entertainment, and shopping opportunities produced the real economic impact of these roads at both the state and local level. During "the season" this isolated backcountry of subsistence farmers teemed with activity and commerce. Uniquely, these turnpikes brought the market to the product. Many of the nation's select society, particularly the Southern planter families, incorporated summers at the springs into their lifestyles.

By the 1830s, the newspapers and springs' proprietors touted the improved facilities at the springs and the roads to them. Initially, log accommodations housed visitors at all of the springs. Later the springs offered a variety of cottages, cabins, and hotel accommodations of brick, frame, or stone. In 1838, the area could lodge 2,500 guests at the various springs. During this boom year, the springs housed an estimated six thousand people over the season. The White Sulphur Springs alone could accommodate 600 to 700 guests and stable up to 400 horses. With the various places of "quarantine" in the neighborhood, such as Robert Dickson's Locust Hill, up to 800 people could be housed. Within a few years the White Sulphur Springs could lodge more than 1,200
The number the Salt Sulphur Springs could "conveniently and most comfortably" accommodate grew from 200 to 350; the Grey Sulphur Springs 180 to 200; the Blue Sulphur Springs 200 to 260; the Sweet Springs 200 to 300; the Red Sweet Springs 175; and the Red Sulphur Springs up to 350.¹

The county courts established the rates to be charged at these ordinaries. Until 1860, ordinary rates remained constant and varied little between the two counties. From the early 1820s until just before the Civil War, the Salt

¹Kanawha Banner (Charleston, Virginia), 13 July 1833, Western Enquirer, 20 April 1838, reprinted Virginia Gazette article in Western Enquirer, 3 August 1838, Western Enquirer, 27 July 1833, Miscellaneous West Virginia Newspapers (Morgantown: West Virginia University, text-fiche); Dayton, Greenbrier Pioneers and Their Homes, 220; A New Englander, "Journey of a Trip to the Mountains, Caves, and Springs of Virginia," 303. "Quarantiners" awaited room at the White. Robert Dickson served as an ordinary keeper and toll collector on the James River and Kanawha Turnpike Twenty Seventh Annual Report, 656.

Sulphur Springs charged a standard fee of $1.50 per white adult per day including a room and three meals. These charges were prorated based on time of arrival and departure; rates decreased for longer stays. By today's standards, these rates were quite reasonable. Fewer guests incurred the extra charges for bathing ($0.25-$0.50) and washing than for spirits. Between 1816 and 1837, the White Sulphur Springs charged guests eight dollars per week, only one dollar more than the 1808 fee for the Sweet Springs. By the early 1850s, the White Sulphur Springs rates increased to $2.00 per day. By 1860, rates at both the White and the Salt Sulphur Springs had risen to $2.50 per day. Carolinae and others who travelled by private carriage, rather than stage, supplemented springs' revenues with their horses and slaves boarded at half price. The springs also provided occasional baths and daily supplies of sulphur water to

\footnote{The 1990 equivalency of the $1.50 rate for the following decades would have been 1830--$16.38, 1840--$19.57, 1850--$23.48.}

visitors lodged in the neighborhood.  

Bottled water from the Grey Sulphur, Red Sulphur, Salt Sulphur, White Sulphur Springs, and Green Sulphur Springs could be purchased outside the area out of season or for those unable to make the trip. The White Sulphur Springs shipped water to agents in Richmond, Philadelphia, and Baltimore who sold it for three dollars per gallon. In January 1861, this resort bottled eleven to twelve hundred boxes with two dozen bottles in each. The Salt Sulphur Springs shipped bottles and carboys as far away as New York via packet boat from Buchanan to an agent in Richmond and then on. Though now a big business, at this time the effervescent waters of the Sweet Springs were primarily used for bathing rather than drinking.  

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6Marryat, Diary in America, 171; Viator, "A Trip to the Virginia Springs," Knickerbocker Magazine (February 1852), 50; Ibid., October 1852, 320; White Sulphur Springs Ledgers 1830-31, 1816-17, 1827-28, The Greenbrier, White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia; Erskine & Caruthers First Ledger of the Firm at Salt Sulphur Springs 1821 to 1829, Monroe County Historical Society, Union, West Virginia; Wm. Erskine Hotel Ledger June 1860 to Jan. 1862, Monroe County Historical Society, Union, West Virginia; Rebecca McCoskey to Robert Dickson, 11 June 1852, Dickson Family Papers, Special Collections, Newman Library, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Blacksburg.  

7Account of the Medical Properties of the Grey Sulphur Springs, Virginia, 23; Red Sulphur Springs--Dunlap Store Ledger 1848-50; The Jeffersonian (Charlestown, Virginia), 16 May 1840, Miscellaneous West Virginia Newspapers (West Virginia University, Morgantown, text-fiche), 1; J. Humphreys to Jeremiah Morton, 30 December 1860, Morton-Halsey Papers; May 1858, Erskine & Caruthers Day Book Jan 1 1857 to Sept 28
PROVIDING THE PROVISIONS

The improved roads, increased visitors, and expansion at the springs benefitted not just the springs' proprietors but also resulted in additional jobs and markets in the area. Other than the county seats of Lewisburg in Greenbrier County and Union in Monroe County, the springs provided the primary centers of commercial activity for both residents and visitors. Stage and mail routes connected and serviced these springs which had to be self sufficient. Edward Hill called the White Sulphur Springs "quite a village." Shops, icehouses, a plantation, tannery, sawmill, slaughterhouse, gristmill, stores and numerous services supported the resort. Though most springs provided horses for their guests usage, both the White Sulphur and the Salt Sulphur also rented carriages. At the Salt Sulphur Springs the

1863; Pencil, White Sulphur Papers, 51. Carriage from the White Sulphur Springs to Richmond cost $3.00 per barrel. Edward Hill, "Journal of a Trip to White Sulphur Springs," THS [photocopy] designated as Trant Ms., The Greenbrier, White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia, 18. Green Sulphur Springs, now located in Summers County, never developed as a resort, but as a bottled water business. A carboy is a large glass bottle encased in a box or wicker case. Most springs, except the Barger and Red Sulphur in Monroe, had to be excavated to develop a steady flow. The Pence Springs, initially a buffalo lick, did not develop as a resort until after the Civil War. This water was used for the production of ginger ale. Cohen, Historic Springs, 154, 189. O'Malley, Taking the Waters, 4-5.

Figure 13. Two-story bathhouse at the Salt Sulphur Springs. Courtesy of the Monroe County Historical Society, Union, West Virginia.
ballroom, theater, race track, billiard room, bowling alley, and House of the Tiger provided entertainment and pleasure. In July 1832, Erskine and Caruthers also paid Fullen McClure $481 for plastering and building a church for their patrons. In addition to "taking the waters" and the activities provided at each spring, visitors ventured out to dine, shop, hunt, fish, collect fossils, or visit other natural attractions. They often sought provisions and services available in the neighborhood.

Though the springs trade never provided a large or dominant job market, many capitalized in numerous small ways on the seasonal influx of visitors. Merchants at the White Sulphur stocked most anything guests wanted or needed. Merchants at the other springs, like John North at the Blue Sulphur, sold primarily lower priced country store items, with a few luxuries. Phrenologists, doctors, dentists,

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artists, actors, and gamblers also offered their services. During the season at the White Sulphur Springs, "washer women" came from distances up to one hundred miles and did laundry. In Lewisburg, milliners, tailors, and a beef market opened "for the season." At the springs, people sold chickens, apples, muskmellons, bee sugar, gloves, Osnaburgh and wide flannel. Drovers disposed of their cattle and sheep at three cents a pound. Beggar girls, boys with maple sugar, and men selling flowers and game roamed the grounds. Local marksmen challenged guests to shooting matches at the Sweet Springs and sold tickets for fifty cents ($7.25, 1990 dollars). A man named Wright located at the edge of the property, competed with the bar room at the White with confectionaries and, "...champagne, madeira,

11Hill, "Journal of a Trip to the White Sulphur Springs," 10; Pencil, White Sulphur Papers, 83-86; Mary J. Windle, Life at the White Sulphur Springs; or Pictures of a Pleasant Summer (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1857, text-fiche) 72; Unsigned letter dated 1833 apparently from North accepting an offer to open the store at the Blue Sulphur Springs, Caldwell Collection; Pencil, White Sulphur Papers, 40.

claret, bottle ale, rum, brandy, gin, (and) lemons..."

The Salt Sulphur Springs, like the others in this cash-poor region, traded store goods for the labor, services and commodities of some residents and paid others wages. The extensive facilities of this spring and the many endeavors of the proprietors required a variety of labor and skills. A baker, superintendent of the dining room, and musicians and additional hands were hired each season to provide the renowned quality of this resort. The farmland had to be ploughed, planted, tended (along with the livestock), and harvested. The mills and race, stables, carriage house, ice houses, springs, soap house, cabins and hotels had to be kept in repair.

Erskine and Caruthers used the services of many residents including free blacks and slaves. Much of the

13 Featherstonhaugh, Excursion Through the Slave States, 81. The bar at the Blue Sulphur was stocked similarly. [Blue Sulphur Springs] "1836 Grocery List," Caldwell Collection.

14 Erskine & Caruthers First Ledger of the Firm at Salt Sulphur Springs 1821 to 1829, 179, 180, 191; Erskine and Caruthers Day Book Jan 1st, 1857 to Sept 28th, 1863. William A. Wright was paid $120.00 ($1758.80, 1990 dollars) for 2 mos. 12 days as Spt of Dining room $22.00 expense money, and $1.00 stamps, indicative of the emphasis this resort placed on food. September 9, 1859, Wm. Ryan earned $390.78 ($5,662.40, 1990 dollars) for 2 years, 1 month and 17 days as gardener.

15 Work credited throughout Salt Sulphur Springs ledgers and daybooks, i.e., Erskine & Caruthers First Ledger of the Firm at Salt Sulphur Springs 1821 to 1829, 90, 134, 141, 150.
work could be done during the slack time for both the local farmers and the springs in preparation for the summer crowds. Land had to be cleared and mowed, wood cut, and "rales" and gates made to fence the property. Men like Addam Foalden (Fullen) supplied this need through the years.\textsuperscript{16} Occasional and regular laborers hewed logs, made shingles, hauled "harth stones", cut stone, built chimneys, sawed rafters and timber, installed windows, plastered, painted, and whitewashed buildings. Edward Broos made, varnished, and painted bedsteads, chairs, settees, and bureaus.\textsuperscript{17} Stone masons, such as Phillip Collins, blew and quarried rocks from the roads, built stone foundations for the buildings and abutments for the bridges.\textsuperscript{18} Workers built and repaired roads and bridges for both the county and

\textsuperscript{16}Red Sulphur Springs--Dunlap’s Store 1848-50; R. Cassady, Blue Sulphur to J North, 22 March 1837, Caldwell Collection; White Sulphur Springs Ledger 1828-29, 29, 412, 44; Daybook Erskine & Caruthers Salt Sulphur Store 1825 to 1831, 11 November 1826, Monroe County Historical Society, Union, West Virginia; Erskine & Caruthers First Ledger of the Firm at Salt Sulphur Springs 1821 to 1829, 97, 121, 125, 134, 113.

\textsuperscript{17}Ibid., 85, 24, 124, 125, 89, 97, 141, 145, 59; Erskine & Caruthers Salt Sulphur Income Day Book April 26, 1831-August 1834, Monroe County Historical Society, Union, West Virginia, 49, 261.

\textsuperscript{18}Erskine & Caruthers 1857-1863, 8, 14 April, 6 May, 3 June 1857, 7 June 1858.
turnpike companies. Men hauled supplies between Richmond, Lynchburg, Lexington, Buchanan and the springs. Others hauled provisions to road workers. In addition to providing employment, all of the springs provided outlets for excess farm related products.

