The Smithfield Review

Studies in the history of the region west of the Blue Ridge

Volume V, 2001

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Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities
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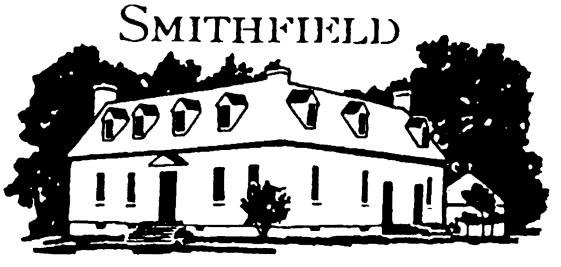

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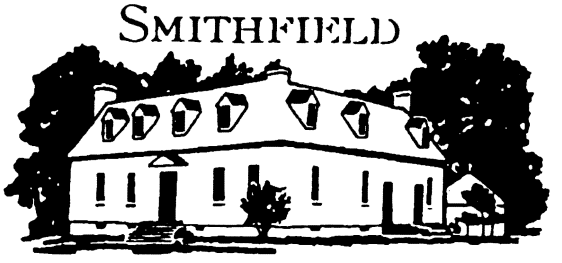


Smithfield is an important historic property adjacent to the campus of Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University in Blacksburg, Virginia. The manor house, constructed around 1774 on the frontier, is a premier example of early American architecture and is one of few such regional structures of that period to survive. It was the last home of Colonel William Preston, a noted surveyor and developer of western lands, who served as an important colonial and Revolutionary War leader. Preston named the 2,000-acre plantation "Smithfield" in honor of his wife, Susanna Smith. Today, the manor house is a museum that is interpreted and administered by a local group of volunteers.

In 1997 *The Smithfield Review* was founded with the purpose of helping to preserve the often neglected history of the region west of the Blue Ridge Mountains in Virginia and adjacent states. We seek articles about important personages and events, reports of archaeological discoveries, and analyses of the social, political, and architectural history of the region. Whenever possible and appropriate, the articles will incorporate letters, speeches, and other primary documents that convey to the reader a direct sense of the past.

Smithfield circa 1900.

Robert H. Lamb, a descendant of Colonel William Preston, recently provided this photograph, with these comments:

"I am enclosing ... a picture of 'Smithfield' copied from the original, which hangs in my Uncle Aubin Boulware Lamb's cottage in Richmond, Virginia. On the back of the frame for the picture was written, in my Grandmother's handwriting, a notation that it was a picture of 'Smithfield' taken about 1900, showing also the law office of the Honorable William Ballard Preston. My Uncle remembers peering in the door of the law office as a child; he said the stairs were on the left side once you entered."

A Note from the Editors

An interesting facet of United States history is the relationship between the transportation systems of a given era and the concurrent migration patterns of a wide variety of ethnic cultures. Immigrants from all over the world entered the country for many reasons, but once they arrived, they often migrated to their eventual destinations along waterways, then roads, and later railroads. In this issue we examine four distinct experiences that enable us to appreciate more fully how we grew from many roots, and traveled over vastly different routes, to reach our present state. The issue begins with the story of a German soldier who was recruited in 1776 by a German prince to help the British king put down a rebellion within his thirteen American colonies. Unusual circumstances eventually led the young soldier to become a colonist himself. The long journey of Henry Linkous is followed by a discussion of the forced migration of thousands of slaves from the eastern coast, through mountain passes, into the Mississippi River Basin. Our third presentation is an unusual and an insightful view of Appalachian folk history from an accomplished artist, and the last essay tells the story of two competing, post-Civil War railroads and the resulting birth of the city of Roanoke.

After a sequence of unusual events, and extraordinary journeys, the German soldier, Henrich Linckorst, eventually became one of the earliest citizens of Blacksburg, Virginia. Henry Linkous, as he was later known, was likely a beneficiary of one of Thomas Jefferson's attempts to entice captured German soldiers to settle in Virginia. The article was written by Clovis E. Linkous, a retired General Electric engineer and a descendant of Henry.

Phillip Troutman, who recently received his doctorate in history from the University of Virginia, presents a vivid picture of the transportation of human cargo along the "Great Valley" road of Southwest Virginia. At first, the slaves were transported by the families who owned them as those families moved ever westward. Later, as the slave trade

grew, the traders began moving large numbers of slaves westward to accommodate the demand for labor as the large Mississippi River Basin plantations prospered. The author presents relatively scarce first- and second-hand accounts of these melancholy journeys.

"Malissia of Tom's Creek and Brush Mountain," by artist Joni Pienkowski, is a fascinating piece of oral history sensitively told through a sequence of paintings and quotes. Two persons from vastly different backgrounds developed a friendship that grew in unpredictable ways. From this friendship emerged a unique picture of a way of life unknown to many in today's world.

The last essay of this issue, entitled "Triumph and Tragedy," presents the story of the competition of two companies to build railroads in the Shenandoah Valley immediately after the Civil War. This essay is adapted by John R. Hildebrand from his recent book, *Iron Horses in the Valley, the Valley and Shenandoah Valley Railroads, 1866–1882*. The outcome of the corporate combat was disappointing failure for one company and extraordinary success for the other one. The reader will learn how the struggle between these two companies was instrumental in the creation of southwestern Virginia's largest city — Roanoke.

Two book reviews are included in this issue. Wirt Wills reviews *Surveyors and Statesmen, Land Measuring in Colonial Virginia* by Sarah Hughes, and Michael Puglisi reviews *After the Backcountry: Rural Life in the Great Valley of Virginia, 1800-1900*, edited by Kenneth E. Koons and Warren R. Hofstra.

Special gratitude is expressed to Robert E. Stephenson and Lisa Hammett for their assistance in preparing this issue.

The First Linkous in Virginia: German Soldiers in the Revolution

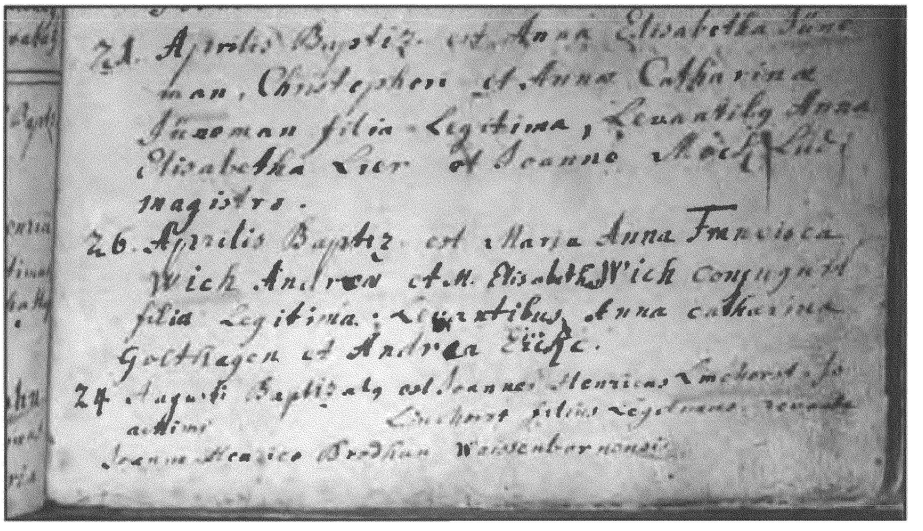
Clovis E. Linkous

In early 1776 Duke Charles I of Brunswick[1] "recruited" an army of more than 5,000 men to be rented to the British to help them suppress the rebellious colonies in America. One of the recruits was Heinrich Linckorst, a native of Weissenborn, Germany, a small agricultural village in the Dukedom of Brunswick. The area, commonly known as Eichfeld, has a continuing strong and proud Catholic cultural identity. The Linckorst family name in this village dates back as far as 1542.

Duke Charles' efforts to raise an army inadvertently produced one of Southwest Virginia's well-known and prolific families. The Linkous family now numbers more than 8,500 members (including female lines), a third of them still living in Virginia, and a goodly number still living in the neighborhood where Heinrich settled in America, between Blacksburg and Prices Fork in Virginia's Montgomery County. The story of Heinrich Linckorst, later known as Henry Linkous, and how he came to Virginia is a story of both the American Revolution and the origin of an American family. As an infant, Heinrich was baptized at the Roman Catholic Church on August 24, 1744, in St. Martin's Church of Lüderode, Germany. (Today, the village is consolidated as Weissenborn-Lüderode.) We know little else about his personal life before and during his military experience, but much is known about the travels, assignments, and travails of his regiment. This article presents his regiment's story, which is, in large measure, his story too.

German Troops in British Service

The story begins with George III, King of England and a member of the House of Hanover in Germany. George III was the first Hanoverian born and bred in England and the first to take a real interest in the British kingdom and its American colonies. He sought to assert the power



The Church Book of St. Martin's Catholic church of Lüderode, Germany. The year for this page is 1744. The baptismal record of Heinrich Linckorst is the last one on the page.

In Latin: 24 Augusti Baptizatus est Joannes Henricus Linckorst, Joachimi Linckorst filius Legitimus, levanti Joanne Henrico Brodhun Weissenbornensi. Translated: On the 24 August was baptized Johannes Henricus Linckorst, legitimate son of Joachim Linckorst, sponsor Johannes Henricus Brodhun from Weissenborn.

of the king and instituted a "get tough" policy. To promote British trading interests and keep peace with the Indians of the Ohio Valley and the Great Lakes, he forbade in 1763 "all of our loving subjects" of the 13 colonies to settle west of a line running along the summit of the Alleghanies. George III also sought to raise taxes in the colonies to pay for his wars in Europe and the defense of the colonies. The colonies resisted, leading to the American Revolution. There was unanimous agreement in the British government that troops should be sent to quell the revolt in the colonies, but a debate centered on what number of troops could be raised and where they could be found. The English army was too small, and, accordingly, the government decided to hire foreign troops. After negotiating unsuccessfully with Russia, the British government turned to German princes and negotiated individual contracts with

six of them. Duke Charles I, sovereign of Brunswick, supplied 5,723 officers and men, including Heinrich Linckorst.

German soldiers, and thus young Heinrich, received payment individually from British funds, the same amount paid by the British to their own soldiers. Additionally, their prince was paid approximately $50 per year for each soldier in service.

Recruiting the German Troops

Whether Heinrich Linckorst was a voluntary or involuntary recruit is not known. In their recruiting, the princes enlisted men from inside as well as outside their states. Forcible recruiting was officially forbidden. However, recruiting officers were active all over Germany, and records exist of instances where enlistment was involuntary. Scarcely one-half of the recruited armies were composed of real subjects of the six crowns.[2] Schiller, a contemporary German poet, wrote of the practice:

> It is true a few saucy fellows stepped out of the ranks and asked the colonels how much a yoke the prince sold men; but our most gracious master ordered all the regiments to march on to the parade ground, and had the impertinent shot down. We heard the crack of the rifles, saw their brains spatter the pavement and the whole army shouted, 'Hurrah! To America.'

Seume, another German writer who was himself forcibly recruited, wrote: "Persuasion, cunning, deception, force — all served. No one asked what means were used to the damnable end. Strangers of all kinds were arrested, imprisoned, sent off."

Heinrich Linckorst may have been a raucous, rowdy, eager-for-battle volunteer, or a philosophical thinker advocating that governments rule with the consent of the governed. More probably, his personal outlook lay somewhere between these extremes. While we do not know his outlook and have no record of his point of view, his later abandonment of his army unit in America gives us a clue.

From Germany to Quebec, Canada

The overall British plan for North America was for the army of General Sir Henry Clinton to invade the southern states; General Sir William Howe's army to occupy New York City; and that of General John Burgoyne to clear Canada and then march southward, to meet

General Howe, who was marching northward, at Albany, New York. The Brunswickers were assigned to Burgoyne's army and mission, joining seven regiments of English troops.

The Brunswick troops departed from their homeland in two divisions roughly a month apart. Four surviving journals [3] record almost daily entries about the Brunswick troops. The first group of 2,280 men left Wolfenbüttel on February 21, 1776, and marched to Stadt, where they boarded 13 ships and sailed down the Elbe River to Gluckstadt. There they waited until March 21 for favorable winds. After five days of sailing, they were in sight of the English coast. On April 6, 36 ships containing German troops, horses, and equipment sailed from Portsmouth, England, for Quebec, Canada. During the voyage, a fleet of 40 ships with English, Irish, and Scottish troops, also destined for Canada, overtook them. The combined convoy of 76 ships arrived at Quebec on June 1, 1776.

The second group of 2,018 men, which included Heinrich Linckorst, marched from Wolfenbüttel on March 21, 1776, under the command of Colonel Johann Friedrich Specht. The Dutch ship, the *Vriesland*, with about one-fifth of Specht's command aboard, sailed into the Elbe River near the city of Stadt at Cuxhaven; it joined 15 ships filled with German troops and sailed for Portsmouth, England, on June 2, arriving at its destination 10 days later. At Portsmouth, a larger convoy was formed for the voyage to Quebec. The convoy included the battleships *Amazon* and *Garland*, which carried no troops or munitions but provided protection for the fleet. Two large troopships, the *Vriesland* and the *Lively*, had the best accommodations for the officers, and Colonel Specht and his staff were on the *Lively*. The troops from Specht's regiment, Heinrich Linckorst's unit, were on the *Vriesland*, which carried 444 troops and officers from Stadt to Portsmouth and 375 from Portsmouth to Quebec. The ship displaced 800 tons, and its deck area measured 120 feet long by 28 feet wide. According to the diary of a *Vriesland* passenger from Stadt to Portsmouth:

> The men sleep below the deck in the first hold in three tiers of berths, one above the other, and, in a space of 10 feet square, 6 men lie abreast. Because of the foul air, the men cannot endure a whole night in this narrow space, and, when the air holes must be closed during storms sickness is to be feared. The Dutch beer is good, but the fare bad, our people having received peas cooked in pure water without fat or salt.

> At 7:00 A.M., the drum beats for worship, for which the people gather on the fore deck. Although no one is forced to attend, neither officers or men stay away, and all stand there with uncovered heads, solemnly singing, with visible devotion.

Twenty-four days out of Portsmouth, the *Vriesland* and a smaller troop ship became separated from the fleet. After the *Garland* had searched for the missing vessels for half a day without success, the fleet proceeded without them.

By August 16 the fleet, still missing the two ships, reached the Grand Banks of Newfoundland and paused to fish for cod. Two weeks later, it reached the mouth of the St. Lawrence River and found the smaller, lost troop ship awaiting the fleet, but not the *Vriesland*, which had sailed alongside her until the night of July 21, when they became separated. The *Lively* arrived at Quebec, hoping to find the missing *Vriesland*, but such was not the case. By September 19, all ships but the *Vriesland* had arrived at Quebec.

The missing *Vriesland* is clearly the ship to which General Frederika Adolph Baron von Riedesel, German commander of the Brunswick troops, refers in his memoirs as "the ship with 350 men which had become separated since 7 weeks past." Von Riedesel's memoirs also report that 19 men of this second group died on the sea journey. Private Linckorst was one of the survivors.

The Armies Move South

The armies in Canada soon saw action. General Carleton won a naval engagement on October 11, 1776, at Valcour Island in Lake Champlain, New York, a battle in which General Benedict Arnold led the losing American side. Even in defeat, however, Arnold adroitly succeeded in so delaying the English armies that the plan to move south to meet Clinton as he moved north had to be delayed until the spring of 1777, a delay that proved fatal to the grand strategy of the British. The newly arrived troops from Europe went into winter quarters on October 18, 1776, at Three Rivers (Trois-Rivieres), Quebec.

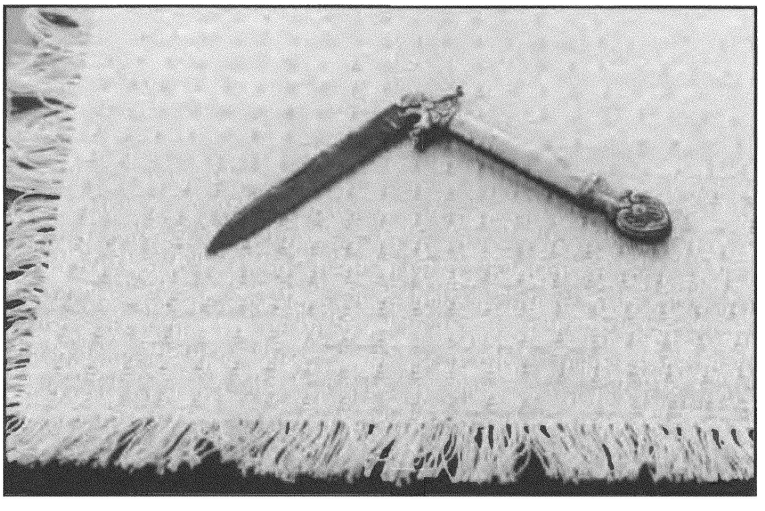
During the winter, General Burgoyne had been in England, where he complained about Carleton's leadership and successfully petitioned that he replace Carleton as supreme commander. In May 1777 Burgoyne assumed supreme command from General Carleton and prepared to lead

the forces southward, leaving Carleton in command of three English regiments and 650 Germans at the garrison in Quebec.

Finally, in early June, the army of around 10,000 soldiers began moving southward. Included in Burgoyne's army were four regiments of German Brunswick soldiers: the Prinz Frederick, the von Riedesel, the Rhetz, and the Specht. The troops moved against the northward flow of the Richelieu River as the army proceeded south to the northern shore of Lake Champlain. Navigating and portaging around the rapids and falls in the river with all their military gear was a major undertaking. Mosquitoes nearly drove the men crazy before they reached the Cumberland Bay of Lake Champlain on June 18. From there they moved down Lake Champlain in 300 flat bottom boats. By late June English and German troops and a substantial number of Indians arrived at Crown Point, New York. The army prepared to attack Fort Ticonderoga, which was defended by 5,000 colonists. The plan of attack called for the German General von Riedesel to proceed down the east side of the lake and the English General Phillip down the west side. But no battle ensued. The Americans strategically abandoned the fort with its stores on July 1.

A Family Heirloom

A Linkous family heirloom traces its beginnings at about this point. General John Burgoyne's saddle broke, and Heinrich Linckorst was asked to repair it. As a reward for Heinrich's excellent service, Burgoyne gave him a fancy pocket knife. The knife has been passed down in the family



An Open View of the Burgoyne-Linkous Knife

through seven owners and is currently owned by a Radford, Virginia, descendent. Unfortunately, only an oral family tradition traces the knife to its origin.

The Saratoga Campaign[4]

On July 10, two weeks before the entire German contingent arrived at Whitehall, New York, a skirmish broke out in the town. By late July the Braunschweiger troops were camped at Fort Ann, New York. In early August they moved south past the high ground that separates the northward flowing waters from the southward flowing Hudson River. They had a lengthy, exhausting time moving their loaded wagons over this natural obstruction of bogs and mountains.

In mid-August Colonel Friedrich Baum was dispatched with German troops to capture needed supplies from an American base at Bennington, Vermont, but he was defeated, and 700 troops from von Riedesel's command were killed, wounded, imprisoned, or missing. Baum died of wounds suffered in the battle. Heinrich Linckorst's company did not participate.

In the meantime, another strategic thrust was under way that was to have an important bearing upon the surrender of Burgoyne's army in just two more months.

Lt. Colonel Barry St. Leger had left Montreal in July with a force of 1,000 Indians and 750 soldiers, including a company of German troops. They proceeded via the St. Lawrence River, Lake Ontario, the Oswego River, and Oneida Lake to Fort Stanwix, which was defended by an American militia of 700 men. St. Leger's mission was to rejoin Burgoyne. He was to capture Fort Stanwix and proceed down the Mohawk River to attack American General Horatio Gates from the west while Burgoyne attacked from the north. But before St. Leger reached Fort Stanwix, friendly Oneida Indians warned the Americans of St. Leger's impending attack. About 800 American militia from the Mohawk Vlley were assembled to help defend Fort Stanwix. Mohawk Indians were then sent by St. Leger to ambush the Americans at Oriskany. The Americans prevailed and St. Leger eventually retreated toward Canada.

The victories at Bennington and Oriskany greatly encouraged the Americans, producing a flood of volunteers for General Gates. His ranks quickly swelled to 15,000 men facing Burgoyne's army directly and 9,000 more Americans in the general area.

The Battle of Freeman's Farm, which occurred on September 19, 1777, left Burgoyne's army in bad shape. They were fatigued and essentially cut off, and 800 soldiers were patients in field hospitals. Burgoyne's outposts were constantly attacked. He had rations left for only 16 days and was outnumbered four to one. He had no word from the British forces in New York City, now commanded by General Clinton. Actually, General Clinton had sailed up the Hudson River from New York City in 32 transport ships with the intent of rescuing Burgoyne at Saratoga. But, after reaching within 40 miles of Albany around October 7, they turned back because they were too late. Burgoyne's fate had already been determined.

At an October 4 council of his generals, Burgoyne had been advised to fight or retreat immediately. Three days later, with 1,500 troops, he reconnoitered the American left flank, was attacked, and was forced to retreat. It is likely that Heinrich Linckorst was in this action since it is known that the leader of his regiment, Colonel Johann Friedrich Specht, was captured at that time.

Burgoyne Surrenders His Army

On October 8, Burgoyne retreated to Battenkill, in desperation leaving behind his sick and wounded. His army spent two days camping on the heights of Saratoga, searching unsuccessfully for an unblocked way across the Hudson River to the east side. On October 12 he decided to retreat up the west side of the Hudson. Meanwhile, the Americans had crossed to the west side the previous night and cut off this line of retreat as well. On October 14 Burgoyne concluded that he must surrender and began negotiations with General Gates.[5] The generals signed a treaty, which was not an unconditional surrender, on October 16. Included in the treaty were ten articles, the most important of which for Burgoyne's troops was Article 2, which granted them passage to England on the condition that they serve no more in the war. The defeated soldiers were to embark from Boston.

The troops left Albany to march to Boston. The English troops took a northern route and the Germans a southern route. The weather was bad, and the soldiers suffered from sickness, fatigue, and the exposure that resulted from worn-out clothes and shoes. They also faced unfriendly townspeople along the way before arriving at Cambridge on November 7, 1777.

Crude barracks, erected by the Americans in the 1775 siege of Boston, awaited the defeated soldiers in Cambridge. The 2,000 English troops were housed in barracks on Prospect Hill, and the 1,900 German troops stayed in the barracks on Winter Hill.[6] Troops captured at Bennington, who did not fall under the surrender terms, were imprisoned separately at Westminister and Rutland, Massachusetts. The weather made conditions severe for the soldiers. The barracks had not been prepared for them, and they found the furnishings of the barracks consisted solely of a little straw and some wood.

British transports that had arrived in December 1777 to remove the troops to England were sent away because the Continental Congress would not approve the surrender treaty. The Congress took issue with a defect in Article 2; namely, that it did not include a provision that would prevent these defeated soldiers from simply replacing troops serving garrison duty in Europe. For the price of two trips across the Atlantic, one army could be replaced by another.

Facing a longer stay than they had anticipated, soldiers deserted by the hundreds. By April 6, 1778, the deserters included 655 English and 119 Brunswicker troops. The officers of both the English and the Germans eventually gave permission for soldiers to hire themselves out for a few miles around to local farmers. In the spring of 1778, the German surgeon J.F. Wasmus was boarding in a residence on the outskirts of Springfield, Massachusetts, under terms of his honor-system parole. He obtained a leave to provide medical services to the Brunswicker prisoners on Winter Hill in Cambridge. There he found that the soldiers had lost all hope of embarking for England and that desertions continued. He also learned that Burgoyne, on parole since March, had returned to England to defend himself before Parliament. The British government directed the general to return to America to satisfy his parole terms, but he refused on grounds of ill health. He was ultimately exchanged in 1782 for a large number of Americans held prisoner by the British.

Prisoners Transfer to Charlottesville, Virginia

In the fall of 1778 German General von Riedesel learned that the "Convention Prisoners," as they became known, were scheduled to march to Charlottesville, Virginia, in early November. New England found it too difficult to provide their food and shelter and Virginia was better able to deal with their needs. The tattered clothing of the prisoners had

been worn from Quebec to Saratoga, from Saratoga to Cambridge, and for a year in prison. The leaders appealed to British General Clinton in New York for warm clothing for the soldiers to make the fall/winter march to Virginia. Clinton supplied them with blanket material, clothing, and new shoes. Colonel Theodoric Bland (1742-1790) was the American in command of escorting the Convention Troops to Virginia and would command the barracks at Charlottesville for the next year.

The march began in six divisions, three English and three German. Those unable to march remained in a hospital in Cambridge. Two divisions left each day along the same route, with an English division in the lead. The troops were not allowed to converse with Americans along the road.

In 20 days, the marchers reached the Hudson River. This part of the trip was considered high risk because British General Clinton had a large army in New York City, a mere 60 miles down river. In fact, Clinton attempted a rescue, but it failed due to his late arrival and the maneuvering of General George Washington. Nonetheless, a few hundred English soldiers escaped and joined Clinton.

