HOUSE LEGENDS AND PERCEPTIONS OF THE CIVIL WAR: A MULTIPLE CASE STUDY ON THE CIVIL WAR LEGENDS TOLD ABOUT ANTEBELLUM HOMES IN THE NEW RIVER VALLEY, ROANOKE VALLEY, AND NEARBY COUNTIES OF VIRGINIA

by

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(ABSTRACT)

This study was designed to identify recurring themes in Civil War legends that are told in reference to antebellum homes in regions of Southwest Virginia. Existing literature indicates that collecting these legends is an important task because doing so helps others to better understand the community of legend-tellers. Previous research has also indicated that legends form a type of American mythology with reveals the way the legend-tellers perceive the specific subject they describe in the legends.

Eight historic homes were visited in six southwestern counties of Virginia.

Qualitative data were collected from a purposive sample of 12 participants who lived in these houses, previously lived in an historic house, or worked in an historic house museum. Each house was chosen as a site of inquiry because it has some significance for those interested in the Civil War or because it represents typical houses in similar southwestern Virginian communities during the Civil War era. In-depth interviews were the sole means of data collection and provided detailed and unlimited legends used to identify themes. The data were collected analyzed using a multiple case study approach.

The findings from this study indicate that Civil War legends are being told in reference to antebellum homes in Southwest Virginia. Additionally, the tellers of the

legends have common thoughts about the Civil War. The three major conclusions made in this study are (1) northern soldiers were aggressors during the Civil War; (2) southerners were strong during the Civil War; and (3) ghosts and ghostly activity serve as reminders of the Civil War. By continuing to share these legends, the tellers indicate their own perspectives of the Civil War as well as the perspectives of those who originate the legends. The legend-tellers also provide insight into the culture of today's southwestern Virginians as well as the Civil War era southwestern Virginians.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my personal Savior, Jesus Christ, who has helped me persevere and finish this race.

And to Kyle, my best friend and sole mate who has provided unspeakable stability and support throughout this process.

And to my Mom and Dad, who have been constant encouragers and who have taught me to never give up.

And to Alex and Kristi, who are always helpful, loving, and understanding.

And to Mema and Granddaddy who have taught me that above all else, love is most important.

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I wish to give a special thanks to my family for supporting me in countless ways throughout my life. You have all always believed in me, even when I did not believe in myself. I also thank my parents, Tim and Carol Dale, for always listening to me and loving me. My husband-to-be, Kyle Woosnam, has been incredibly supportive throughout this endeavor and has taken on extra responsibilities in order to keep me sane.

I am truly grateful and will continue to count down the days until we are married. I honestly do not know what I would have done here if I had not met you that first day of TA training. Thanks to my sister, Kristi Dale, who has always been able to make me laugh aloud on command. Also, thanks to Erica Ellis who constantly understood when I did not have time to call.

I wish to express my sincere gratitude to the 12 individuals who allowed me to enter their world and share their experiences. I have learned so much from each of the individuals interviewed and thoroughly enjoyed the stories each shared. Thanks for teaching me so much about southwestern Virginia and the impact that the Civil War had on this area.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

In 1861, when a civil war loomed in the nation's near future, Virginia's legislative leaders hoped that the divergent views between the South and the North could be resolved peacefully (MCPS, 2003). Unfortunately, much of the state of Virginia saw no peace during the War. Virginia, "the Mother State of the nation," (Robertson, 1991) became the battlefield for over sixty percent of the nation's Civil War battles. Virginia lost tens of thousands of its citizens to the War. Additionally, Virginia lost a third of its territory in the War: In 1863, the residents of the westernmost part of the state broke away and formed what is now known as West Virginia. Factories in Virginia were destroyed, cities demolished, and thousands of homes were burned or ransacked (Robertson, 1991). By the time Confederate General Robert E. Lee surrendered at Appomattox in April of 1865, thus ending the War, his home state had become a near wasteland. The bloodiest war in American history was fought, and lost by the Confederacy, in Virginia.

Although Southwest Virginia was spared from many of the horrors of the Civil War battles, it saw its fair share of death and destruction. Invading Union troops burned homes in towns including Roanoke (then named Big Lick) and buildings on college campuses including Virginia Military Institute. Southwestern Virginians from each county in the area signed up and fought alongside Confederate commanders such as Thomas 'Stonewall' Jackson and Robert E. Lee (Jack, 1912; McCauley, 1902; Robertson, 1991). One of the War's bloodiest battles in Southwest Virginia (Smith,

1981), the Battle of Cloyd's Farm, took place in the mountains of Pulaski County. Southwest Virginia did not appear on the front pages of any newspaper during the Civil War, but the responsibility it accepted for its own citizens, the citizens of other Confederate states, and Confederate troops all over the nation was essential in order for the Confederacy to have a chance at surviving the War (Walker, 1985).

To understand just how important Southwest Virginia's role was to the Civil War, it is important to first identify the major factors associated with that role. The Virginia-Tennessee railroad came to Southwest Virginia in the 1850s. This railroad would prove vital for the transport of food to Confederate groups, as well as for the movement of backup troops when necessary (Smith, 1981). This "wild, rugged, inhospitable, mountainous region" ("General Averill," 1863) played an important role in the War by providing the largest portion of salt to the people of the Confederate states. Without salt provided by southwestern Virginians, the people living in the south would have no way to preserve their food. The mines in Southwest Virginia also supplied lead for Confederate artillery and southwestern Virginians contributed the largest amount of food to Lee's army (Walker, 1985).

For the most part, Civil War historians have ignored Southwest Virginia and its role during the War. Perhaps this is because Union soldiers, on their rampage through the area, burned so many Confederate war-related documents when they burned the various headquarters located throughout the southwestern part of the state (Walker, 1985). So few historians have written about Southwest Virginia and this fact alone causes a problem for other historians who would attempt to collect information about the

area's importance during the War. This deficiency of available primary and secondary sources perpetuates the cycle.