Indirectly, local farmers benefitted from the increased market for provisions to feed both the guests and their horses in addition to the drovers passing through. After 1838, this market suffered from the opening of the Cincinnati slaughterhouses and the increased use of stages. While most springs raised their own livestock, grew vegetables, and canned jellies and preserves, local farmers and passing drovers provided supplemental commodities. Erskine and Caruthers, like the other springs proprietors, credited residents in their store for oats, whiskey, chickens, eggs, etc...

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19 Erskine & Caruthers First Ledger of the Firm at Salt Sulphur Springs 1821 to 1829, 135, 164, 209; Erskine & Caruthers 1857-1863, i.e., 8, 14 April 1857. This ledger is filled with road work on the major turnpikes to the springs.

20 Erskine & Caruthers First Ledger of the Firm at Salt Sulphur Springs 1821 to 1829, 30; Erskine & Caruthers Salt Sulphur Income Day Book April 26, 1831- August 1834, 13 Oct 1831; Erskine & Caruthers 1857-1863, 18, 29 April, 17 Sept 1857, 18 May 1858; Daybook Erskine & Caruthers Salt Sulphur Store 1825 to 1831, 23 May, 18 July 1825, 7 July 1826, Monroe County Historical Society, Union, West Virginia.

butter, venison, "beare meet" and "chares." 22

Records at the White Sulphur, Salt Sulphur, and Blue Sulphur Springs attest to the tremendous quantities of meat and provisions purchased and used at the springs. Elizabeth Noel wrote her daughter Julia that the White Sulphur Springs "...bake 500 pies a day, kil two beeve, 22 sheep, 300 chickens, cook 40 bushels of corn, make from ninety-five to 115 gallons of coffee twice a day besides tea and milk." 23

The bountiful meals at the Salt Sulphur Springs provide further evidence of the springs daily needs:

At breakfast 12-15 different kinds of wheat bran, maise, buckwheat, rye, rice, hot and cold bread and cakes; milk without water, and cream without milk; coffee and tea, green and black; sausages, eggs, honey, maple, molasses, and cheese; mutton and venison chops, fried and boiled; fried chickens and cold corned beef and ham; and all those

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22 Royall, Sketches of History, Life, and Manners, 32, 72; Rice, Greenbrier County, 140; Viator, "Life at the Virginia Springs," Knickerbocker (October 1852), 320; Erskine & Caruthers Salt Sulphur Income Day Book April 26, 1831-August 1834; Erskine & Caruthers 1857-1863; Wm. Vass to John North, 29 Dec. 1835, 1, 28 March 1836, 3 July 1836, Caldwell Collection; White Sulphur Springs Ledger 1827-28; Dunlap's Store 1948-50. In 1853, Porte Crayon described a mile-long drove from Greenbrier or Monroe on the road to the Warm Springs. David Hunter Strother [Porte Crayon], Virginia Illustrated: Containing A Visit to the Virginia Canaan, and the Adventures of Porte Crayon and His Cousins, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1871), 132. As late as the second quarter of the twentieth century, some older residents remember droves of farm animals to markets within Greenbrier County.

23 Elizabeth Noel, White Sulphur Springs to daughter Julia, 1 September 1860. Lewis Family Papers, Alderman Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville. See Table 1 Salt Sulphur Springs Pork Purchases 1828-1850.
TABLE 1

SALT SULPHUR SPRINGS' PORK PURCHASE
1828-1850

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Pounds of Pork (Thousands)</th>
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</table>

well cooked and arranged on a snow white tablecloth.  

A copious dinner followed of
...venison, beef, and mutton; turkeys, ducks, and
chickens; corned beef and ham, cooked in all sorts
of ways and followed by a dessert consisting of a
variety of excellent pastry and preserves, with
abundance of rich milk and cream.  

Food was much more plentiful than specie.

With no banks and little specie in circulation, the
surge of visitors to the springs created the need for a
medium of exchange for businesses associated with them. The
shortage of specie resulted in the circulation of many types
of paper money, from individual to business to bank notes.
In 1837, even Belden & Walker, stage owners, "...request(ed)
that their notes be accepted and approved by the legislature
to present to mineral springs and houses of entertainment
due to (a) lack of specie particularly $5 notes."  

LICENSES AND LICENSEEES

The state benefitted from the increased tax and license
monies as well as the market for goods and slaves. Though
bed and board rates did not seem to escalate at the springs,

24Prolix, Letters Descriptive, 55.

25Ibid.,56.

26Taylor, Transportation Revolution, 330; Greenbrier
County Legislative Petitions 20 December 1832, 13 June 1837,
Virginia State Library and Archives, Richmond; Monroe County
Legislative Petitions 10, 25 January 1850, Virginia State
Library and Archives, Richmond.
taxes and licenses did. Any occupation or asset which earned revenue was taxed. The merchants, physicians, ordinaries and houses of private entertainment, stallions, billiard tables and bowling alley licenses most affected and reflected the commerce of this area. Initially, Philadelphia and Baltimore provided the major markets for the area; the James River and Kanawha Turnpike diverted that trade to Richmond. The springs season also coincided with the peak slave trading time of year in that city. Through license legislation, Virginia discouraged merchants of "foreign manufactures," travelling exhibitions, and peddlers who might deflect trade dollars from Richmond or encourage Abolitionism.27

The number of licensed peddlers in Monroe and Greenbrier counties was never great, but Greenbrier Countians found them competitive and convenient. Andrew Beirne had started this way. As he travelled door to door, he cornered the local ginseng market with Philadelphia wares. In 1836, peddlers paid only twenty-five dollars for a license. In

27Royall, Sketches of History, Life, and Manners, 54, 71; Rice, "Internal Improvements," 14, 37, 114-115; Taylor, Transportation Revolution, 7-8; Michael Tadman, Speculators and Slaves: Masters, Traders, and Slaves in the Old South (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 70; Annual tax legislation in Acts of the General Assembly beginning in the 1840s. In June 1854, Monroe County collected $768.25 ($11,131.94, 1990 dollars) in license fees. The following year $863.80 ($12,074.63, 1990 dollars) was collected. License Returns for Greenbrier and Monroe counties.
1842, at the height of the depression the state raised this to one hundred dollars. Greenbrier County residents objected and petitioned. They cited the need for competition and the difficulty of getting goods to market. Subsequently, the state decreased license fees to twenty-five dollars for the dry goods and grocer peddlers west of the Alleghanies, and fifty dollars for most other peddlers. Although in 1845, five peddlers registered in Greenbrier County, generally the number varied from none to two in both counties.  

The exact number of merchants is not known for either county, but samplings of license returns and newspapers showed a tremendous increase in their number after the roadbuilding. Merchants first paid twenty dollar license fees. By 1840, the state had switched to income based fees. Throughout the period Andrew P. Beirne, his brothers, and their sons dominated the market with numerous partnerships. Until the mid 1840s, Hugh Caperton and his several partnerships provided their chief competition. Mercantile firms

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28Virginia, Act imposing taxes for the support of government, Acts (1841), 1:5; Virginia, Act imposing taxes for the support of government, Acts (1844), 1:5; Virginia, Act imposing taxes for the support of government, Acts (1836), 1:4; Virginia Acts 1841, 1:5; Virginia, Act imposing taxes for the support of government, Acts (1846), 1:5; License Returns for Greenbrier and Monroe County; Royall, Sketches of History, Life, and Manners, 37; Greenbrier Legislative Petition for relief from the tax placed on peddlers, [1835-1845], Virginia State Library and Archives, Richmond. The 1990 equivalent of the 1836 license would be nearly three hundred dollars.
from Richmond, Philadelphia, and Baltimore advertised their wares in Lewisburg newspapers and competed with numerous local firms.29

Physicians, who played an integral part of life at the springs, also required licensing. They personalized cures, analyzed the waters, and promoted the springs through numerous publishings. Dr. William Burke, failed proprietor of the Red Sulphur Springs, remained one of the tours strongest advocates. Dr. John Moorman resided at the White Sulphur Springs for almost forty years and wrote numerous books on this and other springs. As early as 1813, Greenbrier County had a licensed physician, but Monroe County had none until much later. By 1861, nineteen physicians had been licensed in Greenbrier and thirteen in Monroe. Over the years, license fees for physicians decreased from twelve to five dollars plus a percentage based on annual income. Dentists and vendors of patent medicines were also licensed.30

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29 License Returns for Greenbrier and Monroe; Western Enquirer 17 July 1839; Greenbrier Weekly Era 17 July 1858, 1; John Francis "Reminiscences of Union as It Was Over Forty Years Ago," Monroe Watchman (Union, West Virginia), beginning 8 February 1894, typewritten copy. See Table 2 Licensed Merchants 1807-1861 Greenbrier and Monroe Counties.

30 J. J. Moorman, The Virginia Springs with their Analysis and some Remarks on their character together with a Directory for the use of the White Sulphur Water... (Philadelphia: Ludwig & Blakeston, 1847). Editions preceded and followed up through 1873, and most included maps. Conte, The History of
Other services, both integral and supplemental to the springs trade, required licenses. Alcohol, both domestic and imported, was practically a staple at the springs, though some petitioned for its abolition. Merchants, like those in Lewisburg who wholesaled and retailed spirits, needed a license. By 1861, Monroe County licensed seven distilleries and Greenbrier six. Both counties licensed jewellers and confectioners. Itinerant map and print salesmen, daguerrotypists, travelling shows and museums received licenses, often by the day or week. By 1860, Union offered the services of a stockbroker, a $150 license fee.31 In addition to the state property taxes on horses, Virginia required a license of stallion owners.

Horses were important to this area for transport, breeding, selling, racing, and collateral. Edward Hill commented, "There are more horses and mules for sale here

The Greenbrier, 33-38; License returns for Greenbrier and Monroe counties.

TABLE 2
LICENSED MERCHANTS 1807-1861
GREENBRIER & MONROE COUNTIES

COUNTY LICENSE RETURNS,
VIRGINIA STATE LIBRARY, RICHMOND.
*Returns not available for all years.
than anything else...People seem to live by selling horses and cattle mostly."32 Numerous ads appeared for "horses of fine racing stock to stand in Lewisburg," at Second Creek, and at the Blue Sulphur Springs.33 In May 1841, James Calwell listed nine of his "blooded horse stock" as part of his security for a debt. The Salt Sulphur Springs provided both breeding services and racing facilities. Between 1834 and 1842, Erskine and Caruthers charged five to twenty-five dollar stud fees for their race horses. In 1830, Frances Ludington opened a one mile track at Frankford. In 1838, Kanawha had a 2 1/2 mile track. Virginia law prohibited horseracing on public roads and fined guilty racers, owners, and bettors.34


33Palladium of Virginia and Pacific Monitor, 2 January, 10 April 1830, The Observer and Western Advertiser (Lewisburg, Virginia), 11 April 1844, Western Enquirer 12, 27 October 1837, Western Enquirer and Virginia Springs Gazette, 24 April 1840, Miscellaneous West Virginia Newspapers (Morgantown: West Virginia University, text-fiche).