The marchers continued to Everittstown, New Jersey, crossing the Delaware River into Pennsylvania on December 13 and arriving at Littlestown, Pennsylvania, on Christmas Day. The first of the Germans reached Loudoun County, Virginia, on New Year's Eve and slept in a woods in a foot of snow. Continuing into Virginia, they passed through Leesburg, Culpeper, and Orange and arrived at Charlottesville on January 14, 1779. Severe weather welcomed them to their destination, barracks located about four miles northwest of Charlottesville.

The soldiers faced a situation worse than they had endured at Winter Hill. The food that had been stored for them had spoiled. The log barracks, far from ready for occupancy, had no fireplaces, no furnishings, no doors, and no floors. Huge cracks between the logs had not been caulked. The inadequate facilities had resulted from a mix-up in the construction plan. A Colonel Harvie, who had contracted to build the barracks, had gone to a session of the Continental Congress at Philadelphia. He had left the preparations to his brother, who had procrastinated, claiming the prisoners were not due until spring. The huts, each intended to house 14 privates, were 22 by 14 feet. They were enclosed in a high, 1,000-foot-long palisade with a north and a south gate. Heinrich Linckorst and his comrades set to work to finish constructing their own quarters,

and within a few months the barracks were more presentable. Later, they added such embellishments as a theater, a coffee shop, and a cold bath.

The officers had the choice of erecting their own hut outside the compound or moving to Staunton, Virginia, 42 miles away. Sixteen officers elected to rent quarters in Staunton, and the remaining men decided to build themselves a "hut" that included space for a food garden. Fortunately for the prisoners, warm weather arrived early that spring. Trees bloomed by mid-February, and the Germans planted early gardens. But misfortune struck in April when a killing freeze forced the Germans to replant their gardens.

Thomas Jefferson Supports the Prisoners

Some of the local citizens wanted the soldiers removed to another location, but the Germans acquired a powerful friend in Thomas Jefferson, who lived nearby at Monticello. Jefferson, who became a close friend of an adjutant to General von Riedesel, wrote Governor Patrick Henry arguing that the agitation of the Charlottesville populace to remove the prisoners was not wise.

> The barracks occupy the top and brow of a very high hill. They are free from bog, have four springs, which seem to be plentiful. Of four thousand people, it should be expected, according to ordinary calculations, that one should die every day. Yet, in the space of nearly three months, there have been but four deaths among them; two infants under three weeks old [The officers had had their families with them throughout the marches and battles since Quebec.] and two others by apoplexy. The officers tell me, the troops were never before so healthy since they were embodied. The officers, after considerable hardships, have all procured quarters, comfortable and satisfactory to them. In order to do this, they were obliged, in many instances, to hire houses for a year certain, and at such exorbitant rents as were sufficient to tempt independent owners to go out of them and shift as they could. These houses, in most cases, were much out of repair. They have repaired them at considerable expense. They have generally laid in their stocks of grain and other provisions, for it is well known that officers do not live on their rations. They have purchased cows, sheep, etc., and set into farming, pre-

> pared their gardens, and have a prospect of comfort and quiet before them.
>
> To turn to the soldiers; the environs of the barracks are delightful, the ground cleared, laid off in hundreds of gardens, each enclosed in its separate paling; these well prepared, and exhibiting a fine appearance. General Riedesel alone laid out upwards of two hundred pounds in garden seeds for the German troops only. Judge what an extent of ground these seeds would cover. Their poultry, pigeons and other preparations of that kind, present to the mind the idea of a company of farmers, rather than a camp of soldiers. In addition to the barracks built for them by the public, and now very comfortable, they have built great numbers for themselves, in such messes as fancied each other; and the whole corps, both officers and men, seem now happy and satisfied with their condition.

A British Lieutenant Anburey, himself one of the prisoners, wrote in his diary:

> The Germans are fully content, being upon the same pay as the British troops, which is near four times as much as they receive in their own country, and for what reason it is impossible to say, but the Americans show more indulgence to the Germans, permitting them to go round the country to labor, and being for the most part expert handicrafts, they realize a great deal of money, exclusive of their pay, and as the generality of the German troops are only soldiers raised for the war, and upon their return to their own country, will become persons of property.

It can be assumed, then, that Heinrick Linckorst's life had improved greatly from his days of confinement in Cambridge.

Throughout the war, the Americans had encouraged the prisoners to switch sides and join them on the side of freedom. Handbills in German that circulated among the prisoners contained the text of an August 14, 1776, Act of the Continental Congress. The act explained the noble cause of the revolution and promised free land to any German soldier who would join the American cause. The invitation was renewed by the Congress in 1778 and again by Virginia Governor Thomas Jefferson in 1781. The amount of land awarded varied from 1,000 acres for a colonel to 50 acres for a private. The terms became more generous as the war

progressed. Jefferson promised no required military service and no war taxes and added two cows to the offer. The program proved effective: by August of 1780, only 1,147 of the 1,900 Germans who had surrendered at Saratoga remained in custody.

The Cornwallis Threat

Before resuming the story of Henry's life in America, let us reveal how the remnants of the German Convention Army returned to Germany. In midyear 1780, the army of British General Charles Cornwallis was moving rather freely in North Carolina and eastern Virginia. There was considerable concern that he would move on Charlottesville and free the Convention Prisoners. To lessen the possibility, the English Convention Prisoners were marched from Charlottesville, Virginia, to Fort Frederick, Maryland. Virginia and Maryland had agreed that if Maryland would take the prisoners, Virginia would pay half of their keep. But Fort Frederick lacked enough shelter for both the English and the German prisoners. The English were removed from Charlottesville first because the colonists feared they would more likely break out of the barracks and join their army. Jefferson wrote Washington on November 26, 1780, that the Germans showed little disposition to join the enemy. Consequently he proposed that they remain in their present quarters until something further could be done with them.

On February 20, 1781, Colonel Woods wrote Governor Jefferson that he had issued orders for the immediate march of the Convention Troops to Winchester, Martinsburg, and Warm Springs without baggage. Woods said that the Germans had been without a meal for six days and that they had only a very small quantity of beef remaining. He reported that conditions at Fort Frederick were equally bad and that the fort would not receive the Germans. On February 21 the Germans departed from Charlottesville, ending just over two years at "The Barracks." In early March, Congress took the final step of annulling the treaty of surrender by separating the officers from the noncommissioned officers and privates. At Winchester in June, a great deal of concern existed for the security of the 1,600 prisoners because of Cornwallis' presence just east of the Blue Ridge.[7] On June 4, 1781, the troops of British officer Banastre Tarleton had raided Charlottesville, burned the Albemarle Courthouse, and driven Governor Jefferson from his home. So, removing the prisoners from Charlottesville had been accomplished none too soon.

A fraction of the Convention Troops were marched to Easton, Pennsylvania, and another fraction to Rutland, Massachusetts, around July 1781. Officers were taken to Hartford and East Windsor in Connecticut.[8] Cornwallis' campaign in Virginia ended with the surrender at Yorktown of his 7,000 soldiers to Washington's 17,000 troops on October 19, 1781, essentially ending the fighting. For nearly two more years, while a peace treaty was tediously negotiated, the Convention Prisoners were quartered in small groups in northern Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and New England. Finally, on June 6, 1783, the German Convention Prisoners sailed for home from the Port of New York, more than five and a half years after their surrender. They arrived at Wolfenbüttel on October 8, 1783, following a seven-and-a-half-year tour from which they would never fully recover. Out of 5,723 Brunswickers who had left, 3,015 did not return for one reason or another.

The Henry Linkous Legacy to Montgomery County

Heinrich Linckorst probably left the Charlottesville barracks by August 1779, nine months before May 21, 1780, the date on which a Linkous family Bible says the first child of Henry and Elizabeth Shiflet Linkous was born. Tax and census records reveal numerous Shiflet families in the vicinity of Charlottesville. Heinrich may have worked for one of these families for wages before marrying their daughter. Records of the marriage and identification of Elizabeth's parents have not been found.

Where Henry and Elizabeth lived and what they did between 1779 and 1787 is not known. Eight more children were born to them by 1797. It is likely that they settled far enough into the western mountains to be safe from contact with Heinrich's German officers, who were in and around Charlottesville and would have been a threat to him in what they would have regarded as desertion. It also is not known if he ever cashed in on the government's offer of awards for switching sides.

Four years after the war officially ended, Heinrich's name appeared on a personal property tax record in Montgomery County, Virginia, surrounded by the names of neighbors who are known to have lived in the area between Blacksburg and Prices Fork. In 1799 he purchased from the heirs of the James Patton estate a 200-acre farm where he lived until his death in August 1822. This farm is part of a 7,500-acre grant to James Patton on June 20, 1753, by King George II through his agent, Governor Robert Dinwiddie in Williamsburg. The farm lies on the northeast side

The Henry Linkous Homestead as it appeared in 1980.

of Merrimac Road, a short mile south of the intersection of Merrimac Road with Prices Fork Road. Since 1799 it has never been outside the ownership of descendants of Heinrich. All owners have had the surname "Linkous" or "Kipps."

Today, a large and beautiful farm house stands on the farm in what is believed to be the original site of the residence in Henry Linkous' time. It stands in proximity to a natural spring, a logical site for a house in early American times. A part of the house may be seen from the interior to be of log construction, and it is evident that the house has been enlarged. The Kipps sisters, Mae and Florence, great-great-granddaughters of Henry Linkous and life-long residents of the house, personally knew that the log exterior had been weather-boarded in the early part of the twentieth century. They believed the beginning of the house sprang from the hand of Henry Linkous. Larry Linkous, an eighth-generation descendant of Henry Linkous, and his wife Charlotte are the current owners and residents.

Heinrich was 31 years old when he was recruited for military service. It is likely that he was a practicing Catholic for his entire life, be-

cause he was baptized a Catholic and his home village was thoroughly Catholic. But there were no Catholic churches in Virginia in the decades after the Revolution. It must have been somewhat painful to Heinrich that the farm he bought had cut from it four acres that James Patton had promised as a gift to the German Lutheran Church. Did Heinrich switch to the Lutheran faith? Probably not, because his name does not appear even once in the St. Michaels Lutheran church book, which begins with the year 1796. Today the new St. Michaels Lutheran Church, built in 1971, stands on that four acres.

In the German records covering 450 years in Heinrich's German village, we find the surname spelled in many ways: namely, Lindthost, Linthost, Linghorst, Lingkorst, Linckhorst, Linckhorstos, Linckorst, Linkhorst, Linkorst, and Lingkost. Today, in the village of Weissenborn-Lüderode, the spelling is Lingkost.

In American records we find the given name always spelled as Henry. Up to the time of Henry's death in 1822, we find the following spellings of the surname: Linkust, Linkoss, Lincost, Linkus, Lincass, and Lincus. But the lawyer who wrote Henry's will in 1822 used the spelling "Linkous." And so it has been.

According to the inventory of his personal property in the settlement of his estate, Henry was fairly prosperous as working men go. Among other items, he had blacksmith tools, four milk cows, one steer and heifer, three calves, and three horses in addition to a 200-acre farm. Seven of Henry and Elizabeth Linkous' children remained in Montgomery County and raised large families. Henry had 61 grandchildren. In one line of descent from Henry, 11th generation babies were born in 1996 in Montgomery County, and his total descendants to date exceed 8,600. Approximately one-third of those living today live in Virginia.

Endnotes

1. Frederick H. Landgrave, sovereign of Hesse-Cassel, was another such prince out of a total of six. The army he rented to the British amounted to 17,000 out of the overall 30,000 German soldiers. Because of their numbers, American historians have used the term "Hessians" to refer to all the German troops, but it is to be taken only as a code word for all six princedoms.
2. Max von Eelking, a German historian who wrote the memoirs of Major General Riedesel, commander of the Brunswick troops, makes this estimate.
3. Three journals are personal, one official. A personal one by a surgeon has been published as *An Eyewitness Account of the American Revolution and New England*

Life: The Journal of J.F. Wasmus, German Company Surgeon, 1776-1783. It was translated by Helga Doblin and published by the Greenwood Press in 1990. Wasmus was with the first division to leave Brunswick.

The second personal journal, by Colonel Johann Friedrich Specht, covers the second division to leave Brunswick and is available in book form: *The Specht Journal: A Military Journal of the Bourgoyne Campaign*, translated by Helga Doblin and published by the Greenwood Press in 1995.

The third personal journal is by Ensign Ernst Johann Friedrich Schueler von Senden. It beings with the arrival of the Convention Troops in Virginia and ends when he is paroled and returns to Germany. *The Story of the Convention Army* , derived from the journal, has been published by the Albemarle County Historical Society, vol. 43, 1983.

The German general's official record may be found in *Memoirs and Letters and Journal of Major General Riedesel during His Residence in America*, 2 vols., ed. Max von Eelking (Albany, N.Y.: J. Munsel, 1863).

4. For further information on the Saratoga campaign, see Richard M. Ketchum, *Saratoga: Turning Point of America's Revolutionary War* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1997).
5. See *Saratoga: Turning Point of America's Revolutionary War*. Ketchum argues that the British defeat at Saratoga was the "turning point" of the war and "changed the history of the world." The book lists extensive primary and secondary references, many of which serve as sources for the article in hand.
6. Winter Hill may be found today in Somerville, Massachusetts. Take Rt. 16 until it intersects with Broadway Boulevard. Then take Broadway Boulevard eastward to the top of a hill, which is Winter Hill. It is no longer labeled on maps as Winter Hill. Somerville is north of Cambridge and of Boston.
7. See "The Story of Winchester in Virginia," by Morton, 1925. Tarleton's force was a detachment from Cornwallis' army. Henry P. Johnston, *The Yorktown Campaign and the Surrender of Cornwallis, 1781*. De Cap Press: New York, 1971.
8. The Wasmus journal.

A 'Sorrowful Cavalcade': Enslaved Migration through Appalachian Virginia

Phillip D. Troutman[1]

Between the American Revolution and the Civil War, more than one million enslaved African Americans were forced to leave the eastern seaboard and upper-south states. In the first two decades after the Revolution, they were moved across the Alleghenies to the plantation frontiers of Kentucky and Tennessee. The majority of these earliest enslaved migrants traveled with migrating planters and therefore also with many of the migrants' closest kin. But, with the cotton boom starting in the 1810s, slave traders predominated, buying individuals and small fragments of families, transporting them, and selling them to planters in the new Gulf Coast South: Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas.[2]

The motif of the journey has long held significance in African-American life and history. The first great migration, of course, was the middle passage of the transatlantic slave trade, but only a handful of survivors left first-hand accounts. In the antebellum United States, African-American fugitives narrated their individual journeys out of slavery and into freedom. These non-fiction accounts in turn inspired a literary and artistic tradition that informed the "exodusters" of the late nineteenth century and the great migrations of World Wars I and II.[3] The pre-Civil War movement of slaves, however, is often overlooked as a "great migration," especially for the Appalachian region.

Enslaved African Americans clearly left their mark on Appalachia, contributing significantly to the region's political economy and culture.[4] Appalachia also left its mark on African Americans just passing through the mountains, as the following documents illuminate. Participants in and observers of the domestic United States slave trade left quite divergent accounts of the meaning of enslaved migration. Traders focused on the business of forced migration, dwelling little on how African Ameri-

cans might have felt about it. Even sympathetic white witnesses did not fully perceive the trade's import to enslaved African Americans. The accounts written by slave buyers, observers, and slaves alike agree that the mountain journeys provided potential opportunities for escape. Slaves, however, tended to emphasize their own vulnerability on the journey rather than the possibility of flight. While former slaves left relatively few first-hand accounts of their lives, what they recorded is striking. In their letters and autobiographies, the Blue Ridge and Allegheny stood literally and sometimes metaphorically in their path. Mountains obviously constituted physical landmarks of enslaved journeys out of Virginia, but they could also serve as emotional landmarks as well. The hardship of the physical journey fixed in these narrators' minds the emotional hardship of separation from loved ones they were forced to leave behind.

Appalachian Virginia played a key role in the great slave migration. Over five hundred thousand enslaved African Americans were forced to leave Virginia between 1790 and 1860. Large numbers of these forced migrants traveled on foot through mountainous southwest Virginia, whether headed to Kentucky or Mississippi. Planters and traders tended to travel in winter, after harvest. Each week between September and April, residents of Christiansburg, Abingdon, and other towns along the route would have seen at least one or two and perhaps as many as four slave traders' gangs or "coffles" passing through, with at least 20 slaves in each group, sometimes many more. Migrant slaveholders usually traveled with smaller groups, but used the same routes as the traders. In all, an average of more than 80 enslaved migrants per week likely passed through southwest Virginia each trading season after 1810, peaking at perhaps 200 during the speculative boom preceding the panic of 1837.[5]

Something of the economic impact of this movement on areas along the southwestern route is implied in the account book kept by slave trader James A. Mitchell of Pittsylvania County, Virginia. In a small ledger he titled "The Expense of Travelin with negros from Va to Miss and Returning home," Mitchell carefully noted his daily costs for the fall and winter of 1834–1835. He and the 51 slaves he intended to sell set out carrying only two days' worth of food. Nearly every day of the journey, therefore, Mitchell paid some unnamed farmer or merchant along the way for "provisions", which he sometimes elaborated on as "Bacon & provisions".

Mitchell's account also outlined the route itself by noting tolls at each major ford, bridge, or turnpike. The group crossed the New River

on October 24 and the Clinch River on November 5, and joined the turnpike at Crab Orchard, Tennessee, on November 6. They proceeded to cross the Cany Fork and the Tennessee River before joining another turnpike at "W. Mountain." They entered Mississippi on November 23 and crossed the Tombigbee River the next day. Joining the Nashoba turnpike, they crossed the Pearl River on the 29th and arrived in Natchez around December 6.[6] Thus, it took Mitchell and his caravan seven weeks to make the trek, averaging about 17 miles per day, a pace slightly slower than average for such journeys.[7]

In writing home to his wife, Sarah, about the journey, Mitchell paid some attention to individual slaves on the trip, but in the end their sentiments were not his concern. On December 10, he wrote to Sarah that "we are all injoyen good health. I have had a weat and moody jurny and bad weather but keep harty and injoy good health." He had had little luck so far in making sales; he had "only sold two negros yet ther a pers [appears] to [be] great demand for them but I cant get no money." The buyers, he complained, "all want on a credit and that dont suit me for I want cash." He reported to his wife on some of the slaves by first and even last name — men and women he had carried from the Mitchells' own household:

> Mary Carter is got well and harty a gain and all the guirls that com from our house is doin very well and well satisfyd Mariah Finney Cooks for me and can do smart of the well but she is uncertain and mulish at times, Washington waits on me also and is the best that I have Ever seen &c all behaves well [so far' *inserted*] &c When I shall be able to make sales I cant tell but as soon as I can I will sell I must bair with pachence Sell [*illeg.*] when I can, and you mus[t] bair with good faith duren my absence and try to enjoy your self as well as possable, and Tell the children to be good boys & guirls Pair will come [*illeg.*] by and for them to go to school and learn thr Books [*illeg.*] like purty children and sho[w] Pair how smart they love him in his absence &c. I have nothing more at present but Remain yours &c.

Mitchell was obviously a little worried that these people he planned to sell might not "behave" well after all. No doubt they were even more unhappy to be in Mississippi than Mitchell was. In a post script, Mitchell wrote his wife, "I want to he[a]r from home very mutch, this Country is said to be [more] heathen than common." While Mitchell did return to

his family and home from out of this "heathen" land, the 51 African Americans did not. Mary Carter was sold together with Moses for $1,550, the price indicating Moses was probably a working-age adult, perhaps her husband. Maria Finney, however, was sold alone, bringing Mitchell $600. Washington appears to have remained with Mitchell until the end, perhaps expecting to accompany him back home. Instead, Mitchell sold the man for more than $1,000 in order to return alone the way he had come.[8]

Like Mitchell's 51 slaves, the vast majority of forced African-American migrants from Virginia came from the regions east of the Blue Ridge, where most slaves lived and where, in some counties, the labor glut in slaves had begun even before the Revolution.[9] Slaveholders and slave traders forced the emigration of 19 to 29 percent of the slave population from the Tidewater each decade after 1790. The Piedmont followed suit after 1810; slaveholders there sold or moved 15 to 25 percent of the region's slave population out of the state each decade. Even the tobacco boom of the 1840s and 1850s did not slow the exodus of slaves. While the areas west of the Blue Ridge saw far fewer raw numbers of slave migrants than did the east, the rate of forced emigration from western Virginia equaled that of the eastern regions in the 1850s.[10]

Knowing that slaveholders everywhere might sell, slave traders scoured every part of the state for slaves to transport to the deep-south markets, as evidenced by their frequent announcements in local newspapers. The following late antebellum notices were typical of those from the 1840s through 1860. This one appeared in the Lexington *Valley Star* on January 26, 1860:

> NEGROES! NEGROES!!
> The undersigned wishes to buy ONE HUNDRED likely NEGROES, for which he will pay the highest Market Price in CASH.
>
> J. F. TOMPKINS, Lexington, Va.

Tompkins had some local competition. Other traders — William Taylor of Brownsburg, some 15 miles north of Lexington, and J. E. Carson of neighboring Augusta County — published notices in the Lexington newspaper.[11] Further south, Abingdon auctioneer Joseph M. Crockett swaggered in a local advertisement that he "wants all the Negroes that are for sale in this part of the country, for which the highest prices will be paid in cash." George Hardy of Abingdon worked the trade in partnership with

Dr. H. Clark of Rural Retreat. They advertised from spring to summer in 1859 that they "desire to purchase an unlimited number of likely young negroes, for whom they will give the highest prices in CASH!" In addition to these local men, Tidewater traders also worked the region beyond the Blue Ridge, sending out buying agents on itinerant missions.[12] Many of these traders funneled slaves through the Richmond markets, where auctioneers bought and sold on commission. There, buyers from the deep South frequently arrived to buy slaves, hoping to avoid the costs of buying in the more expensive markets of Natchez and New Orleans.[13]

A Louisiana sugar planter named Andrew Durnford learned the hard way that the money saved in Richmond came with its own set of headaches. Durnford was in one way an atypical planter, as he was a creole free man of color. He had established close ties to white planters in Louisiana, however, and his relative wealth and network of connections allowed him freedom of movement. At least, he met no resistance in Richmond when he traveled there in 1835 to buy slaves for his plantation. Perhaps his ancestry was sufficiently diverse that he allowed himself to be perceived as white in Virginia, where he was not well known. In any case, he clearly did not identify with those African Americans he bought and held as slaves.[14]

Durnford did seek to buy at least some slaves in family groups, but, like other purchasing planters, his main concerns on the trip were the costs and logistics of purchasing and transportation. He wrote his white fellow planter and apparent business partner John McDonogh on June 10th that he had "been advised to take them [his purchased slaves] through by land from here to Guyandotte on the Ohio, as there is no vessel that will leave here before the first of October."[15] Five days later, he had reconsidered this advice:

> I find that I will have much more difficulty than I was aware of in their transportation. I thought of going to Guyandotte, on horses, &c, and then would not be nearer New Orleans than to be here. I have been making inquiries respecting the route. It is a job of twenty five days. If a few getts sick on the way I will have to stay up and expend what few dollars I may have left. I will do better if it can be done, that is, if the Steam Packets will take me from N[orfolk] to Charleston. I will go there and shipped my people, and come home by land, as the [coastal] passage will be long, and warm.[16]

While Durnford searched for a coastal vessel shipping soon enough, his fears about overland delays were confirmed by reports from the west:

> I hear the cholera is at Wheeling, and all along the rivers of the western country. A few weeks ago a farmer of Alabama started by land, and I have been informed since, that one of them [his slaves purchased in Virginia] have been taken sick with measles he had to stop on the way. My lot is [i.e., includes] children. They can't walk, and if half a dozen should get sick on the way, it would fill my waggon, prevent me from traveling ...[17]

Despite these dire warnings, in the end Durnford was left to take this route. He continued also to be plagued by a rush of other out-of-state buyers like himself, who had bid up prices in Virginia. As he wrote McDonogh from Richmond on July 6th:

> This is to say that I will leave here tomorrow for Guyandot with twenty five people of all description, for which I paid six thousand eight hundred & seventy six dollars. I will keep the ballance of the money, and it is probable on my way on the other side of the mountain I may gett a few more. There is so many of the Alabama farmers here, that there is no prospects of doing any more business... The [Virginia] farmers is aware of the prices, and will hold on, it is only after the harvest that people may be got cheaper, and not certain at that, then... I have agreed with a wagoner to take me to G[uyandotte] for 75$, and a man to go with me for fear they [the slaves] might stow themselves away when near their home...[18]

Only by his interest in preventing any escapes did Durnford give any indication how his forced migrants might feel about the trip. Knowing that many had come from the Piedmont and western parts of the state through which they would be traveling on the way to Guyandotte, he was wary of this overland route, but he had little choice.

While professional traders did hire or operate their own steamboats to send slaves to New Orleans by the coastal shipping routes, most slave migrants traveled by foot throughout the antebellum period. Two white travelers documented this mass movement in southwest Virginia. Each perceived and portrayed African-American sentiments about the migration in his own characteristic way. On September 6, 1834, Englishman George Featherstonhaugh intercepted trader John Armfield of Alexan-

dria, who was directing the migration of an extraordinarily large coffle of three hundred slaves across a ford on the New River. Though an abolitionist, Featherstonhaugh remained steeped in the racial notions of his day, and he held an ambivalent view of what the forced migration meant for the African Americans themselves:

> It was an interesting, but a melancholy spectacle, to see them effect the passage of the river: first, a man on horseback selected a shallow place in the ford for the male slaves; then followed a waggon and four horses, attended by another man on horseback. The other waggon contained the children and some that were lame, whilst the scows, or flat-boats, crossed the women and some of the people belonging to the caravan.

