The Smithfield Review

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

Volume VI, 2002

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Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities
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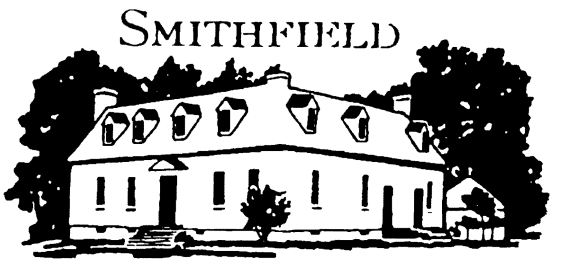

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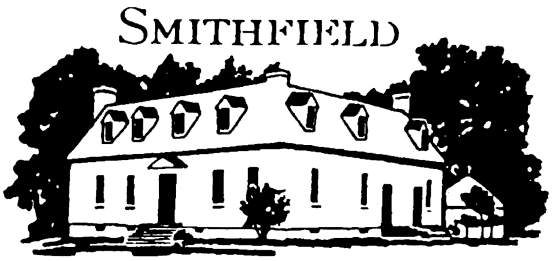


Smithfield is an important historic property adjacent to the campus of Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University in Blacksburg, Virginia. The manor house, constructed around 1774 on the frontier, is a premier example of early American architecture and is one of few such regional structures 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 in the late nineteenth century.
Photo courtesy of Aubin Boulware Lamb, younger son of Janie Preston Boulware Lamb. Mrs. Lamb gave the plantation house at Smithfield to the APVA in 1959. The original of the photograph is located at Mr. Lamb's farm, St. Julien, in Spotsylvania County, Virginia.

A Note from the Editors

One of the most interesting aspects of studying history is to observe how earlier citizens — individually and collectively — overcame the wide variety of challenges that they encountered. This issue of *The Smithfield Review* presents four quite different situations in which adversity and daily challenges were met by our predecessors, with innovation, determination, and action enabling them to survive and prosper. Our first article shows how, in response to a disastrous flood in 1771, a special boat called a "James River batteau" was developed, which, in an era without railroads, was essential to commerce and the developing economy. The second article provides an overview of the life of a man who had a key role in early Virginia history and, in so doing, faced daunting challenges. Next is the story of Christiansburg Institute, a school built for children of newly freed slaves immediately following the Civil War — a school that survived in the midst of all types of adversities. Our final presentation, "The Diaries of James Armistead Otey" demonstrates the hardships that had to be overcome by a nineteenth-century farmer and provides a detailed view of life in Montgomery County in 1889–90.

"Batteaux on Virginia's Rivers" describes the origin and use of boats specifically designed for navigating shallow rivers. The "James River batteau" (traditionally spelled with a double *t* in Virginia) was designed to carry cargo from the headwaters of Virginia's major rivers down to the fall point, where the cargo was transferred to larger boats. Although introduced first on the James River, batteaux were also used on the Roanoke, New, Appomattox, Potomac, and Rappahannock, as well as on other smaller rivers. Large companies were formed to operate the transportation system generated by the heavy use of batteaux. The author, Dan Crawford, is the lead interpreter of the batteaux site at Explore Park in Roanoke.

"William Fleming, Patriot" provides us with a brief biography of an eighteenth-century patriot who devoted much of his life to the birth and growth of the new United States. He was a well-educated practicing physician in his early twenties when he emigrated from Scotland to Virginia around 1750. Fleming eventually built his home, Belmont, near Tinker Creek on land that now includes much of the old Monterey Golf Course near Roanoke. He was a friend of William Preston and, until 1774, when Preston began his move from Greenfield to Smithfield, the two men lived only a short distance apart. An interesting historical connection between this article and the previous one is that the heirs of William Fleming sold part of his former land to a company involved with batteaux transportation. The essay was written by Clare White, a retired writer for the *Roanoke Times* and the author of a recently published book, *William Fleming, Patriot*.

"On a Shallow Foundation of Freedom: Building the Campus of the Christiansburg Institute" is a fascinating story of perseverance by persons who were completely dedicated to the education of African-American children. They overcame major financial and social obstacles in creating an educational institution that survived for one hundred years. Founded in 1866 in the tumultuous aftermath of the Civil War, Christiansburg Institute predated county public schools and many state institutions, including Radford University and Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University. M. Anna Fariello, the author, is an Associate Professor in the Center for Interdisciplinary Studies at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University and Curator of the Christiansburg Institute museum.

With the help of John R. Garrett of the Town of Blacksburg, Sara Beth Keough and Blaine Adams have prepared a map of Smithfield Plantation as it existed in 1774 when the manor house was under construction. That map overlays a current map to enable the reader to visualize the approximate location of old property lines in relation to current landmarks. Miss Keough is a graduate student in the Geography Department at Virginia Tech, and Mr. Adams teaches Geography at the University of North Alabama.

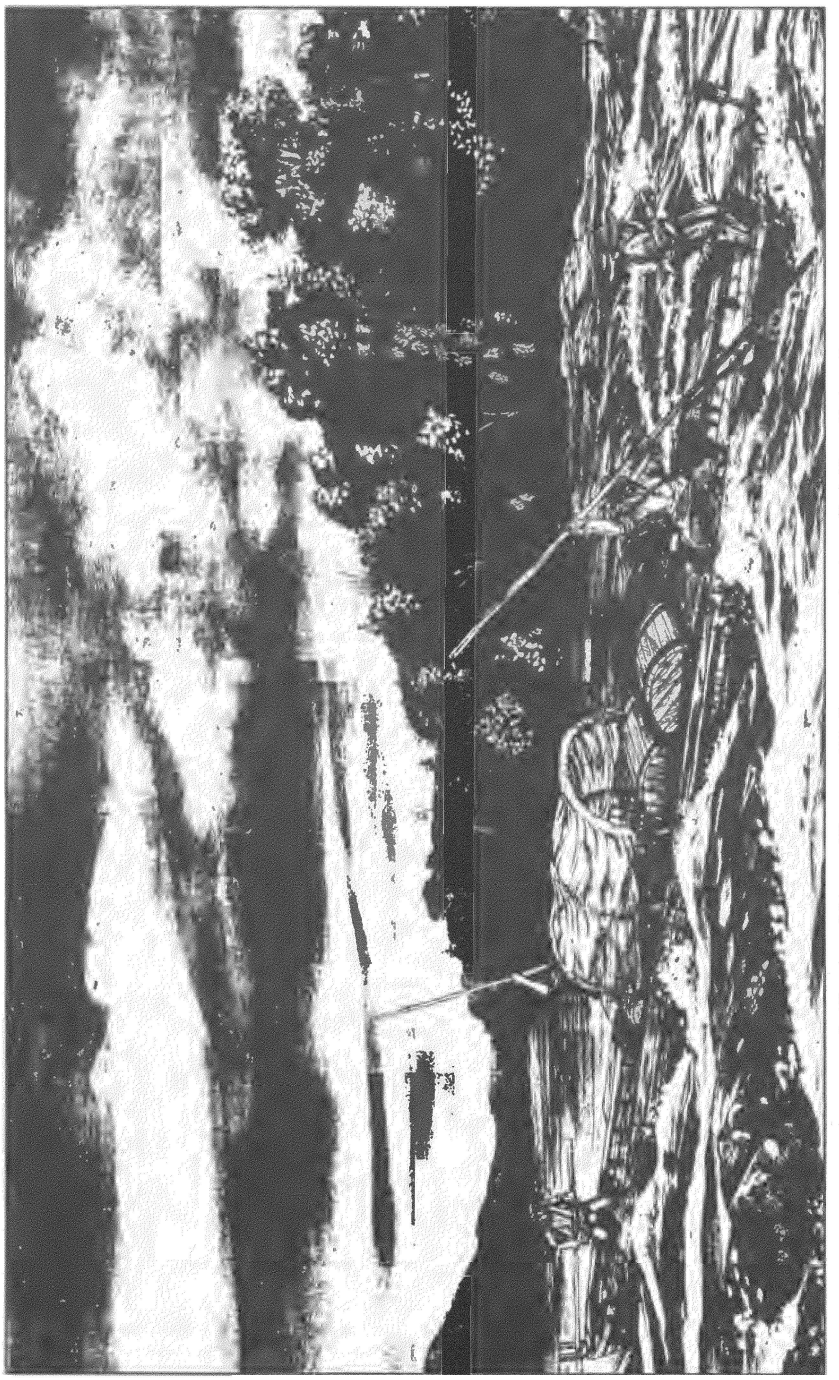
Part I of the annotated "The Diaries of James Armistead Otey" reveals a comprehensive description of daily life in late nineteenth-century Montgomery County, Virginia. The second part, to be published in the next issue of *The Smithfield Review*, will present James Otey's diaries some twenty years later, after he has endured tragic personal experiences. Otey's

entries include references to numerous county citizens and college personnel during the years 1889 and 1890, thereby providing a rare first-hand glimpse of college and county activities of that era. Frequent references are also made to Smithfield and the Preston family members who lived there. The diaries were edited and annotated by James Hoge, Professor of English at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University. The ample notes provide detailed descriptions of persons and places, greatly enhance the reader's understanding of the diary entries, and provide an important resource for persons researching Montgomery County history.

This issue also contains a review by Brian D. McKnight, Mississippi State University, of three recent books that discuss Kentucky's involvement in the Civil War from varied viewpoints.

The editors are grateful to Lisa Hammett and Peter Wallenstein for their considerable assistance in preparing this issue.

Note: Several of the archival photographs provided for this issue are second-generation screened prints, and may exhibit some loss of quality in their reproduction herein.



A James River Batteau, from a painting by Jon Roark.
(Copied from A Guide to Historic Salem, *vol. 3, no. 2 (Summer 1997)*

Batteaux* on Virginia's Rivers

Dan Crawford

Dan Crawford is the lead interpreter of the batteau site at Virginia's Explore Park, off the Blue Ridge Parkway in Roanoke County. He has 25 years of experience on and around salt water, including working on museum square-rigged ships; he notes that many sailing ships filled their holds with the cargo of such inland watercraft as canal boats and James River batteaux.

In the spring of 1771 Virginia suffered her greatest known natural disaster, "The Great Freshet of 1771." It rained on ten consecutive days, at times torrentially, and parts of the James River basin were swept by 25 feet of water.[1] Nearly all of the boats the tobacco planters depended upon for hauling their goods to Richmond were swept away.

At that time, the most widely used boat type for this trade was actually a combination of two boats, called the Rose tobacco canoe. Two large dugout canoes, 50 to 60 feet long, were fitted with cross-beams, using lashings and pins, thus making a twin-hulled craft that could carry up to ten hogsheads of tobacco. After delivery, the canoes could be separated for the return upstream. Three to five men could handle the down-river trip, and two men to a canoe could handily pole and/or paddle a canoe on the return. This scheme was introduced sometime between 1748 and 1750 by two tobacco planters in Albemarle County, the Rev. Robert Rose and his neighbor, a Mr. Ripley. The system was subsequently widely used on the upper James and some of her tributaries.[2]

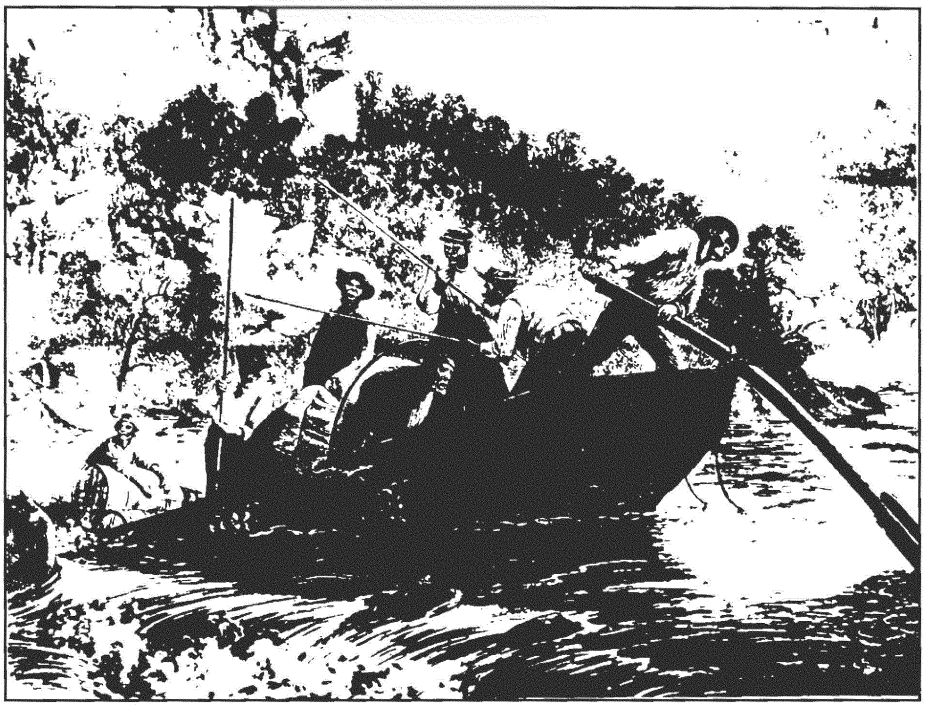
After the flood of 1771, however, the prospect of replacing the lost dugouts was unattractive to the tradesmen involved. The abundant sup-

Batteaux is spelled herein according to the custom of the Virginia Canals and Navigation Society and the operators of the James River Batteaux Festival, though the usual English spelling has only one "t".

ply of large trees along the river was long gone and, even if trees of suitable size had been conveniently available, dugouts were time-consuming and laborious to build, compared to plank boats. The conditions were ripe, therefore, for a new kind of boat, one that was destined to have a significant impact on cargo hauling from the mountains to the tidewater: a boat that could haul cargo by the tons on the rivers of the region. These were the rivers falling out of the Appalachians down through the hilly Piedmont to the fall line, rivers with lots of shoals, standing rocks, and rapids. This new boat was the James River Batteau, so named because it was developed on the James and because its greatest use was on the James, although it also plied the upper reaches of both the Roanoke and the New rivers west of the Blue Ridge, making an important contribution to commerce in that region as well.

Two tobacco planters, Anthony and Benjamin Rucker of Amherst County, introduced the boat, which was also called the "Rucker Batteau" and the "James River tobacco boat." Sometime between the late 1760s and early 1770s, the Rucker brothers had been working on a boat design that would improve on the Rose tobacco canoe.[3] Though the record seems to give the credit for this creation solely to the brothers, it is likely that at least some of the design details were the result of input by their watermen, most of whom would likely have been enslaved Africans. The first record of the new boat is found in Thomas Jefferson's account book in 1775. He purchased a batteau from Rucker and included these details: "Apr. 29. Rucker's battoe is 50. f. long. 4. f. wide in the bottom & 6. f. at the top. She carries 11. hhds & draws 13 1/2 I. water."[4] Since the Great Freshet of 1771 is recognized as seminal to the introduction of the new boat type, it is likely that the first examples of the type were put in service prior to Mr. Jefferson's record.

The design was so perfect for the job that it was widely copied, and eventually it was found in use on rivers from Maryland to Georgia. Down the rivers went tons of goods, mostly raw materials like tobacco, pig iron, grains and grain products such as flour, meal, and whiskey, barrel staves, lumber, gypsum for making plaster, salt, lime, marble, "freestone," and tanbark.[5] Goods to be hauled back up the rivers were generally goods that would be measured by the pound rather than by the ton. Among the many goods mentioned as coming back up the rivers were coffee, sugar, molasses, rum, salt, shingles, fabrics not produced locally, and manufactured goods.[6]



A James River batteau runs the rapids, the men navigating using the sweep. (Courtesy Virginia State Library, as published in Harpers Weekly, *February 21, 1874)*

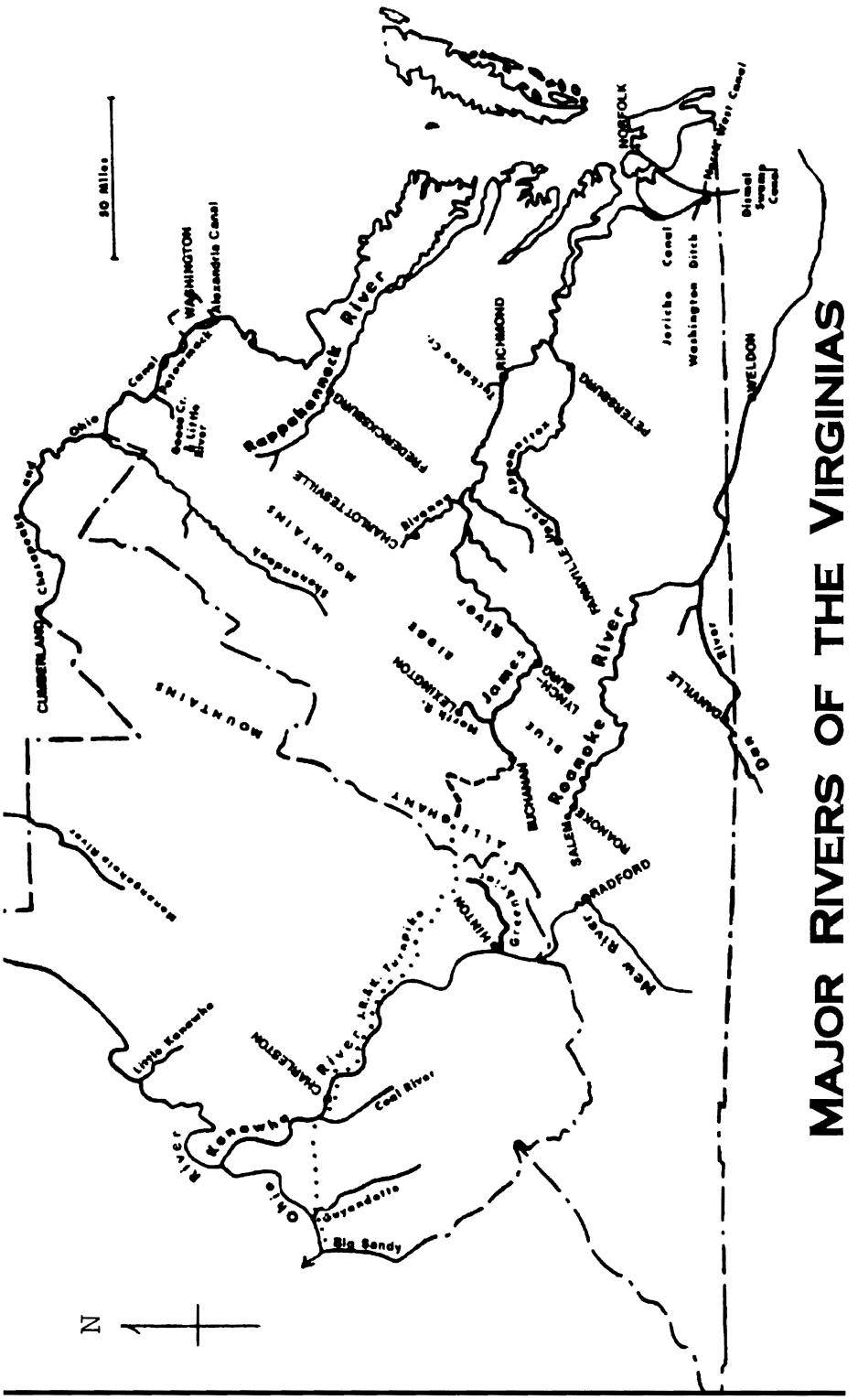
In 1821, seeing how Rucker's boat design was being copied in the thousands, the estate of Anthony Rucker secured a patent and appointed agents for the collection of royalties. One agent was appointed for the "middle, eastern and northern" states, and one for the states of South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Alabama. Announcements advertising these agents were run in newspapers in Richmond and Petersburg, Va.; Lexington, Ky.; Raleigh, N.C.; Columbia, S.C.; Augusta, Ga.; and Washington, D.C.[7] Such a vast area indicates that this unique design was widely copied.

The Rucker design was successful for two reasons. First, the relative size and shape and the attendant techniques used for the boat's operation were perfect for hauling tons of cargo on rock-strewn, shallow rivers. The boats ranged in length from forty to seventy-five feet, and with their flat bottom could work in water one to two feet deep; most references place

their loaded draft at between twelve and sixteen inches. A load could be as much as ten to twelve tons on the bigger boats. The heavy oak planking used for bottoms served the function of a keel or backbone and also imparted the durability needed to survive frequent contact with the rocky river bottoms. Width was limited to six to eight feet so the boat could fit through rapids and rocks. A design with identical pointed ends allowed the boat to proceed at no disadvantage if it fetched up on a rock and turned around; it didn't have to be turned back around to proceed on its way. Instead of a "hard chine," where the sides meet the bottom at a sharp angle, Rucker's design featured a fairly easy turn at the bilge, allowing the hull to survive the beating it would often take and making it more likely to ride safely over and through rocky places. The frames were made of five pieces of wood, usually oak, notched together. Hulls were carvel planked, meaning the planks were fitted edge-to-edge, not lapped. The only mention of caulking is a reference to tar being used in the seams on hulls of batteaux on the Roanoke River.[8]

There were large sweeps at each end for steering, which was not at all like swinging a single rudder at the stern; it was more like rowing both ends sideways. The boat could easily move sideways through the water as it was carried downstream by the current, an obvious asset for a boat having to go first here, then over there, picking its way down rock-strewn rivers and creeks. Walk-planks were rigged along both sides, often with beams lashed rail to rail to support them. One or two men to a side would walk the boat from under themselves as they leaned into their iron-tipped poles with pads on their shoulders, alternating sides so there was always at least one pole in contact with the bottom. There was a man at the stern sweep for upstream work, and men at both bow and stern for downstream work.[9] Mid-ship covers like those we associate with "covered wagons" were standard equipment. They were not permanent, but rigged as needed.

The second reason for this design's tremendous success was that, compared with most boat designs, it was fairly easy to copy. There were two types of hulls, tapered and non-tapered. The latter would have been the easier, since the hull planking would be straight-edged. Neither type necessitated the use of steam boxes or heavy clamps. The end pieces, called cones, were separate structures attached after completion of the hull. Boats of this design could be built by the producers' regular workmen, which was the tendency during the early years of their use. This "in


MAJOR RIVERS OF THE VIRGINIAS
50 Miles
N
Rappahannock River
James River
Roanoke River
Potomac River
New River
Kanawha River
Ohio River
Big Sandy
Coal River
Little Kanawha
Monongahela River
Shenandoah
MOUNTAINS
ALLEGHANY
WASHINGTON
Alexandria Canal
Chesapeake & Ohio Canal
Seneca Cr.
Little River
FREDERICKSBURG
CHARLOTTESVILLE
RICHMOND
PETERSBURG
Rivanna
Appomattox
FARMVILLE
LYNCHBURG
BLACKSBURG
SALEM
ROANOKE
BRISTOL
BRADFORD
WHITE SULPHUR SPRINGS
Greenbrier
CHARLESTON
Coal R.
Guyandotte
Tuscarora
Jericho Canal
Washington Ditch
NORFOLK
Dismal Swamp Canal
WELDON
Dan River

house" manufacturing trend evidently continued, though the record is light in this regard.

Owing to cultural influences and other factors, nautical nomenclature is not exact, and definitions of boat types are sometimes blurred. In French, "bateau" means boat, any boat, and the preferred English spelling of the word is "bateau," in the French style. Most Virginia batteau enthusiasts insist on spelling it with two "t's", as it was spelled by the Virginia General Assembly and by virtually all of the canal companies and batteau owners. The Virginia Canals and Navigation Society spells it "batteau", as do the operators of the annual James River Batteau Festival, and the word is spelled with two "t's" in most of the considerable recent literature that has developed about it.

In our usage of the word, a batteau is a double-ended, flat-bottomed chine-built boat. We have several different types of batteaux in our history, each design reflecting the type of service performed and the particular demands of the waterways for which it was intended. So, batteaux on the upper Mississippi, or on the rivers of Maine, or on coastal waters aren't the same as James River batteaux. It is important to remember that with boat designs, as with other tools or devices, form follows function. The James River Batteau is an excellent example of "the right tool for the job."

Because of the very abusive nature of working in rocky rivers, batteaux were generally expected to last only two or three years. Finishes were rarely used. Dirt was usually thrown into one end to accommodate a fire aboard when it was not convenient to camp ashore — not something one would generally do in a wooden boat intended for a longer life.[10]

As inland population, production, and ensuing trade grew, increasing numbers of batteaux were built professionally. There is record of a successful Maury River boat yard run by a Thomas Paxton. Paxton was reputed to be one of the best boat builders on the river, and his boat yard was "... famous for the quality and swiftness of its work. In his day the road leading from Lexington to his establishment on the river was one of the county's best known roads."[11]

A typical destination for batteaux was the fall line, where the hilly Piedmont meets the flat Tidewater region. Fall line cities on Virginia rivers are Weldon, N.C., on the Roanoke; Petersburg on the Appomattox; Richmond on the James; Fredericksburg on the Rappahannock; and Georgetown on the Potomac.

The tremendous difference between hauling goods downstream and hauling goods back upstream, against the current and up-hill at the rapids, was a source of great challenge. The crew of three that could deliver tons of goods downstream was hard-pressed to get the boat back, even when it was empty, especially as the distance from the fall line increased. Salem is 244 miles from Weldon, N.C., the fall line of the Roanoke/Staunton River. Some boats paid for themselves on a one-way trip, being sold for lumber upon reaching market. But there was a definite demand for commodities available in the fall-line cities, or along the way, and if you could get a boat back with some cargo, all the better.

There were ways to deal with crewing needs. One scheme was for two or three loaded boats, each with a typical crew of three, to work their way down the river together, possibly as a joint venture of several planters/producers or perhaps the operation of one big producer. After delivering the goods, the men would dispose of all but one boat, either selling the others or taking them apart and selling the long, wide planks as building materials. They sometimes kept the boat frames and even the end pieces, called cones, for reuse in new boats. Thus there were six or nine men available for the difficult job of poling, hauling, dragging, and generally manhandling one boat back upstream, loaded with the relatively light goods desired inland and the more difficult-to-produce parts of the batteaux that had been disposed of.[12]

To facilitate batteau traffic on Virginia rivers, some improvements to the rivers were implemented, usually by navigation companies. These companies sold shares of stock and paid dividends from tolls collected on goods using the improvements, or so the plan went. The most common improvement attempted to alleviate those situations where a shoal extended across the entire river. Wing-dams were constructed, usually by piling rocks at a diagonal to river flow, forcing enough water to one side to create a sluice through which the boats could pass. Some wing dams were constructed by building wooden crib dams filled with rock to force the water into the sluice. In addition, obstructions were blasted, channels deepened, iron rings installed in rock to facilitate hauling and/or dragging, and tow paths built along river banks for the crews.[13] When the boats had to be towed or dragged, the crew did the work; animals typically were not used.

Canals and locks were built where changes in elevation demanded them. Generally, the first canals were dug for batteaux at the fall line on

the Roanoke, Appomattox, James, Rappahannock, and Potomac rivers. Canal, lock, and dam works were constructed inland on these systems, the extent varying in the different river systems. One hundred eighty-seven batteau lock sites have been identified in Virginia.[14]

Most of these were the common pound lock type in which a chamber is fitted at both ends with gates that swing upstream and meet at an angle to create a tight seal due to water pressure. Water is let into, and out of, the chamber by sluice gates, thus raising or lowering the water level and the boat. On the Willis and the Slate rivers that flow into the James in Cumberland and Buckingham counties, flash locks were built as well. A typical flash lock involved a low crib dam at the top of a shoal, with an opening about ten feet wide that was fitted with a gate that worked like a pick-up truck tailgate. A descending boat would wait above the dam until enough water was impounded. The gate would be dropped, and down the boat would go. For ascending, the boat would wait below the shoal and be hauled up quickly on the rush of water, an effort that called for good timing, stout rope, and most likely a capstan or draft animals to provide the power. On the Willis and Slate rivers, a combined total of twenty flash lock sites have been identified.[15]

Most batteaumen were enslaved African Americans,[16] but the work was also some of the best available to freemen who gravitated to the rivers, and the river environment developed its own unique society. In it one would have seen and heard things not seen or heard elsewhere. David Hunter Strother, a prominent writer of the day, described the batteaumen, saying "... such attitudes! such costume! such character!"[17] There is no record of white overseers running boats with African-American crews. Typically an African American was in charge. He was the "headman," and would sometimes know how to read, write, and work with numbers, since he would sometimes have to transact business. The bulk of the business would have been conducted in advance between the producer and his agent or agents in the city, but details of availability and price would change regarding those goods the headman was instructed to bring back on the return trip. He would have the skill and authority to transact business when necessary.[18]

When enslaved workers were used in positions for which the owner needed a high degree of reliability, skill, and determination, a system called "overwork," or the task system, was used. The minimum required output was established by the owner, and all results in excess of this yielded a

bonus.[19] The standard expectation for a batteau was 20 miles a day. Though the record is spare on this detail, these men would have been prime candidates for such inducements.

The riverside encampments were often lively affairs, with numerous batteau crews and often passengers gathering to swap tales, pass the jug, and make music and dance. Out would come the banjoes, fiddles, bones, primitive drums, and an instrument using the lower jaw of a horse that was raked by an iron key. One writer described the music as

> wild and plaintive, occasionally mingled with strange, uncouth cadences. ... the music and manner of singing were thoroughly African, and as different from the negro music of the day as from the Italian opera.[20]

There were problems with pilferage and theft of cargo on these river voyages. Property owners along the rivers complained about raids on hen houses and gardens. In 1811 laws were enacted in Virginia to address these problems. Manifests came under stricter regulation, and punishments for transgressors were specified. The black boatmen specifically were forbidden to go

> ... above the banks of the river, or any of its branches, while on a trip up or down ... or at any place while loading.[21]

To get a sense of the magnitude and range of batteau traffic in the area, let us take a closer look at three of Virginia's river systems: the James, the Roanoke/Staunton and the New.

The James River and Its Tributaries

The James and her tributaries were by far the most significant system of the three. Colonial tobacco exports from 1761 to 1765 averaged about 80 million pounds per year. From 1771 to 1775 the average increased to about 102 million pounds. This increase could have been coincidental, but was likely influenced by the introduction of the James River batteau.[22] At this time between twenty and thirty million pounds of tobacco came from the upper James alone. Sailing vessels of up to two hundred tons could reach Richmond.[23]

In 1785 the James River Company was formed, with George Washington as its honorary president, for

> ... clearing and improving the navigation of the James River, [so that it could be] navigated in dry seasons by vessels drawing one foot of water at the highest place practicable to the Great Falls.[24]

In 1795 the James River Canal system was completed, allowing the loaded boats to get over most of the fall line, right into Richmond. The system consisted of two canals beginning six and a half miles above Richmond at Westham. Boats bound for Richmond entered the first canal, which was about two hundred yards long and had three locks. They then re-entered the river and continued for three and a half miles. The second canal, three and a half miles long, carried them into Richmond.[25] These canals are recognized as the first operating canal system in the United States.

In 1804, 78,687 bushels of wheat and 50,732 barrels of flour were shipped by batteaux to Richmond. A batteau could carry 500 to 600 bushels of wheat or 75 to 100 barrels of flour. Norfolk had become the center of grain trade with the West Indies. In this same year, 13,881 hogsheads, or approximately 9,717 tons, of tobacco arrived in Richmond by batteaux.[26] By 1830, five hundred batteaux were working on the James between Lynchburg and Richmond.[27]

The James courses through the Blue Ridge Mountains at a place called Balcony Falls. Here, the river falls two hundred feet in just four miles, creating a formidable obstacle to trade. The agricultural goods of the region west of the Blue Ridge, and iron from the iron-rich area that extends as far west as Iron Gate, were denied convenient access to market by this violent stretch of river. Steersmen who could take a boat through the falls were much in demand, and boats passing through had to carry a lighter load than those continuing on down the river. In 1828 the Blue Ridge Canal was completed to address this hindrance to trade: a seven-mile long system of canals, dams, and slack water navigation that partially alleviated the problem, but the stretch was still dangerous during periods of high water.[28]

On January 21, 1854, Balcony Falls was the scene of a famous act of self-sacrificing heroism. The weather was nasty, and worsening. The canal boat *Clinton*, working her way upstream with 45 to 50 men aboard and almost clear of this treacherous stretch of water, parted her towline. She was swept back into the perilous waters of Balcony Falls, putting the lives of all aboard in great danger. The African-American batteau headman, Frank Padget, stepped up to head the rescue effort and was recog-

nized as the best hope for all involved. With several men assisting, he made two successful rescue trips into the raging river. On the third trip, however, the boat foundered; Padget and a man he had gone to rescue lost their lives.

Padget's heroism was witnessed by many from the bank, including Captain Edward Echols, a canal boat captain. He was so moved by what he had witnessed that he erected a monument to Frank Padget at the scene, a spot not legally accessible to the public now. In 1975 a new monument was erected at the original site, bearing the same inscription as the original. In 1997 the original monument was moved to Glasgow to be placed in a newly created Frank Padget Memorial Park at the mouth of the Maury River, where the *Clinton* disaster began. Though heavily weathered, the awkwardly phrased inscription can still be read:

> In memory of Frank Padget a colored slave, who, during a freshet in James River, in January 1854 ventured and lost his life, by drowning, in the noble effort to save some of his fellow creatures who, in the midst of the flood, from death.[29]

The Roanoke/Staunton Rivers

The Roanoke suffered a big disadvantage in comparison to the other Virginia rivers because it flows into Albemarle Sound, where there have never been any deep-water ports. Begun in 1793 with slave labor, the Dismal Swamp Canal eventually connected Albemarle Sound with Norfolk, but it was not completed until 1805 because of the extreme difficulty of digging through a swamp. Once the canal was operable, southeast Virginia and northern North Carolina had access to a deep-water port.[30] In 1814 the canal was deep enough for a twenty-ton decked boat (most likely a steamboat) to arrive in Norfolk with a load of brandy and bacon from Scotland Neck on the Roanoke.[31] By 1826 the Dismal Swamp Canal had been enlarged as a shoal-draft ship canal.[32]

Landowners along the Roanoke/Staunton and Dan rivers no doubt were well aware of the tremendous stimulus to trade generated by developments on the James. In December of 1815, promoters of Roanoke River improvements shipped a barrel of flour, presumably by batteau, from Green Hill, Virginia (about ten miles east-southeast of Altavista), to Norfolk. Shortly after this demonstration of the feasibility of river transport, the Roanoke Navigation Company was formed as a joint enterprise of Vir-

ginia and North Carolina. The sale of stock raised $300,000; the state of Virginia bought $80,000 of it.[33]

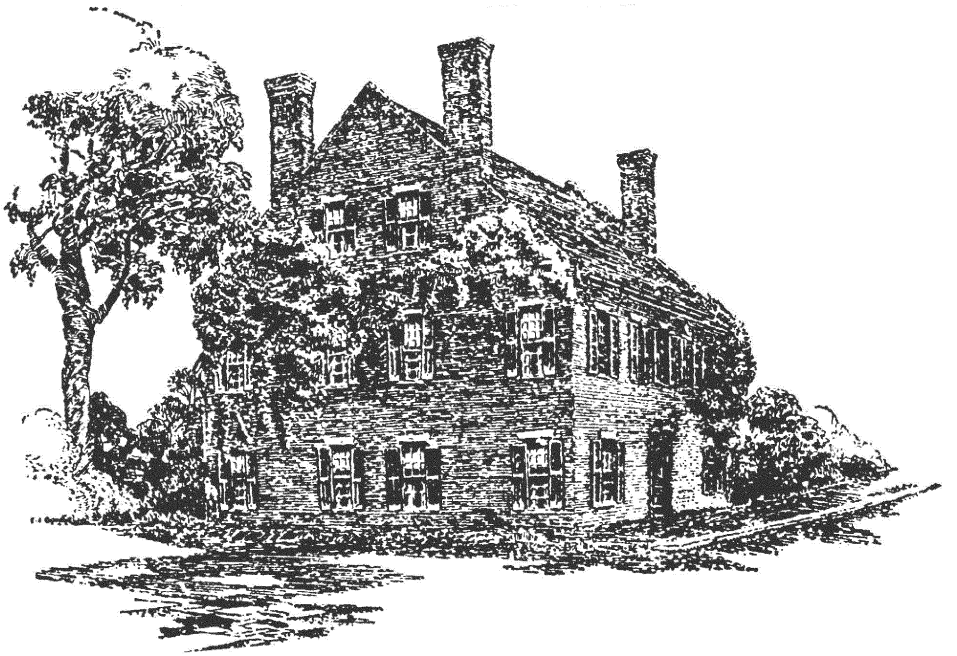
With Salem, Virginia, as the western terminus of the planned navigation system, visions of prosperity and growth prompted a minor boom there in the 1815-1819 period. William Bowyer and William Ross built a three-story brick warehouse to be the regional headquarters of the Roanoke Navigation Company. There were even visions of connecting the Roanoke with the New River further to the west. A Prestonville Company was chartered in 1817 with the objective of establishing an agricultural community to ship tons of tobacco and wheat down an improved Tinker Creek for transshipment down the Roanoke River. "Prestonville" was laid out along the creek near where U.S. Highway 460 now crosses it in the present city of Roanoke. Neither the town nor the Tinker Creek improvements ever materialized, however.[34]

The Roanoke Canal was completed in 1823. This was a nine-mile system that included four locks and brought the batteaux into the fall-line city of Weldon, North Carolina. By 1828, an aqueduct 110 feet long (which can still be seen today) had been added to the Roanoke Canal and the system was at its maximum. The hundred miles from Weldon to the Albemarle had been prepared for steamboats. The upper Roanoke, with two locks, was navigable by batteaux for sixty miles to its forks, the Dan and the Staunton. The Dan, with four locks at Danville, was navigable 110 miles to the mouth of the Mayodan River at Madison, N.C. The Staunton/Roanoke was navigable for 177 miles to Salem.[35]

In 1828, Samuel Pannil, the Roanoke Navigation Company's superintendent of works, reported that its employees

> reached Salem on the 11th of last month, with three boats, one of them being 62 feet long and 8 feet and 2 inches wide, and by driving staples, fastened them to Mr. Charles Johnson's mill dam, at that place. ... There is now tolerable good and safe navigation to and from Salem, and this important object has been effected to the great benefit, joy and gratification of the people in that region of the country.[36]

Improvements to the upper Roanoke/Staunton River in the Salem area continued for several more years with clearing of channels and building of towing walls and wing dams. In 1984, Dr. W. E. Trout III of Richmond, the leading authority on the James River batteau, reported finding in the Salem area several rock ledges of the kind used in sluice navigation.