Perhaps this lack of historical proof and analytical reflection on the Civil War in Southwest Virginia has made the telling and acceptance of Civil War legends more prevalent and customary in the area. Homes occupied during the Civil War often have stories associated with them about the tenants during the time of the Civil War, or the house's use during that time. While some cultural anthropologists and architectural historians have taken an interest in these legends and discussed a few of the them in published articles (Dunbar, 1988; Simpson, 1992; Yentsch, 1988), no comprehensive collection of old house legends has been compiled, particularly in the realm of southern house legends told about the Civil War. Such a collection could provide readers with insight into southern culture as well as a sense of the teller's perceptions about the Civil War. Additionally, because of the lack of historically accurate information regarding the Civil War in Southwest Virginia and the small number of publications regarding the topic, the legends collected in the present research could prove invaluable to future generations. The legends may serve as the only form of historical accounts regarding the War in Southwest Virginia, even if they are not verifiably factual.

Purpose of the Study

The primary purpose of this study was to collect Civil War related house legends to find recurring themes. The information gathered from these themes provides a new knowledge base of house-related legends and a representation of southern culture, but also reinforces prior researchers' ideas that these legends form a type of American mythology (Yentsch, 1988). The study reveals the way some of today's southwestern

Virginians think and feel about the Civil War, and reveals the way generations past may have felt about the War, as they were the individuals who began passing down or in some cases creating the stories.

Need for the Study

Yentsch, a cultural anthropologist, reasons that legends are important because they reveal ethnographic information about the social ideals of the local people as well as the teller's ideas about family relationships and personal history (Yentsch, 1988).

Additionally, this research could add to the limited existing body of literature on the Civil War in Southwest Virginia. The present thesis research is the first known to attempt to collect and analyze legends told about the Civil War that are associated with antebellum homes in specific regions of southwestern Virginia.

Research Questions

The two research questions in this study were as follows:

- 1. What are the legends associated with selected antebellum homes in specific regions of Southwest Virginia?
- 2. What are the recurring themes or trends in the legends that would indicate that these stories provide understanding about southern culture as well as a sense of the teller's perceptions about the Civil War?

Limitations of the Study

A total of 12 individuals at 8 different historic homes were interviewed although over 100 were contacted. Although many individuals like to talk about their past and are

very proud of the old homes they live in, many chose not to participate in this study. Several individuals contacted were elderly, and felt that they might not be able to gather their thoughts in order to be helpful. Additionally, some people contacted declined participation because they only knew factual information about their home and were not familiar with any legends. Others declined because they did not have the time. Many chose not to participate for unstated reasons. The geographic area chosen as the study region limits the study. The limitation was necessary to make the study feasible in the given time and geographic location of the researcher.

The legends accepted into this study were not limited by any criteria, other than that they had to be related to the Civil War and a historic home. Because the legends told were broad and not restricted, respondents were able to communicate all of the legends they knew, which provided an accurate and extensive idea of what stories were actually being handed down. The legends incorporated into this study ranged from local citizens performing heroic acts during the Civil War to ghosts appearing in nineteenth-century garb.

Geographical Orientation and Historical Settings

Eight historic homes were visited in six southwestern counties of Virginia. These counties were all either in the New River Valley, Roanoke Valley, or surrounding areas. The counties included Franklin, Giles, Montgomery, Patrick, Pulaski, and Roanoke. Each of these counties is considered part of the Blue Ridge Mountain range with the exception of Franklin and Patrick.

These counties were specifically chosen for several reasons. All of the counties were selected because the researcher was interested in the stories told by Virginians who

live in the southwestern part of the state. The counties located in the Blue Ridge (Giles, Pulaski, Montgomery, and Roanoke) were chosen because the Blue Ridge has extensive significance for those interested in the Civil War, drawing Civil War buffs and reenactors by the thousands each year (Insiders, 2003). The counties not situated in the Blue Ridge (Franklin and Patrick) were selected because they represent typical southwestern Virginian counties during the Civil War era (Becker, 1990; Patrick County Historical Society, 1999; Salmon, 1993).

Below are maps of southwestern Virginia counties (Figure 1.1), the New River Valley (Figure 1.2), the Roanoke Valley (Figure 1.3), and the nearby counties (Figure 1.4) included in the present research. Also included below are descriptions of each county, including the role the counties played during the Civil War. Brief information about each city, town, or county visited and the background of each historic home is included. In addition, detailed information is given regarding the specific sites visited. Within the text, the counties appear alphabetically within their region.



Figure 1.1

Counties of Southwest Virginia

Note six highlighted counties where interviews took place.

The New River Valley (Figure 1.2)

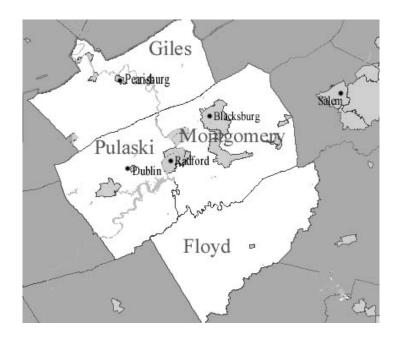


Figure 1.2

Highlighted counties are those that form the New River Valley.

Cities and towns visited in the present research are noted.

North of the Blue Ridge and just South of West Virginia, rests **Giles County**. In 1862, Giles County was home to the Virginia-Tennessee railroad, a part of the New River Valley, and many bridges that cross the New River. In the heart of Pearisburg and surrounded by the mountainous landscape of Giles County, Andrew Johnston built a home. Johnston completed the brick Colonial Georgian style home in 1829 for his family, which at that time, included his wife (June Henderson of Montgomery County, Virginia) and their five children. When he died in 1838, he left the house to his wife and youngest son, Dr. Harvey Green Johnston. In 1857, after Dr. Johnston had completed his studies at Emory and Henry and the University of Virginia and his mother had died, he and his wife moved into the house with their four children. It was at this time that Dr. Johnston built the doctor's office, where he practiced as a country doctor for many years.

Union troops in the 23rd Ohio Infantry Regiment (Ohio 23rd) used the doctor's office as a headquarters for four days in 1862 while Dr. Johnston was away tending to the Confederate wounded and his only son was fighting alongside the Virginia regulars.