Englishman George Featherstonhaugh witnessed trader John Armfield of Alexandria, Virginia, directing this large coffle of slaves across the New River in 1834. The traders wore black crepe on their hat bands in mourning for the death of the Marquis de Lafayette, a point Featherstonhaugh found hypocritical, given Lafayette's status as a symbol of liberty. (from Virginia Cavalcade, *vol. 3, p. 10 (Autumn 1953).*

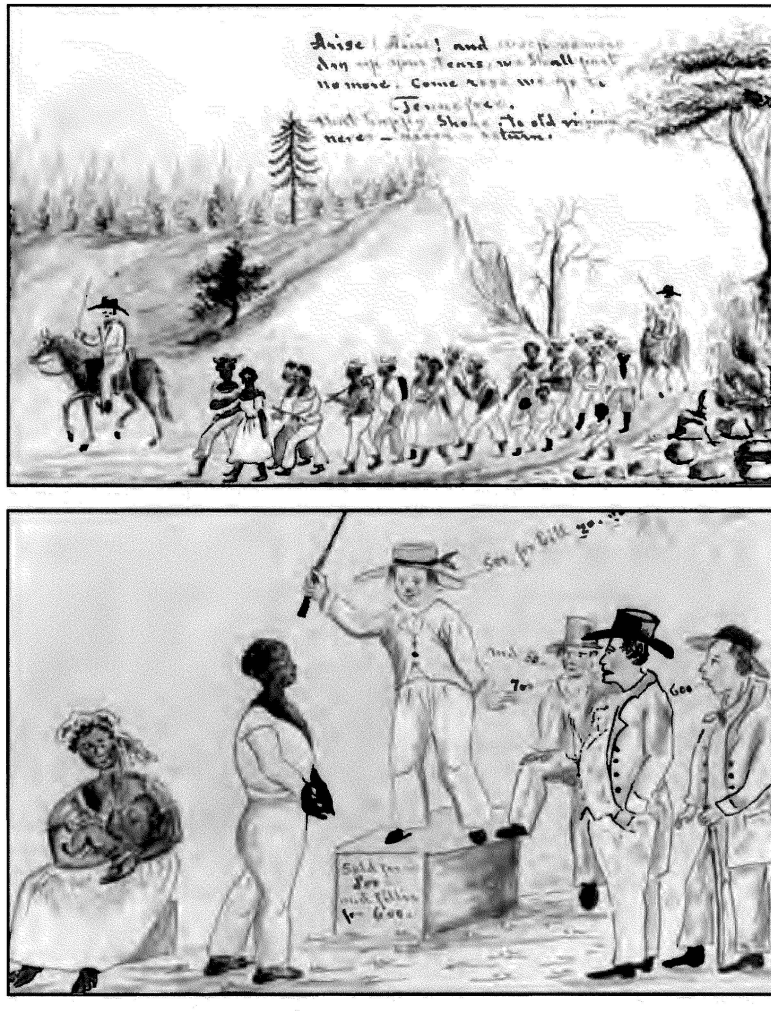
> There was much method and vigilance observed, for this was one of the situations where the gangs — always watchful to obtain their liberty — often show a disposition to mutiny, knowing that if one or two of them could wrench their manacles off, they could soon free the rest, and either disperse themselves or overpower and slay their sordid keepers, and fly to the Free States. The slave-drivers, aware of this disposition in the unfortanate negroes, endeavour to mitigate their discontent by feeding them well on the march, and by encouraging them to sing "Old Virginia never tire," to the banjo.
>
> The poor negro slave is naturally a cheerful, laughing animal, and even when driven through the wilderness in chains, if he is well fed and kindly treated, is seldom melancholy; for his thoughts have not been taught to stray to the future, and his condition is so degraded, that if the food and warmth his desires are limited to are secured to him, he is singularly docile.[19]

As Featherstonhaugh wrote about the New River crossing he witnessed, he clearly applied the pro-slavery argument that African Americans were happy in slavery. Particularly glaring was his failure to see how being "driven through the wilderness in chains" might not constitute "kindly" treatment. Yet the British observer did not imbibe that ideology in its entirety. Like the slave buyer Andrew Durnford, Featherstonhaugh assumed that slaves might openly resist and escape the trade. He went on to note, in fact, that he heard "that only two or three months before I passed this way a 'gang' had surprised their conductors when off their guard, and had killed some of them with axes."[20] In Featherstonhaugh's reckoning of the slave trade, then, slaves could prove both docile and violent.

Lewis Miller, a "Pennsylvania Dutch" native of York (Pennsylvania), captured the ironic way African Americans themselves might express their sentiments in the slave trade. Traveling widely, he kept journals in the form of watercolor sketchbooks. Miller filled these with both humorous and serious scenes — including, for example, a boy who accidentally shot another in the face, and a man who "made his water" in a tub of someone else's sauerkraut. Miller was quite observant of issues of race, but he almost always displayed reticence, expressing his own opinions indirectly. He illustrated with equal restraint the "Large Fire in York

Borough 1803 set on fire by the negros," and the 1863 celebration of African Americans at the news of emancipation.[21]

In an 1853 sketch of a trader's coffle heading down the Valley Turnpike south of Staunton, Miller demonstrated his characteristic perceptiveness and detachment. The group sang as they marched, and Miller recorded their words:



On a trip to Virginia in 1853, Pennsylvanian Lewis Miller sketched in watercolors a slave coffle heading down the Valley Turnpike south of Staunton (top) and a slave auction in Christiansburg (bottom). He wrote of the trader's coffle: "I was Astonished at this boldness, the carrier Stopped a moment, then Ordered the march." (by permission, Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Center, Williamsburg, Va.)

Arise! Arise! and weep no more
dry up your tears, we Shall part no more.
Come rose we go to Tennessee, that happy shore.
to old virginia never — never — return.[22]

Miller's sketch of enslaved African Americans singing as they were forced to leave their homes embodied the many contradictory layers of meaning involved in the scene. Featherstonhaugh had remarked that traders compelled the slaves to sing in order to keep them happy. Frederick Douglass, in his 1845 autobiography, undermined this pro-slavery notion that singing constituted "evidence of their contentment and happiness." "It is impossible to conceive of a greater mistake," Douglass countered. "Slaves sing most when they are most unhappy. The songs of the slave represent the sorrows of his heart; and he is relieved by them, only as an aching heart is relieved by its tears." Former slave John Sella Martin concurred in 1867, writing that when traders told departing slaves to "strike up lively," they meant the slaves to mask "any expression of sorrow for those who are being torn away from them; but the negroes, who have very little hope of ever seeing those again who are dearer to them than life, and who are weeping and wailing over the separation, often turn the song thus demanded of them into a farewell dirge."[23]

Thus the song Miller heard and transcribed — a hybrid between sentimental tune and spiritual — had been twisted by the enslaved chorus into a lamentation. That slaves should sing of "parting no more" while in the very act of parting had to strike everyone involved as terribly ironic. The interpolation of Tennessee as the River Jordan's "happy shore" of Biblical reunion would have seemed equally implausible to trader, enslaved migrant, and observant onlooker alike. The finality of the last line punctuated the contradiction, as these migrants would indeed "never—never—return" to their homes and families in Virginia. While Miller's sketching style may have rendered the slaves' situation somewhat comic, his sympathies seemed to be with them, and the wry wit with which he observed other events may have allowed him to hear the ironic overtones of their song.

African Americans, of course, held dear their attachments to their homes and families just as white people did. William, a free man of color from piedmont Amherst County, expressed his feelings in terms of an emotional geography. Attempting to avoid state-sponsored deportation to Liberia in 1836, he petitioned the legislature to allow him to stay,

attesting that he "loves the country where he was born and raised, in sight of the bigg mountains, and away from the Sea." The sight of the sheltering Blue Ridge proved a comfort to him, while the ocean loomed as the conduit for his potential exile. William was not merely sentimental about Virginia; he knew that migration would mean separation from his family and friends. He pleaded in his petition that he was old and therefore "desires to form no new connections in this life."[24]

Those "connections" were precisely what African Americans stood to lose through forced migration, whether at the hands of migrating planters or commercial traders. Some white slaveholders expressed their understanding of this attitude. One particularly attentive Virginia slaveholding woman wrote in 1804 about the impending migration of some of their slaves to Kentucky. "Tomorrow the negroes are to get off and I expect there will be great crying and morning, children Leaving there mothers, mothers there children, and women there husbands." This particular separation was supposed to be only temporary, but she clearly recognized the potential intervention of permanent separation through death. She wrote that "whoever Lives to see it both black & white will Leave this State" in the fall.[25]

Enslaved African Americans remaining in Virginia never knew if they would live to see their loved ones again. A few, however, were able to gain at least some information about those they had lost. A tiny minority of slaves — certainly fewer than five percent — learned to write, and those fewer still who had their masters' permission to do so used their skills to seek information about emigrant family members. In 1807, an enslaved woman named Gooley wrote from Port Royal, in Caroline County, Virginia, to her former mistress, who had moved to Kentucky. Several of Gooley's children had been taken along, and Gooley had learned troubling news about them. She wrote that she had "heard you have lost some of your Small Negroes by death. Do when you write me inform me which of them are dead." Whether Gooley learned the fate of her children or even received a reply remains unknown.[26]

The economic logic of slavery meant that African-American kin were separated by sale and hire within Virginia as well.[27] These relatively short-distance separations complicated matters when bad news came, even when literacy aided communication. Maria and Richard Perkins faced a particular problem, separated as they were by the Blue Ridge. Maria Perkins was living in the Piedmont town of Charlottesville when

she learned that her master had sold her son to a trader in Scottsville, on the James River. Richard was living at the time in Staunton, in the Shenandoah Valley county of Augusta. She wrote him there, hoping he could find a suitable buyer for her. Slavery had strewn her family and her own life across that distance more than once, it seems. "My things is in several places," she wrote, "some is in Staunton and if I should be sold I don't know what will become of them. I don't expect to meet with the luck to get that way."[28]

Distance stood similarly in the path of Bethany Veney, an enslaved woman living in Page County near Luray, and her husband Jerry, who lived with a different master to the east across the Blue Ridge. In Veney's autobiography, the crisis they faced gave the mountain journey an emotional significance beyond the seven miles separating her home from Jerry's. They had been married only eight months when he was sold to pay his master's debts. Veney trudged over the pass to see him one last time in the jail at Little Washington, where he had been incarcerated to await sale. When she wrote her autobiography in 1889, she still remembered vividly what she had experienced and how she had felt on that dreadful night, as she walked along the carriage road over the mountain:

> The sun might have been two hours high when I started; but, before I was half over the mountain, night had closed round me its deepest gloom. The vivid flashes of lightening made the carriage path plain at times, and then I could not see a step before me; and the rolling thunder added to my fear and dread.[29]

This harrowing journey marked the beginning of the end, as Jerry was bought by slave traders Frank White and David McCoy, who eventually carried him south, never to be heard from again. In Veney's narrative, the Blue Ridge literally represented the distance between her husband and herself. Moreover, the ravaging storm mirrored her own gloomy emotions, her dread at the task of separation that lay before her.

Ex-slave John P. Parker used the mountains and the slave trade even more explicitly in his narrative to mark his entrance into slavery itself. Dictating his autobiography in the 1880s, he recalled a crucial event in his young life. Sold from Norfolk to Richmond at age eight, he was sold again to a commercial trader, chained in a coffle, and marched west through the Alleghenies:

> I was trudging along a trail called a road through the mountains of Virginia. It was June. Every flower was in bloom, the wilderness was all about us, green and living. Azaleas and mountain laurels were in full bloom. Every thing seemed to be gay except myself. Picking up a stick, I struck at each flowering shrub, taking delight in smashing down particularly those in bloom. That was my only revenge on the things that were free.
>
> I remember coming to a mountain brook. As the long chain of men, women, and children crossed through the brook, I kicked and splashed the running water. I struck at the bubbles with my stick — anything and everything that was without restraint was the object of wrath...
>
> When we came out of the brook, there was a chestnut tree in full tassled bloom. In the midst of the clusters sang a red bird, to me a red blotch of blood. In an instant I had seized a rock and with all my youth and heart of hatred, I threw it at the red bird. It flew away careless[ly], but if it had been in my power I would have killed [it] and been glad of the deed. What I did do was to shake my fist at it and curse it. The rest of the slaves laughed at my anger.

For Parker, the sojourn in the mountains marked not only his forced exile from Virginia, but also his initiation into the meaning of slavery. The mountains' lushness had revealed to him a natural state of freedom, an Eden from which he had been unjustly banished. The freedom of the mountain "wilderness" mocked the enslaved child. He literally saw red and lashed out at it. "Ragged and barefooted," he wrote, "I was resentful of the freedom of nature." This experience proved crucial to Parker's self-awareness, for the scene, he avowed, had remained "indelibly fixed in my mind" nearly fifty years after its passing. It may even have helped inspire his later work as a key player on the Underground Railroad in Ohio.[30]

For another boy crossing the mountains in slavery, the journey proved more of a purgatory than a condemnation. Fourteen-year-old Francis Fedric was forced to move from Fauquier County, Virginia, to Kentucky, via Wheeling, around 1827, along with the rest of his master's slaves. His remembrance, written and published in England at the height of the American Civil War, served clearly as abolitionist polemic, but it also conveyed both factual and emotional truths about his experiences on

the journey through the mountains. Rather than mocking him, nature seemed to threaten him outright:

> We set out with several waggons and a sorrowful cavalcade on our way to Kentucky. After several day's journey, we saw at a distance the lofty range of the Allegheny mountains. My master, by the use of his glass, had told us two or three days before that the mountains were near. They now became visible, looming in the distance something like blue sky. After a while we approached them, and began to pass over them through what appeared to be a long, winding valley. On every side, huge, blue-looking rocks seemed impending. I thought, if let loose, they would fall upon us and crush us. Our journey was, I may say almost interrupted every now and then, by immense droves of pigs, which are bred in Kentucky, and were proceeding from thence to Baltimore, and other places in Virginia. These droves contained very often 700 or 800 pigs. When we halted for the night we lit our fires, and baked our Indian meal on griddles; sometimes the cakes were very much burnt, but these, together with salt herrings, were the only food we had. Our drink was water from the surrounding rills running down the mountain-sides. In fact, torrents of water, arising from the ice and melting snow, were rushing down in hundreds of directions. The scenery was what I may term hard and wild, the tops of the mountains being hid by the clouds, in many places rolling far beneath. But my thoughts in passing over these mountains then were rather those of amazement and wonder than those of a curious and inquiring mind, such as now, with some enlightenment, I might have. I only remember large flights of crows, and what are called in America, black birds, which make a loud screaming noise, instead of a beautiful note, like the English bird of this name.
>
> Two or three times during the night, when we were encamped and fast asleep, one of the overseers would call our names over, every one being obliged to wake up and answer. My master was afraid of some of us escaping, so uncertain are the owners of the possession of their slaves. The masters are ever feverishly anxious about the slaves running away, and this being always continued, necessarily produces an irritability characteristic of the slave-holder. The howling of the

> wolves, and other wild animals, broke the solemn stillness which reigned widely around us. Now and then my master would fire his gun to frighten them away from us, but we never were in any way molested. Perhaps the fires kept them at a distance from us.[31]

Fedric envisioned the mountains as a wild place through which he had to pass. Here, unlike in Parker's narrative, "wilderness" threatened rather than mocked the enslaved boy. In place of babbling brooks, there were torrential streams; instead of a singing red bird, Fedric saw "screaming" black birds. Boulders threatened to crush him and wolves to eat him. The Appalachian mountains led, in Fedric's vision, out of the frying pan of Virginia only into the unknown fire of Kentucky.

As Fedric noted, echoing Featherstonhaugh and Durnford, masters had their own fear — losing slaves as runaways in the mountains. Perhaps his master's periodic gunfire served as much a warning to Fedric's enslaved fellow travelers as to the wolves. Fedric's abolitionist autobiography allowed slaveholders no quarter. He laid the blame fully on his master for separating the family in the migration. As for the old Virginia home he had been forced to leave, Fedric associated it not with reverie or nostalgia but with the pain of separation. "Still, after so many years," he wrote, the "lamentations and piercing cries" of spouses left behind "sound in my ears whenever I think of Virginia."[32]

Traveling in freedom did not lessen the hold of the mountain passages on African-American life histories. London Ferrill was sold from his mother at age eight or nine, but he traveled to Kentucky as a free man and a minister. His anonymous biographer, a proslavery apologist, minimized Ferrill's separation from his mother, emphasizing instead his religious calling and the kindness of white patrons in sponsoring Ferrill's mission work. Thus the mountain wilderness in his narrative held Biblical connotations:

> Ferrill's desire to leave his native State increased; his mind was greatly troubled, thinking that some unenlightened population in some section were without a shepherd and needed his services in the cause of Christianity, he came to the determination to seek them, and his kind wife remarked to him that she would go with him any where.
>
> He thought of New York and Philadelphia as good places to settle, but he was persuaded to come out to Kentucky. He bought him a Yankee wagon and two horses, and he and his

> wife started on their journey on the old Wilderness road, which was very thinly settled. They had to sleep forty miles from any habitation whilst journeying to Kentucky, the bears and the wolves howling around their tent each night all night, keeping them in fear of an attack from those ferocious animals and being devoured by them, but through the protection of a kind Providence they escaped unhurt, and at length arrived in this State and went to Colonel Overton's, where they were cordially received.[33]

Ferrill's image of the wilderness struck similar chords with Francis Fedric's more secular one, howling wolves and all. But Ferrill gave it an interpretation more clearly biblical. As the Reverend Francis Ferrill knew well, Christ had suffered his own trials in the wilderness. And, as Ferrill himself asserted, it was only by "kind Providence" that he and his wife made it through.[34]

The mountains in Ferrill's narrative seemed to hold resonance with other religious biographies. Thomas Anderson's life history proved similar to Ferrill's in outline. Both were born in Hanover County in the 1780s; both gained freedom; both followed a religious calling; both moved west of the Alleghenies; and both had white patrons record their biographies. In 1854, when his narrative was published, Anderson lived near the mouth of the Guyandotte River. While Anderson did not record his trip over the Alleghenies, he did see the metaphorical religious significance of mountains in his own life's work. He told of one of his own personal struggles in his ministry:

> The Lord lay out a little work, not long since, for me to do in Ohio, about twelve miles distant; and though I did not see at first how it was to be done, I wait patiently his time to remove the mountains out of my way, and when he did remove it, he make the path of duty very plain, and all opposition was remove out of the way, and then I perform the little labor to the peace of my soul, and, I trust, to the glory of God.[35]

While it was in fact the Ohio River that separated Anderson from his mission work, his focus on mountains was instructive. He did not make the obvious Biblical connection between the Ohio River and the River Jordan, with its promise of freedom and reunion, as other African Americans did. Instead, Anderson's Biblical reference focused on what he (and his white biographer) considered his life's work and struggle.

Mountains stood as a metaphor for his own doubt, which only faith in the Lord would remove.[36] It is also possible that his own experience in passing over the Alleghenies to the Guyandotte informed his choice of metaphor. He had already experienced what was likely a trying journey through the mountains that he perhaps, like Ferrill, would have interpreted as providential: the Lord had cleared a path for him through actual mountains, and now the Lord had moved metaphorical mountains which lay in his spiritual path.

The image of the Appalachians as a place of trials continued, though less emphatically, in one of the last and most famous of Virginia's ex-slave autobiographies, Booker T. Washington's 1901 *Up from Slavery*. Born around 1856 in Franklin County, he experienced emancipation during the Civil War. After the war, his step-father settled in the Kanawha Valley in West Virginia to work in salt furnaces. "As soon as freedom was declared," Washington recalled, his step-father called for his wife and her children to join him near Charleston. Washington described the journey:

> At that time a journey from Virginia over the mountains to West Virginia was rather a tedious and in some cases a painful undertaking. What little clothing and few household goods we had were placed in a cart, but the children walked the greater portion of the distance, which was several hundred miles.... We were several weeks making the trip, and most of the time we slept in the open air and did our cooking over a log fire out-of-doors. One night I recall that we camped near an abandoned log cabin, and my mother decided to build a fire in that for cooking, and afterward to make a "pallet" on the floor for our sleeping. Just as the fire had gotten well started a large black snake fully a yard and a half long dropped down the chimney and ran out on the floor. Of course we at once abandoned that cabin.[37]

Once again, now in postbellum freedom, this passage through the wilderness — as marked by the abandoned cabin and the encounter with the snake — served to mark a transition from one hard situation to another. Washington described his new home in the industrial town as worse than his cold slave cabin. His step-father quickly put the ten-year-old to work packing salt barrels at four o'clock every morning. Washington's life in freedom would indeed be a struggle.

While the slaveholders and slave traders who directed enslaved migration saw the migration chiefly in terms of their own economic interest, some white observers expressed limited sympathy. Even antislavery observers did not fully comprehend the meaning forced migration held for enslaved people. In African Americans' journey stories, the mountains of the Alleghenies often stood as emotional as well as physical barriers to be negotiated. Mountains represented a "wilderness" experience, one in which African Americans struggled with the meanings of their separation from well-known homes and families to the east. For some, like John P. Parker, mountains catalyzed an awakening to one's own enslaved status in the world. For others, like Bethany Veney, the mountain journey marked the dread of separation from a particular loved one. The passage through the mountains seared in their memory the pain of that particular life-changing event.

Others, like London Ferrill and perhaps Thomas Anderson, interpreted their mountain sojourns as guided by Providence. For them, mountains represented trials to overcome in doing their duty to the Lord's mission work in the world. Francis Fedric's purgatory was a secular one, as he passed only from one slave society to another. Some, like Gooley, found the distance across the Alleghenies to be an obstacle to communication, surmountable perhaps, but only imperfectly so. Others, like the petitioner William, found solace in the mountains' sheltering presence.

But none found redemption there. For these narrators, their Appalachian journeys were ones taken only under duress. Slaveholders directed their journeys, whether taken in the slave trade or with migrating planters. Local movement had long meant constant dislocation in family and community ties, but long-distance migration could mean "social death," the removal from all known kin and community.[38] This social death found metaphorical representation for some African Americans in the form of the mountains that struck them so impressively on their actual journeys. The physical hardships of mountain passages mirrored and amplified African Americans' emotional and spiritual experiences in the enslaved migration away from home. Despite the slave gang's song about Tennessee, that "happy shore" of freedom lay not in the mountains, but rather on the northern banks of the Ohio River, or across international boundaries, or, for nearly four million African Americans, on the far side of the Civil War.

Endnotes

1. Phillip D. Troutman earned his Ph.D. from the University of Virginia in August 2000 and taught history at Virginia Tech in 1999–2000. He is currently a scholar in residence at the Center for the Study of the American South, revising his manuscript for publication as *SENTIMENT IN THE SLAVE MARKET OF ANTEBELLUM VIRGINIA*. He thanks Peter Wallenstein, Hugh Campbell, and the anonymous *Smithfield Review* readers for their comments on drafts of this essay.
2. Allan Kulikoff, "Uprooted Peoples: Black Migrants in the Age of the American Revolution, 1790–1820," in *Slavery and Freedom in the Age of the American Revolution*, ed. Ira Berlin and Ronald Hoffman (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1983), 152. Michael Tadman, *Speculators and Slaves: Masters, Traders, and Slaves in the Old South* (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 12, table 2.1, and 22–41. Jonathan Pritchett, "Quantitative Estimates of the U. S. Interregional Slave Trade, 1820–60," paper presented at the Social Science History Association Annual Meeting, 21 November 1998. Traders and planters *both* separated black family members in the process of migration. See Tadman, *Speculators*, 111–17, 170–71, and Herbert Gutman, *Slavery and the Numbers Game: A Critique of* Time on the Cross (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1975), 105, 112.
3. For historical perspectives on these great migrations, see Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard Univ. Press, 1998), 17–28; Sidney W. Mintz and Richard Price, *The Birth of African-American Culture: An Anthropological Perspective* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996), 42–46; Nell Irvin Painter, *Exodusters: Black Migration to Kansas after Reconstruction*, 2nd ed. (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1986); and James R. Grossman, *Land of Hope: Chicago, Black Southerners, and the Great Migration* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1989). Literary studies of the journey motif include Farah Jasmine Griffin, *"Who Set You Flowin'?": The African American Migration Narrative* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1995) and William L. Andrews, *To Tell a Free Story: The First Century of Afro-American Autobiography, 1760–1865* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1986). For narratives of the African slave trade, see Jerome S. Handler and Michael L. Tuite, ed., *Pictorial Images of the Transatlantic Slave Trade*, http://gropius.lib.virginia.edu/SlaveTrade/; and Philip D. Curtin, ed., *Africa Remembered: Narratives by West Africans from the Era of the Slave Trade* (orig. 1967;repr., Waveland Press, 1997). For collections of African-American autobiographies see the University of North Carolina Libraries project, *Documenting the American South: North American Slave Narratives*, http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/neh.html, and Farah J. Griffin and Cheryl J. Fish, *A Stranger in the Village: Two Centuries of African-American Travel Writing* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1998). Artistic interpretations of the journey motif include Jacob Lawrence, *The Great Migration: An American Story* (New York: HarperCollins, 1993), and Toni Morrison, *Beloved* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987).
4. The most comprehensive history of slavery on the smaller farms more typical of mountainous areas promises to be Wilma Dunaway, *Never Safe in a Family Way: Forced Labor Migrations, Slave Diasporas, and Reproductive Exploitation on Small Plantations* (forthcoming, Univ. of North Carolina Press); for a preview, see Dunaway,"Diaspora, Death, and Sexual Exploitation: Slave Families at Risk in the

Mountain South," *Appalachian Journal* 26 (Winter 1999): 128-149. For other recent essays, see John Inscoe, ed., *Appalachians and Race: The Mountain South from Slavery to Segregation* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2000). See also Charles B. Dew, *Bond of Iron: Master and Slave at Buffalo Forge* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1994); John Inscoe, *Mountain Masters, Slavery, and the Sectional Crisis in Western North Carolina* (Knoxville: Univ. of Tennessee Press, 1989); "Olmsted in Appalachia: A Connecticut Yankee Encounters Slavery and Racism in the Southern Highlands," *Slavery and Abolition* 9 (Sept. 1988): 171–182; and "Mountain Masters as Confederate Opportunists: The Profitability of Slavery in Western North Carolina, 1861-65," *Slavery and Abolition* 15 (April 1995): 85–100; and Kenneth Noe, *Southwest Virginia's Railroad: Modernization and the Sectional Crisis* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1994). For other aspects of African-American history in Appalachia, see Joe William Trotter, *Coal, Class, and Color: Blacks in Southern West Virginia, 1915–1932* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1990), and William H. Turner and Edward J. Cabbell, ed., *Blacks in Appalachia* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1985).