The Navigation Company's headquarters, at Union and Main, Salem, Virginia. Main Street is on the right. The building was torn down in 1930. (*from* Virginia Beautiful *by Wallace Nutting [New York: Bonanza Books, 1930], p. 160*)

He described one such ledge in Roanoke (at Station 555, a location defined in Corps of Engineers planning documents) as

> ... the clearest example of a batteau sluice, and proof that organized navigation improvements were indeed carried out all the way up to Salem.[37]

Heavy batteau traffic out of Salem never materialized. Of one batteau that had ascended the river, historian Raymond Barnes reported: "Salem residents witnessed the batteau rot on the flats along the river." Navigation improvements were not maintained above Brookneal after 1837.[38] The Roanoke Navigation Company managed to continue functioning until about 1859, when competition from railroads and other problems crippled its operations; its property was sold at auction in 1882. The three-story Bowyer-Ross building, having survived from before 1819, was described in 1930 in a book on Virginia beauty spots as a rare "gable ender."

It was torn down that same year, and a car wash occupies the site today.

For at least two decades after reaching peak development in 1828, the Roanoke River enjoyed activity in its maximal state, except for that portion between Brookneal and Salem, which was not kept up after 1837.[39] There was not necessarily a cessation of traffic, however. To date, we have no record of tonnage shipped out of the Roanoke Valley. The westernmost find of a batteau on the Staunton/Roanoke was in Altavista in 1999, when Dr. Trout discovered a 33-foot batteau section of frames and planking. This section, fastened with cut nails, meaning that it was built after 1840, was placed in the Altavista Booker Building for preservation.

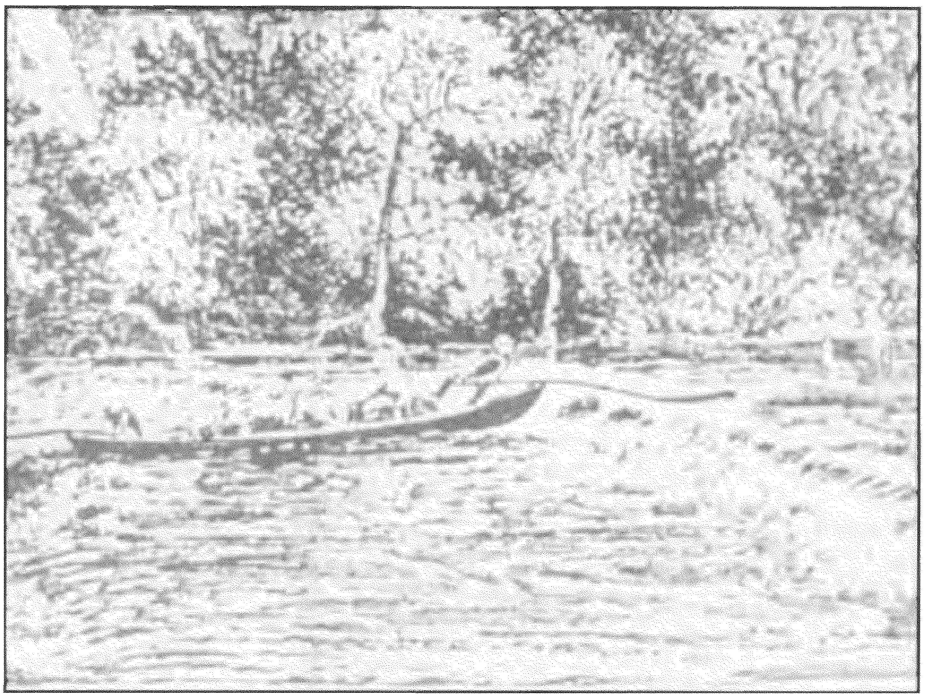
In 1829, the North Carolina Transportation Company bought the steamer *Petersburg* to tow barges from Weldon, and ports on the sound, to Elizabeth City. The company's sailboats *Chowan* and *Mehrrin* then carried the goods through the newly-enlarged Dismal Swamp Canal to Norfolk.[40]

In 1835, 6,877 hogsheads of tobacco, 10,646 barrels of flour, and a multitude of other articles of commerce passed through the Roanoke Canal.[41] As so often happens, a new technology can replace an older one and at the same time stimulate it, depending on circumstances. In 1833 the Petersburg Railroad reached Weldon and likely stimulated trade on the Roanoke River and Canal by offering competitive rates for goods on their way to a deep-water port.[42]

Batteaux probably used the Roanoke and its tributaries well into the late nineteenth century.[43]

The New River

James River batteaux were used on the New River, a northwesterly flowing river that constitutes part of the Ohio/Mississippi River system, from 1819 to 1936.[44] Most of the batteau traffic on the New occurred after the coming of rail to the area, the first railroad being the Virginia & Tennessee that connected Lynchburg with Bristol in 1856. The batteaux primarily served the railroad trade, delivering goods downstream for transshipment, and returning upstream with goods having been brought in by rail. The deepwater coastal ports important to trade on other Virginia rivers were not a factor in traffic on the New River.



A batteau at the falls on New River at McCoy, Virginia, drawn in 1872. (From M.L. Sheppard, Picturesque America, *p. 6)*

The many descriptions of batteaux (also called keel boats) on the New River include details of construction and relative size and shape that make them true James River batteaux. Virtually all references to batteaumen on the New River indicate that they too were mostly African Americans, with a few references to mixed-race crews.

The first recorded improvements on the New were accomplished by the state of Virginia in 1860-61. With appropriations totaling $30,000, the stretch of river from Central Depot (now Radford) to the mouth of the Greenbrier River was improved for military purposes "under urgent necessity."[45] In 1876 the U.S. Congress appropriated $15,000 for further New River improvements. Work began in 1877 and proceeded until 1886; total appropriations reached $112,000.[46]

There was never an attempt to create continuous improved navigation on the New. The U.S. Corps of Engineers created three New River divisions. The Lower, or Greenbrier, Division extended upstream from Hinton, West Virginia, where the C&O railroad crossed in 1872, to Wiley's Shoals, just downstream from Narrows, Va., a distance of about twenty-

six miles. The Middle Division extended about thirty miles upstream from Central Depot (now Radford) in Virginia, or New River Bridge, to Pine Creek, in the vicinity of Allisonia, Va. The Upper Division, or Lead Mines Division, extended about eight miles upstream from the Lead Mines, which are about six miles upstream from Foster's Falls. When the last work of this upper division was completed in 1889, an unexpended balance of several thousand dollars was returned to the U.S. Treasury, it being determined that further work would be inexpedient. This division was not very successful,[47] though there was some traffic of limited volume, and dependent on appropriate water level.

The Lower, or Greenbrier, Division saw the greatest volume of batteau traffic. It was regular, continuous and year-round, except when the river was frozen or in flood.[48] At one time, five barrel-stave mills owned by A. Knabb & Company shipped a total of forty thousand staves a day by batteaux to Hinton. For about forty-five years, an annual average of 7 to 10 million feet of timber were shipped from as far as Narrows down to Hinton. "Millions of pounds" of tobacco, loaded at the mouth of East River, were shipped to Hinton. In 1880, 1,250 tons of wheat, 104 tons of corn, and 400 tons of leaf tobacco were shipped out of Hinton by rail, practically all of it having been delivered by batteaux.[49] In 1882, immediately following a period of extreme drought, 530 tons of "merchandise," 300 tons of "sundries," 300 tons of corn, 190 tons of flour, and 100 tons of hay were shipped into Hinton by rail. Most of these goods were then shipped up the New River to valley destinations.[50] One batteau was hauling staves and sand to Hinton and returning with "butter, eggs, potatoes, or anything that anybody wanted to send up there."[51] In 1912, twelve batteaux were working the New River between Glen Lyn, Va., and Hinton.[52]

The Middle, or New River, Bridge, Division connected the iron works around Allisonia with Central Depot. Numerous small furnaces twenty-five to thirty miles upstream shipped pig iron by batteaux down to Central Depot to be loaded onto trains.[53] The boats returned with those market goods available in Central Depot. Though iron comprised most of the traffic in this division, other goods were shipped. A laborer for the Norfolk and Western Railway told of loading ties from 1919 to 1923 which had come down by batteaux almost every day during the summer season. The boats carried around 50 ties each, with each tie weighing between 200 and 250 pounds.[54] Another batteau hauled white pine shingles down

to Central Depot, returning with the usual goods for iron workers and others along the river.

Prior to the rail line that connected Central Depot to Glen Lyn in 1883, and along with the traffic already mentioned, there was passenger traffic all along the New River from Allisonia to Hinton. Traffic along the unimproved section between Central Depot and Glen Lyn continued for about fifteen years after the rail line was completed.[55] A Captain Eggleston ran a resort at Eggleston Springs and provided batteau passenger service between his place and Central Depot.[56] The batteau operations between Mercer's Salt Works and Hinton, a distance of twenty-two miles, included passengers aboard on almost every trip.[57]

In addition to those already mentioned, the variety of goods moving up and down the New River included oats, rice, molasses, sugar, coffee, salt, bacon, crated chickens, hogs, charcoal, tanbark, lumber, timber, plaster, fertilizer, and stone for railroad bridge construction.

The coming of canals, railroads, and automobile roads eventually drove the spirited batteaumen and their unique boats from our rivers, though the process took decades to unfold. The James River and Kanawha Canal was completed by 1840 from Richmond to Lynchburg and from there to Buchanan by 1851.[58] This canal sent hundreds of batteaux into retirement, but there remained certain situations in which they provided the answer to transport needs. In 1854, there were still 54 batteaux in service on this system.[59]

There is record of batteau service on the Roanoke/Staunton early in the twentieth century. Goods were being hauled down to the railroad bridge at Hurts, Virginia (just across the river from Altavista), to be hoisted aboard freight cars with block and tackle.[60]

As mentioned earlier, rail stimulated batteau traffic on the New, which had the more recent batteau service. The latest year cited for batteau traffic on the New River was 1936, and there are numerous references to traffic into the 1920s. The remoteness and challenging geography of the area slowed the coming of roads that could accommodate truck traffic, or cars for that matter, and extended the usefulness of the remaining batteaux. Eventually these too passed into obscurity, leaving us only rough sketches and general descriptions of this important piece of our transport history.

In 1983, during a construction project in downtown Richmond at the site of the former James River and Kanawha Canal's Great Basin, about sixty boats were discovered, as had been predicted by the Virginia

Canals and Navigation Society and the Archaeological Society of Virginia, which had negotiated for time to excavate, measure, and photograph the finds. With limited time and resources, dedicated volunteers were able to salvage and work on five James River batteaux. The construction details gleaned from this effort make it possible to build accurate reproductions, and there are now around two dozen batteau reproductions in Virginia. Every year in mid-June, fifteen to twenty of these boats gather in Lynchburg for the James River Batteau Festival and spend a week floating down to Maiden's Adventure, about thirty miles above Richmond.

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Map of the general area of Fleming's travels through western Virginia and the Kentucky and Ohio territories in the Revolutionary War period.

William Fleming, Patriot

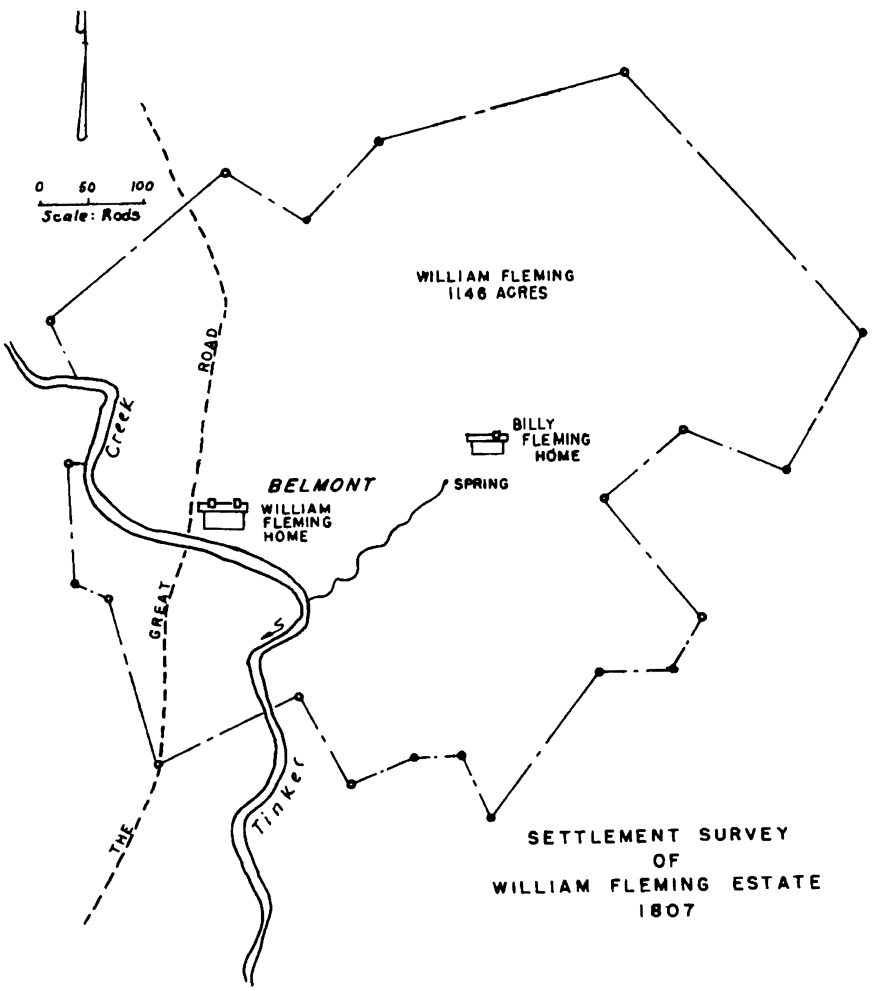
Clare White

Back in 1982 when the Roanoke Historical Society (now the History Museum and Historical Society of Western Virginia) was asked to produce a history of Roanoke for its 100th anniversary, I, a new society member and recently retired from *The Roanoke Times*, was assigned the job. In the course of that research I stumbled across William Fleming, one of the early settlers of this region about whom I knew very little. I found nobody else knew much about him either, although Edmund Goodwin, first president of the Historical Society, had written a small book on the subject. An 18th century log house on a golf course in the outskirts of Roanoke was purported to have been Fleming's. Despite these connections, the man remained something of a mystery, as did much of what had gone on in the Roanoke Valley during his lifetime. To my delight and astonishment, I found this neglect was not due to lack of material.

As was the custom in the 18th century, the families of Southwest Virginia kept family papers, a fact discovered by a researcher from the University of Wisconsin, Dr. Lyman C. Draper, in the mid 1800s when he came through the area in search of documents to be used in a proposed history. Draper found volumes, particularly in the archives of the Preston family whose forebear, William Preston, had been very active in the affairs of the region. The papers in those collections provided information about Preston's time and on his compatriots, including his good friend William Fleming. Saying he would return said papers in due time, Dr. Draper borrowed the lot. The papers were never returned, but the University of Wisconsin eventually published them all and they remain a marvelous resource, all the more welcome as some of the houses in whose attics the papers had been kept were burned over the years. The papers would have been lost had they not been safe in Wisconsin.[1] In addition, a cache

of Fleming papers was found in the library of Washington and Lee University. Anne, daughter of William Fleming, married a future president of that school and gave her father's papers to the library there.[2] Also, further research in the archives of Scotland, Fleming's native land, produced records of the Fleming family. I found plenty of sources for the historian.

The more I got to know of William Fleming, the more I became convinced he had been allowed to drop through some kind of gap that removed him from his rightful place in history. My recently published book, *William Fleming, Patriot,* is the result of that conviction.



Home of William Fleming, on Tinker Creek near what became Roanoke, Virginia (from Settlement Survey of William Fleming Estate, *1807, p. 298).*

William Fleming's life is contained within the 18th century. Born in 1728 in Jedborough, a small lowland town in Scotland, he was the son of a tax collector, a gentleman who, as Fleming said, had lost property and been forced to find work. Fleming grew up in the neighboring town of Dumfries, then a busy port on the Solway Firth. Thanks to a renowned school in Dumfries, he got a fine "classical" education and later studied medicine at the University of Edinburgh. During this time he was a witness to the attempt of Bonnie Prince Charlie to claim the throne of Scotland.[3] A gap occurs here in his history. After finishing his medical training, he went to sea — it would seem in some connection with the slave trade — was captured by Spaniards, and spent some time in a Spanish jail. We find him next in America in 1751, in Nansemond County, Virginia, where he set himself up, successfully, as a doctor.[4]

When the colonies were forced to attempt a military organization after Gen. Braddock's disastrous defeat in 1755, Virginia's Gov. Dinwiddie's call for volunteers found Dr. Fleming in the first line of recruits. He was made an ensign, told to recruit eight men and go immediately to the Virginia frontier. Fleming made his way to a half-constructed fort in the mountains west of a village that would become Staunton. Here he began his service of some eight years in what became known as the French and Indian War.[5]

A frontier war in the mountains of Virginia was a far cry from warfare as Fleming or any other European might have known it. He was to spend most of his time connected with a remote fort far from amenities or even supplies, and always suffering from communication problems with higher commands, so that the men far afield were left to their own devices.

Soon after unpacking his medical supplies, Fleming was sent out on a typical excursion for the frontiersmen. Gov. Dinwiddie, whose knowledge of the frontier was abysmal, decided the quick way to defeat the Indians menacing that part of the colony was to send an army against them to their camp near the Ohio River. He knew nothing of the terrain to be covered or the supplies needed and he accepted advice from none except a few Indians themselves anxious for assistance. The only wise move the governor made was to appoint experienced Indian fighter Andrew Lewis to lead this effort. He neither informed nor consulted George Washington, the man he had chosen to head up the army of colonists. The result of this ill-advised excursion, known as the Big Sandy Expedition for the river used as its path, was a disaster; both men and horses

starved in a wild, mountainous country void of game. Almost two months after starting out, the remnants of that army straggled home, most of them sick as well as discouraged.[6]

It was on this march, however, that William Fleming and William Preston got to know each other, to the extent of borrowing books from each other. Preston's mother lived in Staunton, and Fleming, as a gentleman, could well have met her when he stayed there. Furthermore, both were educated men and, as such, rather scarce on the frontier. They were also of similar backgrounds. Fleming was a lowland Scot and Preston was Scots-Irish. Actually, Fleming had landed in a veritable nest of Scots-Irish who, seeking an independent life on abundant land, had brought their families to western Virginia. And it was they who, threatened with the loss of that land, were prepared to fight for it.[7] The two men were now as close as neighbors were apt to be on the frontier, Preston at his home, "Smithfield," in what is now Blacksburg and Fleming at "Belmont" in the Roanoke Valley.

Most of the coming years for both Fleming and Preston were taken up with minor skirmishes in their own neighborhoods until the end of the French and Indian War, when another Virginia governor, John Murray Dunmore, devised a plan even more grand and ill-advised than the Sandy River Expedition. In late summer 1774, Dunmore ordered Andrew Lewis, then a Burgess, to lead an expedition to the Ohio River, at the mouth of the Kanawha River, there to exterminate the increasingly severe Indian menace — a menace that had widened thanks to the thoughtless murders of Indian neighbors by frontiersmen. Preston, with his wife ill at home, did not join the militia for the trip to the Ohio, but Fleming did. The resulting Battle of Point Pleasant, which secured Virginia's western border at the Ohio River, also changed Fleming's life forever.[8]

At Point Pleasant, Colonel Andrew Lewis was in command with Fleming second, along with Lewis's brother Charles. The Virginians, a thousand strong, moved down the Kanawha River to its confluence with the Ohio. There, on October 10, they found the Shawnees. First to meet the enemy were two men who had set out before daybreak up the Ohio to hunt for deer. They had gone two or three miles when they ran across "above five acres of land covered with Indians, as thick as they could stand one beside another," as one of them reported.[9] The Indians opened fire, killing one of the two men as the other raced back to camp. Lewis immediately ordered out two detachments, one under his brother Charles

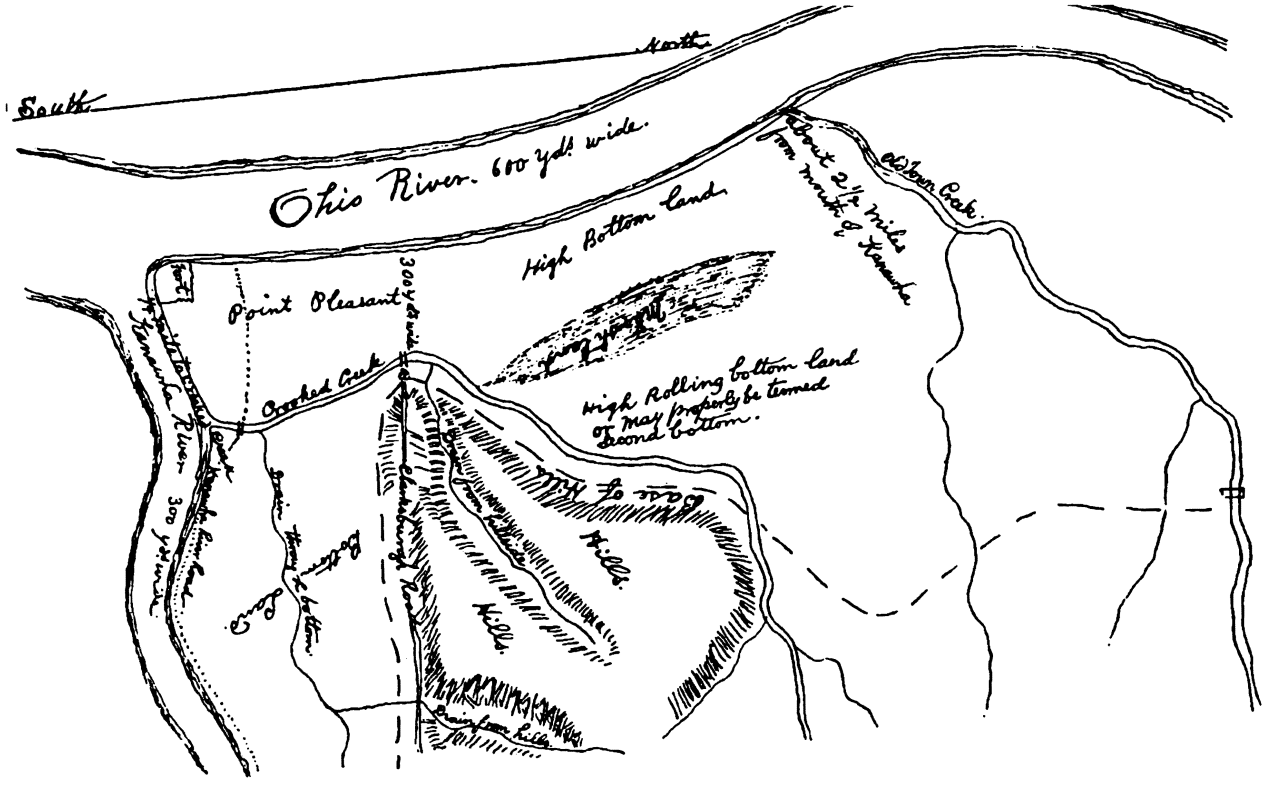
A sketch of the Battle of Point Pleasant, October 10, 1774.

and the other under Fleming. John Stuart, serving as a captain under Fleming, reported later that:

> ... the detachments marched out in two lines, and met the Indians in the same order of march about four hundred yards from our camp.

As day broke, both sides opened fire. Both Charles Lewis and William Fleming were hit early in the battle. Charles was helped back to his tent where he died. Fleming was shot twice in the arm but, according to Stuart's account, "continued to give his orders with coolness and presence of mind, calling loudly to his men, 'Don't lose an inch of ground! Try to outflank the enemy! Get between them and the river!'" Finally, a third shot hit him in the chest and he was carried from the field.[10]

The battle continued along a mile-long front for most of the day until the Indians retreated from the field. In retrospect, it was thought that Lewis's having launched a small flanking movement about 4 p.m. caused the Indians to think he had been re-enforced and therefore prompted them to withdraw. Although neither side could be said to have won the battle, which matched approximately equal numbers, the Indians' retreat gives an edge to Lewis. Of the 900 men in Lewis' force, about one fourth were killed or wounded. The Indians probably suffered more casualties.[11]



The Battle of Point Pleasant, October 10, 1774, was fought where the Kanawha joins the Ohio River.
(from Clare White, William Fleming, Patriot *(Baltimore, Md.: Gateway Press, 2001), p. 153)*

Fleming somehow continued to function despite the severity of his wounds. Three days after the battle he managed to write a letter to William Bowyer, his brother-in-law in Staunton, giving his own account of the battle. He and Charles Lewis marched to battle, he said, "little imagining ... that we were to engage the whole United force of the Enemy Ohio Indians." The Indian attack started on the right, where Charles Lewis was fatally injured, and soon afterward "I received three balls, I find one of them is lodged in my Arm. A third entered my breast ... and is lodged somewhere in the Chest ..." He asked Bowyer "if it is not too much trouble, (to) write particularly to my wife." [12]

A week after the battle, though barely on his feet, Fleming was left commanding the Point Pleasant encampment while Andrew Lewis led his main force on across the Ohio. Of the 288 men under him in the encampment, more than 100 were wounded.[13]

It was late November, following a painful and laborious trip back through the wilderness, before Fleming could write in his diary from Belmont, "Reach'd home in safety being just 3 months gone. Praise be to God."[14] His wounds caused severe pain and disability for the rest of his life.

By the time Fleming reached home, the first Continental Congress was meeting in Philadelphia, and revolution was in the air.[15] With the Revolution, Fleming began, and continued until his death, another kind of service to the emerging government of his new country. Despite debilitating wounds that plagued him constantly, Fleming held all the highest offices that service had to offer. Just four years before the Battle of Point Pleasant, the county of Botetourt had been formed. Fleming was one of the founders and became a Justice of the county, a post he held until more pressing affairs emerged.

Fleming's first involvement in the coming revolution was his appointment as Lieutenant Commander of the Botetourt militia. As Botetourt County at that time covered a vast territory reaching to the Mississippi River and the Great Lakes, that thankless job covered a wide area, with, as it turned out, a variety of commanders under whom Fleming must work. In 1777, it must have been a relief to be elected for a three-year term as Senator for the five western counties of Botetourt, Washington, Montgomery, Kentucky, and Greenbrier, although that job did involve week-long journeys on horseback to the capital. In 1779, Fleming was sent on his first journey to the county of Kentucky to settle some land

claims, a planned month-long winter excursion that took six months to conclude. He then became a member of the State Council, the eight-member Governor's advisory board, the highest post in the colony, second only to the governor.[16]

In 1781, when Virginia's Assembly members were threatened with capture and its government with collapse, Fleming, the only member of the Council still present and its senior member, stepped in and served as governor until a successor to Thomas Jefferson, the retired governor, could be elected.[17] Under continuing threat from advancing British troops, Gov. Jefferson, his Council, and the General Assembly had abandoned Richmond for Charlottesville, then Charlottesville for Staunton, and were about to abandon Staunton for Warm Springs when finally they realized that was not necessary. Fleming escaped from Charlottesville with the state's papers only half an hour before the British arrived. In the midst of all this, Jefferson's one-year term as governor expired and he went home.

When the members of the Assembly arrived in Staunton, Virginia was without a government. There was no governor, no Council, no legislature. Some House members were present but not enough senators to form a Senate. Even the election of a new governor required the joint vote of Assembly and Senate. All there was in Staunton to represent an operating government was William Fleming.

According to the *Journal* of the Council of the State of Virginia, "His Excellency (Jefferson) and William Fleming" met and adjourned on Saturday, June 2, 1781, in Charlottesville; on Monday the 4th, Fleming was alone at Council in Staunton and no business was noted. He continued to be the only representative on the books until Tuesday, June 12, when another Council member joined him. Finally, beginning June 19, five Council members were present.

When the House of Delegates met on June 7th, according to the record, "the speaker laid before the House a letter from William Fleming, a member of the Privy Council or Council of State stating certain matters for the consideration of the General Assembly." Fleming gave orders for these matters although he thought he might have "perhaps exceeded the powers invested in any one member of the Council Board, however necessary for the preservation of the State."

During his brief reign as acting governor, Fleming issued orders calling out militia to support General Lafayette as acting Governor and di-

recting the movement of prisoners from Virginia to Massachusetts and Maryland.

Finally, on June 12, 1781, the House of Delegates and the Senate elected General Thomas Nelson, Jr. as Governor of Virginia, and steps were taken to return Virginia's government to more normal operation. On the 23rd, still in Staunton, the legislature approved a resolution indemnifying Fleming, because "It appearing to the General Assembly that Col. William Fleming being the only acting member of the Council for some time before the appointment of a Chief Magistrate, did give orders for the calling out the militia and also, pursued such other measures as were essential to good government ..." [18]

That was Fleming's last major service. In the fall of that year, he retired from Council as physically unable to continue. His left arm was useless and he carried a bullet in one lung as a result of that battle on the banks of the Ohio River almost ten years earlier. Meanwhile, illness had struck his old friend Andrew Lewis, who had been active in the Council in Richmond under Nelson after Fleming's departure. In mid-September, Lewis started for his home on the Roanoke River, complaining of the "bilious fever" that had felled so many American troops. He reached Buford's Gap, near today's Montvale, where he died September 25, 1781, at the home of a Capt. Talbot. Before Lewis died, the Talbots were able to send for Fleming, who hurried to the home with Lewis' two sons, Thomas, 27, and Andrew, 22. They found Lewis unable to speak, and he died a short time later.[19]

Fleming was soon cheered by his appointment as a judge in the burgeoning state of Kentucky, where he had long hoped to move. Just two weeks later, however, a letter came reversing the assignment, citing the fact that it would be unsuitable for him, so recently in Kentucky to settle legal claims, to take a position possibly covering the same problems.[20]

For the first time in his life William Fleming was too discouraged to continue. In the end, in 1782, he accepted the commission to go once again to Kentucky, this time to investigate the debts incurred by George Rogers Clark in the course of his conquest of the Mississippi and the Northwest Territory. Clark had been sent on that errand by Virginia Governor Patrick Henry and had received virtually no money in support of the venture. He had borrowed from everyone available and had signed his own life away in the course of his lengthy but successful venture. It is my belief that it was those mismanaged financial affairs that not only ruined

Clark's reputation, but left Fleming in a historical gap for future generations. Fleming and his commission not only heard hundreds of cases, but brought the evidence back to Virginia's Assembly, which heard and approved their work.[21] And that was the end of that. None of those papers was heard of again, until 1913 when they were found in an attic in Williamsburg. Clark's debts were not paid; he was held responsible for them and died destitute, accused of being an irresponsible drunkard.[22] As for Fleming, I think he must have been an embarrassment to Virginia from then on. He had promised the men of Kentucky payment of their debts; instead, the whole matter had been put on the back burner — forever.

Fleming went twice more to Kentucky, once in 1784 to apportion lands, during which time he served as the president of Kentucky's first convention towards becoming a state, and again in 1789 in an effort to untangle his own claims to thousands of acres there.[23]

He also once more served Virginia in a special capacity that reflected the esteem in which his Botetourt neighbors held him. He was sent to the 1788 Ratification Convention as a representative of that county. At that special convention, he was proud to vote for the Constitution of the United States, an act of patriotism that was a fitting culmination to his entire life's work.[24] He died quietly at his Roanoke Valley home, Belmont, in 1795.

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A panorama of the Christiansburg Institute campus. By the mid 1930s the campus included thirteen buildings on 185 acres, including (from left) a barn, shop, teachers' residence, boys' dormitory, classroom building, girls' dormitory, and former hospital. (Photograph courtesy of Special Collections, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University)

On a Shallow Foundation of Freedom: Building the Campus of the Christiansburg Institute

M. Anna Fariello

With hindsight, the broader community has come to recognize that the Christiansburg Institute campus is significant to the American experience. Its landscaped grounds and Georgian architecture are testimony to a people's ability to build on the shallow foundation of a single generation of freedom. Its diverse curriculum of academic and vocational programs is testimony to the ability of the human spirit to thrive in a climate of racial prejudice.

from the exhibition "A Century of Contribution: Christiansburg Institute and Educational Change in Virginia," by the author, 2000

In December 1980 a wrecking ball destroyed Baily Morris Hall, an imposing four-story brick structure that dominated the landscape surrounding it in rural Southwest Virginia. The demolition of the Christiansburg Institute, a model African-American educational institution, was but a physical manifestation of its demise. The last class had graduated in 1966 on the threshold of the school's centennial anniversary. Ironically, the dissolution of Christiansburg Institute was the result of local educational policy developed in response to mandated desegregation that, otherwise, was cause for celebration. The founding of Christiansburg Institute in 1866 was precedent setting; its establishment predated that of area schools and many institutions of higher education, including Tuskegee and Hampton Institutes for blacks and Virginia Tech and Radford University for whites. In Montgomery County, Christiansburg Institute predated the creation of any public elementary school, black or white, the first of which

was established in 1871. As a high school, its founding predated by forty years the first public high school in Montgomery County. Later, Christiansburg Institute would hold the distinction of becoming the first school in the county to be accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools.[1]

From its founding in 1866 to its closed doors in 1966, the institute survived the ebb and flow of limited opportunity and purposeful restriction that characterized the conflicted social and educational policies of the segregated South. Navigating in a precarious sea of change, the school was ever-evolving. Name changes[2] — Christiansburg Normal Institute, Christiansburg Industrial Institute, Christiansburg Normal and Industrial Institute, Christiansburg Institute — reflected the changing emphasis of its curriculum from classical education to teacher training to industrial institute to public school. Likewise, its name changes reflected the changing expectations facing Americans of African descent who often personally had to navigate through treacherous social and economic circumstances. On the same unpredictable seas, the Christiansburg Institute managed to stay afloat for an entire century. Coincidentally, America's one-hundred-year period of segregation was concurrent with the remarkable growth of the school and its campus. Through an examination of this particular aspect of the school, this essay will attempt to uncover the nuances of underlying racial and organizational relations and celebrate the indomitable spirit of human striving.

Campus on a Hill

The first Christiansburg Institute classes were held in a rented cabin in an area known as Cambria. Located north of Christiansburg, the seat of Montgomery County, Cambria is today a part of the current incorporated town. At the close of the Civil War, Union officer Charles Stewart Schaeffer was assigned to the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands; he arrived in Montgomery County in May 1866 to assume his post. Soon after his arrival he rented a cabin and, with the services of a single white teacher, began the first Freedmen's school in the district. Schaeffer's work in Christiansburg was not without opposition; he was forced to move from his hotel, found it difficult to buy land and building materials, and someone once shot at him, the bullet passing through his hat. Whether the target of a poorly planned assassination or a strategi-

cally placed warning, Schaeffer continued his mission with an unshakable faith that his work was divinely inspired.[3]

The little cabin rented by Shaeffer was not large enough to accommodate the school's enrollment and, a year later, a new building was constructed. Doubling as school house and church meeting house, within two years the one-story frame building had been enlarged. By Schaeffer's account, in 1868, there were only two Freedmen's schools in "successful operation" in the district under his jurisdiction: this one in Cambria and another in Newbern. Together, the two schools served 300 African Americans attending day and night sessions.[4] The growth of school enrollment continued unabated, with an average attendance "in excess of two hundred and fifty pupils annually." Such enrollments prompted Schaeffer to build yet a second school building. Without any additional funding and determined to add to the school's capacity, he invested $2,000 of his own savings to construct a two-story normal school. In October 1873 the Normal School held its first session; twenty-eight students were enrolled

The second Christiansburg Institute schoolhouse was constructed on Zion Hill in 1867. Two more buildings would be built on the hill campus before the school moved a mile away to the farm campus, which lay along the Norfolk and Western rail line.
(Photograph courtesy of the Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College)

in a teacher-training curriculum. Two years later, a professional institute for teachers was held on campus, and the following year, in October 1876, an educational conference was also held there.[5]

Although no photograph of this normal school exists, a visitor to the school penned a vivid description in 1874. Touring the schoolhouse in which primary grades were taught, the writer noted that more than one hundred students filled two large rooms. In the Normal School she observed

> young men and women studying with a purpose. ... Most of them have to work hard to pay their board while attending school, and they value the privilege accordingly.