34Greenbrier County Deed Book 15, Courthouse, Lewisburg, West Virginia, 285, 594; Lewisburg Alleghianian, 25 April 1834, Miscellaneous West Virginia Newspapers (Morgantown: West Virginia University, text-fiche); Bennett, Sunday News in James R. Kidd, "The History of Salt Sulphur Springs," 204; Alexander Erskine Salt Sulphur Springs to Robert Dickson, 2 September 1842, Dickson Family Papers, Box 1, Folder 18; Palladium of Virginia and the Pacific Monitor, 10 April 1830, Western Enquirer, 12 January, 4 May 1838, Miscellaneous West Virginia Newspapers (Morgantown: West Virginia University, text-fiche); Virginia, An Act to reduce into one, the several acts concerning public roads, and for establishing public
As the market for the breeding of fine horse stock increased, Virginia established a minimum six dollar license fee for stallion owners. Between 1841 and 1861, the stallions registered in Monroe County dropped from twenty-three to eleven. In 1845, Greenbrier County registered fourteen, but in 1861, only twelve. Increased travel by stage and rail most likely decreased the region’s market for horses to sell, but racing and other vices continued.\(^{35}\)

Very early gambling became a component of life at the springs. By 1790, many gamblers, some professional, frequented the Sweet Springs. Robert Bailey, one of the most notorious, rented the courthouse there for a faro table.\(^{36}\) Most visitors noted the prominence and tolerance of gambling at the White Sulphur Springs in spite of its illegality. The proprietors here also rented one house "...to gamblers

\[\text{landings, Acts (1819), 236:238.}\]

\(^{35}\)Virginia Acts 1841, 1:3; License Returns for Greenbrier and Monroe counties.

\(^{36}\)Reniers, Springs of Virginia, 41-43; Caldwell, Tour Through a Part of Virginia, xi, 26; Robert Bailey, The Life and Adventures of Robert Bailey From His Infancy to December 1821, with an Introduction and Epilogue by Frederick T. Newbrough (Richmond: By the author, 1822; reprint Marceline, MO: Walsworth Publishing Company, 1978), 64-69; Between 1796 and 1807, Sweet Springs served as seat for the District Court which was subsequently moved to Lewisburg. Morton, Monroe County, 203.
for faro, roulette, rouge et noir and other desperate games." Salt Sulphur Springs' "House of the Tiger" took its name from the springs term for the infamous faro tables. Once the state legalized billiard tables and bowling alleys, license fees increased greatly. In 1857, the Salt Sulphur Springs paid $113.32 2/3 for ordinary and ten pins licenses. Two years later, they paid $163 for the same with billiards.

Although each of these licenses provided sources of revenue for both residents and the state, the number of licensed public accommodations established the most direct link of the roads and their commerce. Without travellers, there would be little need for this service, particularly in Monroe County. Even these somewhat fragmentary data suggest an overall positive economic trend. Houses of private entertainment, the most common lodging, provided accommodations for fewer than five people in an individual’s home.

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38 Hill, "Journal of a Trip to the White Sulphur Springs," 303; A Lady, A Trip to the Virginia Springs or the Belles and Beaux of 1835, 21; Viator, "Life at the Virginia Springs," Knickerbocker Magazine (February, 1852), 79; Martineau, Society in America, 188; Erskine and Caruthers 1857-1863, 14 June 1857, 18 June 1859.
Sometimes known as private boarding houses, they paid a minimum of two to five dollars for licenses. By 1835, these license fees were based on the value of furnishings or an annual income of less than fifty dollars. Both types of accommodations increased as roads continued to be built. Individuals along roads or in towns who kept guests without a license risked a fine. By the 1850s, eating houses or cook-shops also required licenses. With incomes less than one hundred dollars, they paid a ten dollar license fee.³⁹ On the road between the White and Sweet Springs, Harriet Martineau commented, "The few dwellings we passed were almost all houses of entertainment."⁴⁰

The terms ordinary, tavern, and house of public entertainment were used interchangeably to denote those places established specifically for providing lodging. These licenses required a $150 bond and a testament of good moral character. In 1808, ordinary licenses cost $12.50. Virginia later based fees on furniture value, and then on annual income. Between 1836 and 1850, ordinaries with incomes less than two hundred dollars paid eighteen to twenty

³⁹License Returns for Greenbrier and Monroe; Monroe County Order Book 6, Courthouse, Union, West Virginia, 165, 166, 171; Acts of the General Assembly [1819-1860], i.e., Virginia, Act for the assessment of property, Acts (1853), 7:41; Monroe County Order Book 6, 86, 100. See Table 3 Licensed Accommodations 1806-1861 Greenbrier and Monroe Counties.

⁴⁰Harriet Martineau, Society in America, 189.
dollars. During this period, the Salt Sulphur and Red Sulphur Springs generally paid thirty to thirty-five dollars. Although the fees continued to increase, the springs received a break on the multiple licenses they required and paid substantially reduced fees for ten pin alleys and billiard tables. In 1849, while the Sweet Springs paid sixty dollars for an ordinary license, others paid three dollars to operate a house of private entertainment. By 1860, the White Sulphur Springs paid over seven hundred dollars for a hotel license not including the billiards and bowling alley fees. In addition, these resorts paid property taxes on their real and personal property including horses and slaves.⁴¹

SLAVES AND THE SPRINGS

Slaves were a part of life at the springs. Visitors either brought their own servants or hired one from the springs. One guest reported as many as 150 private servants

⁴¹Virginia, Act to reduce into one, the several acts, for regulating Ordinaries and houses of private entertainment, and for the restraint of tippling-houses, Acts (1819), 240; License Returns for Greenbrier and Monroe; Monroe County Order Book [Six], 11, 18, 86, 100, 165, 166 166, 171; Virginia Act 1841, 1; Virginia, Act to impose taxes for the support of government, Acts (1848), 1; 1860 Financial Report for White Sulphur Springs, Box 162, Philip St. George Cockey Papers, Alderman Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville; Featherstonhaugh, Excursion Through the Slave States, 72. While the 1990 equivalent of the Sweet Springs’ 1849 license fee would be $939.36, the 1860 fee for the White Sulphur would be more than ten thousand dollars.
TABLE 3
LICENSED ACCOMMODATIONS 1806-1861
GREENBRIER AND MONROE COUNTIES

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AUDITOR OF PUBLIC ACCOUNTS
VIRGINIA COUNTY LICENSE RETURNS
VIRGINIA STATE LIBRARY, RICHMOND

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at the White Sulphur Springs. The freedom and lack of control of the slaves, particularly at the White Sulphur Springs, drew the attention of many visitors. Guests who tipped the slaves at the White a minimum of $3.50 per week ensured better food and service. White, black, mulatto, free and slave provided help at the springs. Both the Salt Sulphur Springs and the White Sulphur Springs often used their slaves along with the hotel property and furnishings as security for loans or purchases. 42

Though slaves were often sold by individuals or auctioned off to settle a debt or an estate, no evidence exists of trading at the springs. Travel writers, many opposed to slavery, never hesitated to point out the region's deficiencies, inconveniences, and peculiarities, yet

made no mention of this practice. In 1860, Jeremiah Morton, a slave trader from Albemarle County served as President of the White Sulphur Springs Company, yet the resort hired slaves elsewhere. Hugh Caperton, known as a shrewd businessman with little sympathy for those in his debt, certainly met many of the criteria for a slave trader. His extensive trade in several western counties and ties in Richmond provided both a potential source and market for this valuable asset. One of his partnerships, the Henry Erskine Company, merchants at the White Sulphur Springs, accepted land, slaves, and other personal property as security for debts for many in the area. James Calwell of the White Sulphur Springs borrowed from the Henry Erskine Company. So did Henry Hunter. In 1848, Hunter, who hired out slaves, lost the Greenbrier Bridge Tavern to Erskine. At Caperton’s death in 1844, he owned 106 slaves, an increase of 41 since the 1840 Census. He bequeathed sixty-five of them to his children, and the others were to be sold. This tremendous increase could have resulted from debt assumptions.

43Featherstonhaugh, Excursion Through the Slave States, 69. Mr. Featherstonhaugh claimed three Southern men lodged next door to him were "from the class of slave-dealers and land speculators."

44J. Humphreys to J. Morton 29 November, 11, 18, 25 December 1860, 1 January 1861, Morton-Halsey Papers; Royall, Sketches of History, Life, and Manners, 38; Tadman, Speculators and Slaves, 47-61, 70; Ledger B Erskine & Caruthers 1829 to--, Memo loose page with $825 expenditure for hire of slaves
OPTIMISM, OVEREXTENSION, AND ECONOMIC REPERCUSSIONS

During the 1830s, the overwhelming increase in guests to the springs lured many of the proprietors and other businesses into overextending. In 1838, with guest lists that included President Van Buren, Secretary of War Poinsett, senators, congressmen, governors, judges, and novelists such as Captain Harriet of the French Royal Navy, the building escalated on the eve of the country's worst depression.45 Everyone from politicians to casual observers, from springs' owners to stagecoach companies were deceived by the wealth and increasing numbers of springs visitors and the "thousands of dollars" they left in the mountains.46 Delegate Stuart of Augusta County believed the "Sulphur Water Trade" to be a potential "...source of immense wealth..." to Virginia—one which would rival the state's

from H B Hunter, 1 January 1838, Monroe County Historical Society, Union, West Virginia; Dayton, Greenbrier Pioneers, 89; Greenbrier County Deed Book 10, 454; U.S. Bureau of the Census, The Population Schedules of the Sixth Census of the United States (1840) (Manuscript, Monroe County, Virginia, text-fiche); Caperton had only 65 slaves in the 1840 census. His peers Andrew Beirne and Henry Alexander, had 25 and 21 respectively. Monroe County General Index to Law and Chancery Cases show a large number (60+) of lawsuits during this period between the Caperton and Alexander firm and John B. Lewis, owner of the Sweet Springs.

45Western Enquirer 10, 17, 24, 31 August 1838, Miscellaneous West Virginia Newspapers (Morgantown: West Virginia University, text-fiche); Pencil, The White Sulphur Papers, 40; Taylor, Transportation Revolution, 345.

46Royall, Sketches of History, Life, and Manners, 32.
tobacco, flour, and cotton trades. Between August 1826 and 1837, Stuart noted a tenfold increase in visitors to the White Sulphur Springs alone. 47

Though all the springs borrowed heavily to meet the needs of the swelling crowds, none did so more than James Calwell and his son William of the White Sulphur Springs. Nor did any more skilfully evade their creditors. In 1817, he borrowed from friends to begin the resort and he continued getting loans from wealthy clients and area merchants. His efforts were not in vain. Despite the debts, the perceived and actual value of this resort continued to climb. As early as 1837, guests gossiped about receipts of fifty thousand dollars ($575,585, 1990 dollars) for the season. By 1860, hotel receipts alone surpassed $140,000 ($2,028,600, 1990 dollars). The proprietors had reportedly been offered from $260,000 to $500,000 for the White Sulphur Springs over the years. In 1857, after five years of negotiations the family sold the resort for $600,000 ($8,388,000, 1990 dollars) including $400,000 of amassed debts to the White Sulphur Springs Company. With improve-

47 Substance of the Remarks of Mr. Stuart of Augusta on the Motion of Mr. Segar of Northampton, to Postpone Indefinitely the Consideration of the Report of the Committee of Roads and Internal Navigation, Recommending a General System of Improvement. [Delivered in the House of Delegates on Thursday, the eighth day of February, eighteen hundred and thirty-eight.] (Richmond: Shepherd & Kolben, 1838), 9, 15.
ments it soon valued a million dollars ($14,490,000, 1990 dollars). Only William Erskine and Isaac Caruthers of the Salt Sulphur Springs proved more tenacious and held on to their resort during their lifetimes.

Beginning in 1840, Erskine and Caruthers borrowed money on their springs, slaves, and furnishings to cover debts to Philadelphia merchants (most likely for furnishings) and local lenders. Robert Campbell, a wealthy Monroe County farmer and financier, loaned them more than nineteen thousand dollars. They owed money to Erskine's brother-in-law, Hugh Caperton and his partner Henry Alexander. They settled a loan with William Erskine's brother Henry's estate. Although little expansion occurred after 1840, these proprietors had not fully repaid these debts at their deaths.  