5. These estimates are very rough, based on the following assumptions: in the decades 1790–1810, all slaves leaving Virginia walked; thereafter, 75 percent walked (the rest traveling by steamship or, in the 1850s, railroad); of those walking, 50 percent went via southwest Virginia for all decades (this is probably a conservative estimate). Base figures are from Tadman, *Speculators and Slaves*, 12, table 2.1. On duration of the trading season, see Herman Freudenberger and Jonathan B. Pritchett, "The Domestic United States Slave Trade: New Evidence," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 21 (Winter 1991), 463–72.
6. James A. Mitchell, "The Expense of Travelin with negros from Va to Miss and Returning home Commenced the 18 of October 1834 and continued to the 13th Febuary 1835," Mitchell Papers, Duke University.
7. On the average pace of overland coffles, see Freudenberger and Pritchett, "Domestic United States Slave Trade: New Evidence," 472.
8. Mitchell, "Expense of Travelin," and James A. Mitchell to Sarah H. Mitchell, 10 Dec. 1834, Southside Virginia Collection, University of Virginia.
9. The Virginia-born slave population had gained rates of natural reproduction equal to that of whites by the 1750s. From the 1760s, large slaveholders sought to prohibit further slave imports, hoping to keep slave prices relatively high and to create a monopoly on supplying native-born slaves to growing areas; they succeeded in legally banning African slave imports in 1783. Allan Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680–1800* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1986), 71–73. Woody Holton, *Forced Founders: Indians, Debtors, Slaves and the Making of the American Revolution in Virginia* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1999), 66–73, 90–91, 99-105. W. E. B. DuBois, *The Suppression of the African Slave-Trade to the United States of America, 1638–1870* (orig. 1896; repr., New York: Schocken Books, 1969), 12–14.
10. For maps and graphs illustrating the changing numbers and rates of slave migration for each decade, 1790–1860, see Phillip D. Troutman, *Mapping Virginia's Enslaved Exodus*, http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/slavetrade/

11. Lexington *Valley Star*, 26 January 1860; 2, 9 August, 1860. For some of the activities of Carson, see Dew, *Bond of Iron*, 254–55, 279-280.
12. Abingdon *Democrat*, 11 June 1859. Traders routinely paid higher prices — and in cash — than local buyers, who normally could only pay on long credit. This economic incentive proved difficult to resist, even for slaveholders who considered themselves conscientious.
13. In 1836, for example, the average price for male "prime field hands" was $800 in Virginia and $1,250 in New Orleans. U. B. Philips, *American Negro Slavery* (1916; repr., Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1966), table "Prices of Slaves and Cotton," following p. 370.
14. For a nuanced account of another such slaveholding free man of color, see Michael P. Johnson and James L. Roark, *Black Masters: A Free Family of Color in the Old South* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1984).
15. Andrew Durnford to John McDonogh, 10 June 1835, in David O. Whitten, "Slave Buying in 1835 Virginia as Revealed by Letters of a Louisiana Negro Sugar Planter," *Louisiana History* 11 (Summer 1970), 236. Guyandotte was on the site of present-day Huntington, West Virginia, at the mouth of the Guyandotte River (236 n).
16. Durnford to McDonogh, 15 June 1835, in *ibid.*, 237.
17. Durnford to McDonogh, 25 June 1835, in *ibid.*, 238—39.
18. Durnford to McDonogh, 6 July 1835, in *ibid.*, 240. Wheeling is on the Ohio River, now in West Virginia.
19. George W. Featherstonhaugh, *Excursion through the Slave States, from Washington on the Potomac to the Frontier of Mexico* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1844), also repr. in *A Documentary History of Slavery in North America*, ed. Willie Lee Rose (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1976), 157–58. Image from Featherstonhaugh repr. in Robert L. Scribner, "Slave Gangs on the March," *Virginia Cavalcade* 3 (Autumn 1953), 10.
20. Featherstonhaugh, *Excursion*, 38.
21. Miller was born in 1796; thus, many of his early sketches appear to have been done from stories told to him rather than from his own witnessing of the events. For these examples, other published sketches, biographical and bibliographical information, see Lewis Miller, *Sketches and Chronicles: The Reflections of a Nineteenth Century Pennsylvania German Folk Artist*, edited by Robert P. Turner and with an introduction by Donald A. Shelly (York, Pa.: Historical Society of York County, 1996), examples cited, pp. 35, 50, 87, 152. After the Civil War, Miller settled in Christiansburg, Virginia, where he died in 1882 and was buried.
22. Lewis Miller, "Slave Trader, Sold to Tennessee," watercolor sketch, Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Center, Williamsburg, Virginia. Image from Featherstonhaugh repr. in Robert L. Scribner, "Slave Gangs on the March," *Virginia Cavalcade* 3 (Autumn 1953), 11.
23. Frederick Douglass, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* (1845; repr., New York, Dover Publications, 1995), 9. [John] Sella Martin's autobiography originally published in *Good Words* v. 8, 1 May 1867, pp. 314–21; and v. 9, 1 June 1867, pp. 393–99, repr. in John Blassingame, ed., *Slave Testimony: Two Centuries of Letters, Speeches, Interviews, and Autobiographies* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1977), 702–35; quotation 705.

24. Amherst County Legislative Petitions, 8 December 1836, Library of Virginia, quoted in Sherrie S. McLeRoy and William R. McLeRoy, *Strangers in their Midst: the Free Black Population of Amherst County, Virginia* (Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books, 1993), 212. On Virginia's colonization scheme and African-American resistance to it, see Alison Goodyear Freehling, *Drift Toward Dissolution: The Virginia Slavery Debate of 1831–1832* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1982), chs. 6, 7.
25. Unidentified letter [to Polly Cabell Breckinridge], 12 Oct. 1804, quoted in Gail S. Terry, "Sustaining the Bonds of Kinship in a Trans-Appalachian Migration, 1790–1811: The Cabell-Breckinridge Slaves Move West," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 102 (Oct. 1994), 464. Terry successfully evokes the cycles of hope and despair engendered by the serial migration slaveholders forced on slaves. White planter women also frequently resented these migrations, as well, since they separated their own white families; see Joan Cashin, *A Family Venture: Men and Women on the Southern Frontier* (New York : Oxford University Press, 1991). See also David Hackett Fischer and James C. Kelly, *Bound Away : Virginia and the Westward Movement* (Charlottesville : University Press of Virginia, 2000).
26. Gooley to "Dear Mistress," 30 November 1807, Duke Marion Godby Papers, Univ. of Kentucky, repr. in *We Are Your Sisters: Black Women in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Dorothy Sterling (New York: W. W. Norton, 1997), 51. While very few slaves could write, far more could read; see E. Jennifer Monaghan, "Reading for the Enslaved, Writing for the Free: Reflections on Liberty and Literacy," James Russell Wiggins Lecture in the History of the Book in American Culture (Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society, 1999). For a unique example of slaves corresponding (with masters' permission) from Southwest Virginia, see the online collection, Hannah Valentine and Lethe Jackson Slave Letters, 1837–1838, Campbell Family Papers, Duke University, http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/campbell/. These enslaved women wrote from Abingdon after their master, David Campbell, was elected governor and took several slaves to Richmond with his own family. Their letters are also reprinted in *Blacks in Bondage: Letters of American Slaves*, ed. Robert S. Starobin (New York: New Viewpoints, 1974), 64–77.
27. Patterns of short-distance sales and hiring seen all over Virginia were first established in the Tidewater. See Allan Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680–1800* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1986), 320–21, 339–40, 359–64; and Sarah S. Hughes, "Slaves for Hire: The Allocation of Black Labor in Elizabeth City County, Virginia, 1782-1810," *William and Mary Quarterly* 35 (April 1978): 260–86.
28. Maria Perkins to Richard Perkins, 8 October 1852, repr. in Rose, ed., *Documentary History of Slavery*, 151; facsimile repr. on the 'Valley of the Shadow' website, http://jefferson.village.virginia.edu/vshadow2/. Punctuation and capitalization have been added for clarity.
29. Veney did not give a date for her marriage and separation, but it was probably in the 1830s. Bethany Veney, *The Narrative of Bethany Veney, A Slave Woman* (Worcester, Mass.: Geo. H. Ellis, printer, 1889), 19, electr. repr. Chapel Hill, "Documenting the American South," Univ. of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1997, http://metalab.unc.edu/docsouth/

30. *His Promised Land: The Autobiography of John P. Parker, Former Slave and Conductor on the Underground Railroad*, ed. Stuart Seely Sprague (New York: Norton, 1996), 27. Parker, born in Norfolk in 1827, eventually paid for his freedom and went on to serve in Ohio's Underground Railroad. He dictated his narrative to white journalist Frank M. Gregg in the 1880s and it remained unpublished until 1996. Sprague notes that Gregg seems to have been fairly loyal to Parker's own language; see 12–16.
31. Francis Fedric, *Slave Life in Virginia and Kentucky; or, Fifty Years of Slavery in the Southern States of America, by Francis Fedric, an Escaped Slave* (London: Wertheim, MacIntosh, and Hunt, 1863), 15–16. Fedric's English amanuensis transliterated Fedric's initial destination as "Weiland" and as "Welland." Fedric described it as lying in "New Virginia," [i.e., West Virginia] and thus probably meant Wheeling.
32. Fedric, *Slave Life*, 15.
33. Anon., *Biography of London Ferrill, Pastor of the First Baptist Church of Colored Persons, Lexington, Ky., Published by the Request of Many Friends* (Lexington, Ky.: A. W. Elder, printer, 1854), 5.
34. For Christ's temptation in the desert, see Matthew 4:1–11, Luke 4:1–13, and Mark 1:12–13.
35. J. P. Clark, ed., *Interesting Account of Thomas Anderson, A Slave, Taken from His Own Lips* (n.p., ca. 1855), p. 11. Clark apparently took this interview on 24 December 1854; he cast the narrative in Anderson's first-person voice.
36. Matthew 17:20, 21:21, and Mark 11:23.
37. Booker T. Washington, *Up from Slavery: An Autobiography*, with introduction by Louis R. Harlan (New York: Penguin Books, 1986), 24–25. See also electr. repr. "Documenting the American South," Univ. of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1997, http://metalab.unc.edu/docsouth/.
38. One key component of slavery worldwide has involved the alienation of the enslaved person from her or his community, effectively denying the slave any initial protective social ties. See Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1982). The ongoing domestic slave trade within the United States kept this process alive in America until emancipation in the Civil War.

Malissia of Tom's Creek
Painting by Joni Pienkowski

Malissia of Tom's Creek and Brush Mountain

Joni Pienkowski*

Letter to Malissia, January 29, 1988

O, Dear Malissia! You died yesterday and I read it in the paper today and it didn't say a thing. Of course, that wouldn't bother you much, dead or alive, but it bothers me. All anyone knows from the obit is that you got to be 99 and didn't leave any children behind.

So, Malissia, let me be the kid. The kid that remembers some of your stories, when stories are what there is of you.

We've known each other only fifteen years or so. And I think it took about half of that to discover you were not only the staid-school-teacher-spinster, but also the recipient of three proposals. Here you had me thinking that you never had much time for men, that your terrific struggle to get an education and go up to Craig's Creek to teach was the big thing. Then I find out about the "Number One Man. "THE ONE, The True Love as you often referred to him (nameless he remained) that came first. Glances at church and a few buggy rides — constituted a courtship...finally the awful day of the "Big Talk." He said, "Malissia, if you can put this behind you, I'll marry you." You said, "I cain't put it behind me."

You couldn't live with the thought he'd gotten another woman in the "family way" and walked off from her — and could walk off from you too? You said NO and walked away. "That was that forever — I'd a-been tough company for him." You never loved another. The second proposal was from a nice old man who bought the young girls' basket lunches at church, fixed your roof; but you weren't going to be only a cook and cleaning woman after Being in Love, and Being a Teacher. Number Three Proposal, from the traveling salesman — oh, he was a Talker, wasn't he! Well, you found out about Him. A wife and family in West Virginia. You told him you were "not about to marry a Man-with-a-LIVIN'-wife!"

Schoolteaching must have been awfully hard, but full of sweet rewards. The little boy who laid his head on your lap, worried that you liked the girls better than him. You worrying about the father of that Big Boy, who said he was coming to see you....I can see you clearly (having heard the story many times, shinier with each telling), standing on the porch of the house where you boarded. Your hand shades your eyes as you look down the road, and here comes that man, "Big as a Black Bear." What for? What for! Your heart is pounding and you'd like to "sink plumb into the ground." It turns out he's come to compliment you on the way you've been handling his boy. Teaching him a thing or two! Making him toe the mark! The sun is warmer and you are suddenly the happiest woman alive that Sunday morning.

What a time you had at that one-room school with twenty-two kids, up on Craig's Creek. How scared you were to go there, having heard that the teacher before had been stuffed in a hole in the ice by the "scholars." Scholars. I love that word you used on those schoolchildren, age 6-16. It sounds so respectful: scholars! ...

And now, Malissia, it's Sunday morning again. My mind is a-swarm with tales of you....

Your funeral yesterday was, indeed, as a friend put it: "a cross-cultural event." You were the Bridge. You let a lot of very different folk stand on you and come together a few minutes. We know, don't we, the Moments of Being that build our lives. We've talked about the Moments that burn brighter in our minds, even after 90-some years of yours, 40-some of mine. Did you catch the singing at the funeral? The song about the City, the Shore, and Growin Old? Does anyone ever know anyone? Who knew YOU? Malissia, it made me hope with fury, that Beethoven would be the first to greet you, take you by the hand set you down comfy, and have 'em play something glorious, a piece that would match your woods and creek and birds and great shafts of sunlight in the Morning.

Sunday morning, and I know what you've left me that is brighter than the sun coming in the window. Grace. "Expect Grace." Expect it from the unpredictable sources and Any Time — but especially when you least expect it. Back to that "Big-Bear-of-a-Man," coming to see you Sunday morning. You, scared, like all of us, afraid you hadn't done what you "oughtta do" (heard that so often) and scared of what might happen next. But you go out to meet what's comin'. You stand on that porch and put a smile on your face,"best as you can." You shield your eyes. Clouds

lift. Sun blasts through, and here comes the Black Bear. Ahh, but there's praise, not condemnation. Grace. Glory-hallelujah, ya had it comin' to ya!

Will I remember this Grace when I'm looking down the road expecting the worst? I oughtta, hadn't I, Malissia. Grace & Truth, you talked about it so much. Things got better when Grace & Truth came in. Seems like that "Little White Cloud over the washstand," outdoors there — by the house on Tom's Creek — when you were a wee girl — you got "revelation" then, and you knew it. It stuck by you and you stuck by it. Mysterious, hard to hang on to, but true. About ninety years later, a few weeks ago (in your Heritage Hall bed), more Revelations. You wondered "whether you were a human being or a dream in the air." You couldn't explain, because, you said, "no words fit this Revelation."

Thanks, Malissia
JONI

Malissia Surface (1889-1988)

Malissia Surface was born in 1889 near Tom's Creek west of Blacksburg, Virginia into a family of German Lutheran heritage. She was one of six children. After high school, she attended Radford Normal College, taught in two one-room schools, sewed for numerous families, worked at VPI, first at cleaning and then at map making, quit to care for dying parents (being the only unmarried child) at the house her father built in 1909, became a recluse for 60 years in company of only chickens, cats, and a big garden.

Malissia called it the "ol' Homeplace." One room was stuffed, probably dating from 1909 when her Papa built the house. The other room held Malissia's bed, a beautiful organ she bought with her school teaching money, two tables — one piled high with books and papers, the other by the window with plants — a pot-bellied stove and one chair. Oh, an ancient sewing-machine too.

Curiosity and willingness to know set her apart from many in her community from the ground up. It was so difficult for her to exercise that wonder, starting with her mother. Malissia, by her own admission, seems never to have forgiven her mother — for saying over and over again these words, "Don't try to rise above your raisin'" and "You green thing, people don't care a thing about you." Because of her weak eyes, her mother

would hide her books. Malissia said, many times, about her mother: "She was like a LID on me — a HEAVY LID — and I just couldn't get it off."

There was one major compensation when she was growing up: her Cousin John. He was her dictionary. When Malissia needed a definition, she would write the word best she could on a brown scrap of paper and put it in a special tree. He would look it up and get back to her. Malissia's was a life-long struggle of yearning for elegance, settling for less usually, but winning many battles. The books in her house proved she won the battle with her mother over reading.

Malissia's life included several work outings in Roanoke. She tells of working for a Mr. Falter who married a French woman. And everything that French woman did seems to have accumulated in Malissia's mind as "The French Way." She was in bed a lot, reading and eating chocolates. Somehow, Malissia had been warned by other maids who had worked there that the French woman was prone to "laying you out" for No Good Reason. Malissia said that she took that woman "with her French Way" as long as she could and then one day started packing. Mr. Falter asked her why and Malissia told him "She laid me out." From the French house, she went to the "Y" downtown where she did sewing and talked to women there who told her that the Falters had started 'scrapping' because Mrs. Falter was too hard on the help and many had quit. Malissia commented that even Mr. Falter had enough of her French Ways and of losing good help.

I met Malissa in 1973 when she needed a ride into Blacksburg and didn't want to bother relatives who had already helped her a lot. I was a volunteer for FISH, a Christian organization that provided transportation for the poor. She had been living alone for 40 years or more as a well-practiced recluse. The stories she told were surprising because the image of a fiercely independent woman had taken root. The first year or so that I was bringing her into town for groceries and errands the fourth Friday of each month, she politely put up with me, another in a transient stream of do-gooders. She wouldn't let me carry the groceries off through the woods to her house then. No, just leave the bags at the end of the road, by her sister's house. But after helping with firewood and getting some "Y" fellows to fix up the chicken coop, I graduated to sitting and chatting under a big tree between the coop and the house. Never did we sit IN the house.

Peaked, Plumb Wore Out

Malissia,
just back from town,
a day of shopping. plumb wore out.

Chicken scratch,
cat food, a month of groceries —
no wonder!

First the post office,
then the bank,
and two grocery stores
(they don't have chicken scratch
at the first one)
and then out to see a man about
tomato plants —
we'll divide a dozen since neither
of us can use more.

You look a little peaked, Malissia.
Is it all that running around?
Left-over winter pallor?
Or spring, tugging too hard at you
with all its things to do?

Wonder if I can keep your pace,
at eighty-six,
and be curious about what's new
and fancy, at the grocery store, and
willing to try it.

The big change in Malissia in these years was her evolution from a somewhat paranoid recluse to a happy talker. GLAD to have folks come and visit. When the FISH organization could no longer recruit enough volunteers, "special clients" like Malissia were adopted by small groups. Malissia got a Lutheran Church Circle (from her church, she sent money, but never went herself) and me. Perhaps, for the first time ever, at least in 50 years, she had a good small group of friends.

Malissia hoped to live to be 100 so the "cheery man" on television would wish her a happy birthday (having 'met' him only in the last few years of her life, after being introduced to TV in her nineties). She made it to 99 — in 1988. Died January 28.

Malissia's Sayings

"I was born down Tom's Creek, not far from the creek, just in talking [as far as you could holler] distance. The creeks don't get up so much now, it seems, like they used to. Those big rains come way out in the bottoms down there. We called 'em bottoms down here, people did, we didn't call 'em meadows. Up here further they call 'em meadows. Papa was comin' home, one time, and it was so deep, it moved the wagon and all, and was takin' him downstream. Well, some way or other, he got lodged and turned around and got out."

Creek

The creek that crosses
back and forth on the way
to Malissia's
has ice at its edges
in January.
In February a bold hepatica
pokes through old leaves
a few feet up the bank.
Hepatica and ice:
Miraculously white.
Brown leaves and grey rock
do not muffle your promise.

"I sewed for nearly everyone in the county. I'd move in for a month or as long as it took, was just like one of the family. I just charged twelve and a half cents an hour and got my room and board. You have to take what comes to keep your customers. You'd have to stay up all night to get it done sometimes. Used to get threads out of old garments. That's what I learned to sew with. Couldn't always get spool thread then."

"That school teaching didn't wear me like children do now. They're just half-raised and wild-like and come around, steal, break your flowers off — just SNAP 'EM OFF. They think you don't see 'em and they just break 'em off."

"My eyes are not right, I don't reckon they'll ever get right. I've had trouble, most my life, with my eyes. Mama, instead of getting something to help 'em, would hide my books, on account of my eyes. Should've got my eyes treated. Course, they couldn't do much then. When I got older, my eyes were perfectly clear. Well, then I made my own way, and went out and got glasses. I used store glasses for several years and they'd help

me to see. My eyes come and go. I'm glad when they clear up. When I'm weak, my eyes are weak."

"God mayn't start the bad things, but you'd think he'd be more responsible in getting it stopped." and "I sound hard, but they oughtn't to've done me that way."

"I don't know why, but the Good Lord forgot to do one thing: forgot to make somebody to help me. I reckon maybe I'm on the bossy side...well, you know, just between us, you can't accomplish anything 'less you are. One'll lead you this way, and the other'll lead you that way, and you've got to have something in you to HOLD, regardless of what anybody says. But, of course, that doesn't do very well with a man. I believe...well...I like to see a man be the head of things. Now it's got so they can't depend on nothing. There's too many unfortunate women and they got that man's mind goin' for them. And you can't depend on that kind. Man used to tell his wife something, his wife would believe everything. And they're not believing now. They're thinking for themselves."

"I had two boys up here, hired 'em to help me out. Now, Two is never good as One. One was holding the stick o' wood for the other to split and I came out and told 'em they could do their own work without one standin' and holdin' or standin' and watchin'. Paying a dollar-fifty each boy an hour — that's three dollars in just one hour, and I can't pay 'em to stand around."

"I just can't think about putting my cats out — it's like putting little girls and boys out to get rid of 'em. I'm trying to find a home for them, just tried my best. I thought I had a home for them, but then I missed 'em. Well, you have to bother everybody. I would send 'em if I could find a home. All but the Mother Cat. She's the one that catches these big rats — that ate holes in one of my blankets, right at my feet. They get in here. Sometimes, in the very coldest of nights, I let them [cats] be in here. Always one or two in here, on account of the rats....Well, they're in whether they get after the rats or not."

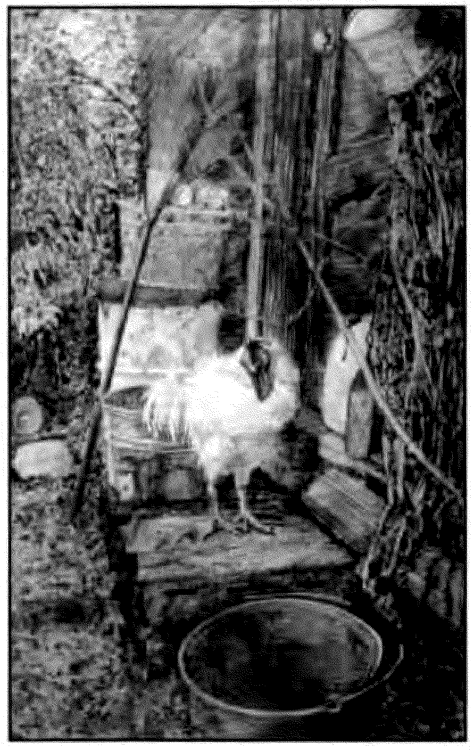
"Well, I never am warm through the winter. Might as well say I'm chilled all the time. And my house is cold and I'm about givin' it up. Everything on the place is dirty, inside and outside and I can't get it done to save my life. Can't anybody do it but me, 'cause eveything I got is mixed up together. Do all I can to straighten out, separate, burn what I

don't need, do the best I can. Some days can't do anything. If I could just get so I could keep myself cleaned up and get my house cleaned up. As I started to say awhile ago — the men that worked on my house — don't know if they're goin' to work any more or not. You know, men won't venture in on a lot of undone things. On little things. Last time I talked to that boss, he didn't give me much encouragement about coming back — but he come back. I had a new roll of roofing to put on my chicken house, and he put that on. I'm so glad."