Providing an invaluable record of the school's early layout, the writer indicated that the Normal School was accessible through a lane behind the one-story schoolhouse. The buildings were surrounded by "a yard laid out with flower beds and well-kept turf . . . pleasing indications of taste and refinement." The writer continued her poetic description of the small campus of two buildings that were "beautifully" sited

> on a hill commanding extensive views, the horizon bounded on all sides by mountains, and nearer, fair large fields of wheat and corn, the railroad winding at the foot of the hills, the white houses and spires of Christiansburg about a mile distant. When the lamps in the neat little meeting-house are lit they shine like beacon lights, visible for two or three miles.[6]

In 1869 Charles Schaeffer wrote to potential supporters in his home state of Pennsylvania to solicit private funding in light of "the anticipated withdrawal of both Government and benevolent support." His words were testimony to his optimism at this point:

> I can assure you that the work seems more than ever important, and weighs upon my heart with greater force and magnitude than I can readily express . . . on every hand the seed is taking root, germinating, and expanding, and bids fair for an abundant harvest.

Through such eloquence, Schaeffer was able to secure the cooperation of both his home church, the Tenth Baptist Church of Philadelphia, and the Philadelphia Friends' Freedmen's Association, both of which began annual appropriations to the school that year. Still, the school operated on very little; Schaeffer's wife served as a teacher without pay, and Schaeffer's own government salary was turned back into the school's cof-

When school enrollment outgrew the two small wood frame buildings, a five-classroom brick school building was finished in 1885. Originally known as Academic Hall, by 1903 the building became the Hill School, an elementary school under the same direction as the secondary departments on the main campus. (Photograph Christiansburg Institute archive)

fer. Through Northern benevolence, over the next year the school budget doubled from just under one thousand dollars in 1869 to nearly two thousand. Yet even with the moneys coming from Philadelphia, by 1876 Schaeffer noted in his diary that the school was in financial trouble. [7]

During the 1870s and 1880s, Schaeffer's "dear old Tenth" contributed the bulk of school funding, contributions that would cease when Schaeffer's affiliation with the school ended. The financial support that sustained Christiansburg Institute through most of the century of its operation was provided by another Philadelphia organization, the Friends' Freedmen's Association (FFA). A division of the religious Society of Friends (colloquially known as the Quakers), the FFA was formed in 1863 to assist former slaves in their transition to free life. By 1868, the association was managing and supporting twenty-five schools in North Carolina and Virginia and eventually extended their philanthropic support to forty-six. As counties and states came forth to provide an education for Afri-

can-American citizens, the Friends withdrew support from all schools under their jurisdiction and, by 1896, the FFA supported only the Christiansburg Institute. Why the Friends continued to support this one single school — far from their home base in Philadelphia — is a question that has not yet been answered by their meticulous record-keeping. What the records do show, however, is a continual and steadfast commitment to this one school. Beginning with a modest monthly appropriation of $25 in 1869, FFA support sustained the Christiansburg Institute well into the new century. Their commitment approached a fervor in 1916 when they raised $50,000 in a single week as part of the school's fiftieth anniversary campaign.[8]

The 1880s marked a decade of change for Christiansburg Institute. The school's growth, corresponding to increased contributions from Philadelphia, enabled the construction of the first brick school building. Known as Academic Hall until 1903, it then began to be called the Hill School, the name by which it would be known throughout its remaining years. The building was substantial; its walls were thirteen inches thick and the ceilings almost fifteen feet high. With five classrooms and a capacity for 250 students, Academic Hall was dedicated in 1885.[9]

An Evolving Curriculum

By 1888 the Friends of Philadelphia had assumed responsibility for Christiansburg Institute, assembling a Board of Managers who remained in Philadelphia and received monthly reports from the principal. The Friends' penchant for order is revealed in these reports; indeed, their dedicated record-keeping has allowed for the recovery of much of the school's history. School principal William Polk reported to the Friends in 1888 that there were "almost as many grades as there were pupils," and he promised to begin evaluating students for placement into appropriate grades. Polk received little guidance in this task; he wrote that Montgomery County had not yet established rules for grading schools. The school's efforts in this regard may have been another first in the school's list of local educational innovations.[10] Such attention to organized grading was taken seriously by the FFA. By 1901 the school catalog laid out a detailed academic course of study, level-by-level, from the first grade and continuing up through the senior class.

During the late 1880s and early 1890s, all Christiansburg Institute courses—spelling, reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, grammar, his-

tory, as well as the "higher branches"—were taught by four instructors in the five classrooms in the brick school building on Zion Hill. In 1895 the curriculum was expanded to include the first four "industries": cooking, sewing, carpentry, and agriculture. Wheelwrighting, blacksmithing, and printing were added over the next three years. Academics were taught in the morning with industrial coursework covered in the afternoon. Academics were rigorous and discipline strict, with rules reiterated in the school catalog by Principal Charles Lives Marshall. "Absolute strict obedience to the rules of the school is demanded of every student," he warned. This admonition was followed by specific prohibitions and a grade-by-grade listing of the courses of study. For example, second grade geography lessons included "distance, direction, cardinal and semi-cardinal points. Atmosphere: air and water; lessons on dew, rain, frost, mist, hail . . . study of soils. . . . Local surface features. Plant and animal life." The middle class

An early faculty portrait taken sometime between 1896 and 1906. Seated in front are Principal Charles Marshall (far left) and Edgar Long, vice principal (second from right). Nellie L. Marshall (top left) moved with her husband from Tuskegee; teacher Anna Lee Patterson (top right) would marry Long and, after his death, would lead the school for a single term. (Photograph courtesy Christiansburg Institute archive)

included "Hamlet and the Future of the American Negro," while the junior class studied "Selections from Ruskin, Tennyson, Bacon and from Negro authors." [11]

At the turn of the century, such philanthropic support of American schools, as was offered by the Friends' Freedmen's Association to Christiansburg Institute, was not unique. In 1890 twenty-one schools were being supported by the Methodist Freedmen's Aid Society, fifty-eight by the Presbyterian Church, and forty-six by the Philadelphia FFA. Some religious foundations, such as the Presbyterian Church, supported schools not only for freedmen but for poor whites as well.[12] Today, the American education system is thought of as a rather standardized national institution, but at the turn-of-the-century, American education was an amalgam of independent, missionary, and settlement schools, some publicly funded and many supported by private philanthropy.

In the mid-nineteenth century, reformer John Ruskin criticized his native England for depriving workers of the "dignity of labor" in its rush to industrialize. Ruskin's words, read and debated in his native land, echoed throughout the Continent and across the Atlantic as well, giving voice to labor and educational reforms. Beginning as a confluence of many strands of thought, the nineteenth-century trend towards a "hands-on" approach to education culminated in the widely-popular, twentieth-century Progressive education movement. In one of the first published assessments of American education, A. D. Mayo described the intention of progressive education as putting "the thinking brain into the working hand."[13] Likewise, Berea College president William Frost laid out his "Educational Program for Appalachian America" in 1896, emphasizing industrial training. Berea's extension programs in remote counties were called "people's institutes"; the on-site industrial program was called "Fireside Industries," a name that inspired romantic visions of students learning in an institutional version of an Appalachian log cabin. A quote from the *Berea Quarterly* echoes the educational philosophy of the time:

> The hand must be trained to obey the mind, and the eye to distinguish between things which differ. Every young person should be taught to enjoy doing manual work well, both as a preparation for real life, and as a development of character.

The published objectives of Christiansburg Institute incorporated a similar tone, in language consistent with the progressive educational ideals of the time. Its 1898 *Catalogue* stated,

> The design of this institution is to send out young men and young women well qualified for the work of life ... [using] their heads as well as their hearts, and their hands as well as their heads.

For forty years beginning in 1866 — the same year that Christiansburg Institute opened — Berea College (in Kentucky on the western edge of the Appalachians) operated as a coeducational and mixed-race institution. In 1908 Berea lost a court case against the state of Kentucky via a Supreme Court decision that supported the state's right to enforce a segregated educational policy. While official government policy demanded a physical separation of the races until the middle of the century, many of the educational philosophies and curricula of white and black schools shared similar objectives.[14]

The decade from 1880 to 1890, in which many U.S. cities doubled their populations, contributed to the changing face of America as an industrialized nation; a wave of twenty million immigrants contributed to its changing face in more literal ways.[15] Such demographic changes put pressure on nascent educational institutions to respond to a growing need for trained workers. American settlements, secular counterparts to religious and missionary schools, formed yet another educational experimental component that contributed to the formation of an American system. Settlement schools grew exponentially in the first decades of the new century, reflecting the growth and acceptance of American industrialism and a faith in progressive idealism. But the name "settlement" was also a tacit acknowledgment of existing divisions among disparate cultural groups and reflected the insularity of the poor, immigrant, and disenfranchised neighborhoods in both North and South. A more critical evaluation reveals a subtext of transformation; through such philanthropy, mainstream American values were grafted onto those living on the outer fringes of middle-class society.

So in 1896, when Elliston P. Morris, president of the Philadelphia Friends' Freedmen's Association, wrote to Booker T. Washington to ask his help in implementing an industrial curriculum at the school in Cambria, his request was part of a larger move toward a more progressive and practical approach to education. Washington — a contemporary of A. D. Mayo, William Frost, and Jane Addams — had joined the ranks of educational reform. The creation of Tuskegee Institute in 1881 and its subsequent meteoric growth[16] contributed to Washington's prominence and

reputation as the leading African-American educator. His ability to articulate a vision for the future blazed a well-defined path for African-American education in a segregated society. Washington's initial response to the Friends' offer was not enthusiastic, however; he preferred to start a school "where there were more colored people and where they are more needy." Nevertheless, he agreed to serve as supervisor, providing leadership through the recruitment of two young protégés, Tuskegee graduates Charles Lives Marshall and Edgar Allen Long. Hiram Thweat was in charge when Booker T. Washington took over as supervisor and invited Marshall to head the school. Marshall, born in Kentucky to parents who had been slaves, graduated from Tuskegee in 1895. He was invited by a letter from Washington in 1896 to fill the position of principal. Long served as vice principal until Marshall's death in 1906 and, afterward, as principal until his own death in 1924.[17]

By 1899 the school name had been changed to Christiansburg Industrial Institute to reflect changes to its curriculum. The following year, as if to emphasize the importance of its newly added industries, the cover of the school catalog displayed the word "Industrial" in large letters flanked by the words "Christiansburg" and "Institute" in much smaller letters. The influence of educational reform was felt in the rest of Virginia as well. In 1908 Joseph Eggleston, Virginia's State Superintendent of Instruction, issued a report promoting *Life Fitting Schools* for students regardless of race.

> I take no stock whatever in that false culture which thinks that it is degrading to work with the hands. ... Our schools should educate a boy so that he may have both visions and provisions.[18]

Moving to a New Campus

Such provisions would require land on which to teach agriculture and space to develop industries. Recognizing this need, the Friends purchased eighty-seven acres of rolling land two miles west of the hill campus. The site of a former plantation, the land was bounded on the south by Crab Creek and the Norfolk and Western rail line and extended northward uphill. When the school moved to the farm that became its permanent home, a handful of buildings stood on the property. The main farmhouse, known as the "Mansion House," served as a classroom building. After repairing the unoccupied structures, the boys moved into the former slave cabins while teachers and their families moved into the two-story

"Mansion House," a former plantation, served as the academic classroom building from the late 1890s until the 1920s.
(Photograph courtesy of the Christiansburg Institute Alumni Association)

frame residence. An alumnus cited the irony of these circumstances in a talk delivered in 1906:

> A plantation upon which men and women were driven to unrequited toil by the stern command of a task-master had been converted into a model training farm. . . . The slave mansion, once the headquarters of master and owner of human beings, has become the seat of instruction where the posterity of the victims of servitude are being fitted for Christian citizenship.[19]

But in his memoir, Marshall recalled that the move did not go as noothly as he had expected. Prior to the purchase of the farm, he said, "the pupils and patrons were in perfect accord with the faculty." The situation changed dramatically as plans to change the school became known. Marshall understood that he was charged to develop a school "with both literary and industrial branches," moving away from its previous "distinctly literary" character. Further, he understood that Christiansburg Institute would change "from a regular, ordinary school to one with a boarding department." But within a month, 100 of the 240 students attending the school withdrew. By the end of Marshall's first year, enroll-

This picture of the school barn with male students building a stock pen was printed in a 1916 school brochure.
(Photograph courtesy of Christiansburg Institute archive)

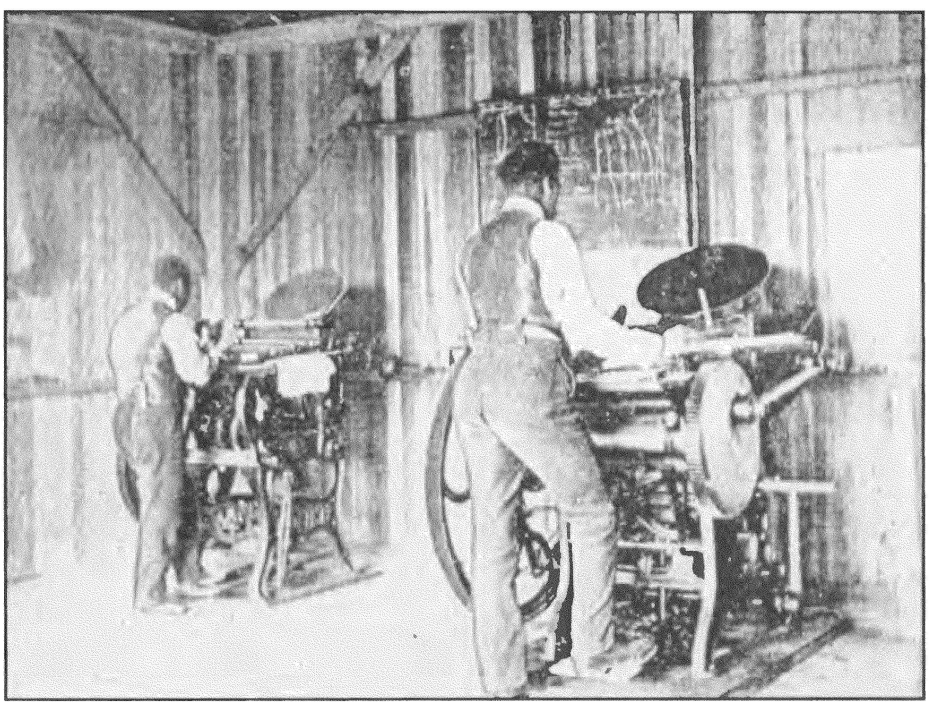
ment had plummeted to sixty students. Marshall credited "patience, toil, trust in God, and enterprise" in re-building the school population.[20]

Shortly after Christiansburg Institute moved to the new campus, the construction of a barn enabled the farm to become productive enough to supply flour to the boarding department and hay to feed the stock. The farm operation supported nine work animals and twenty-six cows, and it provided vegetables for the school dining room as well. Within a decade, more than fifty acres were in cultivation and almost twenty acres in grass or pasture. While a farm manager became a regular part of the staff by 1903, the earliest work was done by the teachers. Principal Marshall worked as farmer, Long as gardener, and their wives as matrons and cooks. The operation of a farm was a particularly savvy strategy during the Depression, giving meaning to Eggleston's mandate that education should provide both visions and provisions. School inventories attest to the dedication of students and staff; a 1939 report listed 600 bushels of wheat, 700 bushels of potatoes, 1,800 bushels of corn, and 7,000 pounds of meat. During a single season, students canned 1,600 gallons of tomatoes. The farming operation and agricultural curriculum was supported by a well-planned campus with a barn and outbuildings, including a spring house, dairy, pump house, oil house, and storage building.[21] Remaining produc-

tive for decades, the farm operation was shut down when the school became a public institution after World War II.

During the summer of 1903, a single-story industrial building was completed. Constructed on a rectangular plan, the wood-frame structure was alternately called the "shop" or "trades building" throughout the school's history. Built on a solid rock foundation, its interior was divided into three sections to accommodate the trades of wheelwrighting, carpentry, and printing. Outfitting the school with a press enabled students to print an illustrated serial titled the *The Freedman's Friend*, in addition to school catalogs and official annual reports compiled at the end of each academic year. During that same year, a one-story cottage was constructed for Principal Marshall and his family. It was a modest but private dwelling, with four rooms, a porch, and a modern indoor bath.[22]

The growth spurt of 1900-1903 was capped by the construction of the first substantial brick structure on the new farm campus. Finished with a double hip roof, a dormitory was the first of four Georgian Revival



The student print shop turned out professional quality materials for the school and the Friends' Freedmen's association of Philadelphia, including annual school catalogs and brochures.
(Photograph courtesy of the Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College)

buildings that gave the campus a look of lasting solidity. Designed by Philadelphia architects Morris and Vaux, the dormitory cost nearly $10,000 to build, and, until the construction of a second dormitory in 1912, it housed both boys and girls (on separate floors, of course), as well as laundry and dining facilities.[23] By 1903 the school had eight buildings in service on two campuses: the original brick academic building on the hill serving the primary grades; the Mansion House serving the secondary-level academic subjects; the barn and shop serving the industrial departments; and the dormitory, principal's cottage, and two original slave cabins serving the boarding department.

Investing in Excellence

As treasurer of the FFA, J. Henry Scattergood made periodic financial reports that reveal the cooperation and commitment of the Philadelphia Friends and Cambria educators. Buoyed by vision and optimism, Charles Marshall and Edgar Long provided initial support for the boarding department out of their personal funds (they were eventually reimbursed); Joshua Baily and Elliston Morris raised more than $10,000 to create a New Buildings Account; and, in 1903, the Friends began a permanent endowment for the school. Scattergood's report expressed his confidence:

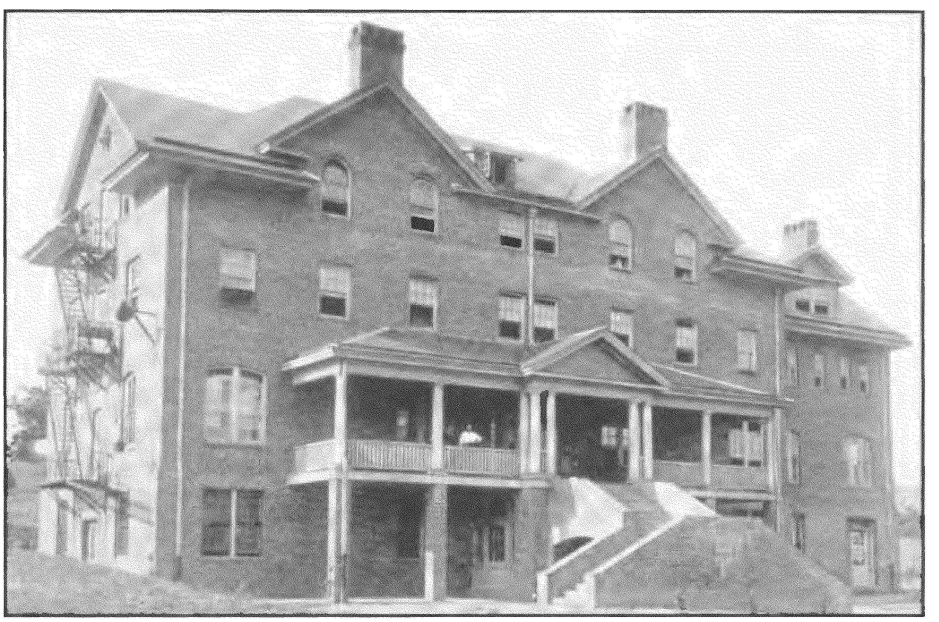
> The list of contributors has been doubled in the past three years. . . . Your committee feels, however, that there are still many persons who do not now contribute, who will be glad to do so, when the growing work is laid before them.

The implications of the Friends' investment was not lost on the black community in a county where few tax dollars were allocated to their education. The African-American community "voted" by the only means available to them, by sending their children to the school. At the close of this first wave of campus construction, fully 77 percent of black children in Montgomery County were enrolled in school as compared to 73 percent of whites. The Friends were proud of the school's relations with the community. In a comparison to its sister school, they noted in *The Freedman's Friend*, "Where at Hampton the people have gone to school; at Christiansburg the school has gone to the people."[24]

At the conclusion of the fiscal year in August 1903, the FFA took a hiatus from campus construction; their investment in the school contin-

ued, however, in the form of professional development. During the summer, Marshall and Long were sent to Hampton Institute to spend a month studying the program there. The FFA also expanded the school's influence beyond the local community when month-long summer sessions for black teachers were introduced in 1908. College-level professional teachers' institutes were held at various normal schools across the state for whites and at three locations for blacks, including Christiansburg Institute. The boarding department implemented by Marshall and Long influenced the demographics of the school. Enrollment was no longer limited to local students. A tally of students enrolled in the 1924-25 school year reveals that one-third were local, one-third were from other parts of the Commonwealth, and one-third were from outside the state.[25]

The foundation stone for the school's flagship building was laid between the shop and boys' dormitory on a plot of ground previously used as an athletic field. On Thanksgiving Day 1910, a large crowd attended a groundbreaking ceremony, an event significant enough to warrant cover-



The foundation stone of Baily Morris Hall, incised with a date of "1910," can be seen in the very front of the brick stairwell. The completed building was pictured in the 50th anniversary bulletin of 1916.
(Photograph courtesy of Christiansburg Institute archive)

The principal's office was housed in Baily Morris Hall, the school's flagship building. Principal Long is seen seated at his desk (at left), circa 1915.
(Photograph courtesy of Christiansburg Institute archive)

age in the local *Montgomery Messenger*. More than one hundred feet across, the building was four stories tall with three double-flue chimneys rising above a slate roof. Its massive porch, measuring fifty-five feet across and better than ten feet deep, opened onto a hallway leading to an assembly hall that seated 200 comfortably and could accommodate 300 if necessary. The basement held a 100-seat dining room, kitchen, pantry, laundry, coal bin, and boiler room. The first floor housed the assembly hall, principal's office, sitting rooms for female teachers and students, and a library outfitted with shelves to accommodate 5,000 books. The second and third floors each provided room for thirty-five beds, a separate matron's room, a guest room, and a larger room used as an infirmary. The attic was used for storage. Exactly one year later, a ceremonial meal was held in the stately new building, which was completed with interior mahogany woodwork. The building campaign had been led by long-time contributors Elliston Morris and Joshua Baily, who had also secured a $10,000 donation from Andrew Carnegie for the Endowment Fund. Named Baily Morris Hall, the building was dedicated and put into official use on New Year's Day 1912. [26]

With shelves to accommodate 5,000 books, the library was outfitted with elaborate wood molding. In the early twentieth century, when this photograph was taken, it is likely that female and male students were required to study at separate tables. (Photograph courtesy of Christiansburg Institute archive, gift of Audrey Long Whitlock)

One would think that with the opening of Baily Morris Hall, FFA members might want to retreat from such intensive commitment as was required by fundraising and construction. On the contrary, it was as if the successful dedication of the landmark building heralded new heights for the school and they wanted to ride the crest of the wave. In their annual report of 1916, the FFA enumerated ambitious plans to build an endowment, an infirmary, an academic building, a new shop, and an additional teacher's cottage. To implement these plans, they embarked on an amazing scheme to celebrate the school's fiftieth anniversary and, coincidentally, to mark the passing of Superintendent Washington. On six consecutive evenings, supper meetings were held at the Philadelphia Meeting House. In a competitive fervor uncharacteristic of the Society of Friends, the FFA created teams of five or six. "On Sixth Day . . . the managers and

CHRISTIANSBURG INDUSTRIAL INSTITUTE.

Short Term Campaign For $50.000 To Form Endowment Fund

1916	FINANCE Committee	Managers	TEAM A	TEAM B	TEAM C	TEAM D	TEAM E	TEAM F	TEAM G	TEAM H	TEAM I	TEAM J	GRAND TOTAL
3rd MONTH	$ 5.000 $ 2.000	CAPT. JAMES S. JONES $ 6.000.	CAPT. J PASSMORE ELKINTON	CAPT. A G SCATTERGOOD	CAPT. JOHN E SCULL	CAPT. ISAAC P MILLER	CAPT. JAMES P ENGEL	CAPT. JOHN WAY	CAPT. J M STEERE	CAPT. HOWARD W ELKINTON	CAPT. MORRIS CUTCH	CAPT. ARTHUR L RICHIE	$ 5.000 $ 8.000
20th	$ 3.900	$ 475	$ 51	$ 610	$ 53	$ 50	$ 112	$ 140	$ 375	$ 75	$	$ 465	$ 6.306
21st	$ 8.280	$ 525	$	$ 510	$ 125	$	$ 80	$ 260	$ 173	$ 110	$ 85	$ 10	$ 10.158
23rd	$ 4.335	$ 165	$ 23	$ 1295	$ 100	$ 100	$ 471	$ 180	$ 840	$ 153	$	$ 200	$ 7.862
24th	$ 3.027..	$ 674	$ 714	$ 1371	$ 110	$ 123	$ 1568	$ 215	$ 744	$ 382	$ 112	$ 200	$ 9.240..
27th	$ 2.061	$ 15	$ 460	$ 137	$	$ 510	$ 535	$ 52	$ 60	$ 31	$ 52	$ 105	$ 4.018
TOTAL	$28603..	$ 7854	$ 1248	$ 3923	$ 388	$ 783	$ 2766	$ 847	$ 2192	$ 751	$ 249	$ 980	$ 50 584..

This chart appeared on the frontispiece of the Annual Report of 1916. Twelve teams, including the school Finance Committee, are listed horizontally across the top with the amount raised underneath each team captain's name. Beginning with initial pledges of $13,000, the teams raised the remainder from March 20 through the 27th, bringing the school's endowment total to $50,584 in a single week.

teams took supper together at the opening of the campaign." The event was reported in detail:

> A clock four feet in diameter, with movable hands, was placed in the hall on the first floor to record the progress in dollars collected each day. Up stairs, in the dining room was a large white board on which were written the names of the captains of the twelve teams ... and opposite each captain's name there was a space left to record the daily collections....Six other suppers followed this one, at the last five of which reports were made of money collected.... [T]here was an average attendance at each of the meetings of 60 persons.

A reproduction of the collection chart was included in the frontispiece of the subsequent school catalog that celebrated the success of the campaign. Fifty thousand dollars was raised in a single week![27]

A School for Racial Cooperation

Principal Long's vision for Christiansburg Institute went beyond the perimeter of the campus. Throughout his tenure, he included notes on "community work" in his reports to the FFA. One such report illuminates how the success of the school impacted the local community.

> This institution is doing the work of a school in the community. This is its first obligation but conditions are such that it

> can not confine itself to this alone. It must touch the moral and material life of the community as well as the intellectual.... The example of the school has been good upon the entire community, both white and colored. Before ... our water works [was] installed there were not two houses in town with water works. Since the school has had water, however, a number of private houses have installed their own water system and the town council has voted to issue bonds to install a water system in the town. We do not claim responsibility for all of this, but we do know that indirectly the fact that the school had its own water works had something to do with it.[28]

Perhaps the citizens of Christiansburg did not want to be outdone by the school; nevertheless, Long's comments reveal that the school and the community had similar goals.

The ongoing construction of campus buildings required a certain amount of community cooperation. Although smaller frame buildings were usually constructed entirely by students, student workers were sometimes led by outside supervisors. In 1918 boys in the carpentry department built a new cottage for teachers. Led by a hired-on carpenter, they completed a seven-room cottage with a "modern sanitary water system." On larger buildings, student construction was limited to tasks such as excavation and preparatory work for the foundations. Records indicate that work was done by crews of both races. But shared work did not always mean racial cooperation and, at times, came with the price of added "patience and constant vigilance." The Friends recorded an incident in which one partially constructed dormitory wall had to be torn down and reconstructed after white masons moved "the lines where the colored masons were working . . . to make it appear that the colored men were building crooked walls." In spite of such inconvenient setbacks, throughout their aggressive building campaign, the Friends acted as if the growth of the Christiansburg Institute campus was a testimony to and physical manifestation of a growing racial harmony. Isaac Sharpless, president of both Haverford College and the FFA, expressed the sentiment of the board when he wrote,

> It is impossible to ignore racial differences, but it is quite evident to one who has studied educational matters in both races that fundamentally the problem is the same.... Work in the Christiansburg Institute may be paralleled in its

> struggles, its failures, its successes and results achieved by many a white school.[29]

Considering that the turbulent years of the early twentieth century were marked by increasing mob violence against African Americans, the reception of Edgar A. Long by the local white community went surprisingly well. On April 9, 1916, a month after he spoke at the campaign dinner in Philadelphia, Long was invited to speak from the pulpit of a white church in Christiansburg. He began by seeking common ground between the races, citing a willingness on the part of his audience "to unite in a service for the benefit of the colored people." But Long did not coddle his white audience; he launched into his speech, saying,

> Glad as I am for the triumph of Northern arms which struck the shackles from the wrists of four million of my brethren, I can still cherish the highest admiration for the people of the South who, [returned] from the war to devastated homes, to fields laid waste.... History has yet to furnish a parallel...

Long's speech, reprinted in *The Freedman's Friend* under the title "The Work of Christiansburg Institute in the Community," laid out the history and early struggles of the school as well as a bid for its future.[30]

A conversation between Principal Long and Dr. Showalter, a prominent white local physician, initiated a proposal to build a hospital on school grounds to serve African Americans barred from treatment at the local white hospital. Dedicated on May 15, 1918, Commencement Day, the hospital was plagued with conflict from its inception. The principal recognized the "danger of the hospital becoming a serious drain upon our resources." In its annual report, the board expressed "misgivings in regard to the advisability of attempting it." Such philosophical misgivings were compounded by actual events. Before the hospital could be put to use, it caught fire. According to Principal Long's report, an influenza epidemic had broken out shortly after the beginning of the school year. Whether resulting from haste to accommodate ill students or due to an improperly installed furnace, fire rendered the hospital useless until extensive repairs could be made.[31] It took another year to repair and reopen the hospital, located at the northeastern edge of campus (near the present-day intersection of state route 460 and Scattergood Drive). The hospital was a handsome structure with light filtering in from windows on each facade and two-story covered porches designed to provide ample space for recuperative fresh air.

The short-lived hospital, considered an experiment in inter-racial cooperation, was planned to serve the health needs of African-American residents and function as a training site for a fledgling nursing program.
(Photograph courtesy of the Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College)

While principal Long envisioned the hospital as a school resource where girls could receive training in nursing and home health care, the FFA embraced the project as an experiment in inter-racial cooperation. The Friends called the venture "The Christiansburg Experiment." However, it was not the hospital itself that was experimental, but the fact that it was run by an interracial board of managers in the segregated South that gave the project this name.[32] The hospital was short-lived, and by 1925 the Friends had considered putting the building to an alternate school use. Also in 1925, the shop burned, resulting in a total loss. While two fires within a few years may sound suspicious, reports never indicated that arson may have played a role in the school's bad luck. A follow-up memorandum from the FFA suggested that the shop be rebuilt on the same foundation and the hospital was converted into a teachers' residence. Later, the hospital building functioned as a residence for boys enrolled in the depression-era National Youth Administration program and, in the 1940s, was used for girls' trades, including more modern vocational courses such as typing and shorthand.[33]

The Edgar A. Long building, built in 1927, was the only building on campus to be named after an African American. In December 2000 the Long building was listed on the National Register of Historic Places.
(Photograph courtesy of the author)

When Edgar Long became ill, Anna Patterson Long, his wife, longtime teacher, and matron, ran the school intermittently until his death in 1924, when she was named acting principal for a single term. Having led Christiansburg Institute through a period of relative prosperity, Edgar Long had served the school for twenty-eight years, the last eighteen as principal. Labeled a "heaven born teacher" by a biographer, Long was a respected regional leader as well. He reorganized the State Teachers' Association, served as its president for six years, and was secretary of the Negro Organization Society.[34] Thus, when the much awaited "new" classroom facility was constructed to replace the deteriorating "Old Mansion House" in 1927, it was dedicated as a memorial to the beloved school leader. The Edgar A. Long Building was the only building on the campus of Christiansburg Institute to be named for an African American.

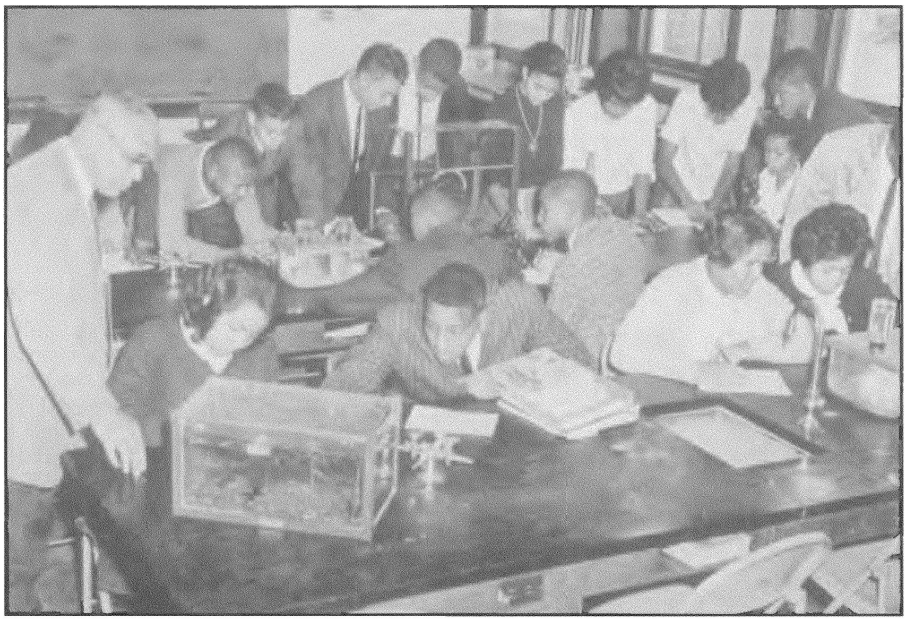
The northern facade of the Long Building was dignified by a scenic drive surrounding an ornamental fountain. Its "front" faced downhill toward the Norfolk and Western rail tracks. Its southern lawn, marked with a flagpole, was used for outdoor ceremonies. Like the previously constructed

Georgian Revival buildings — Morris Hall, Baily Morris Hall, and the hospital — the Long Building was classical in its symmetry and solidity. Designed as a classroom building and used for that purpose throughout its years, the Long Building was strategically positioned between the boys' and girls' dormitories; accordingly, it had a doorway on both its east and its west facades. When it opened for classes in 1928, male and female students would enter from separate entrances on either end. Among the classrooms in the Long Building was a state-of-the-art science laboratory, a particular pride of the school; a photograph of students working in the lab was included in every subsequent school yearbook. Although much deteriorated through years of neglect, the Edgar A. Long Building was placed on the National Register of Historic Places in 2000; it is registered as a Virginia Landmark as well.[35]

Becoming a Public School

Throughout its history, responsibility for the school shifted within a complex organizational triad formed by on-site leadership at Christiansburg Institute, the Friends' Freedmen's Association in Philadelphia, and the Montgomery County School Board; the relationship among these parties evolved over three periods. Beginning in the nineteenth century, the FFA assumed responsibility for the school at a time when the county's participation was minimal and its contribution nominal. During the 1930s the parties entered into an agreement that implied shared responsibilities. After World War II, the school became a part of the regular public school system. Thus, at a time when there was little physical change to the campus — between the erection of the Edgar A. Long Building in 1927 and the construction of the last school building in 1953 — Christiansburg Institute underwent dramatic changes in its management. The complex and fascinating story involving the legal transfer of the school and its transformation from private academy to public institution will require further investigation; for the time being, only the barest of details bridges the construction of the last two buildings to complete this story of the school's campus.