Montgomery County is referred to as Virginia's technological corridor (Insiders, 2003). Before Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University (Virginia Tech) was established in Blacksburg in 1872 and before Radford was incorporated as a city 20 years later, Montgomery County was a farming community and was known as a quiet and pleasant place to live. As the home of Virginia Tech, Blacksburg is currently the largest town in Virginia in both population and land (Insiders, 2003). This rapidly growing college town is nestled on a mountain plateau between the Blue Ridge and Allegheny Mountains.

Located near the campus of Virginia Tech and seen from Highway 460 sits

Smithfield Plantation, a tidewater-inspired plantation timber-framed home built in 1774

by William Preston. This pre-Revolutionary War period house has seen many changes
throughout its years: American independence, the Civil War, and the founding and
enormous growth of Virginia Tech, its neighbor. William Preston built this house for his
wife and 12 children when he was 45 years old. As a surveyor, he worked alongside men
who would later become politically powerful including Thomas Jefferson and George
Washington. When Preston died, he left the house to his son, William Ballard Preston
who also raised a family and occupied the house during the Civil War. Smithfield
Plantation is near the Virginia and West Virginia border. Because the plantation rests
near the border of those two states, in 1861, when the Civil War began, the plantation
was just miles away from the edge of the Confederacy. Additionally, William Ballard

Preston was a very political man. Although he did not own his own slaves when he first began speaking to the legislature, Preston, like many Montgomery County residents, was originally strongly opposed to Virginia's secession. Elected as a moderate Unionist, Preston led Congress to vote against secession on April 4, 1861 but then, after a futile meeting with President Lincoln in Washington and a Union-led attack on Fort Sumter, South Carolina, he changed his vote and convinced other Congress members to do the same only 12 days later (MCPS, 2003).

Radford was the site of two interviews that were very different from one another in nature. Radford, the county's only independent city, is also the only city located on the New River, despite the fact that the river stretches through three states. This is particularly unusual because the New River is the second oldest river in the world and has had over 300 million years to accumulate riverside cities (Insiders, 2003). The New River at Radford played a very important role in the Civil War. Both interviews dealt with the importance of the New River during this time. The Radford Heritage

Foundation just recently acquired Arnheim, a Federal Greek Revival brick building. The home, built in 1838 by Dr. John Blair Radford, for whom the city was named, sits high on a hill overlooking the river. Because of its vulnerability, it became a target for Union soldiers who were trying to cross the New River.

Another historical home, Ingleside, is located on the opposite side of the New River than Arnheim, and is several miles away. This pre-Revolutionary home is the oldest in the city of Radford and the second oldest (behind Smithfield Plantation in Blacksburg) of three extant homes in Montgomery County that were not built with logs. Ingleside is extraordinary because of its timber-framed construction, which was an

unusual type of construction for its time. This fact alone makes the house architecturally significant. However, the house has many other unique features that make it historically significant and crucial for inclusion in this study. The home is locally known for its association with the Montgomery County heroine, Mary Draper Ingles, and the present day dramatization of her captivity and escape from the Shawnee Indians during the French and Indian War in 1755. However, Union troops threatened the house and women dwelling in Ingleside when they occupied the surrounding farmlands during the Civil War. This farm was one of the few areas in southwestern Virginia to be inhabited and exploited by Union soldiers.

It is fitting that the bloodiest Civil War battle in southwestern Virginia was fought in **Pulaski County**, which was named after the Revolutionary War hero, Count Pulaski, who engaged in many violent war conflicts and commanded cavalry at the recommendation of George Washington. The Battle of Cloyd's Farm ensued in May of 1864, merely feet from Back Creek Farm, an Early Republic style home, built around 1750 by Joseph Cloyd. Here, in the north central part of Pulaski County (what is now known as the town of Dublin), the Confederate army faced three-to-one odds. General George Crook commanded 14 regiments of Union troops (including the Ohio 23rd who encamped on the Andrew Johnston home in Pearisburg just two years earlier) down from West Virginia. Crook's ultimate goal was to demolish the Virginia-Tennessee railroad that ran through the town of Dublin. While in battle, General Crook was mortally wounded and Rutherford B. Hayes (who would go on to become General and eventually a president of the United States) took command and successfully crushed the Confederate contingent. However, as the men in gray retreated and the soldiers in blue moved

towards Dublin, General John Morgan and his troops took position in the nearby woods, forcing the Union troops to take an alternate route, thus saving the town and the railroad. Boys and elderly men of Pulaski and Montgomery County voluntarily marched to join the Confederate soldiers (Smith, 1981), even though they had no official orders to participate. Unfortunately, however, the detour landed the Union troops in Radford, where they burned the bridge at Ingles' Ferry on the New River and shelled Arnheim, the home, at that time, of Dr. John Blair Radford.

The Roanoke Valley (Figure 1.3)

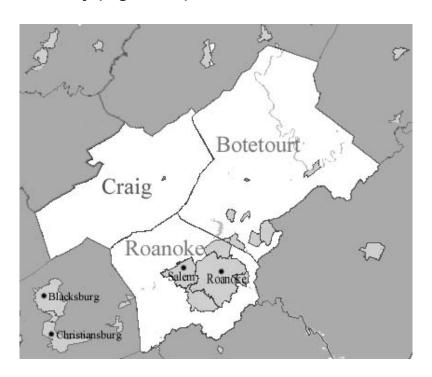


Figure 1.3

Highlighted counties are those that form the Roanoke Valley.

Cities and towns visited in the present research are noted.

Roanoke County broke off from Botetourt County and became its own county in 1838. Now known for the suburbia that surrounds the city of Roanoke, this mountainous county saw turmoil during the time of the Civil War. Only one true Civil War battle was

fought in the Roanoke Valley, and that took place in Salem in 1863 when Union General Averill raided the city and cut the railroad lines. Another small skirmish took place between Union General Averill and Confederate General McCausland in Salem a few years later. Although Salem was the site of the only true battle in the county, it somehow escaped complete devastation and had a relatively low fatality rate, unlike several other nearby towns and villages including Dunlap's Creek, Sweet Springs, New Castle, Catawba, and Masons Cove (Jack, 1912). However, the city of Salem did not go untouched. When General Averill's cavalry of 1,500 men marched into Salem in 1863, he ordered the firing of several buildings in the town and took 50 prisoners (McCauley, 1902). The two Union attacks resulted in the ruin of railroad lines, depots, barns, storehouses, horses, and supplies (Jack, 1912).