"Now here a week ago, something happened — somebody was trying to get in the house! I was sound asleep. And, it just seemed like there was someone standing by me, not a real person. An Elder. I knew it was an ELDER. Didn't hear anybody say it was.

"They couldn't work that key. I got up after things was kinda settled and locked the key.

"Well, they thought they were goin' to get in, but they couldn't get in that night. And it was just like a man — a BIG MAN — was standin' beside me."



"Won't do any good to put chickens in there (coop) when you can't have any control over 'em. You have to have a place where you can feed 'em and water 'em. They stay and then they go right back over there and get up in the tops of those cold trees and nearly freeze plumb to death. I found one — wouldn't take nothing for it — little dark top-knot one...I don't know how to keep these roosters. Might eat the meat of 'em but I like the fattest chickens. Might eat some off the drumsticks and feed the rest to the cats. And then make me some rooster dumplings."

"I think so much about the Seven Spirits before the Throne of God; that's in Revelations. And

they had those seven churches to start out with . We don't know much about that. Guess nobody does. "

"When Christ comes back to earth, we're going to see our life like it's been, good and bad points. Everybody's going to show up. I believe these people that steal from me — they know they've done wrong, oughtn' to have done that. Whether they ever read that, I don't know. But a whole lot of people, they don't like to be reminded, either. But we're supposed to, and if we feel we ought to, and then don't — it seems AMISS.

Malissia tells of a time when she was a schoolteacher. A little boy came in, came right up to her as she sat at her desk. He looked up at her. "Miss Surface?" And she could tell he wanted some lovin', because he laid his head on her lap and asked , "You don't love us boys like you love the girls, do you?"

"And," Malissia said, "It made me realize my shortcomings. That was true — that I didn't make up to the boys like I did the girls. The girls could take my hairpins out and put them back in. That was a fault of mine — it was just IN me — I was a-goin' with that and I'd have to make it better."

"I was just thinking this morning — you know how your mind'll go back — to a Certain Time. I was thinking about the time when Roosevelt was in...we had two Roosevelts. They elected both of 'em. At different times. Teddy first. Then FDR — well, I was thinking about Him. During his time, there were so many boys that didn't have work. NO work for 'em to do. All there was here was coal mines or go out 'n work for a farmer . And they couldn't hardly get money for that, they had to take so LITTLE...what they called Script. They were at the age where they wanted to get out and see the world. And had no money to go on, and couldn't GET it. And they'd reach for these freight trains, ye know, they'd come and go. There were boys everywhere. Our boys would go other places. No regular work that they could get the money out of, even to ride in a Nice train. I was thinkin about that — JUST HEAVY ON MY MIND THIS MORNIN'. Well, that ROOSEVELT. He saw it PLAIN. They put him in as President, and he was goin' to try to reach his hand out to everybody. And especially the ones that didn't have any work or didn't have any home. He was a-goin' to see that they had that. So, around here a whole lot of boys wanted to get out. And strangers would

come IN. That President Roosevelt, he put up one o' those...watchacallem-camps. A camp up here in the Heth Woods....

"It was in my time and I saw how it was a-goin.' It was between Prices Fork and Blacksburg. Had the woods cleared out, and put a great buildin' up there. Now all those boys had a PLACE. He got 'em a HOME to go to. He did that over the whole U-NITED STATES. And I reckon the camps are torn down now."

"They started up with some things out on campus for the women...women were not much in it then, but they wanted to be. And He wanted Everyone to have something to look forward to. That President. Where they didn't have homes he put up camps and took in all these boys and men around here, and every foreigner that could come. He'd say "COME HOME TO YOUR CAMP.' Now, there was One Boy — I don't know where he was from, but he made his way to the neighborhood down this way. He talked to some of the girls. And Henry had a sister. No-o-o, they didn't pick the First Ones, now if ye notice, most all these foreigners, they didn't come in here and take the First Class Girls. They'd take the Second Class. The Second Class — one that'd already had a baby. That was how it was. Oh, they were good girls 'n all. Well, that One Boy came down here and he got to talkin' to...well, different girls, I think, but Henry's — no, Henry's SISTER'S girl — yes. He married HER. "

"I wanted to take this millinery course so bad, and didn't know how to pay for it, and then I found out I could go to Roanoke and sew, and pay for it. I went, and I said to myself: "Now, I'm a-goin' to stay in Roanoke until I can take this course. There was nobody to watch Papa, he was sick and Mama didn't pay much attention. Well, I stayed there until the next Easter. I had to doctor while I was there, and tried to save ever' bit of money that I could. Then, of course, people didn't give big presents...but I wanted to bring Mama and Papa something I thought they'd be proud of, and I got glass tumblers with pretty flowers, and brought 'em home. They didn't appreciate it. Mama'd pay just as much attention to an ol' rag as she would to the glasses I brought. I got so sick in Roanoke, inquired about a Doctor, and you know, my heart was so bad, and he (doctor) sent a woman, one of his nurses I reckon, PLUMB TO CHRISTIANSBURG, with me, where I got off. You know the old Huckleberry? Well, he sent a woman plumb with me, with my suitcases so I wouldn't have to lift 'em, I was in that bad a condition. I got home with

those glasses and all — I reckon I phoned — no, I sent word to Papa, that he needn't get any buggy to come after me. He was haulin' coal, and I said he could just come with a load o' coal and I could go home with him. I got home and it was Easter. I says to Mama when I got there, all fagged out, 'I'll have to have somethin to eat, just a Little, can't eat much.' 'Well,' she says, 'there's cornbread and milk — go get ye some o' that.' That was HER."

"WELL, one side has to think the other side is the ENEMY, Not as good as us. Some of our best people were that way and it bothers me. I told you about that ol' woman I went to see on the hill. She was old, a pretty woman, and intelligent, but she wasn't educated. But, ah, she was a Democrat. Papa was a Republican. There were no Democrats around here, hardly. Mostly Republicans and Lutherans. I liked this ol' woman and I'd ever once in a while go over and talk to her and come back. She enjoyed my company, I know. But one day it was near Election. She's one of these Fiery Kind. She said — why, she was up on her hind feet about it, and she was just a-puttin' out about it — she said the Republicans ought to just get up and leave here! Now Papa was a Republican and that was goin' against me, so I come home. And I never went back to see that woman anymore, until they said she was BAD OFF. They kept sayin' that, first one neighbor, then another. I never let on, never told anybody 'bout bein' mad at her...then one of 'em says to me 'I think Granny Keepers is about gone.' So I hunted up my bonnet and went over to see her. And she was gone too much to say a word to me. But she knew me. I could tell she KNEW me. She just commenced to speak, and she did speak, but I couldn't understand a word she said. I knew she was tryin' to apologize to me for hurtin' my feelings. That's the last I saw Granny Keepers. She had no business getting all riled up, but that's the way it was in those days."

"There's a woman who lived down here on the creek, we were raised up together...that woman never has come to see me. She's come to see other kin up here, but not me. And I never did do that woman any harm in my life that I know of....Well, she married. She lived right down this same hill. She married one o' my first cousins. He's one o' those Slickers. He'd slick his way around, ye know. He'd tell a little story here, a little one there. And get to prayin' when he didn't have any work, and, he never did — never would work. ...

"PRAYIN'. Get down on his KNEES. And there was a woman up there in the country, she had her own meat, and things like that. She was pretty well off. He'd get around that woman and...oh, he was just a 'Good Christian' (said with a sneer on her face) ....prayin' and all. And he prayed till he got one o' her Big Hams."

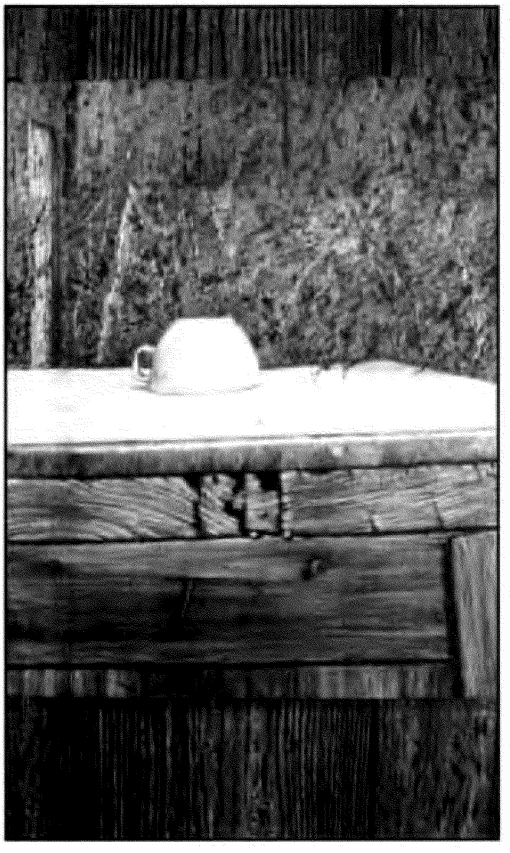
"Well, I was down at Jim Oatey's one day, went down there for something, don't know what. Wasn't anybody there but him. Oh, he was so-o nice, so-o kind, and made me feel funny. My people were not like that. Why, if I'd gone there and there was nobody but that man, hard-tellin' among my people what mighta happened — mighta insulted me. But he was so nice 'n kind 'n he was a-gettin' dinner. And he says, "Now, we're goin' to eat dinner." He fixed everything so nice and we had the best dinner. He had something in a Bake-Dish, I remember. And we set there. He had some good apples, and he set down close to me and got his knife out, took it outa his pocket, and peeled my apple and handed it to me...one piece at a time into my hand. WELL, THAT WAS A DIFFERENT LIFE TO ME. He didn't act A-TALL like a MAN. I never had seen a man like that.

"Older than me. I was quite young. But a man to act like that! That was something different altogether in life to me. I wasn't used to men bein' like that. I was always shy of a man gettin' close to me, or, ...peeling apples for me, or anything. "

Musings

There wasn't room in the house for two people to sit. And Malissia thought that a woman from town who probably "had things nice" wouldn't want to come into that room with coal-smoke over everything. We were happy outside. Birds, chickens, cats, flowers, leaves falling or budding, the smells of the seasons. We agreed on this Living Room. This was the place to be. Except in winter, when only a sunny and unusually warm day would work. We'd keep our coats on, relax in the web chairs, with a dead dahlia in a jar on the rock between us.

So there we were, a young mother of three from Up North and an old woman, always single, and living in the house she'd been raised in — and retreated to, after brief but hardy outings into the nearby world. Schoolteaching, sewing, mapmaking, domestic work filled her young womanhood, until she was the only one of six children who could go back home and take care of Mama and Papa till they died. And then she



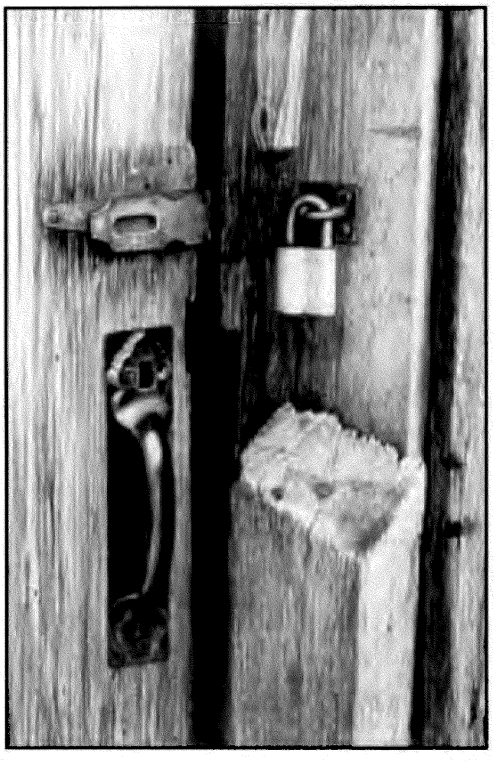
Cup

Cup, what's under you?
Nothing.
You are just there,
like much of the paraphernalia
at Malissia's place.
You are just there, having been
put where you are so long ago,
the reason's lost.
The object remains, its use
a question, its use
gone.
Your whatness might leap
to me from the vestment
of your appearance.
You might achieve your
epiphany,
if I am ready for it.
So, Cup:
Upside down.
Forever full.

stayed. She had wanted to "make her way in the world," why didn't she go out again? Well, I keep being curious about Malissia, partly because she is the Odd One in her family and so am I. Different as we are, in origins, and environments, we are Emphatically Curious Persons, making us alike. We love all manner of critters and flowers and speculations about God. And some Good Gossip.

Malissia's voice keeps supplying new colors and lights to her stories and anecdotes. Her body has slowed, shrunk. Looking at the 1913 photograph of her lined up with the many-sized students — so erect, a little stern and proud, she seems at the peak of her foray into the World.

Now, thirty feet out the door is an Outing. But her mind ascends, her memory seems to sharpen here and there as it wanders in the huge territory of the Past. She talked of Granny Betsy, who took her up on her lap and asked, "What makes you so wise?" She was the Odd One. She was likely to appear haughty, remote, stubborn, even cantankerous to her kin and neighbors. She was "holding out for a gentleman" and did



Yale Lock

Yeah, the Yale-lock looks good,
looks strong,
and it's about as helpful
as a hair-knot
'gainst them rats.
No lock on Malissia's house
is going to keep critters out
of the 'open door' that is
every hole and any crack.
A working lock might
hold off a man-sized critter
a few minutes.
NOT beetles 'n bats 'n snakes
'n rats.
So, shine on, ol' Yale-lock,
shimmer in the sun,
rust in the rain —
that's what you can do.

not find one. No one to compliment her oddness —or rejoice in it. I might be as close as she gets.

August heat wilts me, but Malissia likes it. She'd like to soak it up and save it for winter. But now she's in a house with a furnace (her sister Lucy's), not to worry. Still no running water. There's a red pump, long dead, in the kitchen — so water is carried in plastic gallon jugs, as it was in the old house, when I met Malissia, ten years ago at a spry eighty-five. She pushed four jugs at a time up her hill in a cart. Now she gets some help.

No such thing as an ordinary Tuesday. I never knew what would happen after I rapped on her door and announced myself. (It got to the point where she didn't get up to come to the door, expecting me anyhow.) She'd holler or croak: "C'mon in." I'd pass through the kitchen and dining room to her room (with a big bed loaded down with stuff, a couch she would sleep in, her rocking chair, and two dressers, loaded.). One time, she was groaning and clutching her stomach and I was afraid she was about to die. "Oooh, Malissia, what's the matter?" "Aghhh, the President gives it out," she answered. And I might have laughed if her

pain had not been so obvious. She explained then about the surplus cheese the government gives away and how it gave her "this awful gas."

It was important to get that chamberpot emptied, because the three women living up on that hill (Malissia, sister Lucy, niece Kathryn) should not be carrying that pot down the slippery, grassy, rocky slope to the outhouse. Lucy's house had no plumbing, Kathryn's did.

I usually took Malissia a food treat, conscious that there was very little she could chew. She loved the McDonald's fish sandwich, so flaky and super-packaged back then. (Impossible for ladies not raised in the plastic age to resist saving plastic containers. Malissia, like my Mom, had saved hundreds of margarine and cottage cheese containers — washed and stacked to the rafters).

Well, to titillate her taste buds, I took a Burger-King croissant sandwich one day, which she saved till later, as usual. The next Tuesday, she said. "I hate to tell ye, but that thing ye brought last week was the sorriest thing you ever brought. And I wouldn't want you wasting your money agin, so I have to tell ye."

Another Tuesday, late in May, early Eighties:

I've been inside a couple minutes, we've commented on the unusually cool weather. I'm sitting on her bed as usual. Malissia is in her rocker, as usual. She asks, with a decided twinkle, "Notice something different here today?" I look around the room, and can notice only a re-arrangement of the piles of gift-boxes on the high double-bed. (These gifts, over the years, are trophies, not things to be used.) Lots of junk mail that Malissia saves. Maybe some new boxes by the knotty-pine dresser. My eye goes back to some Christmas boxes piled eight to ten on the stool behind the rocker. I wonder if she'd just opened a Christmas present she saved. She likes to wait. Or maybe she runs out of energy. Ah, Christmas in May, why not? I respond, "Those boxes over there?" "No," she says with a small dismissing wave of her hand. Her tone tells me it's certainly more important than those boxes.

She starts to laugh. I look around again. Totally guessless. Oh, she's enjoying this! Her laugh is surprising, teasing. I can't imagine what is causing this almost silent cackle, breathy, erupting with a tiny squeal, and rocking her body from the waist up. "You'll have to tell me," I plead.

She catches herself, quite literally, both hands holding her small rib-cage, and stops her wonderful and rare fit of laughter. She lets out a musical sigh, and announces:

" I SHAMPOOED MY HAIR."

She had been silhouetted against the window behind her when I first sat down, and I might not have noticed anyhow. I got up and looked. It was perfectly obvious her hair was fluffier and catching the light beautifully. I remember when I first met Malissia, her hair had had much brown, and she let it hang loose at home, usually wearing a scarf. When she went to town, it was pulled back in a neat bun, and she always wore a prim grey suit with white lace collar. At home there was no telling what she might have on — an apron on her head, the strings tied under her chin. But never, never pants.

Documentation of a Life

When I decided to "document" Malissia, and her vanishing way of life, in 1974, my response was basically visual. Being a picture-maker, that fits; also, I had little knowledge of her history. The pictures would be portraits, many, of her and her domain. Her world in the woods, cats (upwards of 20) and chickens (uncontrollable, too) and plants, wild and cultured. She loved seed catalogues and had special dahlias and fancy flowers — that could just about be swallowed up by honeysuckle and blackberries....

So, I've got more than 600 pages of tape transcription scrawled in notebooks, and it's driving me crazy this summer to get them typed and simmered down to size. The re-tellings have become riper, more detailed in the last two years. Her comments on the current scene are full of wonder, full of judgment. There's a Rip-van-Winkle effect from her starting to watch TV at the age of 91. Especially Donahue's program. At first, when she had to move in with her sister, after a bad fall, her sister wouldn't let her watch Donahue because it wasn't "nice." Then when sister Lucy got sick and moved in with a daughter, Malissia was alone again. Early in her Donahue-watching, Malissia was terribly worried about him. She was sure he was going to get himself killed — by letting that kind of talk go on. (Sex-talk, of course). I remember the day when I believe she said 'sex' for the first time. I asked what they talked about on Donahue, and she looked to the windows and corners, hesitated, and whispered that lowly word. Well, she's more relaxed now; it doesn't take TV long to make people more blasé. And she has declared time and again how " Mr. Donahue is helping the whole-United-States by making these things that

Bent Back

Bent back,
telling time, toil.
Arched,
from looking down,
gathering up
wood,
feather,
blossom,
mushroom,
bounty from the forest floor.

Bent back,
hurts more these days.
It's worse at night:
can't reach down —
— to pull covers up.
It's hard.
Collecting pain...cold,
...but not sleep.
Come closer, Rest.

oughtta be known...PLAINER." And she wished that all these Important Matters had been talked about when she was "coming up." Oh, if only she had KNOWN.

Endnote

*Joni Pienkowski was born in Wisconsin in 1937, one of four children with Norwegian-English-Methodist heritage. Her degrees include a B.S. in Art Education and an M.S. in Fine Arts at the University of Wisconsin, Madison. She married an entomology professor, adopted three children, taught at two universities for four years, stopped to stay at home to make paintings and raise children, who all grew up, went to college, and married. Joni has lived in Blacksburg since 1961. She created a documentary exhibition to describe Malissia's character and environment. (The Malissia show would be a considerable digression to the main body of Pienkowski works shown in galleries, museums, and various institutions across the United States.)

Triumph and Tragedy
A Railroad Struggle Instrumental in Creating Roanoke, Virginia

John R. Hildebrand

Introduction

One of the most interesting railroad stories of the nineteenth century occurred in western Virginia — specifically in the Valley of Virginia, beginning at Hagerstown, Maryland, and Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, and extending southward into the Roanoke Valley.

There, in post-Civil War Virginia, the Shenandoah Valley and Valley Railroads were formed. Each company launched its enterprise aggressively and competed against the other to be the first to reach Salem, Virginia, the terminal point specified in each railroad's charter. The story involved many of Virginia's — and even the nation's — leading citizens and virtually all the city, county and town governments along each railroad's route. It ended happily for one, unhappily for the other. Like so many events in history, its most important result came somewhat by accident — the creation of a new city, Roanoke, that went on to become the largest and most important city of western Virginia.

Vestiges of the competition between the two railroads can be seen today between Staunton and Fairfield by the thousands of travelers on Interstate Route 81 as they pass the abandoned roadbed and stone structures that formed the Valley Railroad. One of the most significant of these remains is the four-span masonry viaduct over Mill Creek in Au-

The masonry viaduct over Mill Creek in Augusta County, visible from the southbound lane of I-81 at milepost 219, south of Staunton, Virginia. I-81 is visible beneath the viaduct arches.

gusta County, which is readily apparent from the southbound lane of I-81 at milepost 219.

The competition occurred mainly in the Shenandoah Valley, a region which at that time was isolated and distinct from eastern Virginia. The Blue Ridge Mountains, fabled in song and story, form the eastern side of the Great Valley of the Appalachians, which extends from Pennsylvania through Virginia to Alabama. The Great Valley is a series of lesser valleys, which in Virginia are named for the rivers that drain them. The most significant of these is the Shenandoah, which flows from its headwaters in Augusta County to empty into the Potomac at Harpers Ferry, West Virginia. Other Virginia valleys are the upper James, the Roanoke, the New River, and the Holston. Collectively they constitute the Valley of Virginia.

The Blue Ridge is a physical barrier separating the Valley of Virginia and eastern Virginia. The Blue Ridge created different patterns of settlement for the European people who came to America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The English people, arriving first, generally settled the area east of the Blue Ridge. The Scotch-Irish and Germanic

people came later, migrating south from Pennsylvania and settling the areas west of the Blue Ridge, particularly the Shenandoah Valley. These people held different political and religious views from those held by the people of eastern Virginia. These differences — combined with the earlier settlement east of the Blue Ridge, the location of state government in Richmond, and the physical barrier of the Blue Ridge — isolated the Valley of Virginia from eastern Virginia. The Valley of Virginia remained isolated until 1836, when the Winchester and Potomac Railroad began operations, connecting Winchester at the northern end of the Shenandoah Valley to the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad system at Harpers Ferry.

The Winchester and Potomac became the only practical and reliable means for shipping the Valley of Virginia's products to the major population centers served by the Baltimore and Ohio and the port at Baltimore. The Valley's farmers and manufacturers became dependent on this rail service, although it was inconvenient since their products had to be transported long distances by animal-drawn wagons to the railhead at Winchester.

The reliance on the Winchester and Potomac began to wane in the 1850s, when three railroads and a canal were extended from eastern Virginia into the Valley of Virginia. The James River and Kanawha Canal reached Lynchburg in 1840 and Buchanan in 1851. The North River Navigation Company extended a branch canal to Lexington in 1860. In 1852, the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad was built from Lynchburg to Bristol, Virginia-Tennessee. Following in 1854 were two railroads, the Virginia Central connecting Richmond and Staunton, and the Manassas Gap connecting Strasburg and Front Royal to the port of Alexandria. In 1859 the Manassas Gap was extended to Mount Jackson.[1]

These improvements lessened the isolation of the Valley of Virginia. Richmond, Norfolk, and Alexandria became important markets for the Valley of Virginia's products, particularly those of the Shenandoah Valley. Because these markets were limited, the Valley of Virginia required additional markets for its surplus agricultural products and mineral resources, particularly iron ore. The most accessible were the large population centers of the North and the mills of Pennsylvania. However, a north-south railroad was necessary to serve these markets and allow the Valley of Virginia to develop fully its economic potential. Unfortunately, the Civil War interrupted the planning and building of such a railroad.

Following the Civil War, the Valley of Virginia needed to recover its pre-war prosperity. The Valley had suffered severely in many ways: loss of human life, disruption of families, and destruction or damage to mills, mines, factories, and railroads. Following the war, Virginia and the Valley were occupied by Federal troops and governed as a military district. Politically, the citizens had been disenfranchised from national elections; locally, they were confronted with the political, social, and economic pressures of the Reconstruction period. The Valley was fortunate that its people were determined to rebuild their lives and communities. By early 1866, less than a year after the surrender at Appomattox, numerous charters were approved by the General Assembly for railroads, canals, turnpikes, and other public improvements.

It was in this environment that the two railroads were born, each having as its objective the creation of a north-south railroad. In telling their story, abbreviations have been used to designate the principal companies involved. The Valley Railroad is referred to as the VRR; the Shenandoah Valley Railroad as the SVRR; the Atlantic, Mississippi and Ohio as the AM&O; the Baltimore and Ohio as the B&O; the Chesapeake and Ohio as the C&O; and the Norfolk and Western as the N&W.