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49 Monroe County Deed Books M, N, O, P, Q, T Courthouse, Union, West Virginia; Monroe County Deed Book M, 372; Monroe County Deed Book N, 441, 447, 477, 614; Monroe County Deed Book O, 120; Monroe County Deed Book P, 48; Monroe County Deed
In his 1854 will, Isaac Caruthers limited the inheritance of his only survivor, his granddaughter Jane Caruthers Robertson, to his share of the profits from the Salt Sulphur Springs. The property would not be sold for twenty years, but rather continue "...operating as a watering place to pay debts of each and together..." Finally in March 1858, Erskine incorporated the Salt Sulphur Springs Company with a thirty thousand dollar ($451,614, 1990 dollars) stock. The company was authorized to "hold 2000 acres, accommodate visitors and others, provide entertainment, sale and lease contracts, improve and cultivate lands, conduct and erect saw and other mills, deal in the transportation and sale of mineral waters." In 1860, Erskine valued his real estate at sixty thousand dollars ($869,400, 1990 dollars) almost three times the value of his personal property. Though he died in debt, he retained the springs.

By 1843, after only a decade, the spring fever had bankrupted William Burke, and he lost the Red Sulphur


Monroe County Will Book 6, Courthouse, Union, West Virginia, 102.

Virginia, Act to incorporate the Salt sulphur springs company, Acts (1858), 424:254; U.S. Bureau of the Census, The Population Schedules of the Eighth Census of the U.S. for 1860 (Manuscript--Monroe County, Virginia, text-fiche). The Salt Sulphur Springs was the last of these springs to incorporate.
Springs. In 1832, after his own cure, he purchased the resort and began an immense building program. James Dunlap and Andrew Beirne, Sr., his partners in the store at the Red Sulphur Springs, and others loaned Burke large sums. When he could not repay these debts, Dunlap assumed the management. In 1843, Andrew Beirne, Sr. purchased the Red Sulphur Springs property for $21,600 ($301,935.60, 1990 dollars) at a bankruptcy sale. In November 1844, despite the fact that William Burke supposedly spent $100,000 upgrading the property, Beirne petitioned the General Assembly and complained of the $102.54 in taxes on the property with a $82,026.54 assessment. The county clerk and Hugh Caperton attested that the purchase price was consistent with the property value and that Beirne purchased it at auction. Over the years, John King, A. Dunlap & Company, and Thomas Campbell all ran the Red Sulphur Springs. By 1860, Campbell valued the resort at only fifteen thousand dollars.\footnote{Monroe County Deed Book K, 299, 360; Monroe County Deed Book M, 148, 151, 153, 156; Monroe County Deed Book O, 31; Monroe County Deed Book N, 59; Reniers, \textit{Springs of Virginia}, 99; Monroe County Order Book 5, 105, 299; Monroe County Order Book 6, 11, 264; License Returns for Greenbrier and Monroe Counties; J. P. Campbell, "Notes by J. P. Campbell, 1847-1925," (May 5, 1915), Ballard Collection, Box 33, West Virginia Regional History Collection, Colson Hall, West Virginia University, Morgantown; Monroe County Legislative Petition 26 November 1844, Virginia State Library and Archives, Richmond; \textit{Population Census of 1860}.} Little evidence today remains of this great resort.
Figure 14. Grey Sulphur Springs, Brick Hotel Building, ca. 1910. Located near Peters Town, West Virginia. Courtesy of the Monroe County Historical Society, Union, West Virginia.
Neither the Grey Sulphur Springs nor the Blue Sulphur Springs survived the ravages of debt or time. These two latecomers located on the fringes of the tour bloomed and faded within a short period of time. As early as 1831, the Grey Sulphur Springs could have been operational. In 1834, John D. Legare of Charleston, South Carolina purchased the property with its brick hotel and cabins and promoted it to his fellow Carolinians. However, between 1838 and 1840, he secured his debts with the springs property and furnishings, and the resort appeared to be dropped from the springs circuit.  

In 1838, the Blue Sulphur Springs Company auctioned off one hundred additional shares of stock to make improvements. By 1852, due to debt the entire resort was scheduled to go on the auction block. Finally in 1859, the company’s seventy-five thousand dollar investment, sold for only forty-four thousand dollars to a Baptist college. This resort could not overcome the effects of the economy and more accessible competition.

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53 Cohen, *Historic Springs*, 189; Giles County Deed Book D, Courthouse, Pearisburg, Virginia, 514; Giles County Deed Book E, Courthouse, Pearisburg, Virginia, 519, 523.

The Sweet Springs, like all the others, overextended after the promising traffic of the 1830s. In 1839, John B. Lewis built one of the most impressive brick buildings in the state as his new hotel. However, the numerous deeds of trust on the property finally caught up with him. He lost the springs which had been in his family since before the Revolution. Until August 1852, when Oliver Beirne purchased the springs for $54,550, various individuals leased the property from the court.\footnote{Kidd, "The History of Sweet Springs, Monroe County, West Virginia," (M. A., West Virginia University, Morgantown, 1958), 8-11; Monroe County Order Book 6, Courthouse, Union, West Virginia, 6, 256, 257; Monroe County Deed Book T, 79-80. Caperton & Alexander sued Lewis, the proprietor of the Sweet Springs, for multiple debts between 1841 and 1843, Monroe County Chancery Order Book A. The 1990 value of the purchase price would be $854,034.80. Beirne sold Caperton and Christopher J. Beirne each a quarter share of the property, and later bought them out.}

Many of the structures of this resort and its nearby neighbor, the Red Sweet Springs, remain standing today. In 1836, as business boomed at the springs, both the Sweet and the Red Sweet Springs incorporated, but this effort proved futile. From as early as 1808 the Red Sweet Springs was frequently closed and in disrepair. In 1845, after numerous owners, John Sampson purchased the property and began renovations. In the 1850s, Mr. C. Bias turned the Red Sweet
Springs into one of the area's most fashionable resorts.\textsuperscript{56} Not just the springs proprietors fell prey to the roller coaster economics of the times and the trade. Newspaper ads of the 1840s reflected the economic conditions in the area. Many proprietors of houses of private entertainment along the routes for springs travellers wanted to sell, some to go west. In 1843, all of the stage equipment of Belden, Walker & Company, including their thirty five stage teams of four horses which ran between Lewisburg and Guyandotte, had to be sold to pay debts and to satisfy a deed of trust.\textsuperscript{57}

\textbf{SIZING UP THE SULPHUR WATER TRADE}

Though the number of guests would vary proportionally from spring to spring, the Salt Sulphur Springs, a mainstay in the springs tour, has been used here as a measure of the typical springs business in this region. These available statistics of the number of guests in specific years can be correlated to the vacillations in the western economy. The


\textsuperscript{57}The Observer and Western Advertiser, 11 April 1844, \textit{(Miscellaneous West Virginia Newspapers} (Morgantown: West Virginia University, text-fiche); Greenbrier County Deed Book 16, Courthouse, Lewisburg, West Virginia, 86, 90.
end of the Panic of 1819, the completion of the James River and Kanawha Turnpike in 1826, and the cholera epidemic of 1832 all contributed to the rapid increase in the number of guests to the springs. Initially, this region tied to a flourishing Southern cotton, rice, and sugar market suffered few effects from the Panic of 1837. However, the 1840 cotton market crash reverberated through the mountains and nearly brought the springs trade to a halt for a few years. This severe four year depression from 1839 to 1843, or perhaps longer in the mountains, resulted in many business failures associated with the springs. Encouraged by the increasing crowds of visitors, the springs and others had overextended. With a few minor setbacks in 1847, 1848, 1854, and 1857 the economy rebounded, grew, and peaked prior to the War. Although the Salt Sulphur Springs did not experience an annual increase in business, the overall growth cannot be denied and remained consistent with that of the nation. However, many in this limited economy never recovered. John B. Lewis lost the Sweet Springs, William Burke the Red Sulphur Springs, and John D. Legare the Grey Sulphur Springs. 58

The economic effects of the springs’ trade can be more easily identified in Monroe than in Greenbrier County. Greenbrier County possessed a major thoroughfare, numerous courts, and their associated traffic. Monroe County had none of these or any significant industry other than the springs’ trade. By 1840, the population, land values, manufacturing, agricultural and livestock production of this much smaller county compared to those of Greenbrier County. In 1840, Monroe County had a population of 8,422 and Greenbrier 8,695. Monroe, however, possessed four more stores with double the value of sales and six more tanneries than Greenbrier. Only five counties in Virginia had larger investments in stores. The increase in the number of licensees, particularly for lodging, reveal the impact of the springs’ trade on this county. By 1850, the 10,204 population of Monroe exceeded the 10,022 of Greenbrier County. The following decade the population of Monroe County increased to 10,757 and Greenbrier to 12,211 inhabitants. \footnote{U.S. Bureau of the Census, \textit{Compendium of the Sixth Census}, 166-176; U.S. Bureau of the Census, \textit{Agriculture of the United States in 1860}, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1864), 218, 222, 243-247; U. S. Bureau of the Census, \textit{Manufactures of the United States in 1860; Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census under the Direction of the Secretary of the Interior} (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1865), 165. Greenbrier County measures 1,022.8 square miles and Monroe County only 473.8 square miles. J. C. Dillon, Jr., ed., \textit{West Virginia Blue Book} (Charleston, WV, 126}
from the latest financial panic when the war came. While the value of real estate and other personal property varied some between the two counties, Greenbrier County’s income of $33,240.32 was nearly triple that of Monroe. By 1861, both counties dropped to approximately half of their previous year’s income.  

These nineteenth century entrepreneurs grasped at the only market, albeit limited, available to them. The reality of the short season subject to the whims and cash flow of the springs’ clientele was overwhelmed by the wealth, stature, and numbers of those taking the tour. Despite the individual consequences, the overall effect was one of prosperity. Although these springs’ proprietors suffered the consequences of a fluctuating market, their extensive roadbuilding efforts secured their place in a rapidly changing and enlarged springs tour.

1977), 684, 736.

Paragraph V of Decree, Defendant’s Method of Determining, Virginia vs. West Virginia, III, 642.
TABLE 4

GUESTS AT THE SALT SULPHUR SPRINGS
1825-1861

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>500</th>
<th>1000</th>
<th>1500</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2500</th>
<th>3000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

number of guests

- Series A

James Reginald Kidd,
"The History of Salt Sulphur Springs"
WV History XV (April 1954), 225-229.
THE SPRINGS’ TURNPIKES IN THE CONTEXT OF VIRGINIA’S INTERNAL IMPROVEMENT PROGRAM

ROADS TO SPRINGS AND OTHER PLACES IN GREENBRIER AND MONROE COUNTIES

The road petitions and authorized turnpikes for Greenbrier and Monroe counties provide overwhelming evidence of the importance of the springs’ routes to the state, county, and local population, particularly in Monroe County. A comparison of these initial proposals with the roads actually built solidifies the importance of these roads and turnpikes to the springs.¹ Only springs’ routes became turnpikes or received state funding in Monroe County. Many others which never achieved corporate status or charged tolls, undoubtedly, carried springs’ traffic. Some were built by the state and others privately. Locally, residents shared the need and some of the benefits, though often not the burden, of roads with the proprietors and merchants of these springs. With no major thoroughfare of its own, Monroe County concentrated its roadbuilding efforts on diverting

¹Compare Table 5 Authorized Turnpikes Never Incorporated in Greenbrier and Monroe with Table 6 Turnpike Locations in Greenbrier and Monroe Counties.