One of the homes that avoided destruction is the Williams-Brown house, where the Salem House Museum is located today. The Brown family built the two-story brick structure in 1845. Although the house has since been moved approximately two blocks (Figure 1.4), when Union troops marched on the town the home was situated on the main road (now Highway 311) that would lead Union soldiers to Hanging Rock and then on to West Virginia, Union-friendly territory. Salem is also the home to Roanoke College, which, during the time of the Civil War, was an all-boys Lutheran preparatory school ("Brief history," 2003). This school is reportedly one of the very few (the interviewee in Salem said that it may have been the "only") southern colleges to stay open during the Civil War. Salem and the Williams-Brown home were chosen as a site of inquiry because, while they experienced trauma from the Union troops, they escaped significant damage from the battles fought near their back door at Hanging Rock.

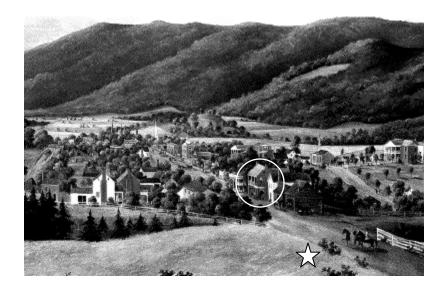


Figure 1.4

1855 "View of Salem" by Edward Beyer. Illustration in the public domain.

The Williams-Brown house is circled and the star indicates the house's new approximate location.

Nearby Counties (Figure 1.5)



Figure 1.5

Highlighted counties are the nearby counties included in the present research.

Cities and towns visited are noted.

Franklin County residents refer to the county as 'the land between the lakes' because Smith Mountain and Philpott Lake border the county on either side ("Serving," 2003). This county has depended on tobacco as its main cash crop for most of its existence, but particularly during the time of the Civil War. In 1860, Franklin County had 17 tobacco factories and 4 of those were in the county seat, Rocky Mount. Franklin County was quite similar to other southwestern Virginia counties: the general population as well as the elected officials strongly opposed secession until Lincoln issued 75,000 men to invade the South (Greer, 2003). Franklin is not considered as part of the New River Valley or the Roanoke Valley, but it is considered a part of southwestern Virginia (Blue Ridge Institute, 2000) and was chosen as a site of inquiry because of its capability to represent other southwestern Virginian counties that are also not included in the specific valleys. The Blue Ridge Mountains border the county to the northwest, Smith Mountain Lake fills a part of the northeastern part, and Philpott Lake extends around the southwestern part of the county. The county had no railroad, but was invaded by Union troops during the Civil War. Many Franklin County men enlisted into the service with the Confederacy (Greer, 2003).

John S. Hale completed the Grove, a T-shaped Greek Revival style plantation, in 1854. He built the home for his wife, Jubal Anderson Early's older sister. Jubal A. Early was the only "unreconstructed" Confederate General in the Civil War; in other words, he was the only Confederate General to never surrender to Union forces (Blue Lady, 2002). The home has only had three owners; the current owner is Mr. T. Keister Greer, a retired attorney and author. He and his wife, Elizabeth "Ibby" Greer live in the brick home. The Greers and local historians speculate that Benjamin Deverle, a nineteenth-century builder

who has been associated with over 23 houses and churches in and around the Roanoke area, was the architect of the Grove (Hale, 1948). Forty acres of land originally surrounded the house (what is now Taliaferro Street and Hillcrest), and many of the original outbuildings are still standing and used by the family. One of these includes the office which had been Jubal Early's law office before the Civil War, and later became a schoolhouse where Willis Robertson, father of evangelist Pat Robertson, studied. This building is now the only general bookstore in the county, owned and operated by Mrs. Greer (Blue Lady, 2002). Also on the property are the old smokehouse, a slave cabin, and a frame outbuilding, all of which the Greers now use for various purposes. This site was chosen because of its connection to Jubal Early, a locally famous Civil War General who often stayed in the house and used the other buildings on the property. Additionally, Union troops invaded the house immediately following Confederate General Robert E. Lee's surrender to Union General-in-Chief Ulysses S. Grant in Appomattox. Although the troops knew of the surrender, they invaded the town and stormed the Grove anyway.

Patrick County is positioned just where the Piedmont meets the Blue Ridge and the mountain range divides the county into two sections (Becker, 1990). It is a border county, with North Carolina directly south. The county did not see a Civil War battle, and the Union troops only invaded it once in the four years of wartime (Becker, 1990). Patrick County was typical of other southern communities in many ways during the years leading up to and including the Civil War. Much like Montgomery County, Virginia, the Patrick County residents did not readily embrace the idea of secession. Only a quarter of the white Patrick population owned slaves, but when the state did secede, many residents raced to join the Confederacy (Becker, 1990).

The county was rural and the land was both mountainous and farmed. It never housed a railroad and was not devastated by the horrors of combat. However, Patrick County, much like Franklin County, was included in this study because it is typical of the majority of southwestern Virginia counties during the Civil War including Russell, Scott, and Wise (Becker, 1990). Located in the southernmost part of Patrick County is the town of Critz where, in 1843, Hardin William Reynolds built what is now known as the Reynolds Homestead. A general store once stood on the property for many years and, although it was destroyed in the 1970s, it was mentioned several times by the interviewee at the homestead as being a hub of activity before, during, and after the Civil War.