The organizers of the VRR and SVRR did not have the experience or knowledge to foresee the magnitude of the task of creating a railroad. In the early stage, in 1866 and 1867, however, they viewed their separate but concurrent undertakings as worthy endeavors that would serve and benefit the Valley of Virginia. Each group approached its objective with enthusiasm during a difficult time. The organizers of the VRR were drawn from the towns and counties between Staunton and Salem, while the SVRR's organizers came from the counties along the lower Shenandoah River: Jefferson County, West Virginia, and Warren and Page counties in Virginia. The first task for both was to raise sufficient capital to plan, construct, and equip their proposed railroads. Although both railroads had enthusiastic local support, the financial devastation of the Civil War severely limited capital resources available locally, and it soon became apparent to both groups that outside capital was necessary. As a result, they looked northward and found an interested partner, the B &O Railroad for the VRR and the Pennsylvania Railroad for the SVRR.

On the Eastern Seaboard, the two major railroads were the B&O and the Pennsylvania. Their rivalry, dating from well before the Civil War, intensified following the war and continued into the 1880s[2], marked

by contentious political battles in Congress and state legislatures for the right to acquire or use existing railroads to extend their systems. The B&O and the Pennsylvania engaged in rate wars that dangerously compromised their financial stability. Even under these circumstances, each continued to expand its system.

The B&O and Pennsylvania systems were generally oriented in an east-west direction: the B&O connected western suppliers to the port of Baltimore and the Pennsylvania to the port of Philadelphia. Each was expanding westward to various locations on the Ohio River and the Great Lakes, reaching into the Midwest for the opportunity to transport its agricultural and industrial production. Each railroad was also developing connections into the Northeast and the port of New York. Both were vitally interested in extending their systems into the South, the first step being the completion of one or more railroads across Virginia. For the officers of the VRR and the SVRR, the B&O and the Pennsylvania, respectively, represented their best opportunity to build the north-south railroad needed to revitalize the war-torn Valley of Virginia.

The northern terminus for the proposed railroads would be the B&O main line at Harpers Ferry on the Potomac River for the VRR; and the Cumberland Valley Railroad, a branch of the Pennsylvania, at Hagerstown, Maryland, for the SVRR. The southern terminus for both railroads was the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad near Salem. The Virginia and Tennessee was independent of either the B&O or the Pennsylvania. Its eastern terminus was Lynchburg, where it connected to the Orange and Alexandria and Southside railroads. Its western terminus was Bristol on the Virginia-Tennessee border, where it connected to the East Tennessee, Virginia and Georgia Railroad, with connections into the Southeast. An intermediate connection to the C&O Railroad in Augusta County would also be beneficial since the C&O served the major coal fields located along its route in West Virginia.

The VRR and the SVRR were not the only expansion projects being considered by the B&O and Pennsylvania, and the two Virginia railroads were not always their first priority. The needs and objectives of the local VRR and SVRR organizers were often subverted to the overall interests of the two larger railroads. The success or failure of the two local railroads was dependent on the financial commitment they received from their respective partners.

Although the Virginia General Assembly had chartered the VRR and the SVRR, there was considerable political opposition in the Assembly to a north-south railroad anywhere in Virginia. This opposition surfaced during the Assembly's consideration of railroad consolidation acts in 1867 and 1870, involving divestiture of Virginia's interest in the majority of the railroads in which the state had made substantial investment prior to the Civil War.[3]

Consideration of these consolidation acts brought to the forefront William Mahone[4], a VMI graduate who had been president of the Norfolk and Petersburg Railroad prior to the Civil War. Following distinguished service to the Confederacy, Major General Mahone returned to the presidency of this railroad and successfully directed the rehabilitation of its wartime damage. Based on this success, he was named president of the Southside Railroad, connecting Petersburg and Lynchburg, on December 7, 1865. In November 1867, Mahone acquired sufficient interest in the Virginia and Tennessee to be named its president. During this period, Mahone was an influential member of the legislature, and a leader in the movement to readjust Virginia's Civil War debts. Following his railroad career, Mahone served in the United States Senate from 1881 to 1887.

Mahone believed that the B&O and Pennsylvania efforts to extend their systems across Virginia by supporting the VRR and the SVRR would divert the state's east-west rail traffic to the north and the ports of Baltimore and Philadelphia, adversely affecting the economy of eastern Virginia, Richmond, and the port of Norfolk. Using his influence in the legislature and the news media, Mahone opposed the efforts of both railroads to build either a new railroad through the Valley or to acquire existing railroads east of the Blue Ridge. The cornerstone of Mahone's opposition was his plan to consolidate the three railroads he served as president — the Virginia and Tennessee, the Southside, and the Norfolk and Petersburg — by acquiring the state's ownership in each. The plan required legislative approval.

Mahone's first attempt to consolidate the three railroads failed in 1867, but on June 17, 1870, the legislature approved his plan, allowing Mahone to create the AM&O, a railroad extending 400 miles from Bristol in the west, through Salem, Lynchburg, and Burkeville to the port of Norfolk in the east.[5] He was then in a position to control the interchange and diversion of east-west traffic to the northern ports and markets served

by the B&O and the Pennsylvania. Mahone's AM&O became a major obstacle to the B&O and Pennsylvania plans for the VRR, SVRR, and other north-south railroads across Virginia.

The B&O had tried to buy Virginia's interest in the Virginia and Tennessee in October 1868, only to be blocked by Mahone.[6] The B&O then created a north-south connection across Virginia by acquiring the Orange, Alexandria and Manassas Gap[7] and the Lynchburg and Danville Railroads in 1871. These two railroads connected the port of Alexandria to Charlottesville, Lynchburg, and Danville. They were of limited value, however. At Alexandria, the Orange, Alexandria and Manassas Gap did not provide a direct connection to the B&O system.[8] At Danville, the Lynchburg and Danville would be blocked by the Pennsylvania's Richmond and Danville Railroad.[9]

The Pennsylvania's efforts east of the Blue Ridge were more successful. It was able to acquire the Richmond and Danville Railroad in July 1870.[10] This railroad connected Richmond, Danville, and Greensboro, N.C. The Pennsylvania then extended its system from Washington, D.C., across the Potomac River railroad bridge to Richmond. By July 1872, the Pennsylvania had extended its system across Virginia into the South, despite bitter opposition by Mahone and the B&O.[11]

For the B&O to extend its system successfully into the South by sponsoring the VRR, it was necessary that agreements be negotiated with Mahone's AM&O to use its tracks between Salem and Bristol and with the Pennsylvania to connect to the East Tennessee, Virginia and Georgia Railroad at Bristol. Past experience with Mahone and the Pennsylvania gave the B&O little reason to believe that these agreements could be arranged. Nevertheless, the B&O decided in 1872 to begin construction of the VRR at Harrisonburg.[12]

Thomas A. Scott, mastermind of the Pennsylvania's nationwide expansion efforts in the 1870s, had long visualized the Great Valley of the Appalachians as an ideal route for a railroad into the Southeast. The SVRR was an opportunity to complete the first link in such a plan. At the same time it provided the promise of important economic benefits by serving the existing iron ore and mineral deposits along its route.

One important reason for the Pennsylvania's support of the SVRR was its intense and long-standing rivalry with the B&O. The SVRR was a means of compromising and damaging the financial stability of the B&O. While the SVRR's 243-mile length required a much larger investment

than the B&O's financial contribution to the 113-mile VRR, the Pennsylvania was prepared to make this financial commitment and to challenge the B&O in the Valley of Virginia.[13]

The accompanying map (page 73) illustrates the location of the SVRR and the VRR and theire geographic relationship to the Pennsylvania, B&O, and other major Virginia railroads in 1872.

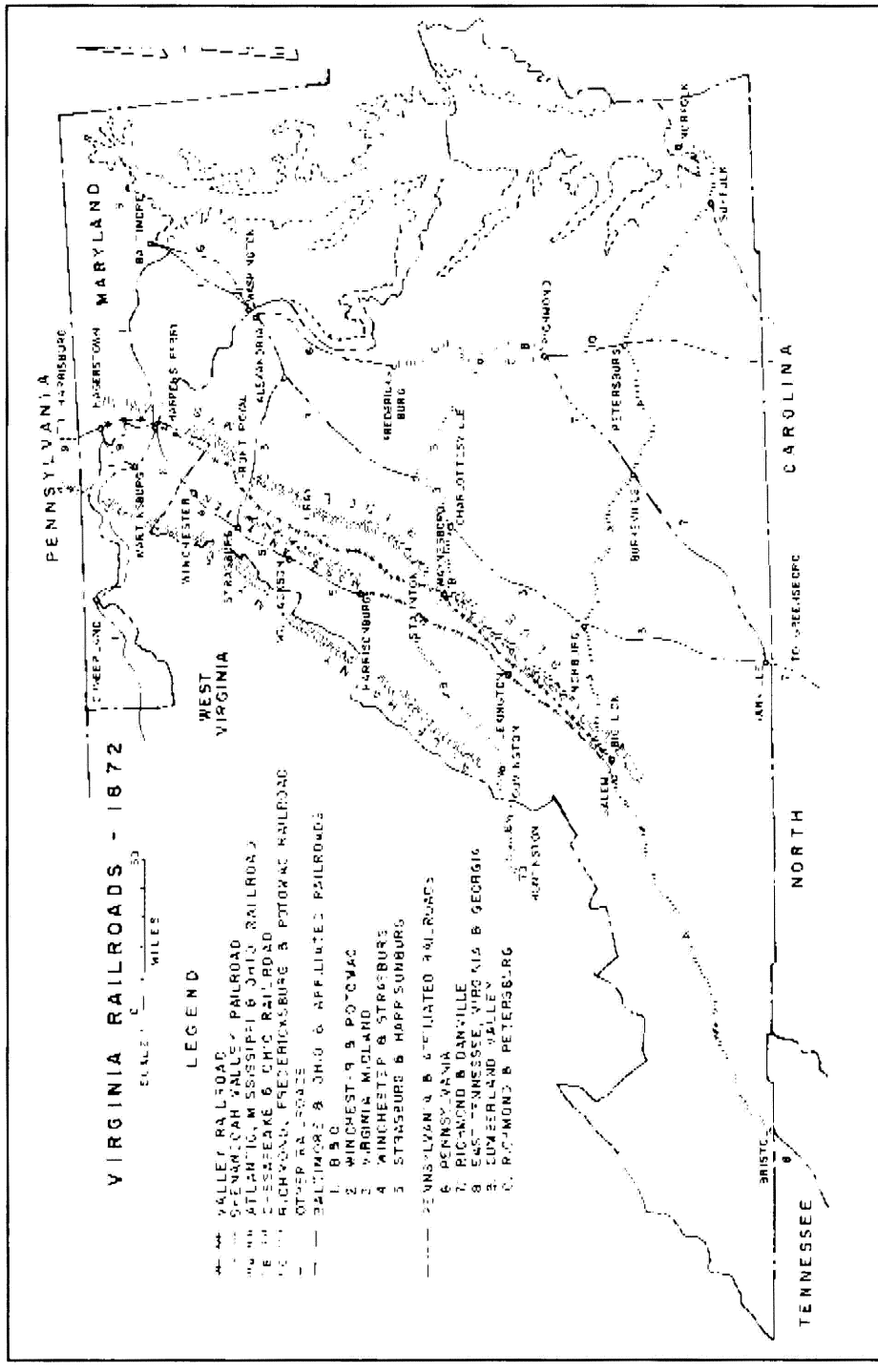
By 1872, the VRR and the SVRR, supported by the B&O and Pennsylvania Railroads, were under construction. Each had the potential to have far-reaching impact on patterns of growth and economic development in the Shenandoah, upper James, and Roanoke valleys. Nowhere would the potential impact be greater than in the Roanoke Valley.

The Triumph of the Shenandoah Valley Railroad

Organization of the SVRR required legislative approvals from Maryland, West Virginia, and Virginia. The Virginia General Assembly was the first to act when it passed charter legislation on February 2, 1867.[14] The act provided that the charter would become effective when $200,000 of the $4,000,000 authorized capital had been subscribed in stock at $100 per share. The road's Virginia section was to begin at some point on the Potomac River, proceed south through the counties of Warren and Page, at or near Port Republic in Rockingham County, continue south through the counties of Augusta, Rockbridge, and Botetourt, and connect to the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad at or near Salem in Roanoke County. Branch lines were to be provided from suitable points on the main line to Harrisonburg in Rockingham County, to Gordonsville in Orange County, routed through Stanardsville in Greene County, and to Lexington in Rockbridge County.

On February 25, 1870, the West Virginia legislature granted the company a charter to construct the railroad through Jefferson County from Charles Town to a crossing of the Potomac River at Shepherdstown. On April 4, 1870, the Maryland legislature granted a charter to extend the railroad from the Potomac River, at any point between Harpers Ferry and Williamsport, Maryland, at or near Shepherdstown, extending to Hagerstown.[15]

With the enactment of the charter legislation in the three states completed, the SVRR's sponsors began planning the construction and financing of the railroad. On March 14, 1870, in Luray, Peter B. Borst, a



Virginia Railroads, 1872.

Luray attorney, was elected the company's first president. Nine men were elected to the Board of Directors. In July 1870, a construction contract was awarded to the Central Improvement Company to build the railroad from Shepherdstown to Salem.[16] Financial contributions from the communities being served were limited. Private investment was slightly more than $100,000. The major source of capital was derived from the sale of mortgage bonds, guaranteed by the Pennsylvania Railroad. Even with this support and without tangible assets, the SVRR was a risky investment from its beginning.

The influence of the Pennsylvania Railroad was confirmed at the April 18, 1871, stockholders' meeting when Thomas A. Scott, then a Pennsylvania vice president, was elected the SVRR's second president, replacing Borst.[17] Scott, then 47, had started his career with the Pennsylvania Railroad in 1850 as a station agent. He advanced rapidly and was named vice president in 1860. He became president in 1874. He was considered one of the "most important railroad officials" in the United States during the nineteenth century.[18] Scott was an ideal choice for the SVRR's presidency.

The July 21, 1870, contract with the Central Improvement Company required the construction of a 224-mile railroad from Shepherdstown, West Virginia, to Salem, Virginia. The total value of the contract was about $7,800,000, based on a bid of $35,000 a mile. Central Improvement was a subsidiary of the Pennsylvania Railroad, and the contract meant that the Pennsylvania would play a major role in building the SVRR.

By 1871 Central Improvement had failed to make adequate progress. In August of that year, the company proposed to terminate the contract for the amount already paid, plus costs incurred. The SVRR declined the offer.[19] Problems with Central Improvement continued into 1872. To resolve the situation, the SVRR agreed to modify the company's contract by extending the completion date from August 1872 to January 1, 1875, and by abandoning the work between the C&O Railroad in Augusta County and the Virginia and Tennessee in Roanoke County[20], which by August 1872 had been incorporated into William Mahone's AM&O. By deleting the work south of the C&O, the length of the contract was reduced 94 miles for a savings of almost $3,300,000.

In September, the Cumberland Valley Railroad was asked to aid in the construction of the section from Shepherdstown to Hagerstown.[21]

At the May 1873 stockholders' meeting, Scott outlined the need to construct the SVRR as "rapidly as the stringent condition of the money market would allow" in order to take advantage of a connection with the C&O in Augusta County. The extension of the C&O from Covington to Huntington, West Virginia, had been completed on January 29, creating a 428-mile railroad connecting Richmond and Huntington on the Ohio River. During its construction, vast coal deposits were discovered along its route in West Virginia.[22] Scott viewed these coal deposits, together with the development of iron ore and other minerals located along the SVRR's route, as offering the potential for the manufacture of iron products on the scale then existing in the Lehigh Valley of Pennsylvania.

Scott resigned the SVRR presidency on June 17, 1873, less than 30 days after the May stockholders' meeting, giving as his reason the press of other activities with the Pennsylvania and Union Pacific. Thomas B. Kennedy of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, a Cumberland Valley vice president, was named the SVRR's third president.[23] On July 15, he declined the office, and William M. McLellan of Chambersburg was then named the company's fourth president.[24]

Winter conditions in 1872-1873 delayed Central Improvement's progress even further, and the January 1, 1875, completion date would not be met.

In September, 1873, the nation experienced the beginning of an economic depression that would last until 1877. One result of the September 1873 panic which would ultimately affect the SVRR had occurred in January, 1874, when Mahone's AM&O was unable to pay the interest on its bonds.[25]

The year 1874 was a turbulent one for the SVRR. Problems with Central Improvement continued, and its ability to complete its contract was becoming questionable. Central Improvement's president was informed in April that unless work resumed immediately the contract would be canceled.[26] Central Improvement was unable to meet this deadline, and a committee was appointed to arrange an equitable settlement for the completed work. The committee was also authorized to make other arrangements to complete construction of the railroad. The SVRR was unable to resume construction in 1875.

In April 1876 the stockholders elected William Milnes, Jr. the company's fifth president[27], replacing McLellan. His election was the beginning of a shift away from the influence of the Pennsylvania and the

Cumberland Valley Railroads to Philadelphia banking interests. Milnes was born in Lancashire, England, in 1828 and emigrated to Pennsylvania about 1855. Following the Civil War he moved to Page County, where he purchased the Shenandoah Iron Works. It was through his interest in developing the mineral resources of Page County and the Shenandoah Valley that Milnes had become one of the first directors of the railroad and one of its largest private stockholders. When he died in 1891, he was buried in Shenandoah, a town originally named Milnes.[28]

Following Milnes' election, the directors elected U. L. Boyce vice president.[29] Upton Lawrence Boyce, an attorney and farmer, was born in Kentucky in 1831 and moved to Clarke County in 1868.

As a director and vice president, Boyce was intimately involved with officials of the Pennsylvania. Thomas A. Scott supposedly offered Boyce $50,000 if he could make the SVRR a success. When the railroad was completed to Big Lick in June 1882, Boyce reportedly received his check for $50,000. The problem with this story is that Scott died on May 21, 1882, before the railroad was completed. Boyce had considerable influence on the ultimate success of the SVRR. The town of Boyce, Clarke County, located on the railroad two miles north of US Highway 17, was named for him.[30]

Although the SVRR was unable to resume construction in 1877, the company was occupied with numerous planning and administrative activities. Milnes was re-elected president at the April stockholders' meeting. He reported that the VRR had refused to honor the 1876 lease to the SVRR of its 26-mile section between Harrisonburg and Staunton, with the SVRR having the option to include the incomplete construction between Staunton and Salem.[31] This would have reduced the SVRR's construction and right-of-way costs significantly.

Milnes believed that construction could be resumed in 1877 and that it was imperative that arrangements be made to connect the SVRR to an operating railroad. To accomplish this, the officers accepted a $75,000 subscription offer from Berkeley County, West Virginia, to construct a branch line from Charles Town to a connection to the Cumberland Valley at Martinsburg, the money to be spent in Berkeley County.[32] The original plan to construct the main line into Shepherdstown, as required by the Jefferson County stock subscription, was retained.[33] The Martinsburg branch line also allowed the SVRR the option of eliminating the Shepherdstown to Hagerstown segment if desired.

In March 1878, negotiations began with the John Satterlee Company and Alfred Creveling of New York City to complete construction and provide operating equipment.[34] John Satterlee was a successful railroad contractor with ties to the Philadelphia banking community.[35] The resulting contract provided for two branches at the northern end of the line. One branch would begin at Martinsburg, the other at Shepherdstown. They would connect at a point within three miles of Charles Town and then run south to the C&O in the vicinity of Waynesboro, a total distance of 153 miles. The contract, with amendments, was approved and signed by Milnes[36] in late April 1878.

By 1879, 20 miles of railroad in good running order had been completed between Shepherdstown and the Jefferson County-Clarke County line at the West Virginia-Virginia border.[37] Concurrently, Satterlee was working on the roadbed between the Jefferson County-Clarke County line and Riverton on the Shenandoah River north of Front Royal. This roadbed had been graded by Central Improvement in 1872 and early 1873. The proposed outlet for the 20 miles of completed railroad was a 9.5-mile branch line to the Martinsburg and Potomac Railroad, a road controlled by the Cumberland Valley.[38] It provided connections to the Pennsylvania and other railroads at Harrisburg.

On June 20, 1879, the Satterlee Company sold its construction and equipment contract to the Shenandoah Valley Construction Company, a firm organized and owned by E. W. Clark and Company, a Philadelphia banking firm specializing in railroad development and investments. The Clark company's purchase of the Satterlee contract marked the end of the Pennsylvania's support of the SVRR.[39]

The involvement of the Clark company brought to center stage Frederick J. Kimball. E. W. Clark and Company's interest in the SVRR had its origins in the family relationship of Milnes and his nephew, Kimball, and their shared interest in developing a successful business venture. Milnes needed a more efficient means of shipping the products manufactured by his Shenandoah Iron Works. He had been using horse-drawn wagons and river flatboats to reach the nearest railroad, a costly, inconvenient, and inefficient operation. The SVRR was an ideal solution that would also serve other industries located along the Shenandoah River.[40]

Kimball, a partner in the Clark company[41], had advised Milnes of its financial resources and interest in developing railroads. Kimball also viewed the SVRR as an opportunity for personal financial gain. As presi-

Frederick J. Kimball, 1844–1903. From a photograph in the Special Collections Department of the University Libraries of Virginia Tech, Blacksburg.

dent of Clark's railroad construction company, he could provide the direction and leadership necessary to complete, equip, manage, and operate the railroad.

Kimball was first and foremost a railroader. He was born in Philadelphia in 1844 and began his railroad career at age 18 when he was employed by the Pennsylvania Railroad as a survey party rodman. Two years later, he was promoted to engineer of shops. Lacking a formal education, Kimball went to England in 1868 to work in the railroad shops, gaining experience in a more advanced railroad industry. Kimball returned to the United States after two years, joining E. W. Clark and Company in 1870 as a partner. In 1878, the Clark company named him president of the Shenandoah Valley Construction Company. Kimball was named president of the SVRR in 1881 and N&W president in 1883. He died in 1903.[42]

E. W. Clark and Company was founded in 1837 as a private bank. The founder, Enoch W. Clark, died in 1857 and was succeeded by Edward W. Clark. In 1877, Clarence H. Clark became president. In addition to its railroad investments, the Clark company developed railroads,

particularly in the East. The company viewed the SVRR as an opportunity to open the western slopes of the Blue Ridge for the production of iron, coal, and gypsum. With this objective, they purchased the Satterlee construction and equipment contract, organized the Shenandoah Valley Construction Company, and named Kimball its president and chairman. Other officers of the construction company included Clarence H. Clark and Frederick S. Kimball, Kimball's father and Milnes' brother-in-law. The Clark company's long-range objective was to extend the SVRR into North Carolina.[43]

In December 1879, trains began operating between Shepherdstown on the Potomac River and Riverton on the north side of the Shenandoah River near Front Royal, a distance of 42 miles.[44] Accelerated construction activity and the equipping of the road for an increased level of operations continued into 1880. By April, steel rails had been purchased and the bridge over the Shenandoah River at Riverton was complete, providing 56 miles of service between Shepherdstown and Bentonville, a small community 11 miles south of Front Royal. After many years of disappointment, the stockholders, pleased with the amount of work accomplished, adopted a resolution of thanks to the construction company on May 5 for the "prompt, efficient and satisfactory manner in which it had executed the terms of the agreement."

The construction company, working north from Waynesboro, reached Elkton in Rockingham County on November 22 and the Shenandoah Iron Works on December 20. The Shepherdstown-Hagerstown section had been completed on August 19, and the first train from Bentonville reached Hagerstown on September 4. Two of the railroad's early locomotives, Numbers 2 and 3, built by the Baldwin Locomotive Works, were named the William Milnes, Jr. and the U. L. Boyce.[45]

During 1880 Kimball and the Clark company became aware that the AM&O was for sale. Although it had been in receivership since 1875, it had continued as a well-equipped and well-maintained railroad and was a sound investment opportunity. Acquisition of the AM&O would allow the Clark company to develop the vast coal deposits of southwest Virginia and West Virginia, at the same time enhancing its investment in the SVRR by connecting the two railroads.[46]

The most significant event in the history of the SVRR eventually occurred on February 10, 1881, when E. W. Clark and Company ac-

quired the AM&O for $8,605,000, plus assumption of liens and claims that increased the total cost to about $15,500,000.[47] It was renamed the Norfolk and Western, indicating to Norfolk and eastern Virginia that they would remain a vital and important market for the reorganized railroad. In March, the construction north from Waynesboro and south from Bentonville joined at Luray, and the 143-mile railroad was accepted. Full operations began on April 18[48], when the first train arrived in Waynesboro from Hagerstown.

President Milnes submitted his resignation at a special stockholders meeting in Luray on April 4, 1881.[49] Kimball was elected as his replacement, making him president of both the railroad company and the construction company. Boyce continued as vice president and Milnes and Clarence H. Clark, now president of E. W. Clark and Company, were among the directors elected. The company publicly announced its intention to extend the railroad south from Waynesboro through Augusta, Rockbridge, Botetourt, and Roanoke counties to a connection at or near Bonsack or some other convenient point of connection. A contract to build the extension was awarded to the Shenandoah Valley Construction Company.