129
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TURNPIKE</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>CAPITAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lynchburg &amp; Lewisburg Tpk.</td>
<td>1812</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union Tpk.</td>
<td>1818</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt &amp; Red Sulphur Springs Tpk.</td>
<td>1834</td>
<td>$10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spring Creek Tpk. (Spring Creek to Williamsburg--Greenbrier Co.)</td>
<td>1834</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newbern &amp; Red Sulphur Springs Tpk.</td>
<td>1836</td>
<td>$20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweet Springs &amp; Blue Sulphur Springs Tpk.</td>
<td>1838</td>
<td>$15,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian Draft Tpk.</td>
<td>1838</td>
<td>$ 7,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New River &amp; Salt Sulphur Springs Tpk.</td>
<td>1841</td>
<td>$12,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gap Hills &amp; Price’s Mt. Tpk.</td>
<td>1841</td>
<td>$10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter’s Mt. Tpk. (Red Sulphur over Peters Mt. to the Cumberland Gap &amp; Price’s Mt. Tpk. between Lybrook’s and Snidow’s)</td>
<td>1841</td>
<td>$12,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James River &amp; Sweet Springs Tpk. (Allegany Co. from White &amp; Sweet Tpk. to Shirkey’s Mill 17 mi. below Pattonsburg--near Buchanan)</td>
<td>1842</td>
<td>$15,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fayette &amp; Blue Sulphur Springs Tpk.</td>
<td>1851</td>
<td>$15,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logan, Raleigh, &amp; Monroe Tpk. hoped to extend this road from the Fayette C. H. to Raleigh C. H.</td>
<td>1852</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Centreville &amp; Peters Mt. Tpk. (Proposed to connect Centreville with the Cumberland Gap &amp; Price’s Mt. Tpk. between Snidow’s and Lybrook’s.</td>
<td>1853</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lewisburg &amp; Organ Cave Tpk.</td>
<td>1858</td>
<td>$ 7,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicholas &amp; Greenbrier Tpk. (Proposed to connect Rearing Creek (Gbr. Co. with Richwood--Nicholas Co.)</td>
<td>1852</td>
<td>$10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Castle &amp; Gap Mills Tpk.</td>
<td>1853</td>
<td>$12,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kate’s Mt. Tpk.</td>
<td>1856</td>
<td>$12,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oakland &amp; Lewisburg Tpk.</td>
<td>1856</td>
<td>$ 5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Centreville &amp; Hans Creek Tpk. (Proposed to connect Centreville with the Hans Creek--Red Sulphur Springs Rd.)</td>
<td>1856</td>
<td>$ 1,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Sulphur Springs &amp; Frankfort Tpk. (Proposed to connect the springs with the Harlin’s Sotom to Lewisburg Rd. around Frankfort)</td>
<td>1858</td>
<td>$ 9,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union and Cross Roads Turnpike (Proposed to connect Union with the Red and Blue Sulphur Springs Tpk. &amp; mi. west of the Crossroads)</td>
<td>1860</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newport &amp; Gap Mills Turnpike</td>
<td>1861</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

# TABLE 6

## TURNPIKE LOCATIONS IN GREENBRIER AND MONROE COUNTIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TURNPIKE</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>LOCATION</th>
<th>LENGTH</th>
<th>CAPITAL</th>
<th>STATE DOLLARS SPENT IN VA</th>
<th>STATE DOLLARS SPENT IN WV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White Sulphur Springs</td>
<td>1831</td>
<td>Gur. 50, 50/1, VA 311, Wv 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12,500</td>
<td>4,950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lewisburg &amp; Salt Springs</td>
<td>1834</td>
<td>Gur. 31, 32 to US 30</td>
<td>15.25 mi.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White &amp; Salt Sulphur Springs</td>
<td>1834</td>
<td>From US 60, Wv 12, US 219</td>
<td>26.5 mi.</td>
<td></td>
<td>18,000</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red &amp; Blue Sulphur Springs</td>
<td>1836</td>
<td>Mon. 23, WV, 122, Nov. 7, 7/1, 12/3, 11/1, Wv 3, 12, Gur. 23</td>
<td>32.75 mi.</td>
<td></td>
<td>22,000</td>
<td>8,356.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweet Springs and Price's Mountain</td>
<td>1836</td>
<td>Route unknown, possibly part of VA 311</td>
<td>12 mi.</td>
<td></td>
<td>18,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giles, Fayette &amp; Kanawha</td>
<td>1837</td>
<td>Pearisburg, VA to Peters-town, WV 12, Mon 27, Sus 31, 7 to Fayetteville, WV</td>
<td>115.19 mi. (118)</td>
<td></td>
<td>70,000+</td>
<td>1,870.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Springs &amp; Salt Sulphur Springs</td>
<td>1840</td>
<td>Wv 3, Mon 3/24, US 219, unsure of location to Kanawha Draft</td>
<td>29 mi.</td>
<td></td>
<td>17,000</td>
<td>10,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Princeton and Red Sulphur Springs</td>
<td>1850</td>
<td>From WV 12, Mon 24, 26/3, Sum 23/6, 26/1, 28, Mon 10, 9, WV 26</td>
<td>28 mi.</td>
<td></td>
<td>4,200</td>
<td>4,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mt. Lake &amp; Salt Sulphur Springs</td>
<td>1856</td>
<td>Bc 219, Mon. 219/10, 29/1, 29, 29/2, 7, Giles 683</td>
<td>8 mi. (4b)</td>
<td></td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>4,200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Reports to the Board of Public Works; Second Auditors Report, Doc No XVII Fourteenth Biennial and Forty-Eight Report of the Board of Public Works to the General Assembly of Virginia with the Accompanying Docs. 1859, n.p.; Gary Scott, West Virginia Department of Transportation. County routes abbreviated as Greenbrier (Gur.), Monroe (Mon.), Summers (Sum.), Mercer (Mer.).
traffic to its renowned springs. Greenbrier County did not share this need. The James River and Kanawha Turnpike, the numerous courts in Lewisburg, and the famed White Sulphur Springs affected both the number and the focus of the improvement attempts here. These factors allowed for a more diverse market and an important, but less defined springs connection.

The turnpikes built in Greenbrier and Monroe counties almost exclusively became trade routes to the springs. These turnpikes improved roads to the region's most important commercial centers other than Lewisburg. While neither the Board of Public Works nor the Principal Engineer ever cited these turnpikes as particularly important, they survived a tempestuous economy and increased the potential market for those with an entrepreneurial spirit.\(^2\)

The usefulness of the turnpikes to the springs to all residents is difficult to determine. While these turnpikes opened the region and increased markets, these toll roads were not without disadvantages. Though public, as were all of Virginia's roads, these turnpikes primarily serviced an elite group of travellers.\(^3\) While hundreds signed

\(^2\)According to Rice, ("Internal Improvements," 291)"...the roads to the springs were operated primarily to satisfy local demands and particular groups."

\(^3\)Ibid., 42-43.
petitions in favor of their construction, no doubt many could not afford the convenience themselves. The tolls most likely restricted the patronage of these roads to a limited clientele. Atypically, the turnpikes here were built to facilitate passengers rather than freight. With toll gates every five or ten miles on an interconnecting network of turnpikes, the increased cost of doing business for many like teamsters and drovers could have been prohibitive had the courts upheld fines for toll evaders. Some turnpikes, like the Lewisburg and Blue Sulphur Springs, permitted exemptions for produce deliveries to the spas.

While both the counties and the state supported these roadbuilding efforts, representation at both levels generally consisted of the same entrepreneurs who initiated the

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5Though the 7 February 1817 Virginia Turnpike Act permitted the charging of tolls once five miles had been completed; the act of incorporation for the Red and Blue Sulphur Springs Turnpike specified toll gates no closer than ten miles apart. This was the typical spacing for gates on the springs’ turnpikes. Throughout the annual reports, the laxity of county courts in enforcing the law against toll evaders for turnpikes and bridges is reported. Virginia Acts 1819, 234:218; Virginia Acts 1836, 142:215. According to Taylor, turnpikes failed because they did not make land transportation profitable over long distances. Taylor, *Transportation Revolution*, 27.

6Minutes from Blue Sulphur Springs Turnpike Company Board of Directors Meeting, 1 July 1836, DS, Caldwell Collection.
roads. Besides the region's influential representatives in the General Assembly, John Floyd closely tied to the Sweet Springs served as President of the Board of Public Works during part of this period. However, overburdened local residents provided little resistance to any ventures which lightened their road building and maintenance responsibilities.

In Greenbrier County, the roads built through appropriation appeared to have no direct link to the springs, but indirectly provided additional access to the area. In 1811, the state expended three hundred dollars for a road along the Greenbrier River to the New River and up Madams Creek to the White Oak Lick. Though not resorts at the time, the Pence and Barger Springs could have been accessed from this route.  

State funds in Greenbrier County were used almost exclusively to provide connectors for the James River and Kanawha Turnpike. Additionally, the majority of these roads originated or terminated at Lewisburg, the county seat, stagecoach hub, and western court center. The Huntersville and Lewisburg Turnpike, a feeder road for the James River and Kanawha Turnpike, received the largest state appropriation in Greenbrier County, other than the main artery

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7 State Auditor's Report E., Doc. No. 32, 5. Much of this route would have been through present day Summers County.
itself. In 1853, the state appropriated twenty thousand dollars for the Huntersville and Lewisburg Turnpike and used most of that to connect Huntersville and Marlin's Bottom (Marlinton) in Pocahontas County. The actual completed mileage and expenditures on the Huntersville and Lewisburg Turnpike within Greenbrier County is not known. Although $12,615.09 was spent on a road between Marlin's Bottom and Lewisburg, apparently this amount proved insufficient as the Oakland and Lewisburg Turnpike Company proposed to complete the route. John W. Dunn, James Withrow, Dr. Renick, Hiram Scott, John Stuart, A. W. and John Arbuckle were authorized to receive subscriptions.⁸

During the late 1850s, the state authorized three other turnpikes to connect with the Lewisburg and Marlin's Bottom Road. The Lewisburg and Organ Cave and Lewisburg and Union Turnpikes shared the same specifications of this road and extended it southward. John Withrow, John W. Dunn, Lewis S. Craig, Archer Edgar, Jessee Levisy, and James Jackson were authorized to open the books for the Lewisburg and Organ

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⁸ Joint Exhibit C-1, Virginia vs West Virginia, vol. III, 374; Virginia, Act to incorporate the Lewisburg and Organ cave turnpike company, Acts (1858), 218:143. These roads appeared to be the general routes of stages. All of these are prominent businessmen in the area. John W. Dunn was a brick maker and brick mason who built the courthouse and most of the better homes in the Lewisburg area for prominent families. James Withrow was a tanner. Dayton, Greenbrier Pioneers, 48, 97, 169, 186, 200, 202, 238, 323, 326, 236, 328, 353-354, 362.
Cave Turnpike. The White Sulphur Springs and Frankford Turnpike would have connected this resort with the Lewisburg and Marlin's Bottom Road via the Free Bridge at Anthony. In 1859, a common road existed over this route. Prior to the Civil War none of these four roads incorporated.  

Two other authorized turnpikes in Greenbrier County seemed to have little potential to benefit the county springs. These turnpikes never incorporated, and may or may not have been built as county roads. The Spring Creek Turnpike Company proposed to link the Warm Springs with the Kanawha Road via Huntersville, Frankford, Spring Creek, and Williamsburg. In 1835, this company petitioned the General Assembly to connect Huntersville with Warm Springs to provide them with "eastern markets." At least one representative had campaigned on this promise and angered a voter when he had not "...sque(as)ed in a small appropriation for the road...". The Nicholas and Greenbrier Turnpike would  

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8Williams, Enrolled Bills, 242, 492; Joint Exhibit C-1, Virginia vs West Virginia, 371-377; The Böyé--Buchholtz Map of Virginia does not show these roads. The Organ Cave and Union Turnpike would have competed with the White and Salt Sulphur Springs Turnpike. The Creighs and Edgars were prominent mercantile and civic minded families from Greenbrier's beginning. Dayton, Greenbrier Pioneers, 128-133, 318-319. The White Sulphur Springs and Frankford Turnpike was the only one identified with Calwell family members as commissioners of subscription.  