Reynolds married his wife, Nancy, when he was 54 and she was only 28. As legend has it, Reynolds claimed that he gave Nancy a quarter as a child and married her to reclaim his investment. Reynolds came to the house with no slaves but acquired (the interviewee speculates) more than 50 within just a few years. Soon after the house was constructed, Reynolds built the other outbuildings located on the property including slave quarters, a summer kitchen, a granary, and a building the interviewee claimed could have been an icehouse. Hardin William and Nancy Reynolds were the parents of 16, although only 7 of those born lived to adulthood. One of these children was R.J. Reynolds who is now known for his tobacco business in Winston-Salem, North Carolina and there is little doubt that the house was made into a museum because of his success. This house was chosen, in part because of the general store that stayed open during the War, and because a commonly traveled highway before and during the War, the Norfolk to Bristol Turnpike, ran directly in front of the house and Union troops used this road to traverse the state.

Organization of the Study

This study is divided into five chapters. Chapter One, Introduction, presents an overview of the study including geographical orientation to the area selected for the study and other background information. Chapter Two, Literature Review, provides a look at the existing literature in four different areas related to this study. Chapter Three, Methods, details how each interview was obtained and why each participant was chosen. The Methods Chapter, Chapter Three, also describes the process of interviewing implemented in this study and explains how the interview settings were chosen. Chapter Three also discusses analysis of the data used to uncover recurring themes. Chapter Four, Results, gives an overview of the findings and breaks down each theme that was revealed in the analysis. Chapter Five, Discussion, includes a summary of the study's findings, conclusions about the tellers' perspectives of the Civil War that are drawn from the recurring themes in the legends. Chapter Five also contains suggestions for future related research.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Literature has been compiled that explains why legends are important (Dunbar, 1988; Gathercole & Lowenthal, 1990; Radcliffe-Brown, 1964; Schmidt, 1978; Simpson, 1992; Yentsch, 1988), why they are told (Campbell, 1972; Flowers, 1988), and that they do, in fact, impact the individual who is confronted with such legends (Campbell, 1972; Flowers, 1988; Gathercole & Lowenthal, 1990; Gomme, 1908; Lowenthal, 1996; Radcliffe-Brown, 1964; Slotkin, 1973). Research has also been conducted to investigate legends told about specific characteristics of historical homes (Dunbar, 1988; Simpson, 1992) and many books have been written that serve as detailed recounts of or as collections of Civil War legends (Ashdown & Caudill, 2002; Botkin, 1960; Cullen, 1995; Greenberg, et.al., 1991; Nofi, 1995; Rhyne, 2002; Roberts, 1992; Spaeth, 1997).

Numerous books and articles have been written that tell tales of haunted houses and other ghost stories (Brogan, 1998; Edel, 1963; Ellis, 2001; Musick, 1965; *Virginia Cavalcade*, Summer, 1993); however, until now, no research has been discovered that uncovers Civil War legends told in reference to antebellum homes in regions of southwestern Virginia.

This chapter includes the varied definitions of oral history terms, in order to explain what definitions will be used in this study and why they were chosen.

Additionally, this chapter includes an analysis of specific questions about legends to provide a comprehensive appreciation for what this research has accomplished. These questions include the following: why legends are told, why some legends survive while others disappear, why collecting legends is an important task, and how legends affect

both the legend-tellers and listeners. Finally, the different categories of legends are discussed. A review of Civil War legends and architectural legends are included in this section because they are pertinent to the present research, as many of the legends collected fall under one of these two types.

Oral History: Folklore, Legends, and Myths

Many individuals use the words legend, myth, and folklore interchangeably. According to Timothy Lloyd, Executive Director of the American Folklore Society, "there really are no 'standard' or 'official' definitions at use," in the field of folklore (T. Lloyd, personal communication, September 23, 2002). A survey of much of the existing literature concerning legends, myths, and folklore suggest that a few standard definitions are generally accepted and used in several works (Botkin, 1938; Glassie, 1989; Hufford, 1991; Wilson, 1988) that discuss these topics. It is important, however, to understand the many different definitions given by other scholars in the fields of oral history, folklore, legend, and/or myth. The varied definitions of the terms along with the authors who describe them are detailed below and the standard definitions that are employed in this study are listed at the end of this section.

One author, Lucy M. Salmon (1933), gave several definitions for the term legend as well as discussed the value of legends in her book. She described a legend as a "sophisticated cousin of the myth," (Salmon, p. 50) and as "the embellishment of an historical event," (Salmon, p. 46). Contrarily, she described myth as "the incarnation of the spirit of natural fact," (Salmon, p. 46). Salmon further explained that "the value of the legend to the historian lies not so much in the legend itself, even in its initial truth, as in the unconscious record given of the times and countries in which it flourished,"

(Salmon, p. 57). This corresponds with other authors' (Simpson, 1992; Yentsch, 1988) ideas later detailed in this chapter that have suggested that legends convey the values and beliefs of the community where the legend is being told, as well as the values and beliefs of those who first told the legends or the time spoken of in the legend. In the case of the present research, that time is the Civil War era.

Linda Degh (2001) described folklore as "the common idea of many people" in her book *Legend and Belief* (Degh, p. 28). She compared folklore to a choir of 100 members and suggests that "although it is more organized than common ideas, knowledge, feelings, or memories – it is nothing more than a hundred times one voice," (Degh, p. 28). This definition is of particular interest to this study because, like others, Degh suggested that one voice can and does speak for many in the community. Additionally, while the entire choir cannot be interviewed, if Degh's analogy is accurate, one member will suffice.

Degh (2001) also discussed various other definitions of the term 'legend' in her book. She suggested that the Nordic scholars have developed the most in-depth definitions for the term, using synonyms for legend that include belief story, true story, tradition, variant, record, and superstition. Degh (2001) quoted Friedrich Ranke, who she named as the first modern fieldwork-oriented legend scholar. Ranke wrote that legends demand to be believed by both the individual telling the story as well as the one hearing it. He went on to claim that the legend "wants to present reality, tell about things that really took place..." (Degh, p. 36). Ranke was also quoted as writing that folk legends are nothing more than "popular stories with fantastic, objectively untrue contents, told as factual events, in the form of a simple report" (Degh, p. 37). In another of Degh's (1965)

works, *Processes of Legend Formation*, she stated that the legend teller "is no artist, he has no artistic inspirations, he claims only to tell the truth" (Degh, p. 82).