On May 5, 1881, Kimball reported that the extension followed along the western base of the Blue Ridge. From Waynesboro, it followed the Shenandoah River to its source, crossed the divide to a tributary of the north branch of the James River to a point near Lexington (Buena Vista), where it connected to the Richmond and Allegheny Railroad. From Buena Vista, the line followed the north and south branches of the James River to Buchanan, then crossed the divide to Tinker Creek, which it followed to the N&W at Big Lick. The extension would be completed by the end of 1881.[50]

The most significant statement in his May 5 report, one which would influence the future of the Roanoke Valley, was the designation of Big Lick rather than Bonsack as the connecting point for the SVRR and the N&W. This decision had been made sometime between April 4 and May 5, and the events which transpired during this period are, in themselves, a separate story of great interest, the story of the creation of Roanoke, which was destined to become the largest city west of the Blue Ridge and the gateway to Southwest Virginia.

The SVRR considered Salem, Big Lick, Bonsack, and Montvale as potential locations for its connection to the N&W. Salem was the county

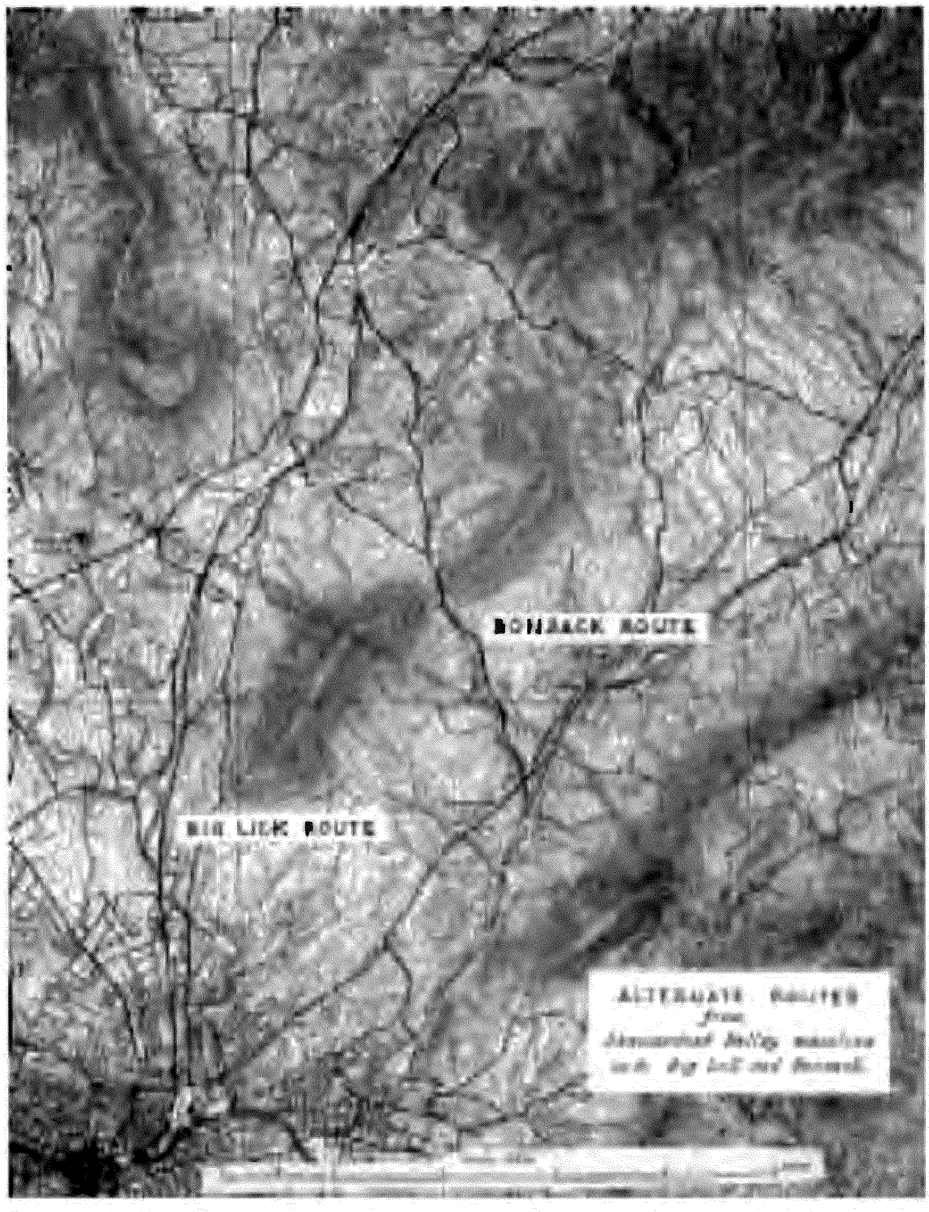
seat, had the largest population and greatest political influence, and was the location of Roanoke College. Big Lick, Bonsack, and Montvale were small villages located along the N&W in Roanoke and Bedford counties. There was keen competition between the four communities to influence the SVRR to decide in their favor.

A Construction Committee had been appointed to resolve all matters regarding location, construction, and financing. Its members were responsible for selecting the location for the SVRR-N&W connection. Their decision would be based on the community whose location required minimum construction and right-of-way costs. Petitions by local politicians, businessmen, citizens, and elected officials were less important.

Salem, as a college town and business and political center, was vitally interested in securing the connection. The SVRR was Salem's last opportunity to obtain a direct railroad connection to the North, for, in 1879, Roanoke County had refused to complete its $200,000 subscription to the VRR. Salem's efforts began with a presentation to the SVRR stockholders at their April 4 meeting in Luray. The Salem delegation, headed by Dr. Julius Dreher, president of Roanoke College, requested that Salem be selected as the point of connection. Failing to receive any response to its April 4 presentation, Salem submitted a petition on April 28 to U. S. Senator William Mahone requesting his assistance in obtaining the connection point. The petition was signed by numerous business leaders, town officials, and influential citizens. On April 30, Senator Mahone forwarded the petition to President Kimball, accompanied by his personal observation that Salem was the preferred point of connection.[51] It is not known if Kimball responded to Mahone's letter.

Salem's disadvantage was its location. Although the SVRR's charter specified that the connection be located at or near Salem, this did not ensure its selection. The distance from Cloverdale to Salem, following the VRR right-of-way, is approximately four miles longer than the Cloverdale to Big Lick branch. Salem's selection would have added the cost of constructing four additional miles of railroad. It is obvious why Salem was not selected.

Montvale was not a serious candidate because a costly tunnel and heavy excavation were required to connect it to the SVRR main line. Of the remaining communities, Bonsack held the advantage over Big Lick. At the April 4 stockholders meeting SVRR officers specifically identified



Alternate routes from the Shenandoah Valley mainline into Big Lick and Bonsack.

Bonsack as the location for the N&W connection. The accompanying map (page 82) shows that from a common point on the SVRR main line at its crossing of present day U.S. Route 220A, a branch line to the N&W at Bonsack would have been about five miles long as compared to approximately eight and one-half miles required for a connection at Big Lick. The shorter distance reduced significantly the construction and right-of-way costs required by the Big Lick connection. Bonsack was a serious candidate.

Big Lick faced an uphill battle in its effort to secure the SVRR-N&W connection. Numerous discussions were held in the community in early April as to how the connection point could be obtained. At a town meeting on April 21[52], John C. Moomaw stepped forward to suggest that a monetary contribution to the railroad company would advance their cause. Moomaw was a right-of-way agent or consultant for the SVRR[53], as well as a successful orchardist and astute businessman. As a right-of-way agent, Moomaw knew the specific locations of the routes being considered, the point at which each connected to the N&W, and the properties needed for the railroad right-of-way. His job was to contact the affected property owners, negotiate a price for their property, and obtain an option for its purchase by the railroad company. Moomaw was in position to advise Big Lick's leaders on how they could secure the SVRR-N&W connection, including the specific amount of a monetary contribution.[54]

Moomaw's decision to share his knowledge of location and right-of-way costs with Big Lick rather than Bonsack is intriguing. Moomaw was originally from Bonsack, but moved to Cloverdale in 1859. His orchards and packing houses were located on the SVRR's proposed route into Big Lick and direct railroad access would benefit his orchard business. In addition, one of the right-of-way parcels required for the Big Lick route was owned by Lucinda Moomaw, his daughter. Whatever Moomaw's reasons for advising Big Lick, his advice was accepted, the amount he suggested was raised, and arrangements were made for C. W. Thomas to deliver the contribution to Moomaw north of Troutville late in the evening of April 21. From here, Moomaw made an all-night horseback ride to Lexington. He arrived on the 22nd and delivered the Big Lick subscription and the right-of-way options he had negotiated to the Committee on Construction. Upon receipt of this information, U. L.

Boyce, a Committee member, responded, "Gentlemen, this brings the road to Big Lick. This progressive spirit cannot be denied."[55]

The Committee returned to Luray and reported to Kimball the receipt of Moomaw's options for right-of-way near Big Lick, the Big Lick contribution for purchase of the right-of-way, and their recommendation to select Big Lick. Kimball then incorporated their recommendation in his May 5 report, advising the stockholders that the SVRR would connect to the N&W at Big Lick.

Following Kimball's May 5 report, the SVRR designated Cloverdale as the terminus of the main line. This action circumvented the 1867 charter requirement to make connection to the then Virginia and Tennessee at or near Salem. By stopping the main line at Cloverdale and constructing a branch line into Big Lick, a distance of approximately six and one-half miles, the SVRR was in compliance with the April 1870 Act of the General Assembly authorizing construction of branch and lateral roads not exceeding ten miles in length.

Moomaw was the local person responsible for the SVRR's decision to connect its railroad to the N&W at Big Lick.[56] As a result of Moomaw's advice to the Big Lick community, a "Magic City" was born on April 22, 1881. The small village of Big Lick, with a population of more than 600 in 1880, was renamed Roanoke when it was chartered in February 1882. By 1883, Roanoke's population exceeded 5000, and on January 31, 1884, the General Assembly granted a charter to the City of Roanoke, now the cultural, economic, and political center of the Roanoke Valley and Southwest Virginia.[57]

On August 3, 1881, the Roanoke Machine Works were organized. The principal office was at Big Lick[58], and the Works were to construct and equip machine shops large enough to build first-class locomotives. The shops at Shepherdstown were closed.

On May 3 1882, Kimball described[59] to the stockholders the problems in locating and constructing the 95-mile extension and the manner in which they had been resolved "with a clarity highly creditable to the contractors employed and to the engineers engaged in the service of your company." He indicated that the entire line would be in operation by June 15. It would be connected to the Richmond and Allegheny railroad 43 miles south of Waynesboro, where the iron ores of the James River Valley would be interchanged to the SVRR, thereby providing an outlet to the Pennsylvania furnaces, The workshops at Roanoke were under

construction and designed for the joint use of the SVRR and the N&W, and the line would serve the Shenandoah Iron Works, under the management of William Milnes, Jr., former president of the SVRR, who had started construction of a 100-ton per-day furnace to produce pig iron. Kimball's reference to Roanoke was one of the first in the SVRR's records.

After fifteen arduous years, the Shenandoah Valley Railroad was completed on June 19, 1882, when the first through train arrived in Roanoke from Hagerstown, just four days behind the scheduled June 15 completion date.[60] With the assistance of the Pennsylvania Railroad in its early years and with the financial, management, and construction support of E. W. Clark and Company from 1879, the SVRR had won the battle to create a north-south railroad through the Valley of Virginia and, at the same time, had provided the impetus which led to the founding of Roanoke, the "Magic City."

The Tragedy of the Valley Railroad

The Valley Railroad was incorporated by the Virginia General Assembly on February 23, 1866.[61] The charter was to become effective when $100,000 of the $3,000,000 authorized capital had been subscribed. This was achieved in October 1866 when Rockbridge County passed a $100,000 bond issue for the purchase of stock priced at $100 a share. The railroad was to begin at Harrisonburg, proceed south through Rockingham County, pass through Staunton in Augusta County, Lexington in Rockbridge County, Buchanan and Fincastle in Botetourt County, and terminate at or near Salem in Roanoke County, with a connection there to the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad.

In April 1866, an organizing convention was held in Staunton[62], with Harrisonburg, Staunton, Lexington, and the counties of Rockingham, Augusta, Rockbridge, Botetourt, and Roanoke represented. Plans and benefits to each community were discussed, and the capital each county would have to raise to make the project possible was established. Colonel Michael G. Harman of Staunton, one of the wealthiest men in the Shenandoah Valley, served as chairman of the convention and was elected the first president of the VRR, together with ten directors.

The Virginia Central and the Virginia and Tennessee railroads, which would connect to the VRR at Staunton and Salem, provided limited connections to the important northern and midwestern markets. Harman

and several directors approached the Manassas Gap Railroad to seek an arrangement to use its tracks between Strasburg and Mount Jackson and to transfer its authority to build the sections between Mount Jackson and Harrisonburg and between Strasburg and Winchester. This would connect the VRR to the existing Winchester and Potomac Railroad with its connection to the B&O main line at Harpers Ferry.

At the same time the VRR was seeking a means to extend its railroad from Harrisonburg to Winchester, the B&O was attempting to accomplish the same objective. John W. Garrett, president of the B&O, had long visualized a railroad through the Valley of Virginia as one means of extending his railroad into the South. Garrett had begun this effort prior to the Civil War by using the Winchester and Potomac to provide rail service to the lower Shenandoah Valley.

In 1866, the B&O leased the Winchester and Potomac for 99 years and began to purchase stock in the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, which in March 1867 was combined with the Manassas Gap Railroad. The combined company, the Orange, Alexandria and Manassas Gap, was authorized to extend its existing railroad from Mount Jackson to Harrisonburg. With the financial support of the B&O, the extension was completed in December 1868 as the Strasburg and Harrisonburg Railroad. In March 1870, the Winchester and Strasburg Railroad, in which the B&O was the majority stockholder, opened for service.[63]

Through these activities, the B&O had extended its system to Harrisonburg, eliminating the need for the VRR to build the railroads between Winchester and Harrisonburg. By March 1870, the only unfinished link in a railroad connecting the B&O main line at Harpers Ferry to the Virginia and Tennessee at Salem was the 113-mile Harrisonburg to Salem segment.

Efforts to raise capital in the sponsoring communities proceeded slowly. By 1869 it was apparent that the local communities would be unable to fully finance the VRR. In April a delegation from the sponsoring counties, Lexington, and Staunton traveled to Baltimore to formally request that city's financial aid. On April 23, the delegation, with Robert E. Lee as its spokesman, appeared before the Baltimore Board of Trade, where President Harman requested the board to endorse $1,000,000 in construction aid, with the counties and towns being served contributing $1,200,000. The delegation presented the same request to the City Council, with Lee observing that "this route will afford the shortest line of

travel from the large and populous portion of the North to much of the best part of the South." The council acted favorably on the request, although the aid required approval by the Maryland legislature and the Baltimore electorate, a time-consuming process that delayed the start of construction.[64]

President Harman, the driving force in organizing the railroad, was discouraged by the difficulties in raising capital and declined to stand for re-election at the August 1870 stockholders' meeting. He believed that some special emphasis was necessary to make investment in the VRR more attractive. He proposed that Lee succeed him as president, believing that only a person of his character, reputation, and influence could inspire confidence and provide the credibility needed to make the railroad a success.[65] Lee was then president of Washington College in Lexington. Since the surrender at Appomattox, he had declined to participate in any business enterprise. On July 25, 1870, President Harman, John B. Baldwin, Judge Hugh Sheffey, A. H. H. Stuart, Thomas I. Michie and other citizens and community leaders asked Lee to accept the presidency of the VRR, convincing him that he alone could make the company a successful service to the Valley of Virginia, Lexington, and Washington College.

On July 28, Lee indicated his willingness to accept the office and, at the stockholders' meeting on August 30, 1870, Lee was formally elected the company's second president.[66] His acceptance of the presidency was typical of his unselfish peacetime service to the Commonwealth of Virginia and Washington College. His quiet, unassuming, behind-the-scenes counsel and advice on the political questions of the day were influential in Virginia's post-war recovery.

Unfortunately, Lee's term as the VRR's president was brief. Following his death on October 12, 1870, Robert Garrett was named the railroad's third president. Garrett was the son of John W. Garrett, the B&O president. His family, originally Baltimore bankers, controlled the B&O from 1858 to 1887. Robert Garrett served as the VRR's president until February 1875, taking a sabbatical until October 1879 when he returned to the B&O. Following the death of his father in October 1884, he was elected president of the B&O and served until October 1887, when the B&O's financial problems ended his administration.[67]

Garrett's election indicated that the B&O was in control of the VRR. The capitalization of the VRR was still incomplete, and by the fall

of 1871 only the B&O's subscription of $1,000,000 was firm. The City of Baltimore's $1,000,000 subscription remained conditional, and the local communities had not met their $1,200,000 goal. Meeting this goal was necessary to secure the Baltimore subscription but only $1,105,000 had been subscribed, leaving a shortfall of $95,000. To overcome this deficit, the B&O increased its commitment by $20,000, making it the VRR's largest stockholder. On August 1, 1871, a Staunton contracting firm, McMahon and Green, agreed to purchase $75,000 of the company's stock. These two actions eliminated the $95,000 shortfall, thus removing one of the conditions attached to the Baltimore subscription.

The VRR encountered many obstacles in obtaining sufficient capital to build the railroad. Resolution of this problem was a continuing struggle which was never fully resolved, and the odds against completing the railroad to Salem increased with the passage of time. Even so, by August 1872, contractors had been employed to build the 26-mile section between Harrisonburg and Staunton, including the three major bridges across the North and Middle Rivers.[68]

Surveys for the 87 miles from Staunton to Salem were proceeding. Two lines had been located between Buchanan and Salem but were incomplete. The selection of a specific location between these points was made difficult by the charter requirement that the railroad go through Fincastle, making selection of the most feasible and economical location difficult. Surveys for a third route through central Botetourt County that would provide maximum economy were begun, but the railroad's location would not be resolved until 1876.[69]

The estimated cost of the 113-mile railroad, Harrisonburg to Salem, was $5,700,000. Financing was based on $3,200,000 of stock, and a mortgage not to exceed $3,000,000.[70]

The year 1873 was an eventful one for the VRR. The conditional stock subscription by the City of Baltimore for $1,000,000 was finalized. In addition the B&O obtained control of the Strasburg and Harrisonburg, the Winchester and Strasburg, and the Winchester and Potomac railroads and incorporated them into its operations.

The work from Harrisonburg to Staunton was scheduled for completion by November 1873, including a connection to the C&O at Staunton. A contract for constructing the 87 miles from Staunton to Salem was awarded to the Mason Syndicate in May 1873, and by early July work in Rockbridge, Botetourt, and Roanoke counties was underway. It was an-

ticipated that rails could be laid, bridges completed, and operations started during 1877.[71]

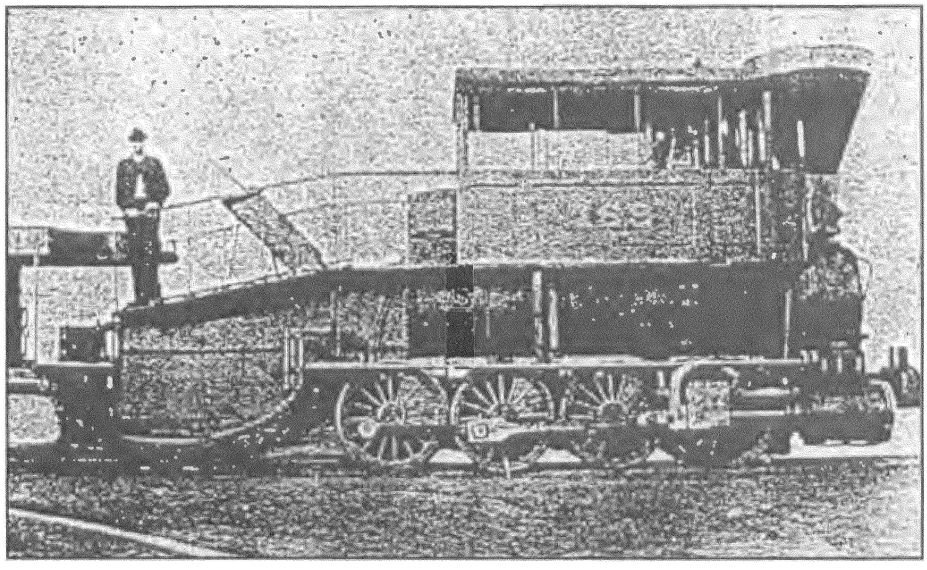
There were problems that would later have an adverse impact on the progress and completion of the railroad. The first was the lack of traffic agreements with the C&O and the AM&O. Without these agreements, the VRR could not succeed. The C&O agreement was extremely critical because of the coal deposits that had been discovered during its construction from Covington to Huntington.[72] The second problem was the lack of financial participation by Rockingham and Augusta counties. By August 1873, about $540,000 had been spent on construction between Harrisonburg and Staunton, funded entirely by the B&O. With this 26-mile segment still incomplete, funding of the 87-mile Staunton-Salem construction became entirely dependent on obtaining the $3,000,000 mortgage.

As a result of the financial panic of September 1873, the VRR was unable to find a market for the $3,000,000 mortgage. The B&O suffered continuing losses of traffic and revenue that prevented it from providing an offsetting investment of funds in the VRR.

By March 3, 1874, the Harrisonburg-Staunton section was complete and the VRR's trains had started operations over its tracks.[73] Construction south of Staunton was proceeding rapidly, but not without problems. By September, the contractor's limit for monthly payments was being exceeded, creating cash flow problems. The depression that had begun in September 1873 was becoming evident in its affairs.[74] By mid-November, the VRR was insolvent. On November 24, a committee recommended suspension of the work, and on December 2, 1874, the Mason Syndicate agreed to suspend activities for $40,000. The board accepted the proposal and authorized full settlement with the contractor as soon as possible.[75]

In February 1875, Robert Garrett resigned. He was succeeded by P. P. Pendleton, a B&O vice president.[76] Activity during 1875 was limited to operations on the Harrisonburg-Staunton segment. Results were unsatisfactory, and heavy financial losses were experienced. The VRR therefore discontinued operations, released employees, and leased the Harrisonburg-Staunton section to the B&O.

During the year the VRR instituted legal action against Botetourt County to force it to increase the $60,000 previously paid on its $200,000 subscription. In November, the county's supervisors proposed a compro-



Old 199, B&O Camel Back. Confiscated by Stonewell Jackson in the spring of 1862. Transported overland by Confederate troops to Staunton. Returned to the B&O following the Civil War. Old 199 operated on the Valley Railroad between Harrisonburg and Staunton, and continued in service until 1892 when it was destroyed in a wreck. Drawing courtesy Chesapeake Western Railway.

mise based on an immediate $45,000 payment, with payment on the remaining $95,000 beginning when work was resumed in the county. The compromise was accepted, and the General Assembly was requested to modify the VRR's charter accordingly.[77]

The amended charter of the VRR provided that it be allowed to purchase the existing James River bridge at Buchanan instead of constructing a new toll-free bridge. The existing bridge would be conveyed to Botetourt County and the depot at Buchanan eliminated. The amended charter also required the VRR to construct a toll-free macadamized road from Fincastle to the closest depot in Botetourt County. This replaced the original charter requirement that Fincastle, the county seat, receive direct service. The preferred location was four miles south of Fincastle, and the macadamized road connecting Fincastle to the nearest depot solved the problem of selecting a location through Botetourt County.[78]

The officers continued to seek a way to complete the road to Salem. One was the November proposal by the SVRR to lease the operating section for $2,000 per month for a period of 15 years. The proposal was accepted on a temporary basis.[79] Efforts to develop a plan for resuming construction continued into 1877. Early in the year the temporary lease of the Harrisonburg-Staunton segment was terminated because the SVRR believed that the lease included both the operating section and such further length of line south of Staunton as it might designate. This, however, was not acceptable to the VRR. At the annual meeting in Staunton on November 14, 1877, the stockholders were advised that the estimated cost to complete the road to Salem was $800,000 to $1,000,000, based on using convict labor. The use of convict labor on railroad construction projects in western Virginia was not unusual. Convicts were paid 40 cents a day, with the state responsible for the cost of feeding, clothing, housing, security, and medical attention[80], a practice obviously advantageous to railroad companies.

At the November 14 meeting, a motion to resume work by April 14, 1878, was defeated. A second motion to place a mortgage on the railroad for an amount not to exceed $1,000,000 was approved, but the mortgage bonds were never issued due to the depressed market for railroad construction securities. No effort was made to reverse the defeat of the proposal to resume work in 1878. The negative vote on resuming work, combined with a debt to the B&O of $244,075, was a clear indication that the local communities had little influence in either the VRR's financial affairs or in a decision to resume work.[81]

The situation was compounded when Michael G. Harman died in Richmond on December 17, 1877.[82] Harman's leadership had brought the local communities and the B&O together, and following the B&O's and City of Baltimore's financial commitments in 1873, he was an effective spokesman for the local interests in planning, financing, and constructing the railroad. His task had been difficult, for there was a long-standing element of mistrust between the local communities and Baltimore interests, and he worked diligently to meld the conflicting interests of the two groups.