9Virginia, Act incorporating the Spring creek turnpike company, Acts (1835), 117:134; Virginia, Act to amend an act incorporating the Spring creek turnpike company, Acts (1836)
have linked the Roaring Creek area with Richwood on the Nicholas and Pocahontas Road.\textsuperscript{11}

\textbf{GREENBRIER AND MONROE COUNTIES' SLICE OF VIRGINIA'S INTERNAL IMPROVEMENT PIE}

Unlike most of the rest of western Virginia, Greenbrier and Monroe counties seemed inextricably linked to eastern Virginia. A comparison of these very specific turnpikes within the state and overall within their own counties illuminate Virginia's internal improvement policy in one western locale. The Virginia General Assembly dominated by eastern delegates until 1850, had ample reason to favor western development. The springs provided an elite playground for the affluent, particularly from eastern Virginia and the South. Much of the region shared the agrarian, slaveholding lifestyle and ideals of Eastern Virginia and the South. The region proved a valuable asset to Richmond markets and tax revenues. Finally, any monies spent in this interior region would benefit no other state's trade.\textsuperscript{12}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{11}Virginia, Act to incorporate the Nicholas and Greenbrier turnpike company, \textit{Acts} (1858), 219:143.}\n
\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{12}Defendant's Exhibit E-2, \textit{Virginia vs. West Virginia}, III, 672D; Statement C, \textit{Virginia vs. West Virginia}, III, 1016; Richard Orr Curry, \textit{A House Divided: A Study of Statehood}.
Yet, this area with its strong ties to Richmond and the South did not rate the best roads or biggest expenditures.

When it came to turnpike building, Greenbrier and Monroe counties fared comparably to the other poor mountainous regions of Virginia. Virginia neither favored nor ignored their schemes. As long as they could fill their quota of private subscriptions, the state provided their share and more. Sometimes, here like the rest of the western region, the General Assembly responded to pleas for roads in areas too poor and too sparsely populated to build their own roads. In Monroe County, even these led to the springs.\textsuperscript{13}

In 1842 Crozet noted, "Among the improvements lately constructed, turnpikes hold a large proportion, not as to expenditures, but as regards public interests; their benefits in developing the resources of the western part of Virginia are rapidly increasing."\textsuperscript{14} Greenbrier and Monroe


\textsuperscript{13}Petition requesting the 1834-35 law regarding road repairs be repealed for their county, Monroe County Legislative Petitions, Virginia State Library and Archives, Richmond. 1 February 1839 Monroe County Petition, Virginia State Library and Archives, Richmond.

\textsuperscript{14}\textit{Twenty Seventh Annual Report}, 570.
counties did not build turnpikes as early as the rest of Virginia, nor even present day West Virginia. Neither private shareholders nor the state invested large sums in the few turnpikes in this region. No roads appeared to be macadamized or planked here. However, these counties did have access to three of the state’s major throughfares: the James River and Kanawha Turnpike, the Cumberland Gap and Price’s Mountain Turnpike, and the Southwest Turnpike. While they had no railroad to call their own, their turnpikes tapped travellers on the Virginia and Tennessee. Although not all proposed companies sold enough stock to incorporate, most seemed to be built as common roads. In spite of their physical and financial condition, they remained in operation prior to the Civil War and provided the basis for much of the present day road system.

While the disparity between East and West for state expenditures for all internal improvements was great, the disparity for turnpikes alone was small. Only western Virginia received large major thoroughfares at state expense. Eastern Virginia’s capital base, topography, and water and rail transportation systems made these unneces-

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15 Between 1850 and 1853, Virginia authorized ten Plank Road Companies in eastern Virginia and committed the state to over $500,000 for these roads. Compiled from the Annual Reports and the Second Auditor’s Report, Doc No XVII Reports, Returns, and Other Documents, Relating to Joint Stock Companies, Other Than Rail Roads, September 30, 1859, n.p.
sary. Prior to the Civil War no navigation companies, bridge companies, canals, or railroads existed in Greenbrier or Monroe counties.\textsuperscript{16} While some have attributed this disparity of internal improvements to political alliances and Eastern greed, this region, like the rest of western Virginia was retarded more by economic ups and downs than anything else.\textsuperscript{17}

When the economy plunged, the state and local investors alike, had a difficult time meeting commitments. Just as the internal improvement movement in Virginia accelerated, 

\textsuperscript{16}While Virginia subscribed $803,555.83 and appropriated $1,579,341.81 in present day (West) Virginia, present day Virginia received $1,897,747.22 in subscriptions and $791,888.64 in appropriations for turnpikes and $247,289.33 on shared roads. Joint Exhibit C-1, \textit{Virginia vs. West Virginia}, III, 371-379; Defense Exhibit G-1, \textit{Virginia vs. West Virginia}, III, n.p.; Defendant's Exhibit, \textit{Virginia vs. West Virginia}, III, 1959.

\textsuperscript{17}All the explanations for the disparity in expenditures East and West have an element of truth. However, the national economy, the one factor totally out of everyone's control at both the state and local level outweighed the rest. McGregor, \textit{The Disruption of Virginia}, 75, 155; Shanks, \textit{Secession Movement}, 8; Phillip Rice summed Virginia's policy as a conflict which "tried to meet the needs of the West and the wants of the East." He emphasized the "lack of capital rather than unfavorable legislation..." and the belief that eastern Virginia even more than western Virginia desired these improvements. Rice, "Internal Improvements in Virginia, 1775-1860," 37, 47, 115. Charles Ambler attributed the problem to the West's shortage of capital, hard times, politics, and rivalry in \textit{Sectionalism in Virginia From 1776 to 1861} (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1910), 181, 241, 257-260; Roberts stressed the effects of the depression years following 1837 on the internal improvements of Virginia in "The Roads of Virginia, 1607-1840," 97-98, 104.
financial panic stopped development. Most of the development of turnpikes and springs in Monroe and Greenbrier counties occurred during the 1830s, the age of speculation. Over the next twenty years, economic crises came at critical moments in the formation of the joint stock turnpike companies in these two counties, and some fell prey to the times.\textsuperscript{18} While the turnpike companies of Greenbrier and Monroe struggled to survive, so did those throughout the rest of the state. After the economy's nosedive in 1839, many turnpikes succumbed. Until prosperity returned around 1845, few roads were built in Virginia.\textsuperscript{19} In 1839, even the Second Auditor expressed concern the state would be embarrassed "...if required to come up with all authorized... expenditures."\textsuperscript{20}

It is more probable, however, that the pecuniary embarrassments of the country may, by paralyzing the resources of our wealthy citizens, check the spirit of enterprise, and prevent them from embarking in new schemes of improvement, and that of consequence the contributions of the state, being based not only upon individual subscriptions but upon the actual payment of one fourth of the amount subscribed in each case, will therefore be

\textsuperscript{18}Viator, "A Trip to the Virginia Springs," \textit{Knickerbocker Magazine} (August 1852), 141.

\textsuperscript{19}According to Taylor, ('Transportation Revolution, 341-345) the severe Depression from 1839 to 1843 was worse on western farmers than the immediate effects of the Panic.

\textsuperscript{20}Twenty fourth and Twenty fifth Annual Reports, 5
comparatively small.\textsuperscript{21}

After this debacle, Crozet believed it even more important for Virginia "to control her own commerce."\textsuperscript{22} Through the early 1840s, travel and business remained depressed due to "the deranged state of the currency."\textsuperscript{22} Few tolls resulted in small to no dividends. The Second Auditor recommended against issuing additional stock. However, the reduced prices and labor provided an incentive to continue construction on the Staunton and Parkersburg Turnpike.\textsuperscript{24}

From the late 1840s to the early 1850s, Virginians built many roads, but not in Greenbrier and Monroe counties. During these two decades, investors here seemed much more reluctant, and probably unable, to finance road schemes. When prosperity returned in the early 1850s, more turnpikes were authorized to incorporate in Virginia than at any other

\textsuperscript{21}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{22}Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth Annual Reports, 23. Crozet promoted an organized network of turnpikes that interconnected, particularly to direct western trade to Richmond. Prior to the turnpike network, John Caldwell described Virginia's road system as "...puzzled in mazes and perplexed in errors..." Caldwell, Tour Through Part of Virginia, 41.

\textsuperscript{23}Twenty-sixth Annual Report, 40.

time. The impetus for the organization and construction of most of these came from railroads. Few turnpikes in Greenbrier or Monroe counties incorporated at this time.²⁵

Again in the late 1850s, the economy wreaked havoc on internal improvement plans. The "financial hard time the past few years" made the collection of subscriptions difficult for the Morgan and Frederick Turnpike Company.²⁶ The Warrenton and Rappahannock Turnpike reported small tolls due to "no company at the Fauquier Springs."²⁷ Though the General Assembly authorized many turnpikes for Greenbrier and Monroe counties throughout this decade, only two incorporated and two more were built at state expense. During this time, the Mountain Lake and Salt Sulphur Springs Turnpike struggled towards completion.

The turnpikes in Greenbrier and Monroe did not suffer from obsolescence as did many other roads in the state, particularly those to other natural attractions. The scarcity of capital and investors prevented redundancy along the same route. Railroads, canals, other turnpikes, or a

²⁵See Chart—Authorized Turnpikes Which Never Incorporat-ed: Annual Reports of Joint Stock Companies and Virginia vs. West Virginia do not include any reports or state expenditures for a large percentage of those authorized to incorporate.

²⁶Doc. No. XVII Reports, Returns, and Other Documents, Relating to Joint Stock Companies, Other Than Rail Roads, September 30, 1859, 343.