In his article in *American Folk Legend: A Symposium*, Alan Georges (Hand, ed., 1971) critiqued the accepted definitions of legend and summarizes that,

The legend is a story or narrative that may not be a story or narrative at all; it is set in a recent or historical past that may be conceived to be remote or anti-historical or not really past at all; it is believed to be true by some, false by others, or both or neither by most (p. 18).

A colleague of Georges, Herbert Halpert (1971) agreed with the known definitions and compared legend to tale and myth in his article, *Definition and Variation in Folk Legend*, in the same symposium. He stated that legend is told as if it were truth, while tale and myth are knowingly false to both the narrators of these as well as the hearers.

Funk & Wagnall's Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology, and Legend (M. Leach, ed., 1984) has included a list of definitions that will be utilized in this study. These definitions are also closely aligned with the definitions that are given by leading authors in this field both in Leach's compilation as well as in their own books and articles. The following definitions will be utilized in this study:

Legend is "a narrative supposedly based on fact, with an intermixture of traditional materials, told about a person, place, or incident. The line between myth and legend is often vague..." (p. 612).

Myth is "a story, presented as having actually occurred in a previous age, explaining the cosmological and supernatural traditions of a people, their gods, heroes, cultural traits, religious beliefs, etc.," (p. 778).

Folklore is "that part of a people's culture which is preserved, consciously or unconsciously, in beliefs and practices, customs and observances of general currency; in myths and legends, and tales of common acceptance; and in arts and crafts which express the temper and genius of a group rather than of an individual," (p. 399).

Legend Telling

Several authors have written articles and books trying to answer key questions about legends including why legends are told at all, why some legends survive while others disappear, why collecting legends is important, and how legends affect those who tell and hear them. The following section examines those questions individually and attempts to answer them by including insight from the many different authors who have written about such topics. These questions are important to this study because the answers found in existing literature partially explain the need for this study, as well as provide an understanding for what has been collected in this research.

Legend Telling: Why Are Legends Told At All?

R. Radcliffe-Brown (1933), an ethnologist, researched myths and legends many years ago on several small Burmese islands. He wrote that the purpose of both myths and legends is to convey thoughts and feelings about society and its relationship to nature. He also stated that individuals pass those stories on in order to continue those thoughts

and feelings. Although this present study is more concerned with thoughts and feelings about society and less interested in society's relationship to nature, Radcliffe-Brown's theory is ultimately useful to the current study because of the underlying theme. In his study, the Burmese people spoke of myths that dealt with animals, nature, and weather patterns. Therefore, it is logical for Radcliffe-Brown to connect thoughts and feelings about society with society's relationship to nature. In the same manner, because this study deals with legends and myths told in reference to the Civil War, a logical extension of his theory can be made: the purpose of these myths and legends is to convey thoughts and feelings about society and its relationship to the Civil War.

Pamela Simpson (1992) offered the proposition that architectural legends are much like classical mythology. "When people see something unfamiliar in an old building, they explain it in terms they can understand. They use their own expectations and experiences as a base," (Simpson, p. 24). Simpson went on to say that individuals will repeat these legends and accept them as true, which reveals much about the way they view their society. This repetitive telling and acceptance of legends can be expected not only from individuals who tell architectural legends, as Simpson indicated, but also from other individuals who tell different types of legends as well, including Civil War legends.

Legend Telling: The Survival of the Fittest?

An article written by Anne Yentsch (1988) in Mary C. Beaudry's *Documentary Archeology in the New World* included the idea that although legends may differ from individual to individual, the traditions maintain the same structure over a wide geographic area. "This occurs because, like tombstones, houses serve as historical records set in the landscape. The history of a house is the history of a family or a

sequence of families," (Yentsch, p. 6). This point is extremely important to this study because if Yentsch's statements are true, the traditions and themes uncovered in this research can be attributed not only to the region where the legends were collected, but also over a wide geographic area that could include the entire antebellum south.

Yentsch (1988) went on to state that folk history is able to collapse time and space in order to make inaccurate information seem accurate. For example, she mentioned that legends can link a house with an earlier era or make some individuals nonexistent in memory while others are remembered favorably. "In doing so, it conveys the values of the community and the belief system of the culture. It is able to do this because it is not only local history, but mytho-history," (Yentsch, p. 7). Although the reasons for the survival of some legends and disappearance of others is not a specific factor in this study, it is important to understand that some legends do survive for a reason while others simply survive. These are points that Yentsch only addressed briefly and she attempted to explain this phenomenon by stating that like memory, legends are selective. "The explanation for the disregard of traditional historical evidence lies in the nature of mythological thought. Mythological thought does not operate according to the same logic as rational thought," (Yentsch, p. 11). Along those same lines, author and social anthropologist, Edmund R. Leach (1982), described a similar occurrence in his book Social Anthropology. Leach stated, "It is characteristic of traditional mytho-history that the real world of experience is surrounded on all sides by another world of imagination," (Leach, p. 62).

One author, Jan Vansina (1965), claimed that an oral tradition about the past survives in humankind's memories because it serves the society's (in which it is

preserved) interests. While Vansina was expressly investigating the reliability of oral tradition collected by anthropologists, this research can be applicable to old house tales as well. The owner or resident of a historic home may pass on and embellish the legend associated with his or her home for his or her own personal gain or for purposes connected to his or her community. For example, the owner of an antebellum home in Montgomery County may have some reason to believe that a war hero from the Civil War was in the vicinity of his or her home during the time of the Civil War, but the owner may add that this war hero was his or her direct ancestor in order to perpetuate a value of valor that would be assumed to be in their bloodline.

Richard Dorson (1971), author of *American Folklore and the Historian* also recognized this common practice of embellishment in legend telling. He affirmed this idea and suggests that, "a real action of a real person is distorted, exaggerated, incrusted with all kinds of fictitious details, details sometimes transferred to a wrong person, or to a wrong time or place; but we see that a real action of a real person did form the groundwork after all," (Dorson, p. 130).

Legend Telling: Why Should Legends Be Collected?