Until the twentieth century, Montgomery County's contribution to the support of Christiansburg Institute hovered around $100 per annum, the total public appropriation for the education of approximately 200 African-American students. In 1903 the county increased its contribu-

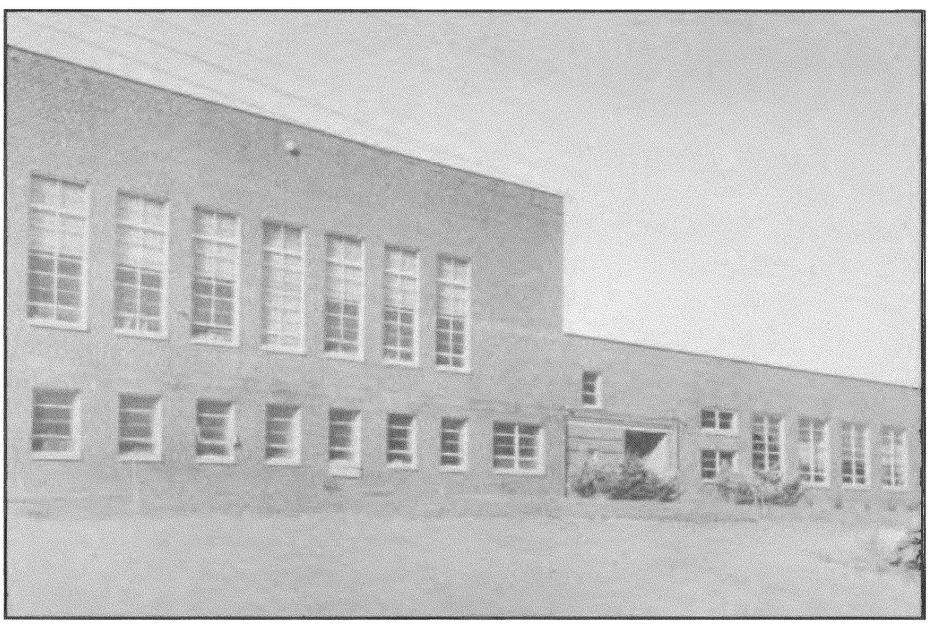


A science department featured a state-of-of-the-art laboratory on the second floor of the Edgar A. Long classroom building. An obvious pride of the school, a picture of students working in the lab was included in many yearbooks, including this one from 1963–64. (Photograph courtesy of Christiansburg Institute archive, gift of the Christiansburg Institute Alumni Association)

tion to an amount equivalent to one teacher's salary, and by 1916, when the Friends raised $50,000 in a single week, the annual appropriation from the county was a mere $755. In spite of this continued sparse support, the FFA entered into a lease agreement with the county on July 1, 1934, to set up a regional control board that operated the school on behalf of Montgomery and Pulaski counties and the adjacent city of Radford. In 1947 the Friends deeded the entire school property to Montgomery County, ending the FFA's sixty-two-year oversight of the school and, thereby, relinquishing the last school under its jurisdiction to public control.[36]

The county inherited a valuable piece of real estate: 185 acres of prime property and fourteen buildings, including four multi-storied brick structures, as well as all furniture and equipment located at the school. Throughout its years, the school had been well maintained. Although it did not have an operating budget *per se*, repairs and improvements to the

physical plant were a matter of inspection, recommendation, allocation, and implementation, a method described time and again in a number of annual principal's reports. One such 1940s report documented this method, stating that the county superintendent and Principal H. Leslie Giles toured the school with Henry Scattergood, who had maintained a long and lasting relationship with the school. Having come on board as FFA treasurer at the turn-of-the-century, Scattergood remained a contributor into the 1960s. The inspection team concluded that the school needed a new water tank and a furnace. Team members also recommended tearing down the "Old Mansion House." The new furnace was installed, and new electric lights, desks, and laboratory equipment added. In 1951 many school buildings were repainted, including the administration building (Baily Morris Hall), the Long Building, the boys' dorm, and the boys' trade building. During the post-war period, the farm operation was suspended and dormitories were closed as the school came to resemble a public school. In 1950 "Christiansburg Industrial Institute" became



Scattergood Hall, a new gymnasium, was built on the threshold of the Brown v. the Board of Education *decision.*
(Photograph a gift of the Christiansburg Institute Alumni Association, courtesy of Christiansburg Institute archive)

"Christiansburg Institute" and began to function like any modern public high school, albeit segregated.[37]

In 1953 the Christiansburg Institute Board of Control opted to erect a gymnasium on campus, the largest building to date. Named Scattergood Hall, this building would be the last one constructed on the campus. Like so many American public school buildings, the gymnasium doubled as an auditorium; inside were new industrial arts facilities and an additional classroom. Projected to cost between $250,000 and $300,000, the building was a major investment in the perpetuation of a "separate but equal" system of education. In spite of such political implications, the gym was important to students; subsequent to the gym's construction, the football team went on to win the district championship. But the symbolic significance of the new construction eclipsed its practical importance as an improvement to the school's campus. Scattergood Hall was a physical manifestation of the "success" of segregation. Plans were made for the dedication speech to be delivered by the governor himself.[38]

Aftermath

Supported by the cooperative efforts of those who believed in access to education, Christiansburg Institute was the academic home to multiple generations of African Americans living in the emancipated — yet segregated — South. Most campus building took place during the first three decades of the twentieth century, from the time the school moved onto the farm campus in 1898 until the 1927 construction of the Edgar A. Long classroom building. Under the Friends' Freedmen's Association, eight new buildings were erected to create a campus unrivaled by any other secondary school for miles around. During the Institute's last three decades, the years in which the school was operated by a public regional control board, only one building was erected. This last building, Scattergood Hall, holds the distinction of being the only publicly-funded school building constructed to support African-American secondary education in Montgomery County during an entire century of state-sanctioned segregation.[39]

The Christiansburg Institute campus had, indeed, been built on a tenuous footing, a shallow foundation supported by a single generation of freedom. Ironically, yet purposefully, the county's sole contribution to the school's campus came on the threshold of the pivotal 1954 Supreme Court

Baily Morris Hall, completed in 1912, met its destruction in 1980 by wrecking ball, the outcome of a local public policy decision.
(Photograph by Gene Dalton, Roanoke Times *staff photographer; photograph courtesy of* The Roanoke Times)

decision *Brown v. the Board of Education*. More ironic still was the fact that its subsequent destruction coincided with the implementation of that decision, which struck down segregation after a long struggle for civil rights. Whether the destruction of the Christiansburg Institute campus was motivated by jealousy, greed, or vengeance cannot be determined by historic record, but its dissolution was the purposeful result of public policy decisions. While some may suggest that the remains of Christiansburg Institute should lie buried along with most of its campus, the recovery of its history is important to our understanding of the totality of the American experience. The story of the Christiansburg Institute forms a rich and fascinating mosaic, a microcosm of American race relations, educational development, and public policy.

America's social, economic, political, and military history is told through an examination of the lives of its diverse citizenry. The story of industrialization and changing demographics is largely the story of immi-

grant workers. The story of political enfranchisement is told by women's voices in their struggle for equal rights. The story of economic hardship is revealed by those who documented the Depression years for the Works Progress Administration. And the military strategies and events of two international wars are recorded in the letters of soldiers. The sum of these stories defines the American mainstream in which many such stories coalesce to create a national identity. Underlying all of them is an undercurrent of African-American life, separated by law in the South and by social convention in the North.

Recovering the history of the Christiansburg Institute will add to our understanding of the Emancipation period, an era bracketed by the Civil War and by Civil Rights. This rich historical period is framed by two specific cultural markers, the penning of the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863 and the daring utterance of "I have a dream," spoken one-hundred years later in 1963. Between the legendary pronouncements of Abraham Lincoln and Martin Luther King is the voice of Edgar A. Long. But until much of the history of the Christiansburg Institute is recovered, Long's voice remains a whisper.

Endnotes

1. With respect to historic firsts, the founding of Christiansburg Institute predated the establishment of Hampton Institute, now Hampton University, founded two years later in 1868; Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, which opened as Virginia Agricultural and Mechanical College in 1872; Tuskegee in Alabama, founded by Booker T. Washington in 1881; and Radford University, originally named Radford Normal College for White Women, in 1910. The State Board of Education's list of accredited schools in 1924–1925 included Christiansburg Industrial Institute, and in 1932 it became accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, the first high school in Montgomery County to achieve such credentials.
2. Because the name of the school fluctuated over the course of its existence, this essay will refer to the school by the two words that were a consistent part of its name throughout its existence, "Christiansburg Institute."
3. Charles H. Harrison, *The Story of a Consecrated Life* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1900), 65, 90, 133. The rented school building is described as a "log cabin" in this biography; however, this appears to be an erroneous, if not poetic, interjection. A photograph of the schoolhouse shows clapboards coming off and exposing the frame structure underneath. Charles Stewart Schaeffer (1830–1899) was originally from Germantown, Pennsylvania. Although wounded, Schaeffer was lucky enough to survive two of the fiercest Civil War battles: Antietam and Gettysburg.

4. The building cost $1,400 and the addition $1,000. According to Shaeffer's biography, in 1868 he deeded the school and property to a Board of Trustees made up wholly of ex-slaves, making Christiansburg Institute not only one of the first schools to serve the emancipated citizenry, but to be owned by them as well. Schaeffer's report to the Freedmen's Bureau, dated January 31, 1868, is quoted in Harrison, 121-24, 134-36. Schaeffer's work was centered in Christiansburg, the Montgomery County seat. The district under his supervision appears to have extended to adjacent counties as well, including Pulaski and Giles. The fact that Schaeffer was originally assigned to Wytheville is an indication that an adjacent district may have begun there.
5. Harrison, 136-37. Schaeffer's diary is quoted in Ann Swain, *Christiansburg Institute: From Freedmen's Bureau Enterprise to Public High School* (Master's Thesis, Radford University, 1975), 45-50. Again, regarding historic firsts, the first professional training for teachers in Montgomery County appears to have been held at the Christiansburg Institute in 1875. The Methodist District Educational Conference was held there in October 1876.
6. Mrs. Mimber, "The Christiansburg Mission" (Nov. 19, 1874) as reprinted in Harrison, 138-39.
7. Charles Schaeffer to Henry M. Laing, Philadelphia, Feb. 17, 1869. Schaeffer confirmed that he stayed in Philadelphia from February 18 to May 11, 1869, in a subsequent letter, dated one year later on February 17, 1870. Both letters are reprinted in Harrison, 187 and 211. Annual budgets are reprinted in Harrison, 211, 218, 276. Quote from Schaeffer's diary (March 1, 1876) in Swain, 48. Schaeffer's biography documents his early years in service to this church; see Harrison, 65, 193, 208.
8. Friends Historical Library finding abstract. *Annual Report of the Christiansburg Industrial Institute* (Cambria: 1908), 41 [henceforth referred to as *Annual Report*]. See also annual budgets reprinted in Harrison, 211, 218, 276.
9. The construction of the Hill School, on a lot measuring 348 by 104 feet, cost $8,747. It appears, although it is not entirely clear, that half the funds came from the FFA and the other half from Schaeffer himself, an expense that may have stretched him to the breaking point. The itemized income budget summary from this particular period has not been located. In any case, soon after, Schaeffer's association with the school ended. Harrison, 143. Statistics on the Hill School are found in Long, *Report of the Principal* (May 30, 1911), 3; and *Minutes of the Friends Freedmen's Association* (June 5, 1923).
10. William Polk to William Haines (Oct. 6, 1888) and William Polk to Board of Managers (Nov. 9, 1888), Friends Historical Library.
11. Samuel J. Comfort, *Term Report of the Christiansburg Institute* (April 30, 1891), Friends Historical Society; the *Helper* (April 19, 1898) as quoted in Harrison, 146. The "higher branches" referred to courses at the secondary level. Quote from Marshall and course descriptions from *Catalogue of the Christiansburg Industrial Institute* (Cambria: 1903), 6-11 [henceforth referred to as *Catalogue*].
12. Armory Dwight Mayo, *Southern Women in the Recent Educational Movement in the South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1892; 1978 reprint), 83.
13. Mayo, 111. Mayo was a "venerable" educational spokesman, according to the *Berea Quarterly* (Feb. 1987), 11-14. In 1896 he shared the podium with no less than Theodore Roosevelt; however, much of Mayo's writing was shot through with racist language.

14. William Goodell Frost, "An Educational Program for Appalachian America," *Berea Quarterly* (May 1896), 3-22. Quote from *Berea Quarterly* (May 1900), 9-10. Elisabeth S. Peck, *Berea's First 125 Years* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1982), 39-53. *Catalogue* (Cambria: 1898), 5. While a discussion of national race policy is well outside the scope of this paper, the author wishes to point out that, using the example of Berea College, the federal court's decisions indicate it was complicit in supporting state-decreed segregation of educational institutions.
15. David W. Noble, *The Progressive Mind, 1890–1917* (Minneapolis: Burgess Publishing Company, 1981), 81. Jane Addams opened Hull House, considered to be the first American settlement house, in 1899.
16. Although Tuskegee was established well after the founding of Christiansburg Institute, its growth easily outpaced the older school with a thousand students attending classes on a campus of thirty buildings. Booker T. Washington, *The Story of My Life and Work* (Atlanta: Nichols, 1901), 115 and 132. Elliston P. Morris to Washington (Feb. 6, 1896), volume 4, 109; Washington to Morris (March 30, 1896), volume 4, 150-151; both from the on-line version of the *Booker T. Washington Papers* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972) at *www.historycoop.org/btw/index.html*
17. Reading the Friends' records and the valuable secondary source *Christiansburg Institute: A Proud History* might lead one to believe that school leadership went directly from Schaeffer to Marshall. However inconsequential to the school's development, the interim principals are listed here. A man named Lowry may have been principal for a single year in 1887–1888, according to Swain, 65. The earliest FFA reports were signed by William Polk, principal in 1888–1890. Polk was succeeded by Samuel J. Comfort (listed as teacher in 1889–1890 and principal in 1890–1893). Hiram H. Thweat was principal in 1893–1896, when Washington took over as supervisor and Marshall as principal. Washington to Marshall (April 16, 1896), volume 4, 161 from *Washington Papers*. Poteet lists C. A. Powell as interim principal from 1896 until 1898, although this appears to be contradicted by the date of Washington's letter. George Poteet, *Secondary Education in Montgomery County, 1776–1936* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 1936), 166-167. For details of Marshall's life, see "The Evolution of a Shoe-maker" in Washington's *Tuskegee and Its People* (New York: Appleton, 1906). After Marshall's death, Edgar Allen Long served first as acting principal, then as principal. He is referred to as Edgar Allan Long in a biography included in Arthur Caldwell, *History of the American Negro* (1921), 251-54. The only woman to head the school was Anna Lee Patterson Long, teacher since 1896 and acting principal for the term following Long's death in 1924.
18. *Catalogue* (Cambria: 1901) cover. Blair Buck, *Development of Public Schools in Virginia, 1607–1952* (Richmond: Board of Education, 1952).
19. The first thirty-three acres of land was recorded in Montgomery County Deed Book 46 (Nov. 11, 1898), 273; a subsequent fifty-four acres was recorded in Deed Book 48 (March 14, 1899), 547; Montgomery County Circuit Clerk's Office, Christiansburg, Virginia. *Annual Report* (Cambria: 1903), 14; Thomas Howard, *The Freedman's Friend* (Cambria: 1917), as quoted in Swain, 195.
20. Marshall in *Tuskegee*, 344-49.
21. The barn appears to have been built in 1901 or 1902 at a cost of $2,000, from *Annual Report* (Cambria: 1903), 24; Marshall in *Tuskegee*, 348-49; Long, *Report of the Principal*

to the Farm Committee (Dec. 31, 1911), 1-3; undated, untitled report (hand-dated May 1, 1939).

22. The shop was eighty feet long by twenty feet wide and cost $1,000 to build. *Annual Report* (Cambria: 1903), 3, 18, 21.
23. *Annual Report* (Cambria: 1903), 3-4, 24. The two-and-a-half story dormitory measured seventy-seven by thirty-eight feet and cost $8,426.
24. *Annual Report* (Cambria: 1903), 19-20; Long, *Report of the Principal to the Education Committee* (Dec. 30, 1909), 1; *The Freedman's Friend*, volume 9, number 2 (Cambria: 1916), 36; *Annual Report* (Cambria: 1916), 17.
25. Long, *Report to the Education Committee* (March 31, 1910), 7; *Annual Report* (Cambria: 1903), 5-10. *Twenty-Sixth Annual Catalog* (Cambria: 1925), 38-46.
26. Long, *Report of the Principal to the Farm Committee* (Dec. 31, 1911), 2-3. *Report of the Principal to the Household Committee* (Dec. 31, 1911), 1-3. Joshua Baily, active in the FFA, paid personal attention to the needs of the school; for example, he outfitted the girls' living room with furniture, lamps, and an organ. Moreover, Baily kicked off the fiftieth anniversary capital campaign with a personal contribution of $5,000, which would amount to 10 percent of the total raised. *Annual Report* (Cambria: 1903), 8, 20; and *The Freedman's Friend* , volume 9, number 2 (Cambria: 1916), 57. Elliston Morris, one of the group of Friends who founded the FFA in 1863, played a leadership role for forty-nine years. The dedication of the new building coincided with Morris's retirement from the board. It was Morris who corresponded with Washington to convince him to affiliate with the Institute. *Executive Board of the Friends' Freedmen's Association* (Jan. 9, 1912). Throughout its history, the Christiansburg Institute campus was well maintained. In 1939 Baily Morris Hall was completely renovated, receiving new plumbing, painting, and hardwood floors. Until 1953, when the gymnasium was built, Baily Morris Hall would tower above the surrounding landscape as the largest building on campus. For upkeep of the building, see undated, unsigned report (hand-dated May 1, 1939) and *A Brief Report of Christiansburg Industrial Institute for the year 1939–1940.*
27. *Annual Report* (Cambria: 1916), 18-19; *The Freedman's Friend*, volume 9, number 2 (Cambria: 1916), 54-59.
28. Long, *Report of the Principal to the Education Committee* (March 31, 1910), 6.
29. Long, *Report of the Principal* (1919); *Executive Board of the Friends' Freedmen's Association* minutes (Oct. 7, 1902); Sharpless as quoted in *The Freedman's Friend* , volume 9, number 2 (Cambria: 1916), 40-41. Sharpless's patronizing language is characteristic of segregated times. His optimism is couched within the context of the "white man's burden" in "caring for...trustful, helpless blacks."
30. Long's speech is reprinted under the title "The Work of Christiansburg Institute in the Community," in *The Freedman's Friend* (Cambria: 1916), 47-53.
31. *The Friend* (June 6, 1918); Long, *Report of the Principal* (1919); Long, *Report of the Principal* (March 31, 1914). According to an unsigned, untitled estimate (Sept. 28, 1918), the building required electric wiring and painting throughout, as well as the replacement of doors, windows, plaster, and furniture.
32. Long, *Report of the Principal* (1917); *The Friend* (June 6, 1918).
33. Long, *Report of the Principal* (1920); *Executive Board of the Friends' Freedmen's Association* minutes (June 3, 1924); Morris Baily to Morris Leeds (June 24, 1923), Friends

Historical Library. *Executive Board of the Friends' Freedmen's Association* (Feb. 5, 1925); Giles, *Report of the Principal*, 1939-40; Giles, *Report of the Principal*, 1943-44.

34. Caldwell, 251-252.
35. Abraham M. Walker served as principal from 1925 until 1941. The groundbreaking for the new classroom building took place on February 7, 1927 (Walker, *Principal's Report*, 1927). *Executive Board of the Friends' Freedmen's Association* minutes (Jan. 11, 1927). The Long building, measuring ninety-four by seventy-two feet, was constructed at a total cost of $29,921. The architect was William L. Baily of Baily and Bassett of Philadelphia. J. D. Hufford of Pulaski was the contractor; *Executive Board of the Friends' Freedmen's Association* minutes (March 8, 1927).
36. The county assumed minimal responsibility for the education of its black citizens, but in spite of its meager appropriation, the county Superintendent of Schools requested that the Christiansburg Institute principal oversee not only the Hill School and the Institute, but a primary school located on Rock Road as well. For several years this was the case, and the Friends put the Rock Road teacher on their payroll. *Annual Report* (Cambria: 1903), 7-8, 21-23. Deed Book 151, 54.
37. Giles, *Christiansburg Industrial Institute 1943–44*; letter from S. T. Godbey, superintendent, to J. Henry Scattergood (July 16, 1951), Montgomery County School archives.
38. Ibid.
39. This observation was made by Elaine Dowe Carter, Executive Director of Christiansburg Institute, Inc. Credit is also due to Ms. Carter for her guidance in developing the broader conclusive ideas that surround the specifics of the Christiansburg Institute and its importance to the development of a civil society.

Smithfield Plantation: The Original Land Parcels

Sara Beth Keough and Blaine Adams

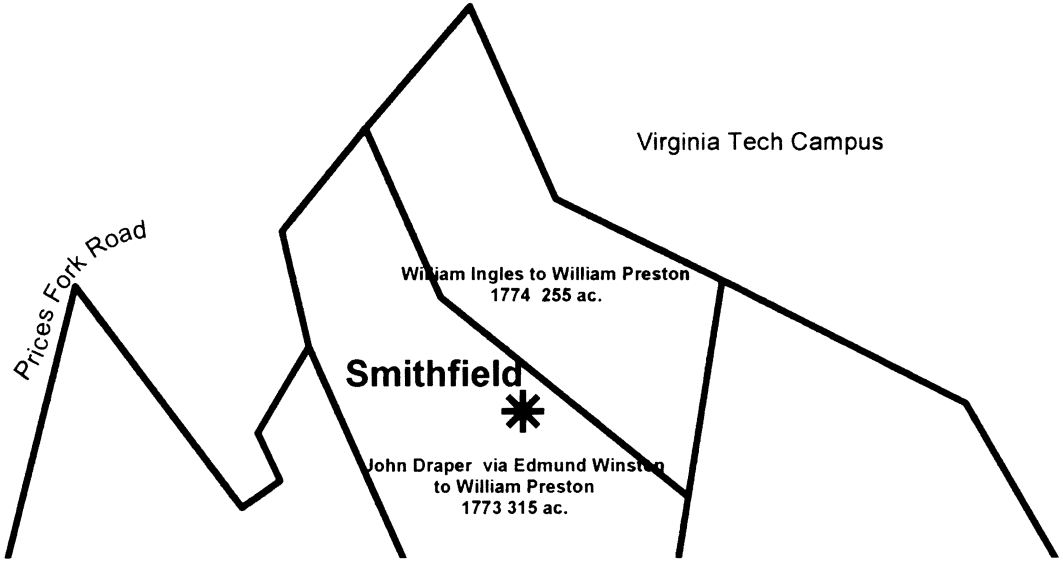
Our original purpose was to identify the area of Blacksburg, Virginia, that constituted the original Smithfield plantation, so that a map could be constructed and viewed by visitors.

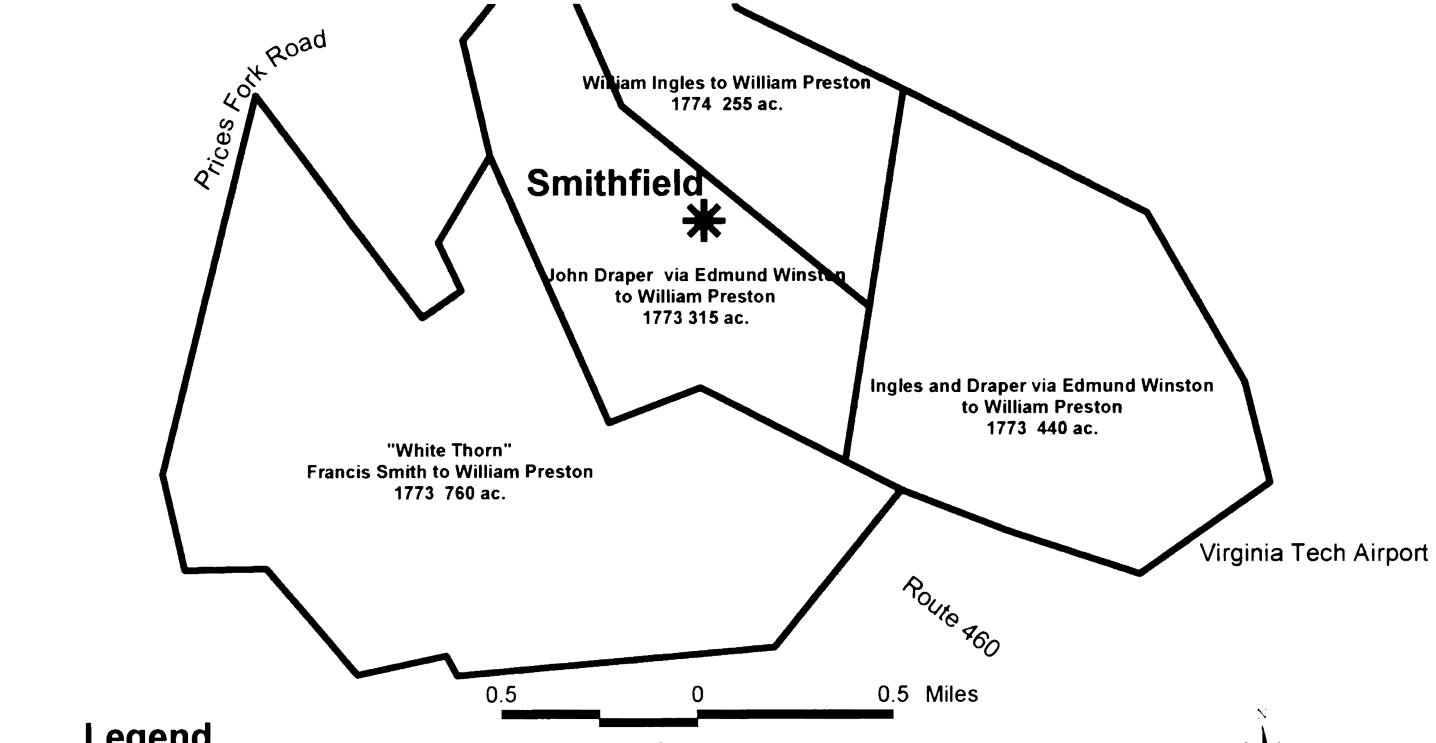
Our first opportunity to visualize this map came during data collection. The deeds to the property, found in the Montgomery, Botetourt, and Augusta County Courthouses, used meets and bounds to describe property lines. Many of the trees or rocks used to mark property boundaries, however, no longer exist. Mr. John R. Garrett, Field Supervisor for the Town of Blacksburg, had studied the original land parcels of Smithfield Plantation. He was able to draw them to scale, and place them on a map of the Town of Blacksburg using undivided land parcels from the late 1700s and his knowledge of the area. One problem, he told us, was that back in the late eighteenth century, many of the land parcels were short-measured by surveyors whose clients wished to avoid higher taxes. We might never know exactly where the original land parcels lay. Volume I of *Early Adventures on the Western Waters* by Mary B. and F. B. Kegley was used to verify our conception of the general shape of the parcels.

The final map then was constructed using current digital road and building data for the town of Blacksburg, and the digital land parcel outline given to us by John Garrett. Information from Kegley's book and original deeds told us from whom William Preston bought each tract of land, the acreage of each tract, and the year of purchase. The final map created for Historic Smithfield Plantation displays the town of Blacksburg with selected buildings, roads, and landmarks labeled. A transparent overlay shows the approximate location of the original land parcels in reference to current roads and buildings in the town.

Historical mapping can be a challenging process, especially when the items to be mapped are over two centuries old. We thank all those who helped us by providing vital information and by critiquing our drafts.

Smithfield Plantation: The Original Land Parcels





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Kegley, M.B. and F.B. Kegley. 1980. Early adventures on the western waters. vol. 1. Orange, VA: Green Publishers

Garrett. John. 2002. Personal Communication. Utility Locator. Town of Blacksburg, VA.

* Accuracy of property lines was verified by Kegley (1980)

Information for this map was obtained with contributions from Hugh Campbell, Dan and Donna Ludwig, Frances Russell, Terry Nicholson, Dianna Pickering, Katherine Smith and David Bradshaw

Map created by Sara Beth Keough and Blaine Adams January 2002

The Diaries Of James Armistead Otey

James Otey Hoge, Jr.

The fourth of five children born to Dr. James Hervey Otey and Mary Louisa Kent, James Armistead Otey lived at Walnut Spring[1] from his birth in 1862 until his death in 1942. During much of the long life he spent on the land he so loved, "Uncle Jim"[2] kept a running account of each day's events on the farm and in the Otey home. His diaries begin in 1889 and run through 1926; those that have survived (1889–91,[3] 1909, 1911–16, 1918, 1920–21, 1923, 1926) provide a treasure trove of information about the Oteys' daily life, their family circle, and their friends, as well as everything involved in running a large Virginia farm during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The diaries are equally important as a repository of information about the people who worked on the Otey farm during those years. They provide an excellent social history of the Price's Fork, Tom's Creek, and Sunnyside communities as seen through the lives and activities of all those who helped the Oteys operate their farm and who were, in turn, helped in various ways by the Oteys. Finally, the diaries offer a fascinating portrait of Blacksburg and the surrounding area as they were roughly a century ago.

Otey was married twice, first to Carolee Pleasants Otey of Huntsville, Alabama, and later to Julia Magruder Tyler, the sister of James Hoge Tyler, who served as Governor of Virginia from 1898 until 1902. Otey and Carolee Pleasants were married in 1894 and lived together at Walnut Spring until her death in 1896. They had two sets of twins, but none of the infants survived. Unfortunately, Carolee does not appear in the diaries since the first extant volume, 1889–91, preceded her marriage to Otey and the next, 1909, was written thirteen years after her death. In 1904 Otey married Julia Tyler, who had come to Blacksburg to tutor Louise

Kent Hoge, the eldest child of his sister Louisa. (Louise Hoge was deaf and required special instruction.) Julia had three children, but each was stillborn or died shortly after birth, and she herself died in 1921.

At the time of Julia's death, Otey turned for solace to loved ones, such as Lucy and Willie Tyler, her sister and brother from Hanover County, and, closer to home, his Hoge nieces and nephews. "I would go wild if I did not have them with me," he wrote three days after his second wife's death. They and the farm work distracted him for a time, but later he found it necessary to get away for awhile.

> I can only keep from grieving by going away where anyone wants to take me. I do not care. Just so I do not get time to think of my Darling that I miss so so much.

Soon he was back at Walnut Spring, however, and back into his old routine. Despite the tragedies in his life, Otey remained sanguine and hopeful; his diaries reveal a man of deep faith as well as a man of remarkable compassion and unselfishness. Otey was kind to all, not only to those who frequented the Otey home and farm — family, friends, servants, and hired hands — but also to everyone else with whom he interacted. The diaries reveal a man active in his community who was never too busy to assist his neighbors however he could. Renowned for his affection for young people and his generosity toward them, he gave calves, stoats, and lambs, shaving mugs, brushes, and razors to the young men who worked on the farm, and he gave treats and told tall tales and ghost stories to the neighborhood children. A gentleman in every sense of the word, Otey was truly beloved by all.

Otey wrote his daily entries hurriedly and gave little thought to style or structure. In fact, he imposed no structure on his diaries other than that necessarily provided by chronological order. But his artless presentation of events, like his inclusion of trivia as well as more important occurrences, suggests that he set down what happened each day promptly and just as he remembered it. Otey, in fact, was incapable of insincerity, and his honesty and candor are as obvious in his diaries as are his work ethic and his devotion to his farm.

Otey supervised everything that went on at Walnut Spring, but he also participated in most of the work himself, from the milking each morning at 4 a.m. to the cutting, shocking, and stacking of hay, from the sheep shearing and the tending of new-born colts in the spring to the hog-killing in the fall and the hauling of ice to the icehouse in wintertime.

Walnut Spring circa 1889.

Normally things went about as smoothly as could be expected on a farm, given the vagaries of Southwest Virginia weather and the uncertainties of life in general. But now and then things got a bit off course. On the morning of May 16, 1911, for example, Otey's daily entry begins: "Men, boys, & cook all drunk this a.m. They had a fishing party last night. Work behind and we did not have breakfast until 9 a.m." A more typical day, involving both farm duties and a trip into town, is reflected earlier that same year in the entry for February 17:

> Milk sent to V.P.I. in farm wagon as I wanted more bran & cotton meal. Got 200 lbs. of salt. Cook ... went to Town in the wagon. I looked after lambs and a sick hog. Men still hauling manure. Julia and I drove to Town about 4 p.m. Attended to business and went to a play by the Town girls and boys, "Huckleberry Union Station." Louise and Lizzie Hoge looked so pretty in the play.

For many years when Jim and Julia Otey went to "The River" to see the Cowans or to "The Grove" to visit the McBrydes or the Barringers or the Egglestons; to Vicker's Switch or Price Station or Cambria to meet the train; to Blacksburg on business, to shop, to attend church, to see a play or a V.P.I. football game, they rode in their buggy behind the horses Butterfly and Punch. But when Otey rode over his farm, as he often did, especially when he returned after a few days away, he usually did so on Russet, his favorite mare. From her back he could check his fences and

count his lambs; appraise his corn, wheat, oats, and clover; cruise his timber and inspect his coal mines; and occasionally simply pause to admire the enduring land and perhaps to think about what he would say when he wrote it all down, back at the house, later that evening.

What follows are the first two years of the diaries, 1889 and 1890. The next issue of *The Smithfield Review* will present the fourth year, 1909. The three years presented here and in the next issue offer an accurate representation of the diaries as a whole.

Occasionally I have deleted an entry or entries that I judged so trivial or redundant as to try the reader's patience. Ellipses mark these deletions.

Although the first volume of the diaries has never left Walnut Spring, all the others were given to me by my cousin, Louisa Gillet Dekker. I owe her a profound debt both for giving me most of the diaries and for transcribing volume one. And I must thank Roy D. Montgomery, who transcribed volume two, typed all the text and notes for the first two volumes, and identified a number of individuals mentioned in the diaries whom I could have located in no other way.

Endnotes

1. The name "Walnut Spring" refers to the Otey home, built by James Randal Kent in 1854, and also to the surrounding farm, both of which Kent deeded to his daughter and Dr. Otey when they married in January 1855. Walnut Spring was a 633-acre farm when Dr. and Mrs. Otey deeded it to their younger son and his sister, Louisa, in 1887. The dwelling, a two-story, brick Greek Revival house, is listed in both the state and national registries of historic landmarks. Like many other houses of similar vintage, Walnut Spring originally had a smokehouse and a summer kitchen, both of which were actually separate structures slightly removed from the main house. Over time, however, the three buildings were all joined together. Walnut Spring is currently owned by the editor, who resides there.
2. Otey was also often called "Gummy" or "Uncle Gummy," especially by children. Apparently "Gummy" originated as a corruption of "Jimmy."
3. Otey kept his diary for only two and a half months, January through mid-March, in both 1889 and 1891.

1889

Tuesday, January 1 I commenced my diary in here[1] until I can get a book to keep it in.

I was at Capt. Welch's house Bramwell, West Virginia.[2] He was playing cards with Uncle John[3] when the clock struck 12. Dr. Tyler[4] came into our room next AM before we were up. I went up on Flipping[5] that day and sold some kraut. Walked back to Durbing and took train.[6]

Wednesday, January 2 Uncle John, Capt. Welch and myself went out on Elkhorn[7] and took dinner with Dr. Tyler. I met John Saunders. I sold some kraut and cabbage to the

1 Otey began his diaries in an 1887-1888 cadet "Delinquency Book and Roster Book" for the Virginia Agricultural and Mechanical College. During 1889, 1890, and 1891 he wrote all of his diary entries in that book, utilizing every trace of blank space on the tops, bottoms, and sides of pages otherwise filled with cadet demerits and attendance records. The next diary we have, that for 1909, as well as all the others, Otey kept in each year's "The Wanamaker Diary," which the John Wanamaker Stores of Philadelphia and New York published annually, a diary with spaces provided for each daily entry. Each Christmas, Otey's sister, "Mamie" Patterson, who lived in Philadelphia, sent him the appropriate volume for the following year.

2 I. A. Welch (b. 1823) was a retired civil engineer who lived with his wife Ada in Bramwell, West Virginia, about ten miles from Bluefield. In the 1890s, owing to the extraordinary success enjoyed by owners of mines in the Pocahontas coal field, Bramwell had more millionaires than any other place its size in America.

3 Major John Thomas Cowan (1840–1929), the son of Arthur Cowan and Elizabeth Floyd and the husband of Margaret Gordon (Kent) Cowan (1841–1924), the youngest daughter of Major James Randal Kent (1792–1867) and Mary Gordon Cloyd (1800–1858). A successful farmer and grazier, Cowan was a member of the first board of visitors of the Virginia Agricultural and Mechanical College, was vice president of the Virginia State Agricultural Society, and represented Montgomery County in the state legislature.

4 Perhaps one of the Tylers of Virginia and, if so, probably a relative of Otey's second wife Julia Magruder Tyler (1865–1921).