²⁷Ibid., 461.
change in stage routes often caused diminished travel on
turnpikes. This did not happen directly to any roads in
Greenbrier or Monroe. Two turnpikes in the eastern panhan-
dle of present day West Virginia suffered from the competi-
tion from railroads. The Patterson Creek Valley and Moore-
field and Alleghany Turnpikes reduced each other’s tolls.
In eastern Virginia seven turnpikes suffered from the
railroad and at least five from other competitors. Between
1853 and 1859, the Manassas Gap Railroad reduced the Valley
Turnpike’s annual tolls by more than fourteen thousand
dollars. After the Warm Springs and Harrisonburg Turnpike
displaced the Augusta Springs Turnpike, this road lost
traffic to the Central Railroad. While eager to join the
ranks serviced by rail, Monroe and Greenbrier counties knew
neither the benefits nor price of these improvements. 28

28 Twenty fourth and Twenty fifth Annual Reports, 342, 13;
Twenty Ninth Annual Report, 573, 305; Doc. No. 16, Second
Auditor’s Report, The Thirty-Second and Thirty-Third Annual
Reports, 85; [Doc. No. XVIII] Thirty-Seventh Annual Report,
54, 13; Doc. XVII Annual Reports of Internal Improvement
Companies to the Board of Public Works, Year Ending Septerm
30, 1854, 92; Reports, Returns, and Other Documents, relating
to Joint Stock Companies, Other than Railroads, Sept. 30,
1857, 28, 116, 176; Doc. No XVII Year Ending Sept 30, 1858
Reports, Returns, and Other Documents Relating to Joint Stock
Companies, other Than Railroads Sept 30, 1858, 604, 442, 139,
520; Doc No XVII Reports, Returns and Other Documents,
Relating to Joint Stock Companies, Other Than Rail Roads
September 30, 1859, 451; Doc No XVII Annual Report of Internal
Improvement Companies to the Board of Public Works Year Ending
TOLLS, TARIFFS, AND DIVIDENDS

By 1860, business boomed again at Virginia’s springs and turnpike tolls increased. The Howardville and Rockfish Gap Turnpike did not complain of their tolls that year. Guests and farmers with produce had to pass over part of their turnpike on their way to the popular Rockbridge Alum and the Goshen Depot. This same year dividends on the White and Salt Sulphur Springs Turnpike rebounded and more than doubled. 23

Of the eleven joint stock turnpike companies which earned dividends for their shareholders in (West) Virginia, Greenbrier and Monroe claimed the two most productive. Although not the earliest to pay dividends, the White and Salt Sulphur Springs Turnpike paid most consistently and for the longest time. This turnpike provided a good return on the money invested. The returns reflected the economic conditions, the "deleterious effect of weather" on the roads and travel, and competition. While the Sweet and Salt Sulphur Springs Turnpike began relatively late, except the major turnpikes, this toll road paid the second largest cumulative dividends in (West) Virginia. Even so the turnpikes built in western Virginia earned only a

23Doc. No. XVII Annual Report of Internal Improvement Companies to the Board of Public Works Year Ending Sept 30, 1860, 209; See Table 1 White and Salt Sulphur Springs Turnpike Company Dividends 1838-1860.
Table 7
White and Salt Sulphur Springs
Turnpike Company Dividends 1838-1860

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Dividends</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1838</td>
<td>$100</td>
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<tr>
<td>1840</td>
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<td>$200</td>
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<td>1848</td>
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<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>$100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>$500</td>
</tr>
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Defendant's Exhibit G-1
Virginia v. West Virginia, III.
Table 8
Sweet and Salt Sulphur Springs
Turnpike Company Dividends 1855-1859

\[ \text{Series A} \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Dividends</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>$600</td>
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<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>$700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859</td>
<td>$400</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Defendant's Exhibit G-1
Virginia v. West Virginia, Ill.

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### TABLE 9

**DIVIDENDS FROM STOCK IN (WEST) VIRGINIA TURNEPIKES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TURNPIKE OR ROAD</th>
<th>INVESTMENT</th>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>DIVIDEND</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(A) Grave Ck. &amp; Pa. Line Rd.</td>
<td>$1,900</td>
<td>1860</td>
<td>$412.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(B) Holiday's Cove</td>
<td>$4,733.33</td>
<td>1848-18-60*</td>
<td>715.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C) Martinsburg &amp; Potomac Tpk.</td>
<td>$15,290.00</td>
<td>1853-18-60*</td>
<td>1,676.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(D) Wellsburg &amp; Washington Tpk.</td>
<td>$7,071.01</td>
<td>1837-1838</td>
<td>330.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(E) Hillsborough &amp; Harper S Ferry Tpk.*</td>
<td>$6,000.00</td>
<td>1855</td>
<td>240.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(F) Martinsburg &amp; Winchester Tpk.*</td>
<td>$27,000.00</td>
<td>1859-1860</td>
<td>1,208.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(G) N. Frederick Tpk.*</td>
<td>$11,325.00</td>
<td>1851</td>
<td>453.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(H) New Ck. &amp; Hardy Co. Tpk.</td>
<td>$5,431.24</td>
<td>1857</td>
<td>271.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(I) Shepherdstown &amp; Smithfield Tpk.</td>
<td>$18,575.00</td>
<td>1832-1839</td>
<td>1,655.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(J) Sweet &amp; Salt Sulphur Springs Tpk.</td>
<td>$10,104.00</td>
<td>1855-1859</td>
<td>2,459.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(K) White &amp; Salt Sulphur Springs Tpk.</td>
<td>$4,000.00</td>
<td>1838-1860*</td>
<td>5,620.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTAL DIVIDENDS FROM TURNPIKES WHOLLY IN WV** $12,600.54
**TOTAL DIVIDENDS FROM SHARED TURNPIKES** $1,901.27
**TOTAL DIVIDENDS FROM MONROE & GREENBRIER** $7,479.52
**GRAND TOTAL DIVIDENDS FOR WV TURNPIKES** $14,501.81

*Turnpikes located in both states today. West Virginia's share of the dividend calculated from their share of the road. **Not inclusive, years varied, but none of these received dividends in 1855. Omitted were the major turnpikes, the James River and Kanawha, the Northwestern, and the Staunton and Parkersburg turnpikes. This list includes only tolls received by incorporated turnpike companies in which the state had an interest. Source, Defendant's Exhibit G-1, Virginia v. West Virginia, Ill; Virginia v. West Virginia, Ill, 805.
TABLE 10

(West) Virginia Turnpikes
Dividends 1832-1860

F $1208.27   E $240
G $453       D $390.26
H $1655.41   C $1676
I $2459.62   B $715.5
A $412.5
J $5020

*Shared by both present day Virginia and West Virginia. See Corresponding Chart for Turnpike Names. Source: Defendant's Exhibit G-1, Virginia vs. West Virginia.
fraction of those in eastern Virginia. The decrease in
tolls over a six year period on the Valley Turnpike alone
amounted to more than the total dividends received on all of
the joint stock turnpikes in western Virginia.\footnote{Doc No XVII Fourth Biennial and Forty-First Annual
Report, 451; See Tables 9 and 10 Dividends from Stock in
(West) Virginia Turnpikes.}

Paradoxically, this region of poor subsistence farmers,
significantly increased state coffers through license and
tax revenues. In 1860, of all the counties in present day
West Virginia, Greenbrier and Monroe ranked fourth and
eighth, respectively, in revenue contributions. The more
industrial Ohio County, and Jefferson and Berkeley in the
eastern panhandle contributed most.\footnote{Statement C, Virginia vs West Virginia, vol. I & II,
1015-1017.}

\textbf{WITHIN WESTERN VIRGINIA'S NETWORK OF ROADS}

The turnpikes to the springs of Greenbrier and Monroe
became part of a tremendous network of roads which funneled
people to the resorts from the larger state arteries and
connected with a wide variety of springs and other natural
attractions. Basically, turnpikes here led specifically to
the springs. The roadbuilding efforts in this region were
simultaneously cooperative and competitive. While entrepre-
neurs developed new and shorter routes to accommodate their
private interests and changing travel patterns, they invested in turnpikes to benefit other springs, and indirectly themselves. These developers often collaborated with businessmen in Alleghany, Botetourt, and Giles counties. Tourists to this chic nineteenth century resortland invariably visited multiple springs.\(^{32}\)

The entrepreneurs of Greenbrier and Monroe counties grasped and developed the most lucrative industry available to them—tourism. The wild and natural beauty of these mountain retreats captivated the romantic nineteenth century traveller. A number of them published detailed accounts of their trips to the springs and this region of Virginia. Numerous transient authors and artists profited from their portrayals of Virginia’s resorts and attractions. Though The Greenbrier at White Sulphur Springs alone has survived and thrived as a major resort of international fame, no major industrial development has replaced the famed tour.\(^{33}\)

\(^{32}\)Phillip Lybrook, hotel proprietor at the base of Salt Pond Lake Mountain and William Snidow ferry operator over the New River in Giles County, worked with businessmen at the Red Sulphur Springs and William Erskine at the Salt Sulphur Springs to link their enterprises by way of the Cumberland Gap and Price’s Mountain Turnpike. Petition to link Centerville with this road between the ferry and Lybrook’s, Monroe County Legislative Petition, 30 January 1852, Virginia State Library and Archives, Richmond.

\(^{33}\)For the best idea of the appearance of Virginia’s popular natural attractions during the 1850s, see Edward Beyer’s *Album of Virginia or Illustration of the Old Dominion* (reprint Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1980). Though known
Although only two of the six joint stock turnpikes built in Greenbrier or Monroe counties prospered, none were sold or abandoned. While other areas of the state often abandoned profitless ventures, even the problematic turnpikes here survived. As the most important roads in the counties, they were neither sold nor displaced. The durability of these small, seasonal, earthen ventures emphasized the integral part they played in the local economies. In other parts of present day West Virginia, the state purchased the Berryville and Charlestown Turnpike and foreclosed on the Fishing Creek, Morgantown, and Smithfield Turnpike then completed it to salvage their initial investment. The Ravenswood and Reedy Creek, the Cranberry Summit and Brandonville, and parts of the Kingwood and West Union turnpike were also sold. In Virginia, the state purchased the Augusta Springs Turnpike and the Junction Valley Turnpike between Staunton and Buchanan, but sold the Natural Bridge Turnpike.\textsuperscript{34} 

\textsuperscript{34}Fortieth Annual Report, xvii; [Doc. No. XVIII] Thirty-Sixth Annual Report, 10; Plaintiff's General Exhibit-1, Virginia vs. West Virginia, vol. III, 947; Reports, Returns, and Other Documents, relating to Joint Stock Companies, Other than Rail Roads, Sept 30, 1858, 191; Doc. No. XVII Thirty-Eighth Annual Report, 741; Twenty fourth and Twenty fifth Annual Reports, 13; Fortieth Annual Report, xvii; Twenty Seventh Annual Report, 357.
When shareholders lost interest in profitless roads, ran out of funds, or could not keep the roads in repair, counties normally assumed their maintenance. The president of the Board of Public Works recommended this as a solution for a number of incomplete, financially distressed, and abandoned roads to save the state's investment. Shareholders lost interest in the Wellsburg and Washington Turnpike when it became unprofitable. The Williamsport Turnpike was abandoned and needed to be taken over by the county. Between 1858 and 1861 due to insufficient tolls or finances, diminished travel, or condition a number of roads were abandoned, sold, or given to the counties. Eight roads in northern West Virginia and two of Virginia's toll roads to natural attractions needed to be maintained by the county. Neither the Buchanan and Bedford Turnpike with a gate at the Peaks of Otter or the Hot Springs and Covington Turnpike had the funds to operate. At the same time four plank roads and four other Virginia roads suffered the same fate. While this did not happen to any of Greenbrier and Monroe's joint stock companies, the counties probably built or maintained some of the roads that never managed to incorporate.35

35Fourth Biennial and Forty-First Report of the Board of Public Works, xix, xiv, 53, 361; Doc No XVII Year Ending Sept 30, 1858 Reports, Returns, and Other Documents Relating to Joint Stock companies, other Than Railroads Sept 30, 1858, 62, 113, 339, 503; Doc No. XVII Reports, Returns, and Other Docs, Relative to Joint Stock companies, Other Than Rail Roads.
Prior to the Civil War, none of Greenbrier and Monroe's roads had been macadamized. However, by 1838, almost all of the Smithfield, Charlestown, and Harper's Ferry Turnpike had been macadamized and parts of the Northwestern, Staunton and Parkersburg, Weston and Gauley Bridge, Cross Roads and Summit Point, and Kingwood and West Union turnpikes. Many of eastern Virginia's roads were macadam.36

Though the Red and Blue Sulphur Springs developed a reputation for mismanagement, numerous turnpikes in (West) Virginia reported problems. The Clarksburg and Phillippi Turnpike Company based their 1858 Annual Report on their 1852 Report because they had no receipts from their Treasurer. Even worse, the treasurer and a tollkeeper for the Cross Roads and Summit Point Turnpike and the Dunkard Creek Turnpike, respectively, fled with the funds. The Red and Blue Sulphur Springs Turnpike Company never sold all of their stock and had a difficult time collecting subscriptions. So did the Fish Creek Turnpike Company who ran their business "in a loose manner." When the company sued for


outstanding subscriptions, some denied taking subscriptions and others contended "...they had subscribed conditionally."  