Simpson (1992) also suggested that investigating these legends is important because "architectural historians might find reward in examining the historic house stories as a form of folklore," (p. 23). She also mentioned, "oral tradition and folk history often offer insights into community social values," (Simpson, p. 23). Both of Simpson's points are key to this study: the stories are all treated as folklore and not as historically accurate events, although some may be, and the historic house stories are uncovered in

this research in order to provide the reader with an idea of southwestern Virginians' views on the Civil War and on the values of the community at the time of Civil War.

In her article, Yentsch (1988) stated that "oral tradition indisputably embodies folk history," (p. 5). She went on to assure readers that collecting house legends is an imperative activity if the rest of the world is to begin to understand southern culture. She suggested that the legends form a sort of American mythology; combined they seek to explain cultural traditions of the people who live or lived in the area where the legends are passed down.

Legend Telling: What are the Sociological Impacts?

Further research has been completed that explains how myths and legends affect those that tell them and hear them. Joseph Campbell (Flowers, ed., 1988) proposed that stories related to one's home, town of residence, or genealogy have a significant impact on his or her everyday life. In a published conversation between Campbell and Bill Moyers, a journalist for the Public Broadcasting Service, Campbell indicated that he believes that legends are told to explain the unexplainable and that the stories give "perspective on what's happening to you," (Flowers, ed., 1988, p. 2). Campbell's comments about myths are relevant to this research because many of the people interviewed in this study are very much affected by the stories they have heard and continue to tell about the historic home where they work and/or reside/resided. In some cases, interviewees described the legends that they know and then went on to explain that in the teller's opinion, even though the events in the stories are often not documented, the legends are true because certain events that occurred to them while in or near the house confirmed the legends.

Types of Legends

Three classifications of the term 'legend' are common. The first is mythological, which Degh (2001) described in her book as stories about ordinary people who meet supernatural beings or acts. Many of the existing legends are classified as myths. This classification is interesting because although many leaders in the field proclaim myth and legend as being closely related, most do not claim that one is a category of the other. A second category is etiological and this deals with the origins of man and nature. The third is historical, which includes events, places, and prominent people that are easily identified with a nation or society. Each category can cross into another, which is a concern that Degh (2001) mentions: each category cannot be mutually exclusive of the others. The historical category is the classification that most of the legends included in this study fall under, although some could also be classified as both historical and mythological. None of the legends in this study deal with the origin of man or nature, since all are set in the time frame of the Civil War.

Civil War Legends

Many books have been written that compile a number of different legends told about the Civil War, its battles, and its heroes. Most of these books do not address specific stories about the homes, but a few do. In *The Mosby Myth*, by Paul Ashdown and Edward Caudill (2002), the story of John Singleton Mosby, a great Confederate Colonel in the Civil War, is told. One chapter is completely dedicated to the tale about Mosby kidnapping a Union Brigadier General while he was sleeping. In the tale, Mosby wrote his name on the wall of the General's bedroom in order to make everyone aware that he alone was responsible for this accomplishment.

A Civil War Treasury of Tales, Legends, and Folklore by Benjamin Botkin (1960) is a collection of stories about people who fought in the Civil War – most of them decorated officers. The author described forming mythologies about Civil War heroes: "Hero tales immortalized leaders and patron saints as comforting father images and symbols of the ideal warrior and savior; and a new mythology sprang up about such figures as Lee, Jackson, and Lincoln," (Botkin, p. xviii).

L.B. Taylor's (1995) *Civil War Ghosts of Virginia* detailed all of the ghost stories told about the Civil War in the Commonwealth of Virginia. Taylor's book is the closest to this study although he focused on all of Virginia and only ghost stories, which is just one theme revealed by this research. His methods of data collection were very similar to the methods used in this study: both implemented interviews as the main source of information. Taylor (1996) has also written other closely related books, the most relevant to this study is *The Ghosts of Virginia*. This volume features stories about ghosts that have only one thing in common – the state where they appear. The *Ghosts of Virginia* included a story that also surfaced during the interviews for the present study. The ghost discussed could be considered a Civil War ghost because of the time frame it is probably from, but because it is not obviously related to the Civil War (about a battle, soldier, or officer), it is featured in his Virginia ghosts book and not in his Civil War ghosts book.

Other books that contain general information about Civil War myths, legends, and ghost stories are *The Civil War in Popular Culture* by Jim Cullen (1995), *Phantom Army of the Civil War and Other Southern Ghost Stories* edited by Frank Spaeth (1997), *Civil War Ghosts* edited by Martin Greenberg, Frank McSherry, Jr., and Charles Waugh (1991), *Civil War Ghost Stories and Legends* by Nancy Roberts (1992), and *Slave Ghost*

Stories by Nancy Rhyne (2002). An article written about haunted houses appears in the 1993 summer edition of *Virginia Cavalcade* and told a few ghost stories that are popular in Virginia, but does not discuss the Civil War.

Architectural Legends

General research has been conducted to discuss some myths or legends that are told about historic homes (mostly house museums). Pamela Simpson's (1992) article, investigated several architectural features that have legends associated with them. As noted above, Simpson's objective for her research was to identify recurring themes that serve to explain why individuals tell these stories. Simpson's article discussed several interesting legends as told to her by house museum docents. Also, in her article, Simpson listed underlying themes she found while collecting architectural legends. These themes attempt to explain inaccuracies in architectural legend telling. These include mistakes of transference, the inferiority of local materials, delusions of grandeur, and paranoia (Simpson, p. 24). Although none of the four categories she mentioned are used in this study, these themes are of particular interest to this study. Simpson's research objective was different from the present research objectives; however, many of the legends used to form her themes are similar to legends collected in this research.

Michael Dunbar (1988), a writer for *Early American Life*, investigated the legends (he calls them myths) associated with 'old houses,' describing the stories as being important because they add intrigue and individuality to the old homes that new homes lack. For example, in Dunbar's research, the legend was told that some old houses have secret passageways and cubbyholes built into them where the inhabitants of the house could hide in the event that there was an Indian attack. Dunbar listed myths and legends

told about specific items in old homes, and then disproved these myths and legends by stating the facts about the specific items.