5 Flipping Creek is located at Flipping Creek Junction in Mercer County, West Virginia.

6 Otey probably means Bramwell, though he may refer to the estate owned by C. H. Durbing or even a part of the town itself known as "Durbing." Durbing was a prominent and wealthy coal company engineer. It was he who first mapped out the lots for houses and businesses in Bramwell.

7 Elkhorn Creek. The two main branches of Elkhorn Creek meet at the Forks of Elkhorn just east of Frankfort, Kentucky.

Elkhorn Coal and Coke Company.[8]

Thursday, January 3 I walked down to Simmons Creek to sell some Truck.[9] Did not sell much, but met some very nice fellows. I took Lunch with Caspry Durbing at one o'clock, and he showed me all over his place which was quite fine. Uncle John and I took the train for his home at 2:45. Got to his house[10] about 7 o'clock. I found Cloyd[11] there; he had brought Mary[12] down from Walnut Spring.

Friday, January 4 Cloyd and I came

8 John B. Saunders (b. 1861) lived on Elkhorn Creek where he and his partner, Crawford M. Williams, were in the coal and coke business.

9 Simmons Creek is located in Kanawha County, West Virginia. Apparently Otey was in West Virginia to sell "truck," vegetables raised for sale. Otey was a broadly diversified farmer. Throughout his life at Walnut Spring he sold fruits and vegetables, wheat, oats, corn, hay and fodder, milk, cream, butter, and eggs as well as chickens, turkeys, guineas, sheep, cattle, and swine, both alive and slaughtered. He was renowned for his sausage and for his distinctively cured Virginia hams, which he sent by train to New York, Philadelphia, and Austin, Texas, among other places, and even shipped to England. He also bred and raised horses both for his own use and for sale.

10 The Cowan house and estate, bordered by the New River, is now owned by Virginia Tech and called Kentland Farm. Located in the Whitethorne area of Montgomery County, some three miles west of Walnut Spring, the Cowan farm (or the River farm or simply the River, as Otey sometimes called it) encompassed nearly two thousand acres. James Randal Kent, who built the brick Georgian homeplace shortly after 1818, when he and Mary Gordon Cloyd married, left the house and land to his eldest daughter Elizabeth Cloyd Kent (1819–1884), who never married, and his youngest daughter Margaret Gordon Kent, who married John Thomas Cowan a year after her father's death.

11 Gordon Cloyd Otey (1857–1921), the son of Dr. James Hervey Otey (1825–1896) and Mary Louisa Kent (1827–1892) and the elder brother of James Armistead Otey. Cloyd Otey married Laura (Hamlin) Shaver (1873–1928), the widow of Daniel Nicholas Shaver, in 1905. (After his death, Laura Otey married Calvin Lafayette Burgess in 1925.) The Cloyd Oteys' home was located on a hill overlooking the south side of Tom's Creek and the west end of Walnut Spring. The property where Cloyd Otey lived was originally part of the Otey farm and was for some time still owned by his parents. Around the turn of the century it was deeded to him by James Otey and Louisa Otey Hoge, who had been given the entire 633-acre farm by Dr. and Mrs. Otey in 1887. For many years Cloyd Otey was a magistrate authorized to adjudicate minor civil and criminal cases and to administer the law in the Price's Fork neighborhood.

home from the River. I found all well except Lou[13] who had a bad cold.

Saturday, January 5 I have been busy all day helping Mr. Carey[14] fix up pickles and kraut to send to West Virginia. Got a letter tonight from Mamie[15] – all well.

Sunday, January 6 I did not go to church today as all the roads are so bad. I read one of Dr. Talmadge's sermons.

Monday, January 7 I have been so busy all day feeding cattle and putting up cabbages and potatoes to send to West Virginia.

Tuesday, January 8 I hauled Turnips with little oxen, sent a load of Truck to Depot.[16] Lulu rode to Cloyd's after mail – had to walk the foot log to get back.

Wednesday, January 9 It is rainy and bad. I awoke with a headache and in a bad humor. I fed cattle and hogs and do not feel so well for [...].

Thursday, January 10 I got up with a sore throat that has given me fits all day. It is the third attack of Quinsy[17] that I had this Fall.

Friday, January 11 I have been in bed all day and Oh, how my throat hurts me. Lou has been out to town on Fitch; will bring me something from Dr. Kent Black[18] I hope will help me.

Saturday, January 12 Lou did bring me a gargle that helped me ever so much and I felt so much better today. She also brought a letter from Robert M. Patterson with a check ($34.06) for some hams. That helped

12 Mary Cloyd Cowan (1873–1928), who never married, was the younger daughter of the John Thomas Cowans.

13 Louisa Virginia Otey (1871–1938), the youngest child of Dr. and Mrs. Otey and later the wife of John Hampton Hoge (1855–1903). Otey often refers to her as "Lou," "Lulu," or "Lula."

14 Wiltshire R. Carey, who lived near Price's Fork and worked for Otey during the 1880s and 1890s. In 1882 he married Emma McCauley.

15 Mary Gordon (Otey) Patterson (1856–1932), the eldest child of Dr. and Mrs. Otey. In 1879 she married Robert Masquel Patterson (b. 1851). Robert Patterson was from Philadelphia, and for most of their married life the Pattersons lived in Philadelphia but spent much of each summer in Blacksburg.

16 Otey refers to Vicker's Switch (sometimes simply called Vicker), a depot on the Norfolk and Western Railroad located near present state route 114, about a mile east of where it intersects Price's Fork Road.

17 Inflammation of the throat.

18 Dr. Kent Black (1853–1909) was the youngest child of Dr. Harvey Black (1827–1888), the celebrated Civil War physician, and Mary Irby "Mollie" Kent (1835–1911) and the great grandson of John Black, whose brother William Black founded the town of Blacksburg in 1798. In 1894 Dr. Black married Mary Louisa Bell (1861–1943), the only daughter of Francis Bell and Sarah James Kent, Mary Louisa (Kent) Otey's sister.

a good deal too. I sent some Turnips and cabbage out to the mess house[19] by Pierce.

Sunday, January 13 We did not go to church. I was sick. But we wanted to go very much as it was Mr. Luck's[20] last day. Dr. Kent Black came to see me. Sat with us most of the day. White Thomas[21] was here also.

Monday, January 14 Has been a beautiful day but I did not get out. Papa[22] had Fitch up to Mr. Wall's[23] and

19 The V.A.M.C. mess hall or dining facility. Otey sold "truck" to the college.

20 From 1888 until 1889 Dr. Julian Marcelus Luck was pastor of the Blacksburg Baptist Church to which Otey, like his parents, belonged. In November 1889 Otey represented the Blacksburg Baptist Church at the Virginia Baptist General Association meeting in Richmond.

21 White Thomas was the son of William Thomas, Jr. and Elizabeth White. William Thomas, Jr. was the son of William Thomas and Lucretia Howe (b. 1833) and the brother of Giles D. Thomas (1832–1908), who served as both secretary and treasurer of V.A.M.C. during its early years.

22 The son of Colonel Armistead Otey and Sarah "Sallie" Gill, Dr. James Hervey Otey was born in Bedford County and moved to Montgomery County shortly before his marriage to Mary Louisa Kent on January 23, 1855. He began the study of medicine with his brother, Dr. John A. Otey, and graduated from Hampden-Sydney College in 1852. During the Civil War Dr. Otey headed the local Committee for Public Safety, which attempted to track the activities of Union sympathizers and to discourage them from assisting deserters from the Confederate army. On October 8, 1864, Dr. Otey wrote to Major Cloyd (probably Ezekiel A. Cloyd [b. 1820], who lost an arm fighting for the Confederacy), informing him that "deserters and their families" were stealing cattle, sheep, and hogs "in considerable numbers" both from him and from Major Kent. What the deserters did not steal themselves, Otey went on to say, was stolen for them by people in the neighborhood: "About 100 deserters from the east are now passing every week and they are fed by the people along the creek" (*The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1880–1901, ch. 55, p. 890). General George Crook and his troops occupied Walnut Spring in late May 1864, following the Battle of Cloyd's Mountain. Although livestock was taken from Walnut Spring, as it was from Major Kent's estate, the house suffered no harm. Legend has it that Dr. Otey ministered to the wounded Union soldiers and that his house was spared for that reason.

23 Pharis Wall (1824–1910) was the son of Adam and Elizabeth Wall. He married Sarah E. Keister (1833–1908), the daughter of John P. Keister and

spent the day. I put in the day the best I could helping Mamma[24] wind yarn.

Tuesday, January 15 This is dear little Otey Patterson's[25] birthday. Three years ago I spent a month in Philadelphia. I have been feeling much better today & have been outdoors some. Got a letter from Bob Holmes about a horse for Dr. Hooper.

Wednesday, January 16 I hung meat today.[26] Did not have enough hooks, so had to hang some with Rock lilly.

Thursday, January 17 It has been a beautiful day and I got Fitch and went Salting.[27] Stopped at the sawmill and had a long talk with Mr. Hall.[28]

Friday, January 18 Beautiful weather and started my plows. Mr. Carey took cabbage to Vicker's Switch to go to S.A. Ford, Bramwell, West Virginia.[29]

Saturday, January 19 Mamma went with Cloyd to visit Aunt Margie.[30] I commenced smoking my meat. It is beautiful plowing weather.

Sunday, January 20 A deep snow has fallen last night and today and it is raining a little now. Grant took Uncle John's calf to him yesterday and came back today in the snow. I milked for him while he was gone. Lou has a cold. Turkey for dinner to-

Margaret Elizabeth Kipps. Their children, all of whom appear in the diaries, were George Pharis Wall, James Lee Wall, Mary Jane Wall, John Floyd Wall, and Harriet Augusta "Hattie" Wall. The Walls owned a farm, still in the family, which adjoins Walnut Spring on its eastern boundary.

24 Mary Louisa (Kent) Otey was the fourth of five daughters born to the James Randal Kents. In 1854 she assisted her father in drawing the plans for Walnut Spring. Kent lost those original plans, however, and later improvised at the home site, sketching in the dirt with his walking stick what he remembered of Mary Louisa's approved specifications. Apparently she was pleased with the home when it was completed, though she initially had wanted a larger front hall and a winding staircase.

25 James Otey Patterson (b. 1886) was the son of Robert M. Patterson and Mary Gordon Otey. He studied to be a Jesuit priest but died before actually taking holy orders.

26 Otey hung hog meat, primarily hams and shoulders, in his smokehouse, where hickory kindling was burned in a woodstove to produce the smoke that would flavor the meat.

27 Otey refers to putting salt out for his livestock.

28 Otey periodically had timber cut on his Brush Mountain property both for his own use on the farm and for sale. Evidently Mr. Hall operated a sawmill near Walnut Spring.

29 S. A. Ford was obviously someone to whom Otey had sold cabbage when he went to Bramwell, West Virginia, earlier in the month.

30 Margaret Gordon (Kent) Cowan.

day with which she was very stingy as she would not let me take Mrs. Carey much of it.

Monday, January 21 It has been very cold today and I have not gotten much done. I put old Belle and colt in the old stable and let cattle into straw rick. I have one little lamb; it came yesterday.

Tuesday, January 22 Mamma and Cloyd got back from the River. They had a very pleasant visit. I sorted the apples out today and put up some blinds Aunt Margie sent me. I got a letter from Bob Holmes about the horses.

Wednesday, January 23 I went to town, saw Mathers about Walnut lumber. Paid Alex Black[31] $21.00 cabbage money. Got buckwheat and came by Col. Newlee's[32] after some Buckwheat for Cloyd. Mrs. George Kanode[33] was buried this evening.

Thursday, January 24 It has been raining a little all day. I got 7 saw logs into the mill to saw for Mr. J. P. Linkous.[34] I put good steeple on grainery today. Some rogue had been stealing my wheat.

Friday, January 25 I was out to town. Took Buckwheat back as it was "no good." Sent Grant to Col. Newlee's; got 1 bushel. I was at Houston's[35] to look at a pair of horses – liked one of

31 Alexander "Alex" Black (1857–1935) was the eldest of the four children of Dr. Harvey Black and Mary Irby Kent. In 1881 Alex Black married Elizabeth Kent "Lizzie" Otey (1859–1925), Otey's "middle" sister. Perhaps Otey paid the $21.00 to Alex Black to satisfy a percentage of his "truck" sales that he owed his sister Lizzie.

32 Robert G. Newlee was a Blacksburg native who had distinguished himself with the Confederate forces during the Civil War. In 1862 Dr. Harvey Black called Newlee "the best Captain" in his regiment. When Newlee made plans to return to Blacksburg, Dr. Black told his wife, "He will be a good man in the neighborhood in case of any difficulty" (Glenn L. McMullen, ed. *The Civil War Letters of Dr. Harvey Black* [Baltimore: Butternut and Blue, 1995], p. 27). Newlee's Company L, comprised largely of men from the Blacksburg section of Montgomery County, was part of the famous Stonewall Brigade.

33 Margaret Kanode, the wife of George Kanode (b. 1823), who operated Kanode's Mill, a grist mill located near McDonald's Bridge on what is now Glade Road. (Formerly, Glade Road was called Tom's Creek Road and before that, Kanode's Mill Road.)

34 Josephus Price "Joe" Linkous (1832–1893) was the son of Henry Linkous, Jr. and Frances "Fanny" Shell. In 1890 he married Frances Armentrout (1843–1925).

35 John D. Houston, Martha C. Houston, and Mary V. Houston owned a farm known as the "Big Spring Tract," bordered by V.A.M.C. on the north

them very much. Did not sell Walnut lumber to College.

Saturday, January 26 It has rained hard all day. But I have managed to keep very busy. I picked out the rest of the apples. Smoked the meat. Fed the chickens. And took a good bath this evening.

Sunday, January 27 Raining yet. I spent most of the AM reading and talking to Pierce about the Bible. Lula and I walked up to Mr. Wall's this afternoon. Got some good cider and found Jim Evans there to see Mary Jane.[36]

Monday, January 28 I salted all the stock. Helped Pierce haul out the last two loads of fodder. Stopped at sawmill to see Mr. Hall. Put 3 cows in old stable and fed them Cabbage and Turnips. It has been right cold all day. Ground not frozen hard.

Tuesday, January 29 I went to court today. It was very cold and the ground very rough. A big crowd out. I had several men to try to sell me horses. I rode over with Bird Linkous and his son Walter.[37] Took dinner with the Methodist Episcopal Church[38] girls, had lots of fun.

Wednesday, January 30 A beautiful day. I went skating with Lou and

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and east and by Smithfield, the historic Preston estate, on the north and west. This tract was originally conveyed to Emily S. Houston in 1884 by David McNutt Cloyd, Sr., Robert Craig Kent, and David Cloyd Kent.

36 James F. Evans (1858–1910) was the son of George F. Evans (1811–1895) and Ella E. Evans (1828–1894). He married Mary Jane Wall (1867–1952), the daughter of Pharis Wall and Sarah Elizabeth Keister. They owned a farm bordering Walnut Spring to the south on what is now Price's Fork Road.

37 The son of Henry Linkous, Jr. and "Fanny" Shell, Burgess Riley "Bird" Linkous (1827–1902) operated Linkous's Store, which was located on the corner of present Price's Fork and Merrimac Roads. In 1865 he married Mary Elizabeth Monroe (1844–1921); his sons, Francis Clayton Linkous (b. 1868), who married Blanche Klein, and Houston Monroe Linkous (1871–1948), who never married, later operated the store. Walter J. Linkous (1866–1909) was the eldest of Burgess and Mary Linkous's ten children. He married Ada Powers.

38 In 1829 the national Methodist Church split to form two new entities, the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Protestant Church, and in 1844 the Methodist Episcopal Church divided into the Methodist Episcopal Church North and the Methodist Episcopal Church South. The church to which Otey refers was, officially, the Christiansburg Methodist Episcopal Church South, otherwise known as St. Paul's Methodist Church, then located in the building on Franklin Street now occupied by the McNeil Realty Company.

Miles. Rode over to the Forks[39] this evening and settled with Ras Price and Overstreet.[40]

Thursday, January 31 Is very cold morning. But turned out to be a very pretty day. Pat Preston[41] came and spent the day with Papa.

Friday, February 1 I killed a beef. Put cattle in field to hay. Fed cows turnips. It has been rather cold today.

Saturday, February 2 I drove up to town, took Lulu with me. We had a very pleasant day. I saw all of Miss Lizzie Black's[42] wedding cakes. I took the Black horse of Houston's to send to Philadelphia.

Sunday, February 3 Has been a beautiful day. Not one of us went to church. Pat Preston came to breakfast. Dr. Kent Black spent last night with us. Cloyd came up and took dinner with us. He had come from the River yesterday. Said Lizzie Cowan[43] was sick in bed.

Monday, February 4 I went down to

39 Located less than a mile from Walnut Spring to the southwest, Price's Fork (originally Price's Forks) is the largest of several communities in the immediate area. Price's Fork was established in the mid-eighteenth century and named for the Prices who settled there. The community is located at a place where seven roads (or forks) joined together, and legend has it that originally a family of Prices lived on every corner of the fledgling village.

40 Erastus "Ras" Price (1841–1926) was the son of Ralph and Catherine Price. He married Mary Ann Surface (1847–1928), the daughter of Andrew J. Surface and Sarah Margaret Snider. Erastus Price served with the Confederate forces and returned to his farm located behind the present M&M Garage on Price's Fork Road.

Albert Tillman Overstreet was the son of Tillman C. Overstreet and Virginia Jewell. In 1892 he married Mary Catherine Snider (1868–1917), the daughter of William Patterson "Pat" Snider and Zipporah Harless.

41 James Patton Preston (1845–1911), the son of William Ballard Preston and Lucinda Staples Redd and the grandson of Governor James Patton Preston. The Prestons lived at Smithfield, just west of the present Virginia Tech Duck Pond. James Patton Preston served with the Confederate army and returned to spend most of the remainder of his life in Blacksburg.

42 Elizabeth Arabella "Lizzie" Black (1855–1942) was the daughter of the Harvey Blacks and the second wife of Dr. John S. Apperson (1837–1908), whom she married on February 5, 1889. Dr. Black was very much a mentor to his future son-in-law, who was his junior by a decade, guiding Dr. Apperson's medical education throughout the Civil War.

43 Elizabeth "Lizzie" Cowan (b. 1870), the elder daughter of John Thomas Cowan and Margaret Gordon Kent. She married John Putnam Adams (b. 1866) in 1898.

Cloyd's with Pat Preston. Came back by mill[44] and found where some of my wheat had gone. Got the last of the Oak logs to mill this evening. It has been a beautiful day – like Spring.

Tuesday, February 5 Papa, Mamma, Lou and myself all went up to town to Miss Lizzie Black's wedding. She and Dr. Apperson both looked splendid. I took Miss Apperson[45] to the church and was with her most of the evening at Alex's. I liked her very much. Alex and Liz gave the bride a splendid supper.

Wednesday, February 6 We are all at Alex's, had a splendid breakfast. I drove up to Col. Palmer's[46] after Papa and Mamma. Mrs. Allen, Miss Apperson, and Hal left for the depot[47] and I came home alone as it was too cold for the rest.

Thursday, February 7 The Sawmill men left today. My wagon helped to take them away. Last night was a bitter cold night and it has been too cold all day for me to go after Mamma; a lamb to take in my room as it was nearly dead.

Friday, February 8 Went to Blacksburg after Mamma and Papa. Got check to buy horses – $285 from Mr. Ned Holmes. Got Alex to order me 6 bushels of clover seed and 3 bushels orchard grass seed.[48] Gave

44 Price's Fork Mill, a steam-operated grist mill located just east of the site on Price's Fork Road now occupied by Snuffy's General Store.

45 One of the daughters of Dr. John S. Apperson and his first wife Ellen Victoria Hull.

46 "Mountain View," the summer home of Colonel William H. Palmer, located just north of the Blacksburg Presbyterian Church and now owned by Mr. and Mrs. Robert M. Cranwell. The Palmers' main residence was in Richmond.

47 The Christiansburg Railway Station at Cambria. Blacksburg did not have railway service until 1904, when the Virginia Anthracite and Railway Company completed construction of a railway spurline from Cambria to Blacksburg. The railway company had previously completed a spur from Cambria to Merrimac, three and one-half miles southwest of Blacksburg, to serve the coal mines there (as well as another spur to the iron mine at Kingston, southeast of Christiansburg), and it was actually the Merrimac line that was extended to Blacksburg. A rough two-room depot was constructed at the Blacksburg terminal at Washington Street, south of Main Street and just southwest of Kipps's Hotel. One could then ride from Cambria to Blacksburg for thirty-five cents; the fare was raised to fifty cents if one had baggage. Three mail trains a day provided three daily deliveries of mail to V.P.I. and its students. Prior to 1904, however, people, packages, mail, livestock, and everything else that traveled by rail in the Blacksburg area did so from Cambria or Vicker's Switch or one of several other very small outlying stations or flagstop depots.

48 Alexander Black owned the A. Black Company, a general store located at 104 Main Street next to the Bank of Blacksburg. The bank stood on

him check for $34.91 to get it with.

Saturday, February 9 I bought Houston's black horse at $140. And Dr. Kent Black's Bay Mare at $115. Brought them home this evening. Dr. Kent Black was not very well today. Took dinner at Alex's – had a good one as they always have. Also got a puzzle in today's mail that amused us a good deal.

Sunday, February 10 This is a beautiful Sunday morning and Papa and Mamma and myself are all that are here. Lulu is visiting the Thomas girls.[49] Mamma and I walked down to Cloyd's after dinner. Found all well.

Monday, February 11 Snow on the ground about an inch. I shelled 3 bushels of corn and sent 10 bushels of wheat to Old Jimmie Long.[50] Brought Frank Bell's[51] cattle to the hay. Looked at Oat field to see how much to do.

Tuesday, February 12 I took Cloyd some beef and a white pudding. Let Bent Long[52] have 3 bushels of Oats. Papa has been up at Mr. Wall's all day with old Mrs. Keister[53] who is very ill.

the corner of Main and Roanoke Streets, across Roanoke Street from the present downtown office of the National Bank of Blacksburg. Alex Black was the first president of the Bank of Blacksburg, which became the National Bank of Blacksburg in 1922, and held that position for forty-six years. The A. Black Company had earlier been the Black and Payne Company; it was called the Black-Logan Company after Charles P. Logan bought out Alex Black.

49 Ellen May "Nellie" Thomas (1869–1959) and Minnie Montgomery Thomas (b. 1871), the daughters of Susan Boyd Howe (1835–1904) and John Montgomery Thomas (1824–1908). In 1889 Nellie Thomas married J. Kyle Robinson (b. 1903).

50 James Long, Sr. (1811–1889), the son of John Henry Long and Maria Whitesell. He first married Mary Harless, the daughter of John Phillip Harless and Mary "Polly" Price, and later Nancy Sarver, the daughter of John Sarver and Mary "Polly" (Price) Harless. He owned a 99¼-acre farm between what is now Brooksfield Road, south of the Zach Price/James R. Long Cemetery, and Keister's Branch Road. All the Longs mentioned in Otey's diaries are descendants of this James Long.

51 Francis "Frank" Bell (1864–1939)was the son of Francis Bell (1820–1898) and Sarah James Kent (1824–1884), the daughter of James Randal Kent and Mary Gordon Cloyd. Otey kept some of Frank Bell's cattle for him at Walnut Spring.

52 Kent Bentley Long (1858–1940), the son of William Henry Long and Rebecca Tolbert and the grandson of James Long, Sr. and his first wife Mary Harless. Bent Long married Minnie Lee Custard, the daughter of Robert M. Custard and Arminta Ellen Wall.

53 Margaret Elizabeth (Kipps) Keister (1800–1889), the daughter of John Michael Kipps, Jr. and Catherine Millenberger. In 1819 she married Samuel

Mr. Carey and I brought in a load of turnips for cows.

Wednesday, February 13 Rather cold. Sent Pierce to Vicker's Switch with 351 bushels of coal.[54] Mr. Carey and I fed cattle and brought down a load of lumber. Got an invitation to Capt. Heth's[55] to a party next Wednesday, 20th.

Thursday, February 14 It is a beautiful day. I put a load of hay in barn. Fixed barrel to put cornbeef in – fed cows turnips. Old Mrs. Keister died about 1 o'clock AM. She was 88 years old.

Friday, February 15 Cloudy all day. I went up to town after Lula. Found Alex and Lizzie moved in the house[56] they traded for. Got a letter from Fred Kirkus.[57]

Saturday, February 16 A heavy sleet and the trees are breaking with it. Papa, Cloyd, Mr. Carey, and I walked up to Mrs. Keister's burial. There were not many out as the day was very bad. Finny and Cox are in the parlor now and I am waiting for them to go so I can go to bed. Grant left today and I had to correct him.

Sunday, February 17 The young men

Cook (1790–before 1830), and in 1830 she married John P. Keister (b. 1805).

54 This was undoubtedly coal from Otey's coal mines on Brush Mountain near the northern extreme of his property.

55 The father of Stockton Hammet Heth and Clement Craig Heth, Captain Stockton Heth owned Whitethorne, an antebellum home and large estate west of Blacksburg that included what is now the Hethwood residential development. In 2001 Henry Heth, Clement Heth's son, and Anne Heth Connor, Henry Heth's daughter, conveyed the remaining Heth property to Virginia Tech through a partial sale/partial gift transaction.

56 In 1892 the Alexander Blacks built the large Victorian home on Main Street that, until recently, was occupied by McCoy Funeral Home. They lived there for the remainder of their lives. Earlier the Blacks lived in another house on the same site, which they acquired in 1889.

57 Like his father, Dr. William Kirkus, Dr. Frederick Maurice Kirkus was an Episcopal priest. He served as rector of Trinity Episcopal Church in Wilmington, Delaware, for twenty-five years. Otey and Fred Kirkus were lifelong friends.

58 Christina "Criss" Kyle and her husband Calvin "Cal" Kyle, a former slave of Dr. Otey's. The Virginia census reveals that Calvin Kyle was 38 years old in 1880. Also in his household at that time were his wife, Christina, then 39; James Jackson and B. Henderson, his nephews; and Mary Jackson and Rachel Henderson, his nieces. Mary Jackson later married Jackson "Jack" Long.

The Calvin Kyle family lived on Otey's land on the north side of present Glade Road near where Earl G. Smith's home is now located, just northwest of Fairview Community Church. Otey twice deeded the house in

did not leave. They are here this AM. I gave up my room for them and slept in Lula's room. It has been quite warm all day.

Monday, February 18 It is raining hard. The creek is very high. Higher than it has been for years. Aunt Criss and Uncle Cal[58] got very mad about wheat.

Tuesday, February 19 Very cold, ice all over the meadow. I have been to town, got a good mail. Got a nice letter from Miss Lillian LaPlace.[59]

Wednesday, February 20 We went to Blacksburg, got the two Thomas girls and we all went to Capt. Heth's to a big party. We had a delightful time – danced until sun-up – took breakfast and came home.

Thursday, February 21 Archie Payne[60] came home with us today. The Jersey[61] was so full, I got out and came home with Mr. Carey in the farm wagon. I got a sofa for the parlor today at Tallant's.[62] I also lost my purse with about $10.00 in it.

Friday, February 22 I got Cloyd's buggy and took Archie Payne back to the depot. Went to look for my purse but did not find it. I saw the girls on the train from Capt. Heth's going to Roanoke for the German.[63]

Saturday, February 23 It has been cold all day. I took Cloyd's buggy back.

which the Kyles lived and 5¼ acres around it to Calvin Kyle, first around 1900 and again in 1920. He also received the house and land back twice, in 1913 and in 1924, in return for satisfying Kyle's debts to other parties. In 1924 Otey made an agreement with Kyle that Kyle, by then a widower, could continue to live in the house and that Otey would care for him and provide for his needs for the rest of his life.

On July 29, 1927, not long before his death, Calvin Kyle was baptized in the stretch of Tom's Creek that runs through Walnut Spring. The baptism was performed by Rev. Royal Horston of Christiansburg, with J.C. Wade, John Page, and Wayman Williams assisting. Choirs from both Blacksburg and Wake Forest sang during the ceremony.

59 Lillian LaPlace was a friend of Otey's, perhaps a romantic interest. There is a lovely picture of her in an old photograph album at Walnut Spring. The back of her photograph bears the inscription "Lillian LaPlace, New York City, 1890."

60 Perhaps one of the Paynes of Giles County with whom Otey was friendly. Several members of that Payne family attended V.A.M.C. during the 1880s.

61 A light carriage of the kind originally used in New Jersey.

62 A Christiansburg furniture store whose proprietor, Henry K. Tallant (1859–1935), married Caroline Hampton "Callie" Hoge (1864–1953), the younger sister of Louisa Virginia Otey's husband, John Hampton Hoge.

63 The "german," narrowly defined, was a type of dance "figure," with many variations, that originated in Germany and was introduced in the United States in New York City in the 1840s. The dance was done in small groups

Came by Criss[64] to see about wheat. Went to town this eve. Ordered a car to take my horses to Philadelphia in. Paid Mr. Hall $25.00 on Saw bill. The boys wanted me to stay to the hop[65] tonight but I could not.

Sunday, February 24 This has been a very cold day, about the coldest we have had. Snowing some this evening. Papa, Mamma, Lulu and myself have been at home all day. The College boys we expected did not come. I expect to start to Philadelphia tomorrow with my horses. I trust it is God's will to give me a pleasant journey.

Monday, February 25 I went to Christiansburg, loaded my horses and they went off on the evening train. I followed on the mail train at 1 o'clock that night.

Tuesday, February 26 Got to Lynchburg about 6 o'clock AM, stayed there until 11. Called on Jim Otey[66] with my New York Friend. I saw a Negro man that was run over by the train. We got to Charlottesville about 2 and I got on the train with my horses.

Wednesday, February 27 In Alexandria with my horses. Came through Washington, Baltimore and got to Philadelphia at 6 o'clock that evening.

Lillian La Place, whom Otey went to see in Elizabeth, Pennsylvania, on March 1, 1889.

Thursday, February 28 In Philadelphia. Took Mr. Holmes to see his horses. He was most pleased with them. I came back out to Mamie's[67] that evening.

Friday, March 1 I went to the city

and required a "leader" to lead the dance maneuvers. In practice, though, a "german," like a cotillion, was any formal dance.

64 Christina Kyle.

65 The V.A.M.C. cadets often put on "hops," dances less formal than the germans and cotillions, which, as a rule, were held no more than four times a year.

66 A relative with the same name as Otey.

67 The home of Mary Gordon (Otey) Patterson, Robert M. Patterson, and their five children. The Pattersons lived at 23 Gowen Avenue in the Mt. Airy section of Philadelphia. Later they moved to 16 McPherson Avenue, also in Mt. Airy.

from Mamie's. Turned the horses over to Mr. Holmes' man. Did some shopping. Came back to Robert M. Patterson's, got on the big "Dike" and went up to Elizabeth to see Miss LaPlace.[68]

Saturday, March 2 At Mr. LaPlace's in Elizabeth. Miss LaPlace came to the train with me at 9 o'clock. I came on back to Philadelphia and went to Robert M. Patterson's. Went back into the city that evening and had a good time looking around and shopping.

Sunday, March 3 At Robert M. Patterson's. I stayed with Mary[69] and Otey while all the rest went to church. I did intend to go to Annapolis to see Fred Kirkus but did not as I missed my train. I left there on the eleven o'clock train that night for Washington.

Monday, March 4 In Washington and Oh, what a crowd.[70] I took breakfast at the St. James.[71] Capt. Conrad[72] came for me at 8:30 and I joined his party at 925 Pennsylvania Avenue. Mrs. Conrad, Emma, Berry[73] and myself stood in the rain all day looking at the troops pass. We came back to College Station that night and Oh! what a time we had getting through the rain.

Tuesday, March 5 At Maryland Col-

68 Lillian LaPlace lived in Elizabeth, Pennsylvania, which is located south of Pittsburgh on the banks of the Monongahela River. Otey refers to the river as the big "Dike."

69 Mary Phelan Patterson (b. 1884) was the daughter of Robert and Mary Patterson. She eventually became mother superior of the Manhattansville Convent of the Sacred Heart in New York City.

70 Benjamin Harrison was inaugurated as twenty-third President of the United States on March 4, 1889. Despite a relentless rain, Otey was part of what at the time was the largest crowd ever to assemble in the nation's capital. Harrison's one term in the White House was sandwiched between Grover Cleveland's two separate administrations.

71 The St. James Hotel was located at the corner of Pennsylvania Avenue and 6th Street, N.W.

72 Thomas Nelson Conrad (1831–1905), who from 1882 until 1886 served as president of V.A.M.C. and earlier was president of Preston and Olin Institute. He was the only person to hold the presidency at both Blacksburg schools. Conrad had been a chaplain and later a scout (spy) with the Confederate forces during the Civil War. After leaving V.A.M.C., he became professor of agriculture and chairman of the faculty at the Maryland Agricultural College at College Station (now College Park), Maryland. The Maryland Agricultural College became Maryland State College, which, in turn, became the University of Maryland.

73 Mrs. Emma Conrad (1845–1900), her daughter Emma, who was a close friend of Louisa Otey's, and her son Berry.

lege all day with Em, Nelson, Frank,[74] Berry, Mrs. and Capt. Conrad. I have enjoyed the day so much. Nelson took me to see the Jersey stock and the Experimental Station.

Wednesday, March 6 Em, Berry, Nelson, and I came into Washington, took breakfast and went back to Depot to see Em and some other gals off to school. Nelson, Berry and I went all over the Capitol. I enjoyed it very much. At 11:30 Berry and I took train, he for Baltimore and I for Annapolis to see Fred.

Thursday, March 7 In Annapolis. Fred has taken me to see many wonderful things. The Navy Yard, on board of ship, on top of the Capitol and I saw Mrs. Handy. I came back to Washington on the 4 o'clock train. Got to Washington about 6. I called on Miss Ada Kirkus[75] at Mr. Will Kirkus'. I enjoyed it so much as they were so glad to see me.

Friday, March 8 In Lynchburg for breakfast on my way home. I talked to Dr. Sternes most of the way up to Christiansburg. I started over to Blacksburg with Grissom but met Mr. Carey and came home with him. I found all well and happy at home. Sam Bell[76] was here when I got here.

Saturday, March 9 At home and glad to be here as I am so tired. Sam, Lou and myself have stayed indoors most of the day. Cloyd came up and went on to town. Brought the mail in which was a nice letter from Miss LaPlace.

...

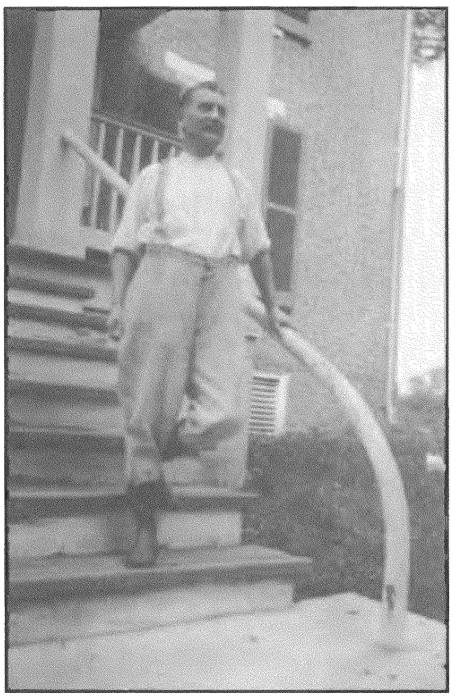
Thursday, March 14 I put Albert Overstreet to sowing clover seed with little oxen. Frank Bell came, was so pleased at the way his cattle looked. Lizzie Black and Lulu came down this evening.

Friday, March 15 As it is raining I cannot plow. But I have fixed my hams and shoulders down in ashes and got some other little odd jobs off of hand.

74 Thomas Nelson Conrad, Jr. (1868–1911) and Frank Conrad.

75 Ada Kirkus was the daughter of Dr. William Kirkus and the sister of Fred Kirkus and Alfred R. Kirkus, later a highly successful realtor in Brooklyn, New York.

76 Samuel Hays Bell (1858–1903), the twin brother of James Randal Kent Bell and the son of Francis Bell and Sarah James Kent.



James Armistead Otey, circa 1904, dressed for the farm.

1890

I did not get to keep up my diary I commenced. But as I think it is very interesting, will commence again in 1890.

Wednesday, January 1 I am at J.R.K. Bell's home in Robinson Tract, Pulaski County. Mary Lou Bell and myself came up to New Year's dinner with Jim and Lida.[1] Got up too late for dinner as the day was not good and we had been going to so many dances we did not have much energy left.