Turnpikes throughout western Virginia shared many of the same problems with weather, labor shortages, topography, lack of capital, poor management, and engineering and construction deficiencies. All of these contributed to maintenance difficulties. Companies here, as elsewhere, consistently sacrificed preferred routes for shorter and steeper ones, and cut corners with construction and maintenance. However, the shortcomings of these turnpikes were more normal than unique. According to Hunter, despite the disdain for Virginia roads, they were of average construction. Weather was responsible for a large number of problems for turnpike shareholders. Bad weather often caused almost impassable roads resulting in expensive repairs, bridge washouts, flooding, and ruts. Inclement weather also resulted in low turnouts to natural attractions.

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37Doc No XVII Year Ending Sept 30, 1858 Reports, Returns, and Other Documents Relating to Joint Stock Companies, other Than Railroads Sept 30, 1858, 79; Doc No XVII Reports, Returns and Other Documents, Relating to Joint Stock Companies, Other than Rail Roads September 30, 1859, 121, 145, 147; Twenty Seventh Annual Report, 405-406; Twenty-eighth Annual Report, 44-45; Twenty Ninth Annual Report, 308; The Thirtieth & Thirty-First Annual Reports, 226.

during the "season" and lowered tolls.\textsuperscript{39} Whether or not
the turnpikes paid dividends, they served the primary
purpose of easing travel and stimulating trade in these
rugged mountainous areas. Still some may have seen them as
a mixed blessing.

\textbf{DERAILLED}

Initially, the James River and Kanawha Company with
their extensive plans for a canal and turnpike seemed a boon
for Greenbrier and Monroe counties and their springs. Of
the major thoroughfares built at state expense, this first
and most expensive project passed through the region, but
never provided the intended linkage of waterways, nor a good
turnpike. It did, however, direct trade from the region to
Richmond. \textsuperscript{40} The Board of Public Works claimed, "The Kana-

\textsuperscript{39}[Doc. No. XVIII] Thirty-Seventh Annual Report, 27; Doc
No XVII Year Ending Sept 30, 1858 Reports, Returns, and Other
Documents Relating to Joint Stock Companies, Other Than
Railroads Sept 30, 1858, 564; Doc No XVII, Reports, Returns
and Other Docs, Relative to Joint Stock Companies, Other Than
Rail Roads, September 30, 1861, 63, 169; Throughout 1858, 1859, 1861 reports, especially in western Virginia, weather
was a problem.

\textsuperscript{40} Lewisburg Convention of 1831 urged the continuance of
the improvement, followed by the Charlottesville Convention.
Rice, "Internal Improvements in Virginia, 1775-1860," 174; The
August 1-3, 1842 Lewisburg Convention with twenty western
counties present petitioned the General Assembly for more
representation. Doc. No. 29, Greenbrier County Legislative
Petitions, Virginia State Library and Archives, Richmond; The
August 14-15, 1855 Lewisburg Convention requested the General
Assembly "...to complete the line of improvements to the Ohio
River." (Wayland Fuller Dunaway, \textit{History of the James River

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wha Road from Guyandotte to Covington...has contributed more than any other to the improvement of the western part of the state." 41 In effect, this road and its powerful corporation tethered the region to Richmond markets and stifled competition from railroads.

As the rest of the nation and state switched to rail travel, the proposed Covington and Ohio Railroad had many enemies in the legislature, as well as locally and statewide, who would not benefit or who would be bypassed.42 One of these the James River and Kanawha Company, the state's most powerful corporation, slowed the advancement of a railroad into the area to protect their own investment.43 The well-informed citizenry of Greenbrier and Monroe did not sit idly by. They held a convention, petitioned, lobbied, sold bonds, and taxed the property owners for a central

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41 Twenty fourth and Twenty fifth Annual Reports, 251.

42 Rice, "Internal Improvements," 427, 364; Dunaway, James River and Kanawha Turnpike, 196;

43 Rice, "Internal Improvements," 424. This company had been given the prerogative of choosing the location of a railroad into the area. The company had used its influence to prevent the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad from pushing farther south than the mouth of the Little Kanawha River in the Northwest. Ambler, Sectionalism in Virginia, 313, 125.
railroad to connect Richmond and the Ohio. However, by the 1850s, while this region waited for a railroad to be located and built, many Virginia springs visitors utilized the faster Virginia and Tennessee Railroad to take them to more accessible resorts. During this period the White Sulphur Springs suffered its first serious competition, and the Blue Sulphur Springs folded. Monroe County with its many connectors to the improvements in Southwest Virginia suffered less than Greenbrier County.

As early as 1836, the James River and Kanawha Company assigned director Hugh Caperton the task of selecting "a good route for a railroad between Covington and Guyandotte." He requested a committee of seven, all from Richmond, except

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44 Latrobe found Isaac Caruthers to be remarkably well informed on railroads and their schedules. "John HB Latrobe and His Times," (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society), 3; North stayed in Richmond awaiting the vote on the location of the railroad. John North to Charlotte North, 26 January 1854, Caldwell Collection; "Proceedings of the Internal Improvement Convention Held at the White Sulphur Springs on the 24, 25, 26 August 1854...," Richmond: n.p., 1855; "...(P)enetrating the mineral water region of Virginia, would draw from the South, the West, the North and the East an amount of travel which no other route could command, while it would overflow our watering places with company...," Monroe County Legislative Petition, [prior to the completion of the canal to Buchanan in 1853], Virginia State Library and Archives, Richmond; Monroe County Court Order Book 6, 267 (17 June 1857). Some citizens protested the tax, but the Monroe court imposed it anyway with William Erskine and John Vawter serving as justices.

45 Cohen, Historic Springs, 112, 93, 95, 143; Ambler, Sectionalism in Virginia, 301, 302. The White Sulphur Springs changed hands during this time and became a corporation owned by Virginia businessmen, including Allen Caperton.
his partner Henry Erskine, to recommend a plan of action for the company. Not until 1853, did the Board of Public Works finally select the Greenbrier Route for the proposed Covington and Ohio Railroad. At which time such an outcry arose, they agreed to resurvey both the alternative Monroe and Meadow River routes. Prior to the Civil War, the railroad still had not been completed as far as the White Sulphur Springs.

After the Civil War, the completion of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad produced startlingly different results in Greenbrier and Monroe counties. Between 1869 and 1873, railroad construction connected the White Sulphur Springs and Huntington. The railroad followed the Greenbrier River through Ronceverte, Alderson and Hinton, then through the New, Kanawha, and Teays valleys. West Virginia chartered the Lewisburg and Ronceverte, Union and Greenbrier River, and White Sulphur and Sweet Springs turnpikes as connector roads for this new source of trade and travellers. The springs tour became a relict of the past, but the White Sulphur Springs prospered. In 1910, the Chesapeake and Ohio

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46 Twenty-first Annual Report, 210, 267; Doc. No. XVII Thirty-Eighth Annual Report, v. Caperton appointed a committee of seven from Richmond, except his partner Henry Erskine, to make the recommendation. The preliminary survey for the Monroe County route would have been via Potts Creek, the Salt Sulphur Springs, and Indian Creek. Twenty Third Annual Report, 224.
Railroad which passed through its property, paid $150,000 for the resort. In spite of a number of attempts the Red Sulphur, Salt Sulphur and the Sweet Springs never reclaimed their pre-war popularity. The railroad which passed through the fringes of Monroe County had redirected the nature of its commerce.  

The image of prosperity in Monroe County was replaced by one of a lonely statue of a Confederate soldier surveying an empty field which should have been the center of town. This poignant figure serves not only as a reminder of Monroe County's contribution and allegiance to the Southern cause but as a symbol of the arrested growth and prosperity which followed the Civil War in this county. In addition to the war, the demise of the tour, the death of its most ambitious promoters, and the lack of direct rail service all took their toll. Today, Monroe County residents (few more than in 1860) travel the same roads built to accommodate their long gone markets.  

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47 Rice, Greenbrier County, 334-338; Robert Conte, The History of the Greenbrier: America's Resort (Charleston, West Virginia: Pictorial Histories Publishing Co. for The Greenbrier, 1989), 98; Cohen, Historic Springs, 156-167. This time the property in 1990 dollars sold for just a little over two million.

Throughout the years, the White Sulphur Springs has reaped a disproportionate share of the benefits of the major internal improvements through this region. Beginning with the James River and Kanawha Turnpike which passed its grounds and exempted its guests from tolls, the White Sulphur Springs has owed no small measure of its success to its fortuitous location. From post Civil War to the present, this spring has continued to prosper with the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad and Interstate 64 to deliver guests to its door.\(^4\)

\(^4\)Virginia, Act making further provision to carry into effect the act, entitled "an act for clearing and improving the navigation of James river, and for uniting the eastern and western waters, by the James and Kanawha rivers, and for other purposes," Acts (1825), 353:448.
IN CONCLUSION

Turnpikes generally serviced the most important routes. The fact that the antebellum turnpikes in Greenbrier and Monroe counties were primarily built to service their springs establishes the importance of these spas to the local economies. Most of these turnpikes to the springs simply improved on existing routes. However, these turnpikes diverted travellers to this interior region from the state’s main thoroughfares and eased travel between the springs. Most of the turnpikes in Greenbrier and Monroe counties were joint stock corporations built with state assistance. Although typically built by entrepreneurs with much to gain, many capitalized on the influx of visitors and the increased market potential of these turnpikes. While these toll roads serviced a limited seasonal market, no major industrial or mercantile development has replaced the springs tour in this region.

The impact of the economy on turnpike building and springs’ expansion in Greenbrier and Monroe counties can be roughly correlated to George Rogers Taylor’s explanation of events at the national level. In the 1830s, the development of both the turnpikes and the springs in Greenbrier and
Monroe counties peaked. The economic prosperity of this decade enabled and encouraged road building. The importance of routes determined which turnpikes would secure investors. During the depressed 1840s, some of these turnpikes struggled towards completion, but no new ones were started. In the 1850s only four turnpikes received state funding in Greenbrier and Monroe counties.

Due to their proximity and link with the Virginia Springs Tour, Greenbrier and Monroe counties shared many of the turnpikes built in this region. However, the development of internal improvements in each of these counties differed. Both the motivation for and construction of turnpikes in Monroe County were more directly linked to its springs. While Greenbrier County received the major James River and Kanawha Turnpike, Monroe County struggled to capture a share of the travellers from this and other major thoroughfares.

Unable to satisfy all the demands of individual locales for internal improvements, Virginia readily shared the burden with private investors where possible. The state appropriated funds for other roads. Virginia's investments in turnpikes in this region simultaneously provided access and potential markets and tax revenues at both the local and state level. Although the James River and Kanawha Turnpike, the state's pet project, passed through this region, it was
neither the most expensive, nor the best made of Virginia's east-west connector roads. Likewise the "feeder turnpikes" built in Greenbrier and Monroe counties were neither the longest roads, the largest capital ventures, the best investments, or the best constructed turnpikes in the state, nor were they macadamized. However, these turnpikes were comparable to other mountain roads and survived when many did not. Virginia neither favored nor denied this region state matching funds for turnpikes.

While Phillip Morrison Rice and Edward Graham Roberts did the groundwork for internal improvement studies in Virginia, this inquiry takes a more in-depth look at Virginia's response to the needs of a particular western locale with strong eastern ties. The results of this study place a greater emphasis on the economy's role in turnpike building in Greenbrier and Monroe counties, than on the political or sectional issues. While important, economic considerations were not the only explanation for the course of road building here. Many Virginia historians allude to the economic factors which affected the internal improvement debate between east and west, but often focus on other influences. This study of the antebellum springs' turnpikes basically supports, rather than takes issue, with these earlier works.
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[Signature]