Impact of Existing Literature on Present Research

It is important to understand how professionals in the fields of oral history, sociology, folklore, history, and architectural history define the terms utilized in the present research. For the purpose of this study, a legend is defined as a story told that is believed as true, but that does not attempt to explain the origin of human beings or any other cosmological event. Although many scholars in the above stated fields use the terms legend and myth interchangeably, the term legend will be expressly used in the study.

The questions that were posed in the second section of this chapter help to explain the need for this study. According to authors of existing literature, legends are told to communicate ideas about the teller's society (Degh, 2001; Salmon, 1933; Vansina, 1965; Yentsch, 1988). Previous research indicated that some legends survive while others do not, but that other legends maintain the same structure over a wide geographic area (Vansina, 1965; Yentsch, 1988). Authors have written that collecting legends is an important task because doing so helps others to better understand the community of legend-tellers (Simpson, 1992; Yentsch, 1988). Legends are also believed to have an impact on the teller and hearer (Flowers, 1988).

Understanding the types of legends is necessary in order to understand and better analyze the legends included in this research. Because all of the legends analyzed in the present research deal with the Civil War, knowing the existing legends about the War is helpful. This section was included mostly to explain that so few works about Civil War

legends are available. Architectural legends have not received much attention in previous research, although the topic is becoming increasingly popular (Simpson, 1992; Dunbar, 1988; Pulice, 2002).

In conclusion, the literature review helped justify the need for this study by examining gaps in the existing research on the topics of architectural legends and Civil War legends. The findings in this study add to the limited existing literature and provide a comprehensive look at Civil War legends told in reference to antebellum houses in southwestern Virginia. The findings in this study conclude that Civil War legends are continuing to be told in southwestern counties of Virginia. The recurring themes that emerged from a cross-case analysis of those legends prove the theories suggested in the literature review by Degh (2001) and Simpson (1992), who stated that legends can provide insight into community and social values because the legends are a common idea of many people.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODS

The methods for collecting and analyzing the data in this research consist of a multiple case study approach. Leedy and Ormrod (2000) suggest using the multiple case study method to "make comparisons" or "propose generalizations" (p. 149). Merriam (2001) defines a case study design as being one that is "employed to gain an in-depth understanding of the situation and meaning for those involved" (p. 19). Leedy and Ormrod (2000) find case studies particularly useful when the research aims to learn more about a little known topic. The intent of this study was to discover and then compare the legends told in reference to antebellum homes in regions of southwestern Virginia, thus providing more information about the tellers' perspectives of the Civil War.

Interviewees

Several architectural historians in the New River Valley and Roanoke Valley were contacted in person and via telephone and asked for information concerning legends about the antebellum homes in their area. The historians did not know many legends themselves, but provided many names of local residents and presidents of local historical societies who were contacted and asked to participate in the study. Additionally, individuals who were referred by an architectural historian or an historical society president identified other participants. This approach to participant selection is known as "snowballing," in which one participant suggests another (Bertaux, 1981). The researcher contacted all interviewees by telephone and asked each to participate. Each

interviewee was a resident of a historical building with Civil War legends, a community resident whose local ancestors dated back to the Civil War era, or a director, curator, volunteer, or other employee of a historic house museum. In some cases, interviewees possessed more than one of the above-mentioned characteristics. Eight interviews were conducted and twelve interviewees participated.

Two criteria for determining when to stop interviewing are accepted in the field of qualitative research. Sufficiency is the first criterion. A qualitative researcher can stop interviewing once he or she has completed a sufficient number of interviews to adequately "reflect the range of participants and sites that make up the population so that others outside the sample might have a chance to connect to the experiences of those in it," (Seidman, 1998, p. 48). This criterion was met in the present research by conducting interviews with individuals who both live or lived in an antebellum home and who work in an antebellum home that is now a house museum. Additionally, individuals were interviewed in six southwestern counties of Virginia in order to give a more broad perspective on the Civil War legends that are told in Southwest Virginia. The second criterion, saturation of information, indicates that a researcher may stop interviewing once the same type of information is repeated in the separate interviews (Seidman, 1998). Once recurring themes emerged and comparisons could be made, no more interviews were sought. A total of 78 individual legends were collected; 58 of those were Civil War related.

The interviewees consisted of twelve southwestern Virginia residents associated with eight historic homes: eight house museum employees, three historic home owners, and one former historic home resident who now lives on the property and no longer in the

historic home. Listed below are the names of each participant and his or her relationship to the historic home studied.

The 1829 Andrew Johnston House, Giles County, Pearisburg, Virginia

Barbara Rowlette is the Curator of the 1829 Andrew Johnston House and visited the historic home as a child, before its restoration and opening as a museum in 1985. Rachel Tate is the head housekeeper of the house museum. She and her husband have worked there since 1995.

Smithfield Plantation, Montgomery County, Blacksburg, Virginia

Terry Nicholson is the Administrative Director of Smithfield Plantation.

Arnheim Museum, Montgomery County, Radford, Virginia

Rich Loveland is the Curator of Glencoe Museum in Radford. The Radford Heritage Foundation recently acquired the Arnheim from the local school board. Mr. Loveland played an instrumental role in its acquisition.

Ingleside Farm, Montgomery County, Radford, Virginia

One of Mary Draper Ingles' sons, Colonel John Ingles, established Ingleside farm around 1790. Lewis "Bud" Jeffries is the fourth-great grandson of Mary Draper Ingles. Mr. Jeffries is the seventh generation of Ingles to reside in the home. He grew up in the house.

Back Creek Farm, Pulaski County, Dublin, Virginia

Mary Catherine Stout lives in a house on farmland shared with the historic home. She grew up in Back Creek. The infamous Battle of Cloyd's Farm took place on the grounds where Mrs. Stout's house stands. She and her family have found many Civil War relics now on display in her home, as well as in the Wilderness Road Museum in Newbern, Virginia.

The Salem Museum, Roanoke County, Salem, Virginia

John Long is the Curator of the Salem Historical Society. He is also a professor of history at Roanoke College in Salem.

The Grove, Franklin