Thursday, January 2 We came back to Rockwood.[2] Frank and Nell had gotten back from Cousin Ellie's. Little Mary Bell was so sweet and became fond of me; let me put her clothes on her this AM.[3]

Friday, January 3 I came home by

1 The twin of Samuel Hays Bell, James Randal Kent Bell (1858–1922) was the son of Francis and Sarah Bell. In 1889 he married Lida Howell Whitsitt (1864–1902), his second wife, the daughter of Francis Joseph Whitsitt and Eliza Peck. They lived at Mountain Home six miles north of Pulaski in the Robinson Tract section of Pulaski County. J. R. K. Bell's parents gave him Mountain Home when he married his first wife Maria L. Sedgwick (1861–1887). When Francis Bell and Sarah James Kent first married, they lived in Augusta County, but they soon moved near her home and built Mountain Home on land given them by her father James Randal Kent. They later built Rockwood, to which they moved in 1876.

2 Rockwood is located west of Dublin, off state Route 100, and is presently owned by Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Hays Bell, Jr. Sam Bell is the great grandson of Francis Bell and Sarah James Kent.

3 Cousin Ellie is Ellen M. (Howe) Kent, the wife of Joseph Gordon Kent and the mother of Ellen Gordon "Nellie" (Kent) Bell (1867–1941), who married Francis "Frank" Bell in 1889. The Joseph Gordon Kents lived at Oak Shade, the Kent homeplace just outside Dublin on present Kent Farm Road. Frank and Nellie Bell were visiting his father, Francis Bell, Sr., who

way of Horseshoe[4] – crossed at North of Creek. I found all well when I got home. Jim Lovan and Wister[5] had plowed a good deal.

Saturday, January 4 I hung the meat and salted the stock and worked a little at everything. It is a beautiful day.

...

Wednesday, January 8 I went up to field where Jim Lovan and John Long[6] were cutting briars and burnt briars until 12 when I went to Forks and mailed a letter to Papa in Philadelphia with check for $25.00. Cousin Ike Buford[7] came by. Go in to look at Bird Linkous's cattle.

Thursday, January 9 I went up to town, got lots of nice mail. It was a beautiful day and the Peach trees had bloom on them.

Friday, January 10 Mr. Wall got corn, 23 bushels, in pay for an old cow I bought from him.

Saturday, January 11 I fixed up my wagon horse. Fed my two calves Buck and Hef. Wister and Jim Lovan finished plowing field at Katie Price's.

---

lived at Rockwood until his death in 1898. For several years after their marriage Frank and Nellie lived in a house on the Miller place, a farm then owned by Francis Bell, Sr. and now owned by Courtland Spotts, and it was here that their first four children were born. The Frank Bells moved to Rockwood in the late 1890s, lived there the remainder of their lives; they celebrated their golden wedding anniversary at Rockwood in 1939.

"Little Mary Bell" is Mary Peck Bell (1887–1967), the daughter of James Randal Kent Bell and Maria L. Sedgwick.

4 Otey refers here to farm land located on the south side of the New River where the river curves, making the shape of a horseshoe. The "Horseshoe" is located across the river from the estate owned by the Kents and later the Cowans and the adjacent area just to the west that is known as Buchanan's Bottom. John Buchanan surveyed the whole region for James Patton in 1745, thereby helping to secure a land grant from the British government to a tract of approximately 100,000 acres.

5 Robert Wister Long (1875–after 1936), the son of James Robert "Jimmie" Long and Lucinda Ekiss. In 1898 he married Sarah Elizabeth Price (1876–1945), the daughter of Zachariah "Zach" Price and Arminta Price.

6 John L. "Johnnie" Long (1854–1922), the son of James Long, Sr. and his second wife, Nancy Sarver, and the brother of James Robert, Kizrah, Noah, Henry Lewis, Jacob, Debbie, and Delila Long. His father and most of his siblings are mentioned in the diaries.

7 Isaac Henry "Ike" Buford (b. 1839), who in 1859 married Sarah McGavock "Sallie" Kent (1839–1891), the daughter of Elizabeth Cloyd (1816–1869), Mary Gordon Cloyd's sister, and David Fenton Kent (1807–1850), James Randal Kent's brother.

Sunday, January 12 Mamma, Cousin Liz[8] and myself drove out to church. Mr. Burnett[9] preached such a good sermon. We went to Alex's for dinner and had a good one too. We drove home after 5 o'clock and as the road was so good we came very quickly. Mamma said she enjoyed the ride so much.

Monday, January 13 I went out with Jim Lovan to feed cattle and got wet as it rained a warm summer rain. I helped Bent Long to start plank fence along road by old orchard. I went to mountain field and got some posts. Cloyd was here when I came back. He took dinner with us. I drove Fred to town in Cart for first time. He is only two years old and drives beautifully. I went after Mamma's specks.

Tuesday, January 14 I went to get up a club for the Constitution,[10] got about 10. Bird Linkous came home with me to buy my beef, but I did not sell as he would not give me what I thought it was worth. He came in and spent the evening.

Wednesday, January 15 I went to the Christiansburg depot on business. Drove Colonel and Mary (Alex's mare) in Jersey wagon. Came back by Blacksburg. It is a pretty day.

Thursday, January 16 I killed two large hogs today. They were very fat as it has been so warm I could not kill them sooner. I have killed 22 hogs this winter. Jim Lovan and I put tongue in little wagon. Also dug post holes.

Friday, January 17 I sent my hogs to Linkous and Kipps.[11] Went to Bent Olinger's[12] burying. Called by Mr.

8 Mentioned several times in 1890 and 1891, Lizzie Holt ("Cousin Liz") appears to have been an Otey relative who lived at Walnut Spring and, when needed, helped with both cooking and housekeeping.

9 Nathaniel C. Burnett was pastor of the Blacksburg Baptist Church from 1884 until 1887 and again from 1890 until 1894. When Rev. Burnett assumed the pastorate in 1884, he also served four other churches.

10 The constitution to which Otey refers is undoubtedly that of the Price's Fork Farmers' Alliance, founded in 1890. In the 1880s, groups known as farmers' alliances, which were really political action groups, sprang up all over the country among American farmers who were disturbed about crop failures, falling prices, and poor marketing and credit facilities. Such alliances tried to influence ongoing legislation pertaining to agriculture in both state and national legislative bodies. Otey was instrumental in the formation of the chapter in Price's Fork, and he served as the organization's "business agent" and sometimes presided at meetings when the actual president, James F. Evans, could not attend. Otey also served as secretary of the Montgomery County Farmers' Alliance.

11 John Taylor Kipps (b. 1868), who married Nannie L. Smith (1865–1953), the daughter of Rev. Samuel Rufus Smith and Clementine Reynolds, owned

Evans and Mary and Ollie[13] took the Constitution. I shelled 2 bushels of corn and sent it to mill and got 6 brooms from Mr. John McDonald[14] for $1.00.

Saturday, January 18 I rode all day with Bird Linkous looking at some "Mill Stone" property in Pulaski Co. I rode bay colt (Mary). We left our horses on this side of the river and climbed on top of the mountain on the other side. Did not get home until after dark.

Sunday, January 19 We did not go to church. I read one of Rev. T. DeWitt Johnson's sermons. We expected Alex and Liz down; they did not come. It rained a little this evening. Did not hear from Papa and Lou in the mail.

Monday, January 20 Has been raining a little today. I was busy picking over the apples when who should drive up but Mr. and Mrs. Yancey. They spent several hours and we tried to keep them all night, as the weather looked so threatening. Mrs. Yancey is quite pretty and attractive.

Tuesday, January 21 I rode to Christiansburg to call on Miss Shanks[15] – did not see her as she was out. Called on Sallie Jordan and Cousin Bell gave me a nice lunch. I came back by Blacksburg – got a nice letter and photo and

a farm on what is now Merrimac Road near New St. Peter's Lutheran Church (now St. Michael's Lutheran Church). John Kipps was the father of Michael Smith Kipps (1900–1996), Mae Frances Kipps (1902–1997), and Florence H. "Pat" Kipps (1903–1982). Michael Kipps was an associate professor of agronomy at Virginia Tech, and Mae and Florence Kipps taught at Blacksburg High School for more than forty years. The new Kipps Elementary School on Price's Fork Road is named for the Kipps sisters.

12 William Bentley Olinger (1858–1890) was the son of John Olinger (b. 1819) and Mary Elizabeth Price (b. 1831) and the brother of Nick Olinger. He married Josie Wauless.

13 Mary E. Evans (1854–1902) and Ollie J. Evans (1855–1899) were the daughters of George and Ellie Evans. Neither ever married. The Mr. Evans mentioned here is their father.

14 John Edward McDonald (b. 1841), the son of Edward McDonald (b. 1812) and Catherine Sesler (b. 1813). In 1866 John McDonald married Mandola Shufflebayer. They had four children, Holman Jackson, Mary Catherine, Montgomery Warren, and David Edward.

15 A member of the Shanks family of Salem, Virginia, Miss Shanks was related to Sue Shanks (1849–1925), who married Archer Allen Phlegar, and to Lt. David Carey Shanks, Jr. (b. 1861), who became commandant of cadets and professor of military science and tactics at V.A.M.C. in 1894. David C. Shanks was ultimately promoted to general, and it was he for whom the troop ship *U.S.S. Shanks* was named.

one of Charlie. Got an invitation to Miss Edith Kirkus's[16] marriage on 5th of Feb. Lizzie and Alex had gone to Richmond. Got a nice letter from Mamie and Lulu.

Wednesday, January 22 Rather cold. I tried to run water from Spring to ice pond. Got out post fence around old orchard. Bought 2 calves from Staples,[17] let him have 2 sheep and some [...].

Thursday, January 23 Cold and snowing a little. We put up posts for plank fence. Bent Long and Jim Lovan and I. Cloyd took dinner with us today. I let Henry Ekiss[18] have 50 shocks of fodder @.10.[19]

...

Sunday, January 26 Cloyd and I drove up to town to church. I went home with Minnie Thomas. Mr. and Mrs. Robinson[20] were out – there was also a Miss Waugh. Miss Waugh and I walked into town together at 8 o'clock. A great many people were sick in town with *La grippe*.[21]

...

Tuesday, January 28 Went to Christiansburg to court. Sold Buck an ox for $39.37, weighed 1,221.2 lbs. at 3¼c[22]. Big crowd out and a few good horns sold. Warm and bright day.

Wednesday, January 29 Worked on shed back of crib. Emmett Long[23] came for Mr. Carey's things. Mr. Lovan and wife are both sick and two children. Rained this evening.

Thursday, January 30 Mr. P. Price, O.K. Keister[24] and myself were ordered by court to examine Hughey

16 Fred Kirkus's sister.

17 Ballard Staples Price (1853–1914) was the son of Enos Elias Price and Sarah Elizabeth Cromer. In 1880 he married Mary Catherine "Molly" Shell (1864–1956), the daughter of Hiram Shell and Louemma Rebecca Hodge. Staples owned and operated the Brush Mountain millstone quarry, a small general store, and the only post office ever established at Tom's Creek.

18 Henry Michael Ekiss (1834–1890), the son of John P. and Catherine Ekiss. In 1856 he married Harriet Long (1835–after 1900), the daughter of James Long, Sr. and his first wife, Mary Harless.

19 Otey means 10 cents per shock. He frequently sets down the price of what he buys or sells in this sort of abbreviated fashion.

20 Kyle and Nellie Robinson.

21 An archaic term for influenza.

22 Otey means 3¼ cents per pound.

23 Emmett Wesley Long (1873–1945), the son of James Robert "Jimmie" Long and Lucinda Ekiss. In 1893 he married Calle Gay Hatcher (1874–1939); he owned a farm along the New River in Radford.

24 Peter P. "Pete Hokey" Price (1867–1946) was the son of Noah Ezra Price (1845–1892) and Mary Hart Whitaker (1844–1920). In 1892 he married Mollie Brown Morris (1874–1962), the daughter of John William Morris

Price's[25] bridge and rock road and say what it was worth. We put it at $175.00. We had some fun getting it straight.

Friday, January 31 I rode Fred to Christiansburg. Took report over of bridge. Has been a pretty warm day.

Saturday, February 1 Raining. Had stables cleaned out. I killed a dog today for killing my lambs. Mr. Lovan, little baby and wife are very sick. I am having a time getting work done by Bittle Shutt,[26] Joel Clay, and Will Monroe.

Sunday, February 2 Cloudy all day – "groundhog" did not see his shadow. We did not go to church. I read one of Talmadge's sermons.

Monday, February 3 I salted cattle and found young cow with a calf. I went to Blacksburg this evening. Got a nice letter from Lillian. Heard that Mr. Bill Lewis was dead.

Tuesday, February 4 Beautiful day and all work has gone on very well. Henry Ekiss is very sick. Sent for doctor two or three times today. I fed Frank's cattle two loads of fodder today.

Wednesday, February 5 I was up to Mr. Evans a little while today. Went to see Henry Ekiss, he is very sick. I started the plows in upper meadow today. It is very hard plowing too.

Thursday, February 6 Rainy. I took Mr. Ekiss a basket of eatables. Went to town, got mail – nothing from Papa or Lou. Got a letter from Jim Kent[27] in N.Y. City.

Friday, February 7 Snowing and sleeting all day. I cleaned out ice house,[28] hoping to get some ice. More snow than we have had this winter.

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and Sarah Ann Surface. "Pete Hokey" owned a farm and general store located at the western end of present Old Creek Road.

Oscar Richard Keister (1834–1909) was the son of David Allen Keister (1812–1903) and Elizabeth Olinger (1812–1893). In 1855 he married Nancy Harless (1829–1903).

25 Hugh "Hughey" Price (1838–1907) was the son of Henry Price (1790–1867) and Mary Anna "Polly" Surface (1796–1868). He married Mary Henrietta "Maw Hughey" Stanger (1844–1928). "Hughey" Price inherited a portion of his parents' farm located at the western end of Walnut Spring, which he in turn left to his daughter Sallie and her husband, David Carey.

26 Eugene Bittle Shutt (1873–1936) was the son of William "Billy" and Elphronia Jane Shutt. In 1892 he married Harriet Belle Long (1860–1926), the daughter of William Henry Long and Rebecca Tolbert.

27 Possibly James Ligon Kent (b. 1867), the son of David Cloyd Kent and Elizabeth J. Ligon. In 1898 Jim Kent married Annie Donoho Bayliss (b. 1876), the daughter of O.E. Bayliss and Fannie Donoho.

28 A building where ice was stored in the winter to provide ice for consumption and refrigeration during the three other seasons. The icehouse at

Saturday, February 8 It has been a cold, wet day. I sent Will Monroe after the mail. Got two letters from Lillian, one from Frank Bell, & a lot of papers. Mrs. Fisher is sick, sent for Dr. Ribble.[29] Mr. Ekiss is a little better. Cousin Lizzie Holt got supper tonight as Lizzie Kanode is sick.

Sunday, February 9 Is a beautiful day. I did not get to church as we were without a cook and breakfast was so late that after I did what I had to do I could not get ready in time. Lizzie Kanode had a baby boy, so Walter tells me – Jesse Kanode.

Monday, February 10 This is a very pretty day. I tried the ice to see if it would do but there was not enough of it. I drove Fred and Mary into town in Spring wagon[30]; took Will Monroe with me. We got a nice long letter from Lulu. I also got a beautiful photo of Mary Cowan. The two I drove are only 3 yrs. old and drive beautifully.

Tuesday, February 11 I mailed a letter to Frank Bell at Forks, came back to Henry Ekiss's with Dr. Ribble. Henry was not any better. I salted cows, sheep, & horses. I saw Cloyd and I am sorry I could not go on note for him, but I can just make out to meet my own little debts. I got a note from Mr. Carey about pickles.

Wednesday, February 12 Finished shed back of barn today. Fixed up barrel for Mamie and two barrels of pickles to ship. It has been a beautiful day. Cousin Liz is improving in her cooking – got a very good dinner today.

Thursday, February 13 I took 2 barrels of pickles & Mamie's barrel to depot in little wagon. Poor Vick Davis's children got burned up today.

Friday, February 14 Mr. Henry Ekiss died today (this AM 3 o'clock) and was buried this evening at 4:30. I have been having barnyard cleaned up today.

Saturday, February 15 Have been packing up lumber. Sent wheat to Kanode's Mill. Went to town this eve, got nice long letter from Lillian. I drove "Fred" out in the

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Walnut Spring was located about fifty yards from the main house, just east of the back driveway. The Oteys had an ice pond, fed by a branch near the icehouse, which was shallow and therefore froze readily. Much of their ice came from the ice pond.

29 Descended from a long line of physicians, including Dr. Christopher Ribble, who served with George Washington during the Revolutionary War, Dr. Henry Dewey Ribble was a well-respected, albeit unconventional, local doctor. Dr. Ribble lived on present Shadow Lake Road at Sandy Mound, the house built by Dr. Christopher Ribble and later occupied by the William E. Hubbert family. The old Ribble house is now owned by Dr. Paul A. Distler.

30 A spring wagon is a four-wheeled wagon with springs used to carry both passengers and cargo.

"road cart." Beautiful evening, roads are muddy.

Sunday, February 16 It is a lovely day and we did not go to church as we were looking for Alex and Lizzie down. Cloyd came up and spent most of the day with us.

Monday, February 17 I am trimming the apple trees and Oh! what a job it is. I have Will Monroe plowing around the trees. Sweeney made the two small gates today.

Tuesday, February 18 Have had hands cleaning up new ground,[31] plowing little orchard & Sweeney made fattening coop in Poultry yard. Aunt Criss helped Mamma make my pickles to sell.

Wednesday, February 19 Had a big Thunderstorm last night. I was so sick in the night, had *Cholera Morbus*[32] & have been indoors all day as it was raining. Hands have been cleaning up new ground.

Thursday, February 20 I have been feeling splendid today, got a good many letters answered. Sent out for the mail. Got letters from Frank Bell, Lillian and Papa.

Friday, February 21 Cold and I hope I will get some ice this time. Have been fixing Colonel (Papa's horse) a plank floor in his stall to keep him clean and dry. Hands been at new ground.

Saturday, February 22 Cold and I got 4 loads of ice in the house, all I could get as it melted so fast. I drove Mary (Alex's mare) in the Sulky for the first time this eve. I got the mail; got a letter from Mamie & one from Lillian. Lillian is going to visit Mamie Tuesday. Liz had a sweet letter from Jennie Williams this evening. She is a lovely girl.

Sunday, February 23 Big snow on the ground this AM, about 3 or 4 inches deep. We did not go to church today. Lizzie the cook came back to the kitchen today.

Monday, February 24 Raining, snow all gone. Men cleaned out stables & fed cattle & got wood. I salted, went to Jimmie Long's[33] & Cloyd came home with me & took dinner. I fixed bed spring, had my hair cut & I fear have taken cold from it.

Tuesday, February 25 I went to court today, big crowd in town, raining like April. I came back by Blacksburg, had to go back to Alex Black's out of the storm.

Wednesday, February 26 I got home this AM from town where the storm kept me all night. I have a letter from Uncle John asking me to come to

31 Ground that has recently been cleared of brush, trees, stumps, etc.

32 Gastroenteritis.

33 James Robert "Jimmie" Long (1847–1924), the son of James Long, Sr. and Nancy Sarver. In 1871 he married Lucinda Ekiss (1851–1907), the daughter of John P. and Catherine Ekiss. They were the parents of Robert Wister, Emmett Wesley, Clarence, James Cloyd "Jim," Mamie Eleaf, and Alexander Black "Alex" Long.

see him this eve. I will go.

Thursday, February 27 At Mr. Cowan's. I found him at home & have had a pleasant visit. He is lonely in the big house all alone. We ate our meals at a little table in his room and I enjoyed them. He & Jim[34] gave me a pretty pair of slippers. We played a game of cards to see if I must come home or stay another night. I beat & came home very late.

Friday, February 28 Still raining, creek very high. Been cutting down trees in old orchard. Sent to Alex for 30 bushels of Oats; got big mail, nice long letter from Lillian.

Saturday, March 1 Cold. Cloyd came in. I went to town this eve. Got a good mail. Letters from Papa, Lou, Mamie; I also got a nice 12 page letter from Lillian, one from Lizzie Cowan, one from Jimmie Cowan. Mrs. Colonel Knight[35] has gotten back.

Sunday, March 2 Cold as "blue blazes"; we have been at home all day. I have written two long letters. I hope to get some more ice tomorrow. I found a sow today with eight pretty pigs.

Monday, March 3 We got the ice house nearly full of very pretty ice; had Cloyd's teams and my own. I had some fence built – this eve we tore down old cabin in the orchard. Mr. Lovan expects to move away tomorrow.

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Thursday, March 6 Rather cold. I have been over to Vicker's Switch with Bent Long today to see about getting some timber for crossties. Had a long, cold ride. Cloyd took dinner with us today. We are all well.

Friday, March 7 Cold and snowing. Got big mail this eve. Lou says she will be home in two weeks. Turned calves off wheat today.

Saturday, March 8 Rather cold. Snow all gone. Have been fixing fences, fed cattle twice today. Had big 4 horse load of hay this eve to do over Sunday. Vick's other child was buried today.

Sunday, March 9 Sunday. We, Cloyd, Mamma, and I, went up to town to hear Mr. Burnett. He preached a splendid sermon. I do love to hear him. We went to Alex Black's for dinner – they have a houseful. Col. & Mrs. Knight, Prof. & Mrs. Miles[36] & other boarders. Mamma and Cloyd remained up there; I came home, had a very pleasant ride, got here just at dark.

Monday, March 10 Snowing and raining. Had a little fencing done. Hurt my hand. Sold "Topsy" to Little Jim Long for $50.00.

Tuesday, March 11 Moved old cabin

34 James Randal Kent Cowan (1875–1938), the son of John Thomas Cowan and Margaret Gordon Kent. Like his father, J. R. K. Cowan ran the family farm; he also served as treasurer of Montgomery County froom 1924 until 1932.

35 John Thornton Knight of the 3rd United States Cavalry was an instructor of military tactics and commandant of cadets at V.A.M.C.

36 Fielding P. Miles was a professor of chemistry and geology at V.A.M.C.

out of orchard into Mountain for Early Croy to live in. Very bright, warm day. Snow all gone.

Wednesday, March 12 Beautiful spring day. I have worked at first one thing & then another. "Macado" is sick this eve. I hope he has the bots.[37] I went down for Cloyd's buggy to go after Mamma tomorrow.

Thursday, March 13 Bright this AM & I went to town after Mamma. I drove out to Mr. Thomas's[38] to see him on business. I stayed in town until after the mail came in and Mamma and I got home a little before dark. The horse (Mike) is still sick – something is the matter with his eyes. I got a nice long letter from Lillian today, also a photo of Lizzie Cowan.

Friday, March 14 Raining all day. Had stable cleaned out; fixed wire fence in mountain. Had Hooks cut out of "Mike's" eyes by Mr. David Keister.[39]

Saturday, March 15 Sowed some clover seed today, but it soon got too windy. It is very cold this evening, blowing snow. Cousin Lizzie Holt went home with Cloyd yesterday.

Sunday, March 16 Cold as blue blazes, did not go to church. Mamma & I have been at home alone all day. I think I will get more ice in the AM, God willing. I have eaten too much today, do not feel my best this eve.

Monday, March 17 Filled the ice house full before dinner. Built fence & fixed up pens around haystacks. Got card from Scott about crossties paying only 38c. Won't get.

Tuesday, March 18 Raining a little. Jimmie Long and Harve & Early are cleaning new ground. Jim hired yesterday to me for $15 a month. I put out some little cherry trees today.

Wednesday, March 19 Rain. Clear before 12. I got some little pigs in the dry that were almost dead. Drove out to Blacksburg after dinner in the cart – took some butter to Liz and Alex. Got letters from Papa & Lou, did not say when to meet them.

Thursday, March 20 I fed cattle myself with Harve this AM. Fixed the ice house door. Will & Early are building their house in the Moun-

37 A condition of horses or cattle caused by the presence in the stomach or intestines of the parasitic larvae of botflies.

38 John Montgomery Thomas was the son of Rachel Montgomery Hoge and Col. William Thomas.

39 David Allen Keister (1812–1903) was the son of Peter Keister (circa 1770–1839) and Elizabeth Shonk. In 1833 he married Elizabeth Olinger (1812–1893), the daughter of Michael Phillip Olinger (b. 1787) and Elizabeth Kipps (b. 1796). David Keister owned a farm adjacent to Brandy Run Branch, presently Keister's Branch on Keister's Branch Road.

The hooks that Keister removed were undoubtedly the hooked ends of cockleburs, which horses sometimes get in their eyes.

tain. Jimmie Long is cleaning up new ground.

Friday, March 21 Sowed clover seed on front field – Calvin[40] and myself. Sold Staples Price a one horse load of hay for $1.50. Cloyd & myself rode up to Hale School house to its closing Exercise. It was quite a success for such a small house.[41]

Saturday, March 22 Sowed some clover seed on field back of house. Rained after dinner & I had three barrels of cucumbers headed up to send to Mr. Cory at Radford. Did not get mail this eve as it rained so. Hope Lulu is not on her way home in this weather.

Sunday, March 23 Beautiful morning. I rode up to church in town – found Papa and Lou at Alex's. It was such a pleasant surprise. Both are looking very well. Lou was so glad to get home. Papa and Lou drove home in Alex's buggy this evening.

Monday, March 24 I fed cattle & went to new ground. After dinner took the buggy back to Alex & took Jersey wagon after the trunk.

Tuesday, March 25 Went to court today. Ate dinner with church people. Croy's cabin was burnt today. Rained some this evening.

Wednesday, March 26 A very bright windy day. I had an option taken today on the coal on my place[42] for 90 days at $20,000. Twenty thousand dollars. I hope the parties can

40 Calvin Kyle.

41 The Hale School was probably a private school located in the upper Tom's Creek basin that was run by members of the Hale family. When Agnes Price (b. circa 1759), the daughter of Michael Price (the original German immigrant), and Thomas Hale married in 1781, they settled on upper Tom's Creek.

42 Otey's coal mines provided coal for both his home and the homes of those who worked for him and lived on the place; he also sold coal on Tom's Creek, in Blacksburg, and elsewhere. For several years prior to April 1923, when the contract expired, VPI leased one of Otey's mines (sometimes called the "State Mine") and operated it under the direction of the mining engineering department to provide coal for the college. The Otey mines remained in operation until the 1950s, but in 1936 they were taken over by Otey's nephews, John Hampton Hoge, Jr. (1893–1956), Daniel Howe Hoge (1896–1963), and James Otey Hoge (1899–1966), who ran them first as the "Otey Mines" and then under the name "Hoge Brothers Mining and Manufacturing Company." The Hoge brothers and other Hoge family members later purchased shares in the Blacksburg Mining and Manufacturing Company, a corporation originally run by the Black and Apperson families, and it was the Blacksburg Mining and Manufacturing Company that actually operated the Otey/Hoge mines in the 1940s and 1950s. After the Blacksburg Mining and Manufacturing Company became defunct, the Hoges continued to lease mining rights to individuals until November 1974, when Barney G. Montgomery (1905–1983), the last person to lease such rights, ceased mining operations.

sell it. I finished cleaning up the new ground today.

Thursday, March 27 Plowing for oats. Drove "Fred" in the cart to town after mail. Lulu went with me.

Friday, March 28 Very windy day. Lucy (cow) had a calf today. Mr. Martin was here to get tax money. We put plank fence between grainery and carriage house today. Jimmie Long went after Mr. Ekiss.

Saturday, March 29 Rather cold and windy today; I have worked at odd jobs all day. Francis Ekiss moved in old Bane house today.[43] Got here about 5 o'clock. Cloyd was down to see us.

Sunday, March 30 Cold, did not go to church. Archie Payne came up from Roanoke to see us. Harve Hall[44] called in about dark; sat until about 9 o'clock.

Monday, March 31 Francis Ekiss and Jimmie Long both plowing. Commenced to snow about 10. Had to stop plows after dinner as it got too wet. "Buttercup" has a calf. I saw Edgar Eskridge[45] this AM at P.O. Archie is with us yet. I had meat taken down and put in ashes today.

Tuesday, April 1 Wet. Cleaned out stables. Put up some plank fence. Had a sheep that had three lambs. "Macado" was 4 years old today.

Wednesday, April 2 I took Archie

43 Francis Ekiss (b. 1862) was the son of John P. and Catherine Ekiss and the brother of Lucinda Ekiss, who married Jimmie Long.

The old Bane house was located north of what is now Glade Road. When James Randal Kent purchased several contiguous parcels of land, which together became Walnut Spring, for his daughter Mary Louisa and her prospective husband, Dr. Otey, he acquired the largest tract from the Banes. In one of his ledger books, Major Kent recorded a "Memo of Cost of the House at Walnut Spring" that detailed the cost of the land, the livestock, the furniture for the house, and eighteen slaves, as well as the house itself. His note on the land acquired and what he paid for it reads as follows:

Bane plantation	cost	.....	$6,000
Shell	"	"	1,200
Olinger	"	"	500
Keister	"	"	1,200
Wm. Price	"	"	700

44 Harvey T. "Harve" Hall and his wife, Elizabeth, were friends of the Oteys. Hall was a member of the V.A.M.C. class of 1890.

45 Edgar Peyton Eskridge (b. 1862) was the son of Mary Jane Smith Taylor (1826–1903) and James Edgar Eskridge (1827–1892), who served in the Virginia Senate, and the grandson of Jane D. Kent. In 1884 Edgar Eskridge married Rosamond G. Terrell (b. 1869), the daughter of Judge Terrell, of London, England, and Isabella M. Sprye. Almost exactly the same age (Eskridge was three weeks older) and connected through the Kents and the McGavocks, Eskridge and Otey were good friends.

Payne to Christiansburg. Drove Fred and Mary, they were a gay team. Left old Jersey wagon over there at Page's shop to be fixed up. I heard today that Mr. John Kedell was murdered and robbed near Newbern, Pulaski Co.

Thursday, April 3 Sowed oats on front field. Had old fence straightened up in old orchard. Charlie Black[46] left before dinner.

Friday, April 4 Rained, plowed some this evening. I drove out to town after plow points and other tricks. Dave Cloyd's horse John W. Daniel came here today.[47]

Saturday, April 5 Mr. Coffer cut[48] Rob Roy and Headlight today for $1.50. I took dinner at Cloyd's today, took him 4 lbs. of butter and some apples. Also took poor Sarah Long[49] some apples & other things to eat.

Sunday, April 6 A beautiful day, "Easter Sunday." Rob Roy bled so I had to have Mr. Coffer to come back & see him.

Monday, April 7 Pretty day, work going on nicely, plowing & sowing oats. I had all of my hogs marked & rings put in their noses.[50]

Tuesday, April 8 Pretty day. Pat Preston has been with us two or three days. Finished plowing for

46 Charles White "Charley" Black (1859–1925) was the son of Harvey and Mary Irby "Mollie" Black and the brother of Alex Black, Dr. Kent Black, and Lizzie (Black) Apperson. He owned C. W. Black and Company, a hack line and stables that ran a daily hack to Christiansburg from 1900 until 1904 and also rented horses and buggies.

47 David McNutt Cloyd (1855–1911) was the son of James McGavock Cloyd (1828–1892) and Frances E. McNutt (1833–1858). A member of the first V.A.M.C. board of visitors, David M. Cloyd resided at the old Cloyd estate, Back Creek, located northwest of Dublin off state Route 100, at the foot of Cloyd's Mountain. Built circa 1790 by Col. Joseph Cloyd, Back Creek was inherited by Col. Cloyd's son, David; next by David's son, James; next by David McNutt Cloyd; and then by David McNutt Cloyd, Jr., after whose death the farm passed out of the hands of Cloyd descendants. In 1880 David M. Cloyd married Mary Buford Langhorne (b. 1856), the daughter of John A. Langhorne and Margaret L. Kent. Cloyd's stallion, John W. Daniel, was at Walnut Spring to breed several of Otey's mares.

48 Gelded.

49 Sarah Long (1836–after 1913) was the daughter of James Long, Sr. and Mary Harless, the sister of William Henry Long and Harriet (Long) Ekiss, and the mother of Louvenia and Jackson Long.

50 Farmers often "marked" hogs by notching their ears in order to be able to identify them. Marking hogs was especially important because of the difficulty of keeping them penned. As many as a hundred different notching patterns or marks were used on hogs' ears. Metal rings (staples) were

oats today. Will Monroe has Quinsy very badly this even. Cloyd's horse is right sick.

Wednesday, April 9 I sowed oats myself as Will was sick. I am not well myself. The wind blew down eleven apple trees for me.

Thursday, April 10 I took Frank Bell's cattle to "Horseshoe" – 35 of them. Trot (the dog) was all the help I had. We had no trouble fording them. I went up to see Will Monroe. He has Quinsy very bad.

Friday, April 11 Cold. Have been putting up fence all day where wind blew it down. Mr. Bob Bennett took dinner with me today.

Saturday, April 12 A beautiful day. I have been busy cleaning out trees that blew down in the old orchard. I drove out to town this evening. Liz and Alex had gotten home from Richmond.

Sunday, April 13 Papa and I went out to church – heard Mr. Burnett, had communion today. Took dinner with Alex and Liz. Lou came home with us. She had been keeping house for Liz while Liz was in Richmond. John H. Hoge[51] was there today. Mr. Harrison's meeting[52] will commence Tuesday week.

Monday, April 14 Had old orchard plowed. Bent Long put in 114 grafts. I got several grafts from Calvin and a great many from Mr. Evans. Liz Alex (little cow) had a calf today.

Tuesday, April 15 I harrowed[53] the old orchard myself with the two colts Fred and Mary in the Sulky Harrow. I had some garden made today. Planted some early corn. Sent letter off for wallpaper in Philadelphia.

Wednesday, April 16 Raining. I had 20 bushels of corn shelled, 15 for Alex Black, the rest for the house. Papa spent the night at Mr. Evans. I have at this time about 23 big

placed between a hog's nostrils to prevent the hog from using its nose to dig or root its way out of its pen.

51 John Hampton Hoge married Louisa Virginia Otey on December 23, 1890. The son of Daniel Howe Hoge (1811–1867) and Nicey Ann Hawes DeJarnette (1824–1876) and the grandson of General James Hoge (1783–1861), J. H. Hoge was a successful lawyer and politician and was said to have few equals as a stump speaker. In 1901 he was the Republican candidate for Governor of Virginia, losing to the Democrat, Andrew Jackson Montague.

52 A religious revival.

53 Otey and his men used both spike-toothed harrows and disk harrows, horse-drawn during much of his life, to break up the soil and thus prepare it for sowing seed. A spike-toothed harrow is essentially a heavy frame, usually iron, with spikes. A disk harrow has sharp, revolving circular blades and was sometimes used to cover up seeds as well as to break up the earth. The spike-toothed harrow was also used to cover up seeds and to root up weeds.

hogs, 12 shoats, & 25 or 30 pigs, 23 lambs, 28 old sheep, 9 cows. Three with young calves.

...

Friday, April 18 Pretty day. Had old hay taken out of meadows. Went to debate of Lee Society[54] & german afterward; had a delightful evening, danced until 4 o'clock in the AM.

Saturday, April 19 In Blacksburg. Lizzie Alex[55] has Diphtheria. Prof. Miles also very sick. I helped to move him to Gen. Lowmax's.[56] Mrs. Knight has run down to Farmville. Papa drove out to town this eve to hear Jude Ferrel. John H. Hoge is here.

Sunday, April 20 A very bright cool day. Have been at home all day. John H. Hoge is here. Harve Hall called also. I wrote Mamie Patterson a long letter today.

Monday, April 21 I took Alex Black 15 bushels of meal. Bought wagon & bed & blacksmith tools from Gray, a plow also for $20. Lizzie Alex is still very sick from Diphtheria. Prof. Miles is no better today.

Tuesday, April 22 Bright day. I have sent some ice to the sick in town. Fitch had a beautiful "Rob Roy" colt[57] today; it is black with a round white spot in forehead. We hear Aunt Margie got home from Richmond today.

Wednesday, April 23 Went to Christiansburg after Spring Wagon, it is almost as good as new. I paid $32 to get it fixed. Got 4 bushels of potatoes to plant. Paid Mires $3.00 I owed him. Got new check lines[58] for $1.75.

Thursday, April 24 I planted potatoes. Drove Frank (Sorrel Colt) in cart, took dinner to hands in field. Went down to get Cloyd to drive

54 In the fall of 1873 the Sophsonian Literacy Society at V.A.M.C. changed its name to the Lee Literacy Society in honor of Robert E. Lee. The previous May the Philomathean Literacy Society had changed its name to the Maury Literacy Society in honor of the Virginia naval officer and scientist Matthew Fontaine Maury. Both literacy societies were prominent fixtures at V.A.M.C. and later at V.P.I.

55 Named for Lizzie and Alex Black, Liz Alex (or Lizzie Alex) was the Alexander Blacks' cook.

56 General Lunsford Lindsay Lomax (1835–1913) was the president of V.A.M.C. from 1886 until 1891. A veteran of both the U.S. Cavalry and the 11th Virginia Cavalry, General Lomax had been the roommate of General Fitzhugh Lee, Governor of Virginia from 1886 until 1890, when they were students together at the United States Military Academy.