Local dissatisfaction with the failure to resume construction escalated in 1878. In the fall, J. B. Dorman, an attorney representing Rockbridge County, suggested to his Board of Supervisors that a petition to the legislature be considered as a means of forcing the B&O to resume

work. His suggestion was accepted, and a petition was adopted providing for dissolution of the VRR, revocation of its charter, sale of its property, and distribution of the proceeds. The board requested Botetourt and Roanoke Counties, Lexington, and Staunton to cooperate in the legislative effort.[83]

At the annual meeting in Staunton on November 13, 1878[84], the stockholders received a proposal to the B&O and the City of Baltimore from the counties, Lexington, and Staunton to divide the assets of the VRR. Action on the proposal was delayed until a December 3 meeting, when it was defeated by the B&O and Baltimore. The discussion of the proposal revealed the depth of the mutual distrust that had developed between the local communities and the B&O-Baltimore interests.

William Keyser, the newly elected president *pro tem*, criticized the local communities for failing to meet their $1,200,000 subscription. Baltimore's position was that a division of the company's assets adversely affected the value of all county bonds. The local communities were unmoved by the B&O and Baltimore criticism. Following the December meeting, an unsuccessful effort was made to lease the VRR to the C&O.[85]

William Keyser became the VRR's permanent president in 1879[86], but was unable to stem the increasing level of local dissatisfaction with the B&O's management and leadership. On January 25 the Roanoke County Board of Supervisors rescinded the county's subscription and withdrew the balance of its $200,000 commitment.[87]

On April 2, the Virginia General Assembly passed legislation allowing the counties and towns to revoke their financial subscriptions to the VRR. Sponsored by Rockbridge County, the legislation provided for forfeiture of the VRR's charter unless the road was completed to Lexington by April 1, 1881; to Buchanan by April 1, 1882; and to Salem by April 1, 1883. The charter amendment also provided that in the event of forfeiture the whole property of the railroad company would be sold, with the purchaser obligated to complete the road to Lexington within one year, to Buchanan within two years, and to Salem within three years. The counties, towns, and Staunton would succeed to the franchise if the purchaser did not complete the work.[88]

Even this legislation failed to resume construction to Salem. Keyser believed that the legislation threatened the existence of the VRR by requiring its construction within a specified schedule, while at the same

time eliminating the means of obtaining additional financing and investment. He suggested that the legislation's sponsors work for its repeal.[89]

The General Assembly rescinded the charter forfeiture legislation in 1880.[90] On May 8, Keyser advised the Rockbridge supervisors that arrangements, while not complete, were being made to complete the road to Salem by authorizing a mortgage to raise the necessary funds.[81] While this was welcome news, Lexington and Rockbridge County remained doubtful that work would resume.

Keyser's 1880 report to the stockholders advised that the prospects of obtaining funds to construct the road south of Staunton were very discouraging, and he was unable to determine any means of obtaining a mortgage.

At the same time, a plan was presented for completing the unfinished construction between Staunton and Lexington. It involved the Richmond and Allegheny Railroad, which connected Richmond to the C&O at Clifton Forge. A line was under construction, located along the James River, passing through Buchanan and including a branch line along the North (Maury) River into Lexington. A traffic agreement with the Richmond and Allegheny offered the VRR the possibility of obtaining a mortgage that would allow its completion into Lexington, where it would connect to the Richmond and Allegheny branch line. This action would allow the VRR to benefit from the traffic being generated by the mineral resources of the James River Valley and the manufacturing development at Lynchburg. Through its connection to the B&O system, the VRR would then be able to ship the James River ores to the Pittsburgh and Wheeling mills. Under this plan Lexington would become the southern terminus of the VRR, with an extension further south being dependent on improved economic conditions in the nation.[82]

On January 20, 1881, the VRR's directors authorized a $700,000 mortgage, later increased to $1,000,000, to complete the construction between Staunton and the North River near Lexington.[83] The B&O agreed to take the VRR mortgage bonds, not to exceed $1,000,000, discounted ten percent. The B&O would furnish funds for constructing and equipping the road, contingent on the negotiation of a connection contract and traffic agreement with the Richmond and Allegheny. The B&O also believed the Richmond and Allegheny connection was a sound business opportunity justifying the Staunton to Lexington extension. In

July, the directors formally agreed to complete the railroad to Lexington and efforts to go farther south were abandoned.[84]

On August 11, $1,000,000 of first mortgage bonds[85] were authorized, secured by the franchise, effects, and assets of the railroad. The deed of trust securing the mortgage provided that the company, with the concurrence of the trustees, could contract for sale or disposition, in whole or in parcels, of the line south of the depot in Lexington. The deed of trust further provided that "if practical to secure the extension south of Lexington by the purchasers of said property, such sale could be made on consideration of the construction of the road, in whole or in part, by others than the Valley Railroad."

There were no buyers for the partially completed work and right-of-way south of Lexington. This marked the effective end of the VRR as originally planned. The high hopes, dreams, and optimism of 1866 for a 113-mile railroad from Harrisonburg to Salem, connecting the B&O system to what was then the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad, were never realized.

It was late October 1883 when the first VRR train arrived in Lexington. One final effort to complete the VRR into the Roanoke Valley occurred on July 11, 1890, when the VRR, the B&O, and the Roanoke and Southern Railway Company agreed to exchange traffic. The Roanoke and Southern had been chartered in Virginia and North Carolina in 1886. Construction started at Winston-Salem in 1888 and was completed to Roanoke and connected to the N&W in 1892. Once again Salem had lost an opportunity for a rail connection to the North, primarily because the officers and sponsors of the Roanoke and Southern were Roanoke businessmen.[86]

The principal reason for the failure of the VRR was the Panic of 1873. The resulting depression, 1873-1877, severely limited the market for railroad mortgage bonds that were critical to the VRR's capitalization. The VRR's failure can also be attributed to an accumulation of other factors, but none was as critical as the inability to attract additional capital after 1874.

Even the 62-mile railroad between Harrisonburg and Lexington was a failure. It was never profitable. The anticipated income from the Richmond and Allegheny connection never developed because the SVRR made an earlier connection in 1882, depriving the VRR of the income from the James River Valley and Lynchburg traffic. The beginning of the

end occurred in December 1896, when the VRR's connecting link to the north, the Strasburg and Harrisonburg Railroad, was conveyed to the Southern Railway by the B&O. In 1942, when the Harrisonburg-Staunton section was taken over by the Chesapeake and Western Railway[87], the Staunton-Lexington section was abandoned and the tracks were removed.[88]

The final sad chapter in the Valley Railroad's history occurred on December 29, 1942, when the Chesapeake and Western purchased its entire holdings, including the right-of-way and unfinished construction between Lexington and Salem.[89] Hungerford's history of the B&O records the Valley Railroad's end as follows: "A little later it reached Lexington, 162 miles from Harpers Ferry. There it halted for all time. Mr. Garrett's (John W.) original plan had been to carry it much further. A right-of-way through Natural Bridge on to Salem had been partly purchased for the extension. At Salem, the B&O would have enjoyed direct connections, not only with the N&W, but with the entire railroad system that stretches itself over the face of the state of Tennessee. Financial difficulties, together with the shrewd machinations of his enemies, thwarted his purpose, however."

Unfortunately, it was not John W. Garrett but the people of Staunton, Lexington, Rockbridge, Botetourt, Salem, and Roanoke County who bore the brunt and disappointment of the VRR's failure. They did not experience the same good fortune as their competitors, the organizers of the SVRR, who, under the same financial conditions, were able to replace their original sponsor, the Pennsylvania Railroad, with E.W. Clark and Company.

Today, their financial sacrifices during difficult times are witnessed by an abandoned railroad, comprised of partially completed excavations, embankments, culverts, and bridges. Dr. E. P. Tompkins offered this conclusion to his history of the Valley Railroad. "Thus passed the railroad which had caused so much talk, so much anxious discussion, so much written in the newspapers and which cost the taxpayers a pretty sum of money. And so the final curtain fell on the tragic-comedy-historical drama of Rockbridge County and its Valley Railroad."

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Book Reviews

Edited by Tom Costa

Surveyors and Statesmen, Land Measuring in Colonial Virginia by Sarah S. Hughes. 1979. The Virginia Surveyors Foundation, Ltd., and the Virginia Association of Surveyors, Inc., Richmond.

For anyone interested in understanding William Preston the man, as opposed to the Revolutionary War patriot and leader in the westward expansion through Virginia, the pages of this book offer a rewarding experience. This history of surveying in colonial Virginia was produced in 1979 as a contribution to the bicentennial celebration of 1976, with and for the Virginia Surveyors Foundation and the Virginia Association of Surveyors, and with the assistance of the College of William and Mary and others.

Since then the book has been largely unknown or ignored by historians and by others interested in the history of Southwest Virginia, although a careful study of its contents reveals a portrait of the eighteenth century County Surveyor that can be taken as a virtual image of William Preston, the master of Smithfield.

Surveyors and Statesmen encompasses the entire colonial era in Virginia from 1621 to the end of the Revolution. It shows the role of the surveyor as embodied in the official office of County Surveyor. It develops the social, military, economic and political picture of that office and of the men who held the office. Three distinct periods are characterized by three distinct approaches to the task of laying out the lands in colonial Virginia.

The period 1621–1709 was the period of the Surveyor General — an era which saw a shift of surveying authority from the Virginia Company to the royal authority to the county courts. During this time, a most important precedent was established, that of defining the 50-acre tract as the standard unit for granting land in the colony. The 50-acre unit as a headright (and later extended to a treasuryright also) was a much more

generous disbursement of land than the methods used in the more northern colonies.

In the second era, an organization of rather shadowy origin and life was formed — the Society of Surveyors. During this period, the competition to control surveying among the Royal Governors, the Council, the Burgesses, and the surveyors themselves, led to action in 1693 by trustees of the College of William and Mary, who obtained control of the appointments of Surveyor General by virtue of Charter rights granted that year. The Surveyor General, Miles Cary, who served from 1699 to 1709, established the system that subsequently became entrenched. The system allowed the County Surveyor to become the holder of multiple offices in the political, military, economic, and social life of the county and the colony. In 1699, the Society generated a set of rules or procedures for surveyors that was incorporated into law in 1706 under the designation "The Duty of Surveyors."

This set the stage for the third colonial era of surveying in Virginia, from 1709 until the Revolution. During this period, the County Surveyor in the Piedmont, the Shenandoah Valley, and the western counties came into power under the system first perfected by eastern Virginia social and economic elites, now turned to benefit the more recent immigrants settling in the west. As the colony expanded, the new County Surveyors were often Scots-Irish immigrants and others not from the English elite of eastern Virginia — men such as James Patton and his successor, William Preston. Between 1720 and 1754, the entire Piedmont was surveyed, and twenty-five new counties were formed. Land grants were large, often greater than 100,000 acres, made to companies such as the Ohio Company and the Greenbriar Company as well as to individuals, such as Patton's great grant.

In the transition from the hegemony of the Eastern Virginia elite to the control of surveying by new westerners, power also shifted from the colonial authorities to the county, specifically to the county courts, in which resided the real political and legal power in the new counties. It is not strange that the County Surveyor was often a member of the court. Because Williamsburg was remote to most of the residents and settlers in the West, the County Surveyor became the link to the colony itself. Thus the holder of the office of County Surveyor, a public official, also became the leader in the political, economic, military and social life in the county.

Consider this quote from *Surveyors and Statesmen*:

> Virginia's eighteenth-century surveyors were recognized among their class-conscious contemporaries as gentlemen members of the county gentry whose right to govern polity and economy, as well as to set cultural standards, was seldom questioned. ... [They] formed a corps of secondary leaders whose influence was most formidable in their counties ... were numbered among the colony's practical-minded intellectual elite ... displayed by plural offices, by wealth, by daily lifestyle and by family connections their membership in the ranks of the exclusive county gentry.

The surveyor's place in this society was grounded in his power to control both the ownership of land and the access to land.

Surveyors and Statesmen is not limited to a history of the development of the surveyor and his place in society. There are chapters on the technical aspects of surveying in colonial Virginia, on the economics and costs of surveying, on the hazards of the job, and on the politics of the profession. To this reviewer, however, this book develops an unstated premise in the picture of the eighteenth-century surveyor. That is, that William Preston became the important person that he was because he was the epitome of the colonial County Surveyor of the eighteenth century in Virginia. That was how this Scots-Irish immigrant took on, almost overnight, the image of the typical elite Eastern Virginian, who normally took generations to evolve.

— Reviewed by Wirt H. Wills
Past Director, APVA at Smithfield

After the Backcountry: Rural Life in the Great Valley of Virginia, 1800–1900. Edited by Kenneth E. Koons and Warren R. Hofstra. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2000).

This collection of essays, which first came together at a conference in Lexington in 1995, represents a pathbreaking work in the study of the Virginia backcountry and, by extension, of all frontier regions. While much recent scholarship has focused on the backcountry during the formative period of the eighteenth century, scholars generally have not ventured into the region to examine what occurred over the course of the nineteenth century, after the frontier had moved on. Edited by Kenneth Koons and Warren Hofstra, *After the Backcountry* fills an historiographical void, providing a reminder that life continued and change remained a constant for residents of the region, even as the appearance of order replaced the transience of frontier existence.

The collective theme of the twenty-one essays contained in this volume revolves around the development of a stable agricultural economy, its links to the commercial world in which it existed, and the society that evolved around it — in short, the "consequences of social and economic processes put into motion by the pioneer generation" (xi). Drawing on the perspectives and expertise of scholars in a wide range of disciplines, and employing the "microhistorical" social history approach of studying discrete communities and ordinary people, this well-crafted collection makes a significant contribution to the field of rural history.

In their introductory essay, "The World Wheat Made," Koons and Hofstra effectively set forth some of the defining parameters of the collection, noting the central role that wheat production played in the Shenandoah Valley, as the basis of a mixed agriculture economy that was inherently tied to commercial markets outside the region. This agricultural base created a fairly equal distribution of wealth and gave rise to a foundation of "broadly prosperous middle class" farmers (xxii). The essay, however, also presents the ambiguities that complicate any study of the region. While the regional economy was based upon wheat production, for instance, slavery was widely practiced. And while some contemporaries and historians alike have characterized the valley as a "cultural and socioeconomic extension of Pennsylvania" (xvii), other indicators align the region firmly with the South.

Such enigmatic themes recur in the four major sections of the collection, the first of which is titled "Space: Economic Growth in Town and Country." In a separate essay, Koons reinforces the long-term importance of wheat in the valley, contradicting the notions that the Civil War permanently disabled the regional grain economy and that midwestern competition outstripped valley production during the late nineteenth century. Although the war represented a temporary setback, "it did not alter the basic pattern of economic activity by which valley farmers traditionally had earned their livelihoods" (9); they returned to their familiar commercial agricultural activity, which actually flourished well into the twentieth century. Looking at wheat production in the more challenging region of the Upper Potomac Basin, Kenneth Keller notes how initial potential for and interest in commercial wheat farming in the first half of the nineteenth century had faded by the outbreak of the war. Faced with limits on production caused by less hospitable topography and relative isolation, farmers on the Upper Potomac could not keep up with competition from other wheat-producing areas, as did their counterparts in the Shenandoah Valley.

Robert Mitchell places the commercial development of the region in a geographic context in "The Settlement Fabric of the Shenandoah Valley, 1790–1860." Basing his analysis on the concept of a "settlement continuum" pattern (34), by which areas pass from rural farms and hamlets to urban towns and cities, as well as on the relationships of "central-place theory" (35–36), Mitchell concludes that neither developed fully in the region, though the northern valley counties, with their greater population densities and more direct ties to eastern markets, enjoyed an advantage over the southern counties, which lagged behind and experienced population limitations. Warren Hofstra and Clarence Geier approach this question from an archaeological perspective, with an examination of development in the neighborhood of Winchester, at the Opequon community. The basis of their argument is that scholars must understand the physical layout of the landscape, which they characterize as "a complex product of socioeconomic arrangements" designed to meet the needs of production and consumption in a cultural context (48). In their view, links between rural settlement areas such as Opequon and larger service centers such as Winchester created webs of interdependence that formed the distinct "landscape of the mixed-farm, market-town world of the Shenandoah Valley" (59). Finally, in an essay whose fit

with the others in the section is somewhat tenuous, Joseph Rainer discusses the role of northern peddlers, "Commercial Scythians" who brought unique manufactured goods to the valley and represented the "vanguard of the Market Revolution" in the region (62), introducing valley residents to a new level of consumerism associated with the larger national economy, but who also became the "scapegoats for Virginians' unease with the rapidly evolving market economy of the early nineteenth century" (63).

Part II, "Patterns: Landscape and Material Culture," deals with the physical reflections of how people in the region viewed themselves in their changing world. Judith Ridner and Ann McCleary both address the importance of architecture, coming to similar conclusions that portray prosperous residents adapting more widespread patterns with local influences to form particular styles. While Ridner describes elites in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, who adopted eastern styles but modified them with backcountry characteristics such as the use of local stone rather than brick, McCleary analyzes the evolution of a distinctive regional style in the Shenandoah Valley, representing a mixture of cultural influences. While the details of design differed in the two areas, in both cases prosperous homeowners adopted styles "that seemed both progressive and connected to the community" (109).

Tonya Woods Horton takes the reader outside of the houses to discuss the "Hidden Gardens" of Lexington. Her main point is that "Kitchen gardens were the focus of the domestic landscape in an age before the front lawn became the predominant symbol of suburban living" (111). The author, however, does not convincingly reconcile important characteristics that she attributes to these kitchen gardens: were town residents dependent upon their own produce even though a "lively commerce was in effect ... between farm and town" (114); did Lexingtonians give as much atttention to aesthetic theories as does the author, or were they guided by the fact that "backyards were shared utilitarian plots lacking the space needed for ornamental naturalism" (123); and did the gardens reflect "an insistence upon maintaining a self-sufficient household economy buffered from an unreliable commercial flow of goods and services" (124), or did town residents enjoy "a ready availability of current fashions" and other consumer goods transported along "well-established trade routes" from eastern commercial centers (114)? Such inconsistencies hinder the effectiveness of this discussion of urban gardening.

The archaeological perspective again is employed to view the human landscape in an essay by Kurt Russ, John McDaniel, and Katherine Wood. Chronicling the rise and fall of iron manufacturing as an important rural industry, the authors address such topics as labor practices, technological progress, ethnic patterns, and environmental impact to conclude that even "rural" Virginia is "a product of three centuries of industrialism" that "impacted the ways in which Virginians perceived their landscape" (143). Audrey Horning interprets archaeological data in her study of communities within the Blue Ridge mountains. She argues that, contrary to the stereotypes of isolation and backwardness, "the material lives of hollow dwellers differed little from those of other Americans in terms of the types ... of manufactured goods that they purchased, consumed, and discarded" (147). Mountain residents had their distinct community identities, but they were part of an interdependent regional economy.

Part III of the collection, "Relations: Religion, Race, and Society," focuses primarily on the avenues of contact between whites and African Americans in valley society. Susanne Simmons and Nancy Sorrells describe the phenomenon of hiring out slave labor, commonly practiced in the mixed economy of the region. This essay at once dispels the myths that slavery was not widely accepted in the backcountry, that it was not well-adapted to a mixed agriculture economy, and that hiring out of slave labor was restricted to urban areas. Stephen Longenecker examines how three non-conformist religious groups reacted to the institution of slavery. While Methodists, Mennonites, and Dunkers initially all criticized the worldliness of the society that surrounded them and voiced objections to slavery, as the nineteenth century progressed and Methodism grew, it became less non-conformist. Mennonites and Dunkers continued openly to disapprove of the institution; Methodists drifted toward the mainstream on many issues, including slavery.

A related topic, less widely studied, is the subject of Ellen Eslinger's "Sable Spectres on Missions of Evil." Eslinger examines the increasingly uneasy environment which faced free blacks in the antebellum period in Rockbridge County. She effectively demonstrates that it is important to recognize the challenges which free blacks faced in a largely rural world that became progressively more hostile to their survival as a group over the course of the century. David Coffey continues this story, to a certain degree, in his study of race relations during the period of "Reconstruc-

tion and Redemption in Lexington, Virginia," where there was a conscious effort to recreate the pre-war social and racial structure of the community. Lexington residents welcomed a sense of prosperity and an influx of students — who played a very active role in community issues — into its two colleges. What they did not welcome was the newly increased free black population or the presence of the Freedmen's Bureau; they demonstrated their opposition through a variety of tactics, and by 1869 had succeeded in "redeeming" Lexington from the forces of Reconstruction.

The one essay in this section that does not fit with the common theme is Joan Jensen's work on rural women. Her point that women all too often are absent from southern rural history is well taken. Rather than an analysis of the experiences of women in the Virginia backcountry, this chapter is a call to action for scholars to alleviate the historiographical inequity.

Scott Philyaw starts Part IV, "Power: Politics and Political Culture," with an examination of how the conceptualization of Virginia changed over the course of the nineteenth century. While the eastern elite envisioned the western reaches of the state's colonial claims evolving into "closely allied sister republics" that would loyally "follow the lead of the Old Dominion in federal affairs" (235), residents of the western territories had other ideas and other agendas. Eastern Virginians refined an ever-narrowing vision of "true Virginia," and the Shenandoah Valley developed an "intermediate character" (244), tied to power structures of the state but not wholly in line with them.

In his essay "News in the Valley," David Rawson looks at power on the micro level. He uses periodical subscriptions, which brought news of the larger world into localities such as New Market, to surmise who had an interest in this information and thus how they could use it to their advantage. Rawson posits that local elites, by controlling the flow of information into the community, exerted their own influence in shaping both the regional identity and the spread of an emerging national identity. Lynn Nelson examines the role of one such member of the elite, William Massie, who attempted to lead his Piedmont neighbors in a progressive direction during the nineteenth century by emulating the economic success of the Shenandoah Valley. Whereas eastern planters resisted change and diversity from the plantation system, farmers in the valley incorporated slavery into a balanced, mixed economy. Massie and

others on the eastern slopes of the Blue Ridge saw this success, but they erred in their inability to modify their own power structures and in their refusal to deviate from the existing plantation structure.

Coming full circle in this section, Michael Gorman examines the political culture of the Shenandoah Valley as the crucial question of sectionalism loomed. In spite of a strong Unionist sentiment and a general resistance to secession in the northern valley, a political culture had developed in which local elites associated with the interests of their peers in the eastern half of the state, and thus the Shenandoah Valley threw its lot with Richmond rather than with the western counties that renounced the Confederacy.

The volume concludes with Hal Barron's "Reaping What Has Been Sown," a survey of the current state of rural history. He suggests that the growing scholarly interest in the subject is a reaction, at least in part, "to the accelerating disappearance of farming as a way of life in contemporary society, leading to a greater sense of urgency about recapturing and preserving the historical record" of America's rural past (287). A central theme in this work is the persistence of traditional agrarian values in the face of the emerging industrial market economy. It is a story of framers' reactions, adaptations, and compromises in a changing world, and of "the actual processes of negotiation with these larger forces of change" (290).

After the Backcountry represents a valuable addition to the literature on two levels. First, it fills a void by addressing a time and a set of questions that scholars previously have not approached. In a sense, doing so takes a step toward completing the story of the region, begun with the outpouring of fine scholarship on the frontier period produced during the last decade, but left incomplete in a chronological sense until now. This volume helps to fulfill the need for an inclusive regional history. Second, beyond the specifics of studying the defined region of the Great Valley during the nineteenth century, this work also provides a link, as well as valuable insights, into the larger question of what happens to peoples, economies, societies, and political systems of frontier regions once stability is realized. Thus, *After the Backcountry* makes a significant contribution to the field of rural history, demonstrating that scholars must recognize, appreciate, and account for the changing dynamics that affected rural society. The editors of this volume are to be commended for assembling such an expansive collection of scholarship

and for presenting it in a thoughtful format. It is no small feat to have crafted a work that brings together so many diverse studies and perspectives into a cohesive whole, but Koons and Hofstra have done so masterfully.

Reviewed by Michael Puglisi
Vice President for Academic Affairs
Virginia Intermont College

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The Smithfield Review publishes book reviews. The editors plan for each issue to carry two to three reviews of books dealing with all periods of trans-Appalachian history and culture. We enlist active scholars and professionals to write the reviews. Review copies, requests to review books, and other inquiries may be addressed to:

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"The Americans had encouraged the prisoners to switch sides ... Handbills in German that circulated among the prisoners contained the text ... The act explained the noble cause of the revolution and promised free land to any German soldier who would join the American cause."

— Clovis E. Linkous, p. 16

"The vast majority of forced African-American migrants from Virginia came from the regions east of the Blue Ridge, where most slaves lived and where, in some counties, the labor glut in slaves had begun even before the Revolution."

— Phillip D. Troutman, p. 26

"I sewed for nearly everyone in the county. ... Used to get threads out of old garments. That's what I learned to sew with. Couldn't always get spool thread then. ...

"Man used to tell his wife something, his wife would believe everything. And they're not believing now. They're thinking for themselves."

— Malissia's Sayings, pp. 52, 53

"After fifteen arduous years, the Shenandoah Valley Railroad was completed on June 19, 1882 ...With the assistance of the Pennsylvania Railroad in its early years and with the financial, management, and construction support of E. W. Clark and Company from 1879, the SVRR had won the battle to create a north-south railroad through the Valley of Virginia ..."

— John R. Hildebrand, p. 85