57 Perhaps the colt's sire was a "Rob Roy" stallion, a horse from a plantation or gaited bloodline. Or perhaps the colt merely resembled the horse named Rob Roy that Otey had Mr. Coffer geld on April 5. Of course, both horses could have come from a "Rob Roy" bloodline.

up to church with Papa and me to hear Mr. Harrison.

Friday, April 25 I went to Charlie Beal's burial. Went to preaching afterwards. Took dinner and supper at Alex's and went to preaching at night and John Thomas[59] came home with me after church.

Saturday, April 26 Old Molly lost her colt. I commenced to lay off corn ground today and have planted old orchard and upper meadow in corn.

Sunday, April 27 We all drove out to hear Mr. Harrison preach and Oh, what a good sermon. We spent rest of the day at Alex's, also spent the night.

Monday, April 28 We heard Mr. Harrison again today and drove home this evening. All are well.

Tuesday, April 29 Busy getting ready to plant corn. I went out to church in cart with Will Monroe. Bay Mare (Molly) took horse (John Daniel)[60] today.

Wednesday, April 30 All hands planting corn. I drove out in cart to hear Mr. Harrison, spent the day, heard all three sermons.

Thursday, May 1 Finished planting corn today and have a good rain this evening. Papa got home from town where he has been enjoying Mr. Harrison's meeting. Prof. Miles was not so well when last heard from.

Friday, May 2 Have been building big fence back of front field. Papa drove up to town, took Liz some ice. Says Prof. Miles is not much better. Aunt Margie came today.

Saturday, May 3 Have finished fence. Planted some broom corn[61] & did lots of odd jobs. John Hampton Hoge is here tonight. Prof. Miles died tonight.

Sunday, May 4 Raining, cannot go to church. Aunt Margie and John Hampton Hoge are with us today.

Monday, May 5 Wet. Jimmie Long is sick. I went to see him. Sold a young heifer to Staples Price today for $20.00. I paid Mike Price[62] for work. I commenced papering my room today.

Tuesday, May 6 Plowed for Jimmie Long today. Built fence. I papered my room. Both Mollie and Bet took horse today.

58 A check line is either a short rein attached to the bridle to keep a horse from lowering its head or a branch rein connecting the driving rein of one of a team of horses to the bit of another.

59 John Thomas (b. 1873) was the son of John Montgomery Thomas and Susan Boyd Howe and the brother of Nellie (Thomas) Robinson and Minnie Montgomery Thomas.

60 Otey means that the mare, Molly, was bred by the stallion, John W. Daniel.

61 A cultivated variety of sorghum, the panicles of which are used to make brooms or brushes.

62 Michael Miller Price (1830–1910), the son of Christian B. Price and Hanna Kipps. In 1851 he married Catherine "Casy" Keister (1820–1912), the daughter of John P. Keister and Margaret Kipps.

Wednesday, May 7 Cloyd is here. Lou and myself rode horse back to town. She rode Dandy, liked him very much.

Thursday, May 8 Cloyd and I drove over to Christiansburg in his buggy. He got a letter from Lizzie Cowan. Lula, Mrs. Thomas, Minnie, John & myself expect to go to Pulaski tomorrow.

Friday, May 9 Aunt Margie went home today. Lula, Mrs. Thomas, John, Minnie & I drove up to Cousin Ellie Kent's. Got here about 5 o'clock.

Saturday, May 10 Frank Bell came down to Cousin Ellie's & I walked home with him & drove his wife to church in his buggy. Presbytery is going on & a big crowd out. Dr. Chrisher, Mr. Tompkins, Minnie, Bess, Lou & I all went to Frank Bell's that night. We had a nice game of "Grab"[63] that night after supper.

Sunday, May 11 Beautiful morning. All went to church after walking down to Cousin Ellie's. Large crowd out. And so much good eating. Had a splendid sermon by Mr. [...] in the AM and a good one by Mr. [...] that PM. I drove home in carriage with Mary Lou Bell & she & I rode horseback over to David M. Cloyd's that evening after supper.

Monday, May 12 I took Mary Lou home, went back to Cousin Ellie's & brought Mrs. Thomas home, left Lou & Minnie up there.

Tuesday, May 13 Had yard fence whitewashed. Jimmie & Francis made fence in upper meadow. I worked the garden. The wind blew very hard to a rain storm this eve. I had a "nap" during the storm.

Wednesday, May 14 I painted Jersey Wagon. Had 3 cucumber Barrels headed up to send to Radford.

Thursday, May 15 Took 3 barrels cucumbers, and 118.16 lbs. of wool to Depot. Wool was $.24 a lb. – came to $28.44. I brought one barrel of sugar back with me – it cost $22.76 at $.67 a lb. I got a lot of nice mail.

Friday, May 16 I painted Jersey Wagon. Tried to trade old Mollie off. Staples Price came to see me about Mill Stone Quarry.

Saturday, May 17 I went with Ballard Staples Price to see Mill Stone Quarry.[64] Came back to Mr. Cowan's & stayed the night.

Sunday, May 18 Aunt Margie & I did not go to church. But Uncle John & Sam Bell drove to church in Sam's Buggy.

Monday, May 19 I went on to Blacksburg to get Lula but she came home with Ed Tyler.[65] Alex Black came home with me.

Tuesday, May 20 Alex Black and

63 A game of cards in which two or more cards of equal value are on the table together. The player who is quickest to recognize and "grab" those cards adds them to his own hand.

64 Located on Cowan's Mountain between the Wake Forest community and the head of Whitaker Hollow, this millstone quarry was started by James

myself rode to look at mill stones. We bought the quarry for $490.00. We could not get back over river.

Wednesday, May 21 We spent last night with Mr. Dudley in the Horseshoe, got home about 10 or 11. I found Fitch's colt sick. It died today.

Thursday, May 22 Finished replanting corn today. Worked some in garden. Sent Ed Tyler to Pepper's Ferry[66] as his horse left him. Jim Evans was here today to see something about "The Farmers' State Alliance."

Friday, May 23 Plowing corn; worked garden. Sold Overstreet some plank. I painted front porch. Pat Preston came.

Saturday, May 24 I went to Christiansburg & fixed up papers to Rock Quarry.

Sunday, May 25 Pat Cloyd & John H. Hoge are here today. I have read such a nice sermon of Dr. Talmadge's.

Monday, May 26 Raining. I have made a jersey cushion. Had Fitch shorn.

Tuesday, May 27 I went to court. Paid $11.83 on that old tax ticket. I brought Mr. J. Fowlkes's 4 year old horse home to keep until I sell him. I saw Betty and Jennie Wilson today. They are both looking well. Bet's husband and baby were with her.

Wednesday, May 28 I stocked the peas.[67] Planted pumpkins. Thinned Corn. Papered Dining room. Papa drove to town. I got three letters. One from Frank Bell, Uncle John and one from Lizzie Cowan.

Thursday, May 29 I have been papering the parlor. I sold Izman and Bill Flanagan 10 lambs weighing 70 lbs at 5c.[68] Sold two old bucks at $5.00 each. Croy and Will came

Randal Kent, most likely in the 1820s. A better-known millstone quarry was located on Brush Mountain just west of Walnut Spring. The millstones from these two quarries came to be known as "Brush Mountain bhurstones"; they were shipped throughout the United States and as far away as Australia.

65 Edward Hammet Tyler (1869–1939) was the eldest child of James Hoge Tyler (1846–1925) and Sue Montgomery Hammet (1845–1927). Ed Tyler was a student at V.A.M.C. during the 1889–1890 academic year.

66 Dating to the late eighteenth century, Pepper's Ferry was named for Samuel Pepper, who determined its point of origin from his land on the east side of the New River. The ferry was located about 1½ miles northeast of the point where Crab Creek enters the river.

67 Otey means he collected peas from dried-out pods to "stock" them up in order to plant them the following spring to produce the next year's pea crop.

68 Izman and William Francis Flanagan (1861–1941) were members of the Flanagan family who owned a large farm that included much of the Horse-

back from Radford at 9 to 10.

Friday, May 30 Painted front porch and finished in Parlor.

Saturday, May 31 Went out to town this evening in the jersey for the first time since it was painted. I forgot to take Liz any ice & Oh, how she did give it to me. I paid Alex back the $15.00 on the Gifford account & $35.00 on the store account.

Sunday, June 1 Lula and I drove up to church; took Liz some ice. We spent the day at Alex's.

Monday, June 2 Lula's 19th birthday. We had Col. & Mrs. Knight, Little Alice,[69] Alex, Liz, Dr. Kent[70] & Cloyd all take dinner with us and we fished in the afternoon.

Tuesday, June 3 Spent last night at Alex's. Lou and I drove home this AM. We heard the Deaf and Dumb man last night. I had to look the whole evening for two lambs.

Wednesday, June 4 Bright and very warm, everything growing very pretty, but a little dry. I plowed some corn and thinned a little myself today, but as I had plenty of hands in the field I came home & worked some in my garden. Pat Preston is here tonight, came early this AM.

Thursday, June 5 No rain again today. Papa drove out for the mail. I got three letters, one from Lizzie Kent Cowan, one from John T. Cowan, and one from Billy Flanagan.

Friday, June 6 I got up at 4 o'clock & rode to Aunt Margie's to breakfast. I brought my bull calf home, gave $35.00 for him. We had a hard time with him. Mr. Cowan sent 13 lambs up by me (us) that weighed 85 lbs. My 10 lambs weighed 75 lbs; 6 weighed 98 lbs.

Saturday, June 7 Took lambs to Blacksburg, got $47.50. Went to Alliance Meeting, took in 8 members. Papa was one of the 8. Went to supper at Fair View.[71] They made $20.80. Fitch got checked today. I hope she is better. I gave

shoe bottom land on the south side of the New River across from the Kent/Cowan estate. Subsequently, several members of the Flanagan family owned property along present state Route 114. William F. Flanagan married Rosa Wall (1872–1940).

Otey means that the lambs' average weight was 70 pounds.

69 The John Thornton Knights' daughter.

70 Dr. Kent Black.

71 Otey refers to the schoolhouse on present Olinger Road where he attended a supper given to raise money for the Farmers' Alliance. That school building was later the home of John and Magdalene Olinger andtheir family. In 1925 when Otey sold 1 1/3 acres (for $66.75) at the corner of present Glade Road and Backwoods Lane to the Tom's Creek community, the name "Fair View" was in effect transferred to that location. The building erected there was called Fair View Community Hall; it was used for religious services and other community activities. It later

her egg, oil & larded her leg.

Sunday, June 8 We all drove up to church and spent the day at Alex's. This evening Mr. Gardner,[72] Alex, Papa, Col. Knight & myself drove over to Yellow Sulfur.[73]

Monday, June 9 We all came back last eve except Lula who went by horseback and will return today. I got a lamb from Zach Price for Gen. Lomax. Jim Evans and I were there together.

Tuesday, June 10 I have whitewashed grainery and old crib and a lot of fence. Papa got a letter from Mamie wanting him to come to Philadelphia.

Wednesday, June 11 I took a lamb to Gen. Lomax that weighed 46 lbs., got $5.75. Stopped at Lafayette McCauley's[74] to a strawberry supper, found Cloyd and Lou there.

Thursday, June 12 Have mowed the avenue and yard. Worked the garden and built some fence. Papa drove to town, got a nice letter from Lillian.

Friday, June 13 Burnt brush, plowing corn over the last time; had beets and peas for the first time today. Gave a lot of ice to the Presbyterian church.

Saturday, June 14 Emma (my brown mare) has a nice horse colt[75] to-

housed the Fair View grammar school for some years and more recently has become the Fair View Community Church.

72 Charles Wesley "Charlie" Gardner (1859–1919) and his second wife A. Flora Evans (1859–1935), whom he married in 1891, were friends of the Oteys. Gardner was mayor of Blacksburg from 1891 until 1893. His first wife, whom he married in 1881, was Mollie T. McDonald.

73 Yellow Sulphur Springs, the spa and summer resort southeast of Blacksburg, renowned during the Civil War as a favorite retreat of General Jubal Early and other Confederate officers. On August 14, 1872, the first V.A.M.C. board of visitors met at Yellow Sulphur Springs to elect a slate of officers for the college and plan its opening session. The board chose Charles Landon Carter Minor (1835–1903) as president and announced that V.A.M.C. would have its official opening on October 1, 1872. Included among the members of that initial board of visitors were Dr. Harvey Black, David McNutt Cloyd, Sr., John Thomas Cowan, and Daniel Coleman DeJarnette, all of whom were related to Otey either by blood or by marriage. Dr. Black was the first rector of the board.

74 Lafayette McCauley (b. 1857) was a local farmer; he married Susan Betty Price (b. 1860). Lafayette and Betty McCauley and their eight children lived in the Tom's Creek neighborhood.

75 A male foal. Today an equine foal is called either a colt (male) or a filly (female). In Otey's time, however, "colt" was often used for a foal of either sex. Otey used the term "horse" to refer to a stallion and "horse colt" to indicate a male foal.

day. Jim Kanode[76] sent for ice today. Papa was up to town, we got nice mail.

Sunday, June 15 We all took dinner with Cloyd today. He was at church when we got there, but he soon came. Had a fine rain tonight – first for three weeks.

Monday, June 16 Put out a lot of cabbage plants. Brought old wagon from town. Got my hair cut by barber.

Tuesday, June 17 Had another nice rain last night. Having fence put up back of garden. Lou and myself expect to go up to town to join a Salt Pond[77] party.

Wednesday, June 18 We got started to Salt Pond at 7AM. 8 of us in party. Alex Black and Lizzie, Col. and Mrs. Knight and little Alice, Mrs. Fitts,[78] Mr. Alwood,[79] Lula and myself. We took lunch at Sinking Creek and got to the Lake about two o'clock. We had two buggies and my jersey. Went to see the sun set that evening and played 10 pins.[80]

Thursday, June 19 Mr. Alwood, Mrs. Knight and I saw sun rise. We all drove to the Cascades[81] and spent the day. Went bathing in the creek. We got back to the Hotel about 4PM. Had supper and went on the mountain. Rowed out on the Lake. Danced some in Parlor before going to bed. I met a Miss Smith from Florida. She played nicely on piano.

Friday, June 20 Mrs. Fitts, Lula and I went up to sunrise. We ate oranges, bread and drank wine on

76 James Preston Kanode (b. 1852), the son of George and Margaret Kanode. Like his father, Jim Kanode for many years operated Kanode's Mill. In 1901 he married Lillie Catherine Price (1882–1938), the daughter of James Preston "Turkey John" Price and Eliza Ellen Cook.

77 Now called Mountain Lake, the well-known resort some twenty miles west of Blacksburg, near Newport.

78 The wife of James H. Fitts, a professor of mechanics and manager of the shops at V.A.M.C. A graduate of the United States Naval Academy, Fitts came to V.A.M.C. in 1886. Mrs. Fitts was a chaperon at the German Club's formal dance held in the college library on April 7, 1893.

79 William Bradford Alwood was a professor of horticulture, entomology, and mycology at V.A.M.C. He was one of the college's most renowned agricultural researchers during its early years. Alwood came to V.A.M.C. in 1888, founded the horticulture department in 1891, and served as vice-director, mycologist, and entomologist of the Agricultural Experiment Station until his retirement in 1904.

80 The game of bowling in which ten pins are used.

81 The Cascades are located south of Mountain Lake on Little Stony Creek. Descending nearly 100 feet, the Cascades are the highest waterfall in Giles County, Virginia.

the knob.[82] Came back and ate a big breakfast. Lizzie was not very well so Mrs. Knight, Col. Knight, Alex and Lula and I went out on the Lake to one of the points. Mr. Alwood and myself went bathing after getting back. We all played ten pins until dinner; after that we got ready to leave for Blacksburg, which we did and had a delightful drive of 4½ hours.

Saturday, June 21 At Alex Black's. Lula and I drove home by nine o'clock. Minnie Thomas with us. I found all well and happy. Some of my neighbors harvesting. Papa and I went to the Alliance Meeting. I acted President as Jim Evans was sick. John Hampton Hoge came. I killed a little shoat about dark.

Sunday, June 22 A beautiful Sunday AM. Did not go to church. Edgar Eskridge came to see us. Mr. Dundas and a lady also called. Three different parties sent for ice. Jim Evans is right sick.

Monday, June 23 A bright morning. I cannot cut my wheat[83] today as I am not quite over my corn the last time; hope to get some cut tomorrow. I plowed corn most all day myself; it was so hot I took off my pants. It rained and I got so wet.

Tuesday, June 24 I went to court, took Papa to Depot to go to Philadelphia. The Alliance met and I was twice proposed for an office. I drove Fred and Geneva.

Wednesday, June 25 Finished cutting wheat in front Field. Cut it in day and a half.

Thursday, June 26 Finished harvesting today. Had only two men and a boy with myself and cut about 12 acres of wheat. Lou drove Minnie Thomas to town in cart with Fred the colt.

Friday, June 27 My 28th birthday. A beautiful day. Got letter from Mamie saying Papa had gotten there all ok. Harry Watson, Jim Cox and John Hampton Hoge are all here tonight. Old Mr. Bodell[84] was buried today.

Saturday, June 28 Bright AM. Jim and Harry left early. Jim came back and took Lula to Yellow Sulphur Springs – did not get back – Alex brought Lula back. Poor old Mrs. Kinzer[85] was buried. John Hoge

82 Bald Knob, the highest peak above Mountain Lake. On a clear day, it is said, one can see into seven states from the top of Bald Knob.

83 Otey was preparing to cut wheat hay for his livestock. Unlike wheat that is thrashed, wheat hay is cut while still green before the grain has fully matured.

84 David N. Bodell (1811–1890) was the father of George Worthington "Worth" Bodell (1852–1938), who kept and helped train some of Otey's horses. David Bodell operated a pottery on Roanoke Street in the original part of the house where William M. Lybrook later lived. That house was subsequently the home of Katrina McGhee; it is now the Canterbury House and belongs to Christ Episcopal Church.

85 Rebecca Bane Kinzer (1802–1890), the wife of Jacob Kinzer, Sr. (1791–1860).

left and came back that eve. I went to Mr. Cowan's, found Jim Cowan with his hand cut.

Sunday, June 29 I am at the River yet. Mr. Cowan got home last night. Mary and Liz are both looking sweet and well. Aunt Margie only tolerably well.

Monday, June 30 I came home from River and we were putting up some hay in meadow when a big storm came up and washed away a lot of fence and some hay. Francis Ekiss got back from Floyd and left for Roanoke.

Tuesday, July 1 Col. and Mrs. Knight, Allie[86] and Lizzie all spent the day with us. It rained very hard after dinner.

Wednesday, July 2 I built some post and rail fence. Bought 3 sheep from B. Staples Price at $3.00 a sheep. Rained again and Cloyd has had to take the wheat out of rick[87] again as it is so wet.

Thursday, July 3 Beautiful and bright. I have dried out the wheat. Put up one stack of hay and hope to stack wheat tomorrow. Got in 76 bushels of coal from Bob Reid.[88]

Friday, July 4 Went to "Alliance Picnic," wore my summer suit for the first time. Lou went to Montgomery County Sulphur Springs,[89] did not get back tonight. Had a watermelon today, also had roasting ears.

Saturday, July 5 Finished ricking wheat. Had 7 Longs helping me. They put up Jimmie Long's wheat in the evening. Francis Ekiss moved away today. He and Staples Price, Pet Price[90] and two other men liked to have had a fight at

86 Alex Black.

87 Unlike a hay stack, a hay rick is rectangular at the base and has a length greater than its width. It comes to a point at the top as does a gable. A hay stack has a cylindrical base and resembles an upside down ice cream cone. It has a pole in the center to add stability. When a hay stack is opened, there is less risk of waste from spoilage than with a hay rick.

88 Robert Reid, Jr. (b. 1881) was the son of Robert and Elizabeth Reid. He lived on Tom's Creek and worked primarily as a coal miner.

89 Montgomery White Sulphur Springs, the spa and resort located in what is now Ellett Valley. White Sulphur Springs was converted to a hospital for sick and wounded Confederate soldiers during the Civil War; after the war it was refurbished and became a favorite place for Confederate reunions. James Randal Kent, Otey's grandfather, was the original owner of Montgomery White Sulphur Springs. The land where "Montgomery White" was located had been owned by Gordon, Thomas, and David Cloyd in the eighteenth century, and when Gordon Cloyd's daughter, Mary Gordon Cloyd, married Kent, the property became his.

90 Pemberton "Pet" Price (b. 1873), the son of Jonas Henry Price and Louisa Ann Snider. Born and reared in the Tom's Creek/Sunnyside area, "Pet" Price never married.

the crib this evening.

Sunday, July 6 Did not get to church. John Hampton Hoge came about 12 o'clock. Francis Ekiss moved on Sunday.

Monday, July 7 Jimmie Long has been mowing all day. Will and myself worked out the garden.

Tuesday, July 8 Put up and cut hay. And we all cut a large Bee tree this evening, had lots of fun and got lots of honey.

Wednesday, July 9 I have been mowing all day, got 3 hay stacks up today.

Thursday, July 10 Beautiful day and we got a nice lot of hay. Some of the farmers are thrashing.

Friday, July 11 I mowed until dinner time. Went to a "German" at Montgomery White that evening, had a delightful time. Lou and John H. Hoge went too. I came back to Blacksburg.

Saturday, July 12 I came home from town. Stopped in to see Jim Evans, who is much better now. I took dinner there. The thrashing machine is at the yard this eve. Cloyd here today, made 109 bushels off of old field.

Sunday, July 13 I drove off to church and had a church meeting. I was sent to the Association at Salem.[89] Mamma, Lou, & Mr. Charlie Gardner came home with me. Mr. Gardner and I went in bathing.

Monday, July 14 Raining. Had a good rain last night and raining today. I had 30 bushels of corn hulled for Alex Black and sent to Kanode's Mill. Ground mowing blades rest of evening.

Tuesday, July 15 Cloyd and I thrashed our wheat that we had cut together. Made 165 bushels. It was wet & rained just as we got through.

Wednesday, July 16 We cut oats in the front field. I took Mary Evans to town this afternoon.

Thursday, July 17 Cut up hay and topped hay stacks. Went to German, Yellow Sulphur. Had a good time. Got a kiss I did not expect.

Friday, July 18 We came home from town this AM Spent last night at Alex Black's. I helped to tie up oats this evening.

Saturday, July 19 Pretty day cutting oats. Had a time getting stock in place on farm. The Alliance met today. Elected officers over again. I was elected Business Agent. John Hampton Hoge is here this eve. Got a nice letter from Lillian.

Sunday, July 20 Lovely day. Cool and nice. Alex & Liz drove down and spent the evening. John Hampton Hoge left this eve.

Monday, July 21 Cloudy day. Finished cutting Oats. Sent Alex Black 22½ bushels of corn. Sent Effinger and Harry 7½. I gathered about 2 gallons of Blackberries this eve. Fixed fence around old garden.

Tuesday, July 22 Hoed Turnips. Took

91 Otey went to a meeting of the Virginia Baptist General Association as a delegate from the Blacksburg Baptist Church.

supper at Mr. Floyd Wall's.[92] Took Mary Evans & Mary Wall & Hattie Wall with us.[93]

Wednesday, July 23 Mowing upper meadow. Jim Cowan & Ed Kent[94] came up. Raining this evening. Can't put up hay. Hogs ate my early corn up I left for seed.

Thursday, July 24 Rained and I did not get much grass cut. Sharpened Ax, mowing blades and cutting knife. Worked road beyond bridge. Will is sick, so is Lindy.

Friday, July 25 Wet and I did not get any hay put up. Not a hand on the place today. Riley Shepherd[95] came to hire & will live in Old Bane House. I went to see sick ones today, Wister Long, Cloyd, Rad Fisher and Tom Cromer.[96]

Saturday, July 26 Went to Christiansburg to Alliance meeting. I was elected Secretary for that county. I came back to Blacksburg & took tea with Prof. Alwood. Jimmie Long and Kent Price got

92 Alexander Floyd Wall (1826–1899) was the son of James Wall (b. 1814) and Malinda Price (b. 1820). He and his wife, Phoebe James Wall (1842–1924), owned a large farm across Merrimac Road from Linkous's Store and New St. Peter's Lutheran Church. The Alexander Floyd Walls' farm was inherited by their two younger sons, Waddy Thompson Wall (1876–1953) and Guy Floyd Wall (1881–1952).

93 Mary E. Evans (1854–1902) was James F. Evans's sister, and Mary Jane Wall was soon to be his wife. Mary Jane Wall and Harriet Augusta "Hattie" Wall (1872–1948) were the daughters of Pharis Wall and Sarah E. Keister.

94 Thomas Edwin "Ed" Kent (1867–1931) was the son of David Fenton Kent and Lucy Taylor Jackson and the grandson of David Fenton Kent, Sr. Ed Kent lived in Dublin.

95 Riley Harrison Shepherd (1860–1934) was the son of Addison Shepherd and Margaret C. Snider. In 1890 he married Lorena Virginia "Vergie" Surface (1866–1932), the daughter of Henry Raburn Surface and Virginia Ann Robinson. Riley Shepherd worked as a tenant farmer and Brush Mountain coal miner.

96 Radford P. "Rad" Fisher (1857–1914) was the son of John A. Fisher and Eliza Ann Price. In 1877 he married Arminta Frances Price (1856–1927), the daughter of Enos Elias Price and Sarah Elizabeth Cromer. "Rad" Fisher, a carpenter and stone mason, operated a small machine repair and blacksmith shop adjacent to his home on the corner of present Mt. Zion and Old Creek Roads.

William Thomas "Tom" Cromer (1858–1922) was the son of John Martin Cromer and Anne Frances Ekiss. He married Virginia Ellen Shell (1861–1949), the daughter of Hiram and Louemma Shell, and was the father of Lucy Cromer, who married Simeon Gilbert "Sim" Price. "Tom" Cromer worked in the Brush Mountain millstone quarry and coal mines.

up a good deal of hay.

Sunday, July 27 Bright day. Stover drove in very Early. Spent the day & he was driving two Pretty Texan Ponies. I went to Mrs. Henderson Price's[95] burial at Jimmie Long's.

Monday, July 28 Raining. I had 30 bushels of corn shelled for Alex Black. Had cabbage worked over. I had fertilizer put on some of the cabbage.

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Thursday, July 31 Thrashed. Made 156 bushels of wheat. Mamma, Lou and I went to Yellow Sulphur Springs after sundown. Told the Haughts Good-bye.

Friday, August 1 Got home today from Blacksburg. Mamma, Lou and myself spent last night with Alex. I went with Dr. Black to see Cloyd this evening. He is improving some.

Saturday, August 2 Got one stack of hay up. Big storm stopped us as the creek is very high. Prof. Alwood took dinner with us today. He made us a nice little speech at the Forks. I had to act President as President was not on hand. We took in two new men.

Sunday, August 3 Did not go to church. Had big rain. I went to see Wister Long; he is not much better.

Monday, August 4 Fixed up water gaps[96] and cut thistles all day. Min Thomas, Connie Garnett spent the night with us.

Tuesday, August 5 Girls left. Dr. Black came for Lou to stay with Liz (who is right sick). I went to see Atkins about sheep. Met him in town.

Wednesday, August 6 Sent 20 bushels – 1140 lbs. — of corn to College Farm. Sent A. Black 30 bushels of meal @ 70c. I have William Oliver's[97] mare on trial. Riley Shepherd moved here yesterday. He did not work today.

Thursday, August 7 Rain, could not put up hay so we plowed until the rain ran us in. Mamma and myself went to see Lizzie Black who is still very sick. I went over to old Mr. William Oliver's and traded horses with him. Traded "George" for "Betty." I also bought 36 ewes from Mr. Jim Atkins @ $3.60 each. Paid $75.00 dollars cash. It rained all day and was very late when I got back to Blacksburg. But Lula and I went to Yellow Sulphur that night and had a splendid time.

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97 Sarah Louvenia (Smith) Price (1856–1890) was the wife of Noah Henderson Price.

98 A water gap or a water rack is a gate-like device that is suspended in the water (in this case, Tom's Creek) and anchored to the bank on either side. A water gap prevents livestock from, in effect, circumventing a fence by moving in the water from one field to another.

99 Perhaps C. W. Oliver or his father. C. W. Oliver and his wife Prudence lived on Tom's Creek on property adjoining the lands of J. W. Sarver and others.

Friday, August 8 Got back to Blacksburg just before day, had a few hours sleep and Mamma and I came home. We helped Clarence drive the sheep. Mr. Riley Shepherd, my new hand, leaves me tomorrow. His wife could not do the milking.

Saturday, August 9 Riley left today. Mr. Cowan, Jim, and Ed Kent came. (It is raining.) They had been to Blacksburg shopping.

Sunday, August 10 Mr. Cowan, Jim, Ed, Dundas and Cloyd are all here today. They have been trying and breaking horses all day. Jim Cowan and I took Lizzie and Alex some ice this evening and got her buggy to go to Pulaski in. I saw Alby Clark and wife today.

Monday, August 11 Got work all straight on farm and went as far as Mr. Cowan's on my way to picnic at Dublin Grove.[100]

Tuesday, August 12 Took Aunt Margie to picnic with me. We went to Uncle Frank's[101] that night. I saw Miss Arbuthnot[102] today.

Wednesday, August 13 Spent the day at Rockwood and drove over to Dave Cloyd's late in the evening

Thursday, August 14 At Back Creek. Lucy[103] and I drove up and spent the day and night at Frank Bell, Jr.'s.[104]

Friday, August 15 I came from Frank Bell's home in my double buggy[105] all alone. The young horses drove so nicely.

Saturday, August 16 I put stock in place and went to Alliance meeting and from there went on to Yellow Sulphur Springs and called on Mr. G. Martain of Philadelphia. I drove two pretty young horses, Fred and Geneva, in Alex's buggy.

Sunday, August 17 I drove up to town this AM in the double buggy. Drove Alex's mare for the first time in a buggy. Liz is right sick yet.

100 Otey refers to the Dublin Grove Church. Located east of state Route 100, the historic New Dublin Presbyterian Church, sometimes called the Dublin Grove Church, is located on land that Col. Joseph Cloyd, Otey's great grandfather, had surveyed in 1793 so that the New Dublin congregation could build a church there. In 1872 Joseph Cloyd, the grandson of Col. Joseph Cloyd, deeded the 6¼ acres on which the church building stands to the trustees of the church. David McNutt Cloyd, Sr. was that second Joseph Cloyd's nephew.

101 Otey and Margaret Kent Cowan went to see Francis Bell, Sr. at Rockwood.

102 Elizabeth Arbuthnot (b. 1871), who in 1893 married Samuel Hays Bell.

103 Lucy McGavock Cloyd (b. 1863) was the daughter of James McGavock Cloyd (1828–1892) and his second wife, Harriet J. Ernest (1836–1881), and the half-sister of David McNutt Cloyd.

104 The Frank Bells were living at "the Miller place."

105 A two-horse buggy, with front and back seats, which could comfortably accommodate four people.

Monday, August 18 Bright and pretty. Had hands putting up hay that has been cut three weeks. I have felt pretty well today. Have been looking for a man to go in the old Bane house.

Tuesday, August 19 Plowing. Old George horse came home last night. I cut weeds in the yard and stopped the cracks.

Wednesday, August 20 I dug potatoes. Let Broce have 19 bushels of toll wheat.[106] Mamma and Cloyd went to see Lizzie and Alex.

Thursday, August 21 Finished digging potatoes. I had two new shoes put on Fitch by Mr. Helvy. I have not felt very well today.

Friday, August 22 Plowing, had a little rain. All well, not much going on.

Saturday, August 23 A beautiful day. Mamma and I drove out to town to see Liz. Brought Lula home with us. Mr. Charles Gardner cut my hair. We got home about sundown.

Sunday, August 24 We did not go to church. A beautiful day.

Monday, August 25 Lou went back to Lizzie's. Sent corn to College Farm. Went to Yellow Sulphur. Got Mr. G. Martain and he is with us tonight.

Tuesday, August 26 Mr. Martain and I went to Springdale,[107] had a delightful time there.

Wednesday, August 27 He and I took Alex and Liz to Rockwood. Mary Lou was not at home.[108] We did not stay there.

Thursday, August 28 We rode all the way home horseback on Fitch and Henry and drove to Yellow that evening. Lou went with us. We danced the German until 1 o'clock and drove to Blacksburg.

Friday, August 29 Daisy Conway[109] and I drove to Pilot[110] to Maj.

106 Byrd C. Broce, who in 1896 married Manira Jane Price (b. 1875), worked in the grist mill in Price's Fork and later operated the Blacksburg Milling and Supply Company on present College Avenue where Kinko's is now located. Mill operators charged a toll to grind grain, and Otey paid the toll Broce had charged him with nineteen bushels of wheat.

107 Springdale, on Neck Creek near Dublin, was for many years the home of David McGavock and his heirs.

108 Mary Lou Bell lived at Rockwood with her father until her marriage in 1894.

109 Daisy Conway was the daughter of Dr. William Buchanan Conway (b. 1845),the first physician at V.P.I., and Julia Thomas, the daughter of William Thomas and Lucretia Howe and the sister of Giles Thomas. Dr. Conway, who came to Blacksburg from Madison County, Virginia, in 1871, was not an employee of the college but rather a local physician who performed most of the medical services afforded to the student body from 1872 until 1875. In 1872, in partnership with Captain T. A. Roberts, Dr. Conway opened a drugstore in Blacksburg in connection with his practice.

110 Pilot is a small community on the eastern edge of Floyd County.

Garnett's and danced until 2 or 3 o'clock.

Saturday, August 30 She and I drove back to Blacksburg after 3 o'clock PM. I drove on home in the evening, found Jules Buford[111] here.

Sunday, August 31 Jules Buford, Mr. Cowan, Jim Cowan, and Ed Kent are here. All left this PM but Jules Buford.

Monday, September 1 Jules Buford went up to look for cattle. I have a sore throat, but have knocked around and gotten things in place some.

Tuesday, September 2 Took my breakfast in bed this AM as my throat is not much better.

Wednesday, September 3 Lula left for town and she and Lizzie are on a trip. I slept very little last night. Cloyd was in to see me; he was suffering with this complaint very much too.

Thursday, September 4 I am up but my throat feels no better. Raw. I have sent to Depot for Fred Kirkus. I wanted to be up when he came if I could.

Friday, September 5 Got Quinsy very bad today. Fred came yesterday. Rode Fitch to town. Called this afternoon. Bal Shepherd came to hire today.

Saturday, September 6 Oh, I have suffered so. Dr. Black came about 12 o'clock, looked at my throat, said it would soon break and it did break soon after he left. Fred left this evening. I sent him down to Mr. Cowan's.

Sunday, September 7 A beautiful day. I am feeling so much better today. I have been up and dressed most all day. Alex and Mrs. Gardner[112] came to see me. Mr. Wall and Hattie came to see me too.

Monday, September 8 Got up early this AM. Cloyd came to see me and took dinner with me. I walked up to see the apples in orchard and down to the Spring. Morris Hunter came to see me today.

Tuesday, September 9 Men are busy harrowing, has rained some today. I did not get out much.

Wednesday, September 10 I salted sheep. Saw Wister Long and did lots of little things. Bright warm day.

Thursday, September 11 Bal Sheppard moved into the old Bane House. Mailed a lot of letters. Got 2 watermelons and 2 cantaloupes. Sold apples to Hughey Price, Lafayette McCauley at 50c a bushel.

Friday, September 12 Mamma and I drove to town. Took dinner at Smithfield, called at Whitethorne.[113] It rained on us all the way.

111 Julius Gordon Buford (b. 1865) was the son of Isaac Henry Buford and Sarah McGavock Kent.

112 Flora Evans Gardner.

113 The home of Otey's friend James Patton Preston, Smithfield, which dates from 1772–1773, was also the birthplace of two Virginia governors, the elder James Patton Preston and John Buchanan Floyd, and the home of a

I got me a pair of shoes at Alex's.[114] Got a letter from Papa saying they will be home next week.

Saturday, September 13 Mamma, Cousin Liz and I drove down to Aunt Margie's. Stopped at Price's Fork out of rain, got to River about dark.

Sunday, September 14 At Aunt Margie's. Mary went off to school and Liz and Mr. Cowan went with her as far as Radford. Rained some today too.

Monday, September 15 We came home. I made some cider this evening. Did not have enough apples to let Lindy have any for apple butter. Virgey Shepherd[115] commenced milking today.

Tuesday, September 16 Rained this AM. Clear this PM. I drove out to town in Buggy. Got invitation to German at Virginia House in Radford, Va.[116] Also one to Capt. Heth's for Friday night. Did not get anything from Papa or Mamie in mail. Had road worked today.

Wednesday, September 17 I had two horses shod all around. Got note from Lizzie Cowan and Miss Arbuthnot asking me to come down. I drove down in two horse wagon about dark after 40 lbs. of wheat and to see the girls too. One of the horses stepped on my foot and I can hardly walk on it. I will not get to the Heths' party tomorrow night.

Thursday, September 18 I got home today with my wheat. Put one of Mr. Cowan's horses in front of my two. I had to wear one of Ed Kent's shoes home as I could not get my own on.

Friday, September 19 I went to Capt. Heth's to a party, had a delightful time until Ed Kent came telling me Aunt Margie was so sick. Liz did not go with Ed that night.

Saturday, September 20 Lizzie Cowan and myself drove to Aunt Margie's by 8 o'clock and found her very sick. Dr. Black and Dr. Cowan[117] were there.

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third, James McDowell. Smithfield is now owned and maintained by the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities. Whitethorne is the old Heth home.

114 A. Black Company.

115 Virgey Shepherd, the daughter of James Ballard "Bal" Shepherd and Susan Virginia Surface; later, the wife of Lute Brown.

116 I am unable to identify the Virginia House in Radford. There was, however, a Virginia House Hotel in Blacksburg, owned by J.P. Hawley, which stood on the corner of Main and Washington Streets, across from the Harvey Black house.

117 A cousin of John Thomas Cowan, Dr. Howard L. Cowan lived in Radford. (Until 1892, Radford was officially "Central Depot," but the name "Radford" was already commonly used.) In 1890 Dr. Cowan bought several parcels of land in a Radford subdivision from the Radford West End

Sunday, September 21 Aunt Margie very, very sick. Telegraphed to Mr. Cowan, Mary and Jim. They got home about 9 o'clock Monday.

Monday, September 22 The operation was performed on Aunt Margie about 11 o'clock today. She stood it well.

Tuesday, September 23 I am with Aunt Margie. She had a very good night considering what she had gone through. Had a good many visitors today.

Wednesday, September 24 Cousins Paul McGavock, Lizzie Kent, Emma Gray,[118] Sallie Buford and Ike, Mr. and Mrs. Martain (Prestons) all here today.

Thursday, September 25 Mary Lou and Mrs. Burnett[119] helped us a great deal today. Cousin Lizzie Radford[120] went home.

Friday, September 26 I brought Mamma home and went back this evening. Everything going on well at my home.

Saturday, September 27 Dr. Howard Cowan, the family and myself are with her today. She is doing well.

Sunday, September 28 The doctors changed the bandages today. She was a little nervous afterwards, but she slept well. Cousin Willie Bentley[121] came today.

Land Company. He subsequently sold two of those lots to Minnie Crockett of Rural Retreat, Virginia, and three others to George L. Estabrook, Jr. of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Otey considered purchasing one of Dr. Cowan's lots but decided against it.

118 Paul McGavock was possibly James P. McGavock (b. 1856), the son of Oscar Hugh McGavock and America N. Bryant.

Elizabeth Cloyd Kent (1873–1947) was the daughter of Ellen Mary Howe and Joseph Gordon Kent and Nellie Bell's younger sister. She married Robert Bowman Hudson, a Presbyterian minister.

Emma Gray is perhaps the wife of the Rev. Robert Gray, the Presbyterian minister who wrote *The McGavock Family: A Genealogical History of James McGavock and His Descendants from 1760 to 1903*. Rev. Gray lived at Rockwood all the time he worked on the McGavock genealogy.

119 The wife of Rev. Nathaniel C. Burnett.

120 Lizzie Campbell Radford (b. 1847), the daughter of Dr. James Blair Radford and Elizabeth Campbell Taylor. In 1871 she married Richard Henry Adams (1841–1896).

121 William Weldon Bentley (b. 1839), the son of Dr. Henry Moss Bentley and Cynthia Kent. In 1877 he married Parke Poindexter Perkins (b. 1849), the daughter of Thomas F. Perkins and Eliza Poindexter. When Cynthia Kent married Dr. Bentley in 1837, her father, James Randal Kent, gave her a sizeable portion of his Robinson Tract property in Pulaski County and built her a new home. The Bentleys named their home Weldon, which was the middle name of both the first William Weldon Bentley, Dr. Bentley's father, and the

Monday, September 29 Doing well. Cousin Kent Bentley[122] came.

Tuesday, September 30 Getting on nicely. Came up home late this evening, found Mr. Patterson, Mamie, children and Papa all safely here. They came Monday last, and as it was raining they had a rough drive from the Depot.

Wednesday, October 1 I have been getting things straight on farm today. Mr. Patterson and I drove to town this evening.

Thursday, October 2 I started to Cousin Ike Buford's for a drill[123] he gave me. I went by Aunt Margie's with Lou and Charlie Black. I rode to Charlie Harmon's[124] that night.

Friday, October 3 I went on to Cousin Ike's and got the drill and took dinner at his house. I enjoyed it but also enjoyed being with the girls that were there. I met Frank Otey Buford[125] too. I rode from there to Frank Bell Jr.'s with Dr. Cushing[126] to see Frank's first baby, Sarah.[127] I found Mary Lou there and she, Dr. Cushing, and I rode to Rockwood where I spent the night.

Saturday, October 4 I came on home this evening with the drill. Did not get here much ahead of night.

Sunday, October 5 My throat that has been hurting me on the trip broke last night and I spent today in bed. Lou and Charlie Black

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second William Weldon Bentley, their son. Both built by James Randal Kent, Weldon and Walnut Spring are strikingly similar.

122 James Randal Kent Bentley (b. 1841), was the Henry Moss Bentleys' son and William Weldon Bentley's brother. In 1868 he married Sidney Graham Hanson (1847–1891), the daughter of William W. Hanson and Catherine A. Graham.

123 An apparatus for making holes or furrows in the soil, dropping seeds into them, and covering up the seeds; used for planting corn, wheat, oats, etc. Some drills also deposited fertilizer or lime along with the seeds.

124 Charles W. Harmon (b. 1862) was the son of Lt. Col. E. J. Harmon and Jennie King and the husband of Sally Cloyd (b. 1866), the daughter of James McGavock Cloyd.

125 Francis Otey Buford (b. 1868) was the Isaac Henry Bufords' son and Julius Gordon Buford's younger brother.

126 Dr. Wilson Reynolds Cushing (b. 1837) was a physician who lived in Dublin. In 1896 he married Cynthia Kent Bentley (b. 1875), the daughter of James Randal Kent Bentley and Sidney Graham Hanson. According to the 1900 Virginia census, at that time the Cushings also had in their household James Randal Bentley, Jr. (b. 1884) and Lucy Hart Bentley (b. 1888), Mrs. Cushing's two youngest siblings.

127 Sarah Kent Bell (1890–1980) was the eldest child of Francis Bell and Ellen Gordon Kent. She never married. Although born at "the Miller place," Sarah Bell lived at Rockwood most of her life.

have gone to church. Jim Cowan came for Ice for Lizzie, who was quite sick in the night.

Monday, October 6 I am out looking after things but can't do much. Mr. Patterson left this AM.

Tuesday, October 7 Raining and my drill stopped and I cannot get out of the house. I want to go to Aunt Margie's if I can this evening. I went to town this morn and signed the deed to Rock Quarry. I got 9 dollars for 4 barrels of apples.

Wednesday, October 8 Lula and I rode horseback to Aunt Margie's, found all doing very well. I helped Jim put Mr. Martain over the river.[128]

Thursday, October 9 I came home up the creek. Poor Fronie Scott was buried today.

Friday, October 10 I salted. Collected a lot of Alliance money and went to town. I paid Mr. Alwood $24.20 for salt for Alliance men.[129]

Saturday, October 11 I made fruit ladder and gathered some apples. Went to Alliance meeting. Took in 4 new members. Bob Price, Pat Snider,[130] two Miss Walls. I washed the Jersey wagon after I came back.

128 Otey helped Jim Cowan take Mr. Martain across the New River on the ferry the Cowans operated. Starting at a point directly below the old entrance to Upper Kentland Farm, Cowan's Ferry went under the Virginian Railroad bridge and straight across the river from there. It remained in operation until the early 1940s. Predating Cowan's Ferry was Brown's Ferry, which operated about one mile to the west. The historic Adam Harmon ford, used by Native Americans long before the first Europeans arrived, is located between where the two ferries crossed the river.

129 As was the case elsewhere with the Farmers' Alliance, the Price's Fork chapter purchased supplies, such as salt, for its members in bulk at a reduced price.

130 Robert Henderson "Bob" Price (1864–1950) was the son of Adam Radford Price, Jr. (b. 1841) and Sarah Elizabeth Harless (b. 1844). In 1893 he married Texanna "Texie" Williams (1868–1952), the daughter of Floyd S. Williams and Mary Elizabeth Lucas. Price owned a large farm in the Long Shop community adjacent to Upper Kentland Farm, earlier part of James Randal Kent's estate and more recently owned by John Thomas Cowan, then by Mary Cloyd Cowan, and later by Richard Putnam Adams and Thomas Kent Adams. In 1888 Bob Price became the first person to obtain a degree in horticulture at V.A.M.C. Subsequently he taught horticulture at Texas A&M College (now University) for fifteen years before returning to his farm.

William Patterson "Pat" Snider (1830–1920) was the son of Mary Susannah Snider and Adam Radford Price, Sr. He married first, in 1865, Zipporah Harless (1843–1898) and second, in 1910, Rosa L. (Price) Price. "Pat" Snider owned a farm on present Keister's Branch Road.

Sunday, October 12 Beautiful day. Mamma, Mary, Otey[131] and I drove out to church. Took dinner at Alex Black's. Dr. & Mrs. Apperson were there. We found Mr. Cowan, Jim, & Lula at home when we got back.

Monday, October 13 My lime[132] has given out and I am drilling the wheat without it. I gathered about 25 bushels of nice winter apples today.[133] The three Palmer girls & Ed Palmer[134] called this afternoon.

Tuesday, October 14 Finished putting in wheat. Gathered a good many apples. Got an invitation to Capt. William T. Smith's, also one to Gill Thomas's marriage October 22 & to Lizzie Kent's Oct. 20.[135]

Wednesday, October 15 I fixed the stove up in the parlor for Lula. Mr. Bird Linkous came to bring my cattle.

Thursday, October 16 Rained. I gathered a few apples. Mary Lou Bell and Howe[136] came.

Friday, October 17 I went to a party at Capt. William Smith's, Riner.

Saturday, October 18 I spent the day there with the girls & came home with Billy Flanagan & spent the night with him at his Montague place.

Sunday, October 19 I came home, found all well and happy.

Monday, October 20 I went to Dublin to Lizzie Kent's marriage. Had a delightful time.

Tuesday, October 21 I was at David Cloyd's. Jim Cowan came by from Rockwood and he & I came to Aunt Margie's that evening.

Wednesday, October 22 Raining and I could not come home.

Thursday, October 23 Still raining but Mary Cowan, Jim & I came on up home. She & I in the Little cart

131 Mary Phelan Patterson and James Otey Patterson.

132 Because nitrogen fertilizer lowers soil pH, it is necessary to add lime to return the soil to an appropriate pH level. The present standard calls for about two tons of lime to be applied to an acre of cropland every four or five years.

133 In Otey's extensive apple and peach orchard, just north of the house and yard, there were many apple trees of varieties producing "winter apples," which mature in the autumn. The Oteys stored these apples in bins in the root cellar, located directly beneath the parlor, and ate them all winter long.

134 The children of Col. William H. Palmer.

135 Lizzie Ligon Kent (b. 1865) was the daughter of David Cloyd Kent and Elizabeth J. Ligon. Lizzie Kent married Oscar Laughon (b. 1859), the son of Joshua Laughon and Elizabeth White, on October 20, 1890. Gill Thomas was probably a relative of the John Montgomery Thomas family.

136 John Howe Kent (1869–1946) was the son of Ellen Mary Howe and Joseph Gordon Kent. Howe Kent married first, in 1898, Loula C. Baskerville (1874–1899), and second, in 1906, May Baskerville (1872–1944).

and we broke the Spring.

Friday, October 24 She and Jim went home expecting to go to school next day. I salted the cattle, sheep & so on. Went up to Blacksburg, spent the night with Liz and Alex.

Saturday, October 25 Came home from town, found Jim Cowan here after yearlings. He and I took them to his home and weighed them that evening. They weighed 750 lbs.

...

Wednesday, October 29 Went to Kanode's Mill & got 12 bushels of flour. Sold Bird Linkous a yearling heifer at $15.50.

Thursday, October 30 I sent Mr. Burnett a load of coal, $24.50. I got in a nice lot of corn today. I bought a lot in Roanoke City today from Bill Wiley.

Friday, October 31 I helped Bird Linkous drive his beef home. I had 35 bushels of wheat cleaned up to send to Christiansburg. I helped Bird to kill his beef, bought one-quarter.

Saturday, November 1 Cut up beef. Got cabbage from Mr. Kanode. Got in two loads of corn. John Hampton Hoge is here tonight. Brought ring and bracelet.

Sunday, November 2 Raining. Did not go to Church. Alex and Liz came down.

Monday, November 3 I drove to town for oil. Got a nice mail.

Tuesday, November 4 Sold steer to Billy Flanagan. Sent Mr. [...]'s horse to him in Roanoke. I voted at Price's Fork just at sunset.

Wednesday, November 5 I took Mamma to the River. Mary and Jim had gone back to school.

Thursday, November 6 Ed Kent and I went over after Miss Fannie Barnett.[137] She came back with us. Mamma and I came home after 9 o'clock. Found Pat Preston here. Sam Bell came as we got up from supper.

Friday, November 7 Mamie and Pat Preston drove out to town as it was a beautiful day. I salted stock today.

Saturday, November 8 Cleaned out stable and cribs. Lou and Mamma drove to town in the buggy. I rode Fitch. We heard Gill Thomas play and went to the oyster supper. We spent the night at Alex Black's.

Sunday, November 9 We went to Baptist Church and Mr. Burnett did preach a splendid sermon. (Text was "Be Strong"). We came home late in the afternoon.

Monday, November 10 Beautiful day. I went up to see Pat Preston & took dinner with him. Bought 3 little calves from him and one from Mr. Songer.

Tuesday, November 11 I got in a nice lot of corn this AM. I bought 2 calves from Matt Price[138] this PM.

137 Undoubtedly a member of the Henry C. Barnett family. The Barnetts owned a large farm in the Horseshoe adjacent to the Flanagan place and across the New River from the Kent/Cowan farm. The Barnett farm extended up the river into the mountain ridge near Pepper's Ferry.

The colt has come.

Wednesday, November 12 I went to Depot after Alliance salt. Came back to town, got the mail, went up to Mr. Wall's Candy Store.[139]

Thursday, November 13 Pat Preston & Bill Songer got 17 bushels of corn for Calves. My fruit trees came today, $15.90 worth. Mr. Patterson came at 2 o'clock.

Friday, November 14 Lula, Prof. and Mrs. Graham,[140] Min Thomas & myself all went to the big German at Radford. Went up on the 12 o'clock train and drove around until dark, then put up at the Inn.[141] Dr. H. L. Cowan spent the night in the room with Prof. Graham & myself.

Saturday, November 15 Took breakfast at the Inn and we all (Dr. Cowan with us) came home. I bought a colt from Dr. Cowan.

Sunday, November 16 Dr. Cowan and myself spent last night here. He left for Radford early. Lizzie Cowan and myself went to church at Belspring.[142]

Monday, November 17 Uncle John and myself went to Radford & brought Cousin [...], Jennie Hart[143] & Mary Lou back with us.

...

Wednesday, November 19 I drove down to the River for Cousin Lucy and the girls.[144] When we got back found Cloyd, Liz and Alex all here. We spent a happy evening singing

138 John Madison "Matt" Price (1838–1912) was the son of Noah Price (1818–1878) and Catherine Kipps (1817–1905). In 1862 he married Malinda Heavener (b. 1837), the daughter of Strawther Heavener (1818–1896) and Frances "Fannie" Price (1812–1877), and in 1886 he married Louisa Jane Cromer (1861–1943), the daughter of John Martin Cromer (b. 1828) and Anna Frances "Fanny" Ekiss (circa 1829–1861). Matt Price owned a farm bordered by present Brooksfield and Olinger Roads.

139 The son of Pharis Wall, George P. Wall (1855–1951) operated a small store, located on present Glade Road, where he sold candy and soft drinks exclusively. He married Mary Plunkett (d. 1951) and owned land adjacent to Walnut Spring to the east. A portion of that land is now owned by the Paul Bowyer family.

140 W. H. Graham was a professor of bookkeeping and stenography and college accountant at V.A.M.C.

141 The Radford Inn was a resort hotel located on First Street in west Radford, overlooking the New River. It burned in 1893.

142 Located in the northeastern corner of Pulaski County, Belspring is a small community north of Radford between Fairlawn and Parrot. Belle Hampton, the birthplace of Governor James Hoge Tyler, is located in Belspring.

143 Virginia Collier Hart (b. 1870) was the William T. Harts' daughter. In 1903 she married Dr. William Byrd Tate.

and so on.

Thursday, November 20 I killed 27 beautiful hogs. They averaged 207 lbs. We had 25 people for dinner too. Cousin Lucy and the girls returned to the River. Cloyd took them back in my wagon.

Friday, November 21 Have been busy cutting up hogs & salting the meat down all day. It took a sack of salt to salt it. Aunt Criss & Liz Reid worked hard.

Saturday, November 22 Went to town after 5 lard cans as we did not have enough. Went to Alliance meeting at 2 o'clock at Price's Fork.

Sunday, November 23 Beautiful day. Lula & I drove to church at Price's Fork (in the cart), took dinner at Jim Long's. Mary & Otey Patterson & myself took a long walk this evening looking for a dead cow.

Monday, November 24 Salted cattle. Lizzie Black and Mrs. Black[145] spent the day with us. I saw Jim Evans about selling the land at Kate Price's.

Tuesday, November 25 Have been to Christiansburg to court. Sold Echo (little yellow mare). Sold 2 barrels of apples at $4.50.

Wednesday, November 26 Went back to Christiansburg but the judge excused me[146] & I went back to the German at V.A.M.C. We had a delightful time.

Thursday, November 27 Lula & I came home in cart, left Papa, Mamie, and the children at Alex's. I rode to Forks this evening.

Friday, November 28 Jim Evans came to buy the 28 acres of Kate's. Mamie and children came back this evening.

Saturday, November 29 John H. Hoge is here. I rode Fitch down to the River.

Sunday, November 30 I came home from the River. Aunt Margie, Uncle John, & Lizzie were the only ones at home. I did not take Dr. H. L. Cowan's lot at Radford.

Monday, December 1 Jim Evans and myself went to Christiansburg. Paid my taxes today. I saw Harry Caperton.[147]

Tuesday, December 2 Salted sheep, cattle and cows. Had Lizzie Kanode's house fixed. Sent $7.00 as payment on lot in Roanoke.

Wednesday, December 3 I went to get Mr. Floyd McDonald[148] to [...] off land for Mr. Evans.

Thursday, December 4 Jim Evans and myself ran off 91 acres that he and

144 Lucy Gaines (Bentley) Hart and her daughters, Virginia Collier Hart, Cynthia Kent Hart (b. 1872), and Florence Weldon Hart (b. 1875).

145 Mrs. Black is Mary Irby (Kent) Black, Dr. Harvey Black's widow.

146 Otey was excused from jury duty. He served on juries convened by the Montgomery County District Court a number of times.

147 G. Henry Caperton of Amherst County was a member of the V.A.M.C. class of 1879. He and Otey were both students at V.A.M.C. during the 1878-1879 session.

Frank bought of Lula.[149] Mr. Floyd McDonald ran the compass for us. John Hampton Hoge is here tonight.

Friday, December 5 I drove to Christiansburg in Jersey wagon. Jim Evans went with me. We got Archy Phlegar[150] to write the deed. He charged $5.00. Jim paid me $1000 down. I left it with Alex Black.

Saturday, December 6 Raining. Sent Alex Black two hams to send to Janie Williams. Mrs. Bentley Olinger was buried today. Nick Olinger died last night at 12 o'clock.[151] The Alliance did not meet this week.

Sunday, December 7 Papa and myself went to Nick Olinger's burying. It was very cold and damp. Good many out.

Monday, December 8 Cold and sleety, did not get much work done.

Tuesday, December 9 Oh! what a night last one was to us all. The

148 Floyd Fechtig McDonald (1819–1893), who married Jane Black (1827–1892), the sister of Dr. Harvey Black. Floyd and Jane McDonald were the parents of Charles Black, Mary, and Ellen Taylor McDonald, and Virginia (McDonald) Wilson and the grandparents of James Richard, Charles Gordon, and Katherine Jane McDonald. The McDonalds have owned and operated a large farm just southeast of Walnut Spring since 1763. Part of Walnut Spring belonged to the McDonalds and subsequently to their relatives, the Banes, before it was purchased by James Randal Kent.

149 Although Dr. and Mrs. Otey deeded the entire farm jointly to their two youngest children, Jim and Louisa Otey had apparently agreed that she would, in effect, have the southern part of the farm and he would have the northern part, which included the house and most of the outbuildings, as well as the mountain land and coal mines. When the ninety-one acres on the farm's southern border was sold to James and Frank Evans in 1890, then, the decision to sell was Louisa Otey's and the land conveyed was from "her" part of the farm, but legally the land was sold to the Evans brothers by both Oteys. In the 1950s Louisa Otey's son, James Otey Hoge, bought that land back from James Evans's children, Ora E. Evans (1906–1994) and James F. Evans, Jr. (1908–1977). Some time after his sister's marriage to John Hampton Hoge, Otey acquired her part of the farm and was thereafter the sole owner of Walnut Spring for the remainder of his life.

150 Archer Allen Phlegar (1846–1912), a prominent Christiansburg attorney and later judge. He served as a justice on the Supreme Court of Virginia.

151 The son of John and Mary Elizabeth Olinger, Nick Olinger died only a day or two after his sister-in-law, Josie (Wauless) Olinger, the widow of William Bentley Olinger.

old Bane house burned to the ground and poor Bal Shepherd lost nearly all he had in it. I had 35 or 40 bushels of wheat burnt up in it too. Thanks to our Heavenly Father it was not worse.

Wednesday, December 10 Have been all day moving another house to put up for Bal. He and his family are here in the house with us. Mamie, Liz & Alex, Lou & Cloyd have helped him all they could.

Thursday, December 11 Mamie, Baby Kent,[152] Lula & myself drove out to town & got our Xmas tricks. Prof. Miles's body was taken away today.

Friday, December 12 Have had more logs cut for Bal's house. Got in 26 bushels of coal. Called on Mr. Groseclose[153] to get flour for Lou.

Saturday, December 13 Cold but dry & bright. I found another dead calf today, it was a fine one.

Sunday, December 14 Did not go to church. Read one of Talmadge's sermons.

Monday, December 15 Finished "Johnny House" back of old crib. Lizzie Kanode went to town.

Tuesday, December 16 Started foundation on Bal's house. Big snowfall this evening. I went to Cloyd's after old sleigh, had a nice ride home in it.

Wednesday, December 17 Snow about 21 or 22 inches deep. Papa & I drove to town in old sleigh. Could not come back as Emma Conrad did not get there until 5 o'clock.

Thursday, December 18 Lula, Em, Papa & myself came home horseback as the snow had drifted so we could not come in the sleigh. Had an awful time getting through drifts. Emma Conrad is with us tonight.

Friday, December 19 At home all day, feeding and looking after stock. Went up to town on horseback, got sleigh, went to depot after Hattie & Zelle.[154] Got back to bed after [...] o'clock.

Sunday, December 21 Hattie & Zelle

152 Lawrence Kent Patterson (b. 1890), the son of Robert and Mamie Patterson. Kent Patterson became a Jesuit priest.

153 John Kelly Groseclose, who came to Blacksburg from Burkes Garden, Virginia, was the original owner of the Blacksburg Milling and Supply Company, which milled and sold flour and also sold lumber and farm implements. Groseclose lived in a house on North Main Street located on the site presently occupied by Wendy's. He was the father of Henry C. Groseclose, who was a member of the V.P.I. class of 1923 and later taught in the department of agricultural education. Along with Walter S. Newman, Harry W. Sanders, and Edmund C. Magill, Groseclose is credited with founding the Future Farmers of Virginia, which subsequently became the Future Farmers of America.

154 Zelle Minor (b. 1849) was the granddaughter of the other James Hervey Otey (1800–1863), first Episcopal Bishop of Tennessee and founder of the

& I came home in sleigh. It turned over and had lots of tumbles.

Monday, December 22 Gave out our Xmas things to children. Went to town, helped at church. Got trunk to Alex. Gave Bal Shepherd his $10.00 from Phlegar.

Tuesday, December 23 Got up early, had all horses gotten ready & everything fixed to go to town in sleigh & wagon. All left for town & left Lula and Emma Conrad waiting for John Hampton Hoge to come after them. We met him not far from here. Zelle & Hattie Minor & myself in sleigh; we turned over twice & mashed the bell. When we got to Alex Black's we found everybody come in. Lula & John Hampton Hoge were married at half past eight o'clock. The church[155] was beautifully dressed & everything passed off nicely. We had a delightful supper at Alex Black's.

Wednesday, December 24 We all got up early & started for Roanoke. Trains 2 hours late, and oh! what a drive we had in the snow. Got to Roanoke about eleven o'clock. Some went to Col. Penn's[156] & some to Elliott Hoge's.[157] The re-

University of the South ("Sewanee"). Hattie Minor was Zelle's niece. Like Emma Conrad, the Minors were in town for Louisa Otey's wedding.

155 Louisa Virginia Otey and John Hampton Hoge were married in the Blacksburg Baptist Church, which at the time was on the corner of Church and Roanoke Streets where the building presently occupied by the Blacksburg Jewish Community Center now stands. The church was furnished with hard straight pews and was heated by two large cast-iron stoves. Light was provided by an oil lamp over the pulpit, lamps on wall brackets, and a large six-lamp chandelier. Rev. T. W. Stooper performed the ceremony.

156 Col. John Edmund Penn (1837–1895) was the husband of Alice Grant Hoge (1848–1914), the eldest of the eight children of Daniel Howe Hoge and Nicey Ann Hawes DeJarnette and the groom's sister. John Penn was a long-time representative of Patrick County in the Virginia Senate; in 1871–1872 he was instrumental in having Blacksburg selected as the location for V.A.M.C. Together with William H. Ruffner, William T. Sutherlin, Dr. Harvey Black, and others, Penn sought to have Virginia's share of the money provided by the federal Morrill Land-Grant Act finance a new school in Blacksburg at which agricultural and mechanical education would be paramount. In the Senate Penn successfully made the case that the state should accept the offer of the trustees of the Preston and Olin Institute to take over that school and give it new life as a land-grant college. Preston and Olin, formerly Olin and Preston, was a Methodist school established in Blacksburg in 1851. It had fallen upon hard times after the Civil War.

ception at Col. Penn's was another success & we all had a good time.

Thursday, December 25 Xmas Day. Most all of the party came back to Blacksburg today. Had very cold drive from depot to town. Zelle, Emma, & myself went to a hop at College that night.

Friday, December 26 At Alex Black's. Had a splendid breakfast. Mamma, Papa, Cousin Liz, Cloyd and myself came home through the snow. Found everything going on nicely here.

Saturday, December 27 Very cold. Cannot do much but feed stock and sit by the fire.

Sunday, December 28 Still very cold and have been very near the fire all day.

Monday, December 29 Went to town in sleigh with Papa after Mamie and children. Mamie and Kent did not come. Papa, Mary, Otey and I came home. Sleigh turned over with us.

Tuesday, December 30 Papa & myself went to town in wagon after Mamie, Kent, & Zelle. Jimmie Long and Bal cut ice.

Wednesday, December 31 Have been getting ice in all day; it is about 10 or 12 inches thick. Cloyd and Hughey Price wagons helping. Papa, Mamma, Mamie & children, Cloyd, Zelle & myself, and Cousin Liz here all day. It has thawed some & rained a little too today. I have two (2) young lambs.

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157 Elliott Coleman Hoge (1852–1919) was the groom's brother. He married Elizabeth Gilliam Waugh in 1882.

Book Reviews

Edited by Tom Costa
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Banners to the Breeze: The Kentucky Campaign, Corinth, and Stones River. By Earl J. Hess. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 263 pp.

Bluegrass Confederate: The Headquarters Diary of Edward O. Guerrant. Edited by William C. Davis and Meredith L. Swentor. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999), 716 pp.

Perryville: This Grand Havoc of Battle. By Kenneth W. Noe. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2001), 494 pp.

Despite the mass of literature on the American Civil War, it seems that historians have largely forgotten Kentucky. While every year sees numerous new scholarly and popular works on the men and battles of the Civil War, very little attention is paid to the border states which declared and attempted to maintain neutrality throughout the conflict. Such was the case with Kentucky, and while only a handful of strategically significant battles were fought there, it can be argued that no other state occupied a more prominent position in the war. Each of the conflicting sides wanted Kentucky's official allegiance and the use of its manpower. Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis could both call Kentucky "home." Also significant was the strategic importance of the Ohio River and its southern tributaries to each army. And, as a slave state, Kentucky's support could, depending on the side it took, either repudiate or define the nature of the Civil War in the eyes of onlookers. To help answer some of the central questions regarding Kentucky's involvement in the conflict, a handful of very interesting books have recently been published.

The three books under examination in this essay reflect the broad differences in approach and interpretation that can be seen in modern Civil War studies. Earl J. Hess's *Banners to the Breeze: The Kentucky Campaign, Corinth, and Stones River* is a campaign history that not only addresses the fight for Kentucky, but the extension of that fight throughout Tennessee and into northern Mississippi. Kenneth W. Noe's *Perryville: This Grand Havoc of Battle* examines one of the most important contests of the war. And, perhaps the most interesting of the works under review, *Bluegrass Confederate: The Headquarters Diary of Edward O. Guerrant*, edited by William C. Davis and Meredith L. Swentor, looks at the war from ground level through the eyes of Guerrant, who served as a general's aide in the mountains of eastern Kentucky and southwest Virginia.

One significant, and often legitimate, criticism of Civil War studies can be that historians often spend far too much time delving into microhistory, rather than seeking broad examination and the larger answers that result. Earl J. Hess's *Banners to the Breeze* examines the Kentucky Campaign of 1862 that not only penetrated the Bluegrass State on numerous fronts, but extended later into middle Tennessee and parts of Mississippi. Hess, whose previous works reflect a broad regional and intellectual interest in the Civil War, outlines Confederate General Braxton Bragg's plan to bring Kentucky into the Confederate fold. Bragg, like many southerners, felt that a handful of prominent Unionists were withholding Kentucky from the Confederacy. Upon invasion, Bragg expected his army to play a dual role: as protectors of the state from Union harassment and as trainers of the mass of recruits who would then feel safe joining the southern army. Neither of these events unfolded as Bragg had planned. First, Edmund Kirby Smith undermined the coordinated attack on Kentucky by executing an exceptionally well-organized passage through the tight Cumberland Gap and drove very quickly into the Bluegrass region while Bragg's main force was still moving through Tennessee. Perhaps more surprising was the failure of Confederate recruiting efforts once in Kentucky. The expected deluge never materialized.

Despite Hess' flowing narrative of the campaign, one cannot help but believe that by broadening his approach, the author could have gleaned more from his study. *Banners to the Breeze* is an exhaustive military history, yet in these days of social and economic impact, Hess does not attempt to include these factors into his work. With his concentration on battle lines and troop movements, it appears that Hess has turned the possibility of a

contribution of macrohistory into just another microhistorical study. He does attempt to reexamine Braxton Bragg and spends considerable time discussing the progress of the war in the mountains of eastern Kentucky, but in the end, *Banners to the Breeze* is little different from James Lee McDonough's *War in Kentucky* (1994).

Scholars of Kentucky's Civil War have been anxiously awaiting Kenneth Noe's examination of the Battle of Perryville. As the high-water mark of Bragg's campaign, Perryville served as the pivot point of the Civil War in Kentucky. Able commanders on both sides often prevent the decisive victory that Napoleonic warfare teaches. The same result can also occur when two mediocre commanders meet on the battlefield. Such was the case at Perryville. The Union's Don Carlos Buell and the Confederacy's Braxton Bragg both had long careers behind them and good military reputations, although neither had distinguished himself in battle in any significant way. At Perryville, the two men counteracted each other in a variety of ways. Bragg negated his numerical advantage by dividing his army and sending half of his 32,000 men to Frankfort to protect the provisional Confederate government from what he thought was Buell's full army, which turned out to be only a small feinting force. Back at Perryville, the 16,000 remaining Confederate troops were ready to meet a surprisingly large Union force of 22,000 with even more in reserve. With a larger and healthier force, Buell stood on the cusp of a great victory, but managed to snatch defeat from its jaws. Sound refraction caused by wind direction and the hilly terrain produced an acoustic shadow that limited the range of sound that Buell and his command could hear. As a result, Bragg attacked only part of Buell's army and the Union command never knew of the battle until it was nearly over.

Noe's work on Perryville is thorough and well-researched. He gives the battle its due as one of the bloodiest of the Civil War with regard to the number of men engaged and attempts to answer significant questions that have plagued the contest. Perhaps most important, Noe attempts to place Perryville within not only the Kentucky Campaign of which it was part, but within the whole of the war. For the most part he succeeds, but as is the case with military history, little information about the regional implications of the battle is supplied.

The best history often comes in a simple form. When Edward O. Guerrant, a schoolteacher from central Kentucky, joined the Confederate army, he did so with high ideals in mind and a calling to fight for what

he saw as a good and just cause. Four years later, he left the collapsed Confederacy disgruntled and unsure about the righteousness of his cause. William C. Davis and Meredith L. Swentor edited the volumes of Guerrant's diaries held in private hands and his other papers in the custody of the Southern Historical Collection at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, and in the collections of the Filson Club in Louisville, Kentucky. What they gleaned from the Guerrant diaries is a primary account of the complex war for eastern Kentucky as prosecuted by men more pragmatic than highly idealistic.

Bluegrass Confederate might be the most significant contribution to the Civil War in Appalachia to date. It is bottom-up history written by a man caught between the command structure and the fighting apparatus, and it deals with the war in one of its least understood arenas. Most of Guerrant's service was spent in eastern Kentucky and in extreme southwest Virginia. In such areas, little today is known about the wartime conditions. Within the pages of his diary, Guerrant not only deals with the details of his military service and daily activities, but enlightens the reader as to the state of the area and the people from the mountain communities. The reader can follow Guerrant's slow and logical dissatisfaction with his Confederate service, from his eager enlistment to his realization that Morgan's Raiders were little more than common rogues.

Taken together, these three works paint what appears to be a more comprehensive portrait of the Civil War in Kentucky than previous efforts have done. Starting with Hess' broad strokes and focusing the picture with Noe's story of Perryville, and then adding Guerrant's experience, readers should see the different levels on which the war was fought and the various scholarly approaches to Civil War studies. While these additions make considerable contributions to the genre, it must be understood that Kentucky's Civil War remains a neglected topic. The only comprehensive work on the state's experience is more than seventy-five years old and most of the existing monographs lack considerable scholarship. Despite the subject's spotty history, the three works examined here indicate that Kentucky's comprehensive story is on the path to being told in the coming years.

Brian D. McKnight
Mississippi State University

Index[1]

[1]This index includes the names of persons mentioned in the footnotes to the Otey diaries. Married women are listed under their maiden names, if known, with the married name in parentheses; there is a cross reference under the married name.

* Because "Alex" is mentioned so frequently in the Otey diaries (pages 84-134), only the first page reference is given here.

C

D

E

J

K

* Because "Mamma" is mentioned so frequently in the Otey diaries, only the first page reference is given here.

L

M

N

O

P

* Because "Cloyd", "Lou" , and "Papa" are mentioned so frequently in the Otey diaries, only the first page reference is given here.

Q

R

S

T

U

Y

Z

The Smithfield Review
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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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"Two tobacco planters . . . introduced the . . .'Rucker Batteau' . . . [with] a design so perfect for the job (hauling tons of cargo on rock-strewn, shallow rivers) that it was widely copied, and eventually it was found in use on rivers from Maryland to Georgia."

— Dan Crawford, pp. 8, 9

"Virginia was without a government. . . . All there was in Staunton to represent an operating government was William Fleming. . . .During his brief reign as acting governor, Fleming issued orders calling out militia to support General Lafayette and directing the movement of prisoners from Virginia to Massachusetts and Maryland. "

— Clare White, p. 34

"The founding of Christiansburg Institute [in 1866] was precedent setting; its establishment predated that of area schools and many institutions of higher education . . .In Montgomery County, [it] predated the creation of any public elementary school, black or white. . . .As a high school, its founding predated by forty years the first public high school in Montgomery County."

— Anna Fariello, pp. 39-40

" ***Thursday, July 17*** Cut up hay and topped hay stacks. Went to German, Yellow Sulphur [Springs Hotel]. Had a good time. Got a kiss I did not expect. . . ." (p. 117)
Friday, September 12 Mamma and I drove to town. Took dinner at Smithfield, called at Whitethorne.[113] It rained on us all the way. I got me a pair of shoes at Alex's.[114] Got a letter from Papa saying they will be home next week."

— James Armistead Otey, pp. 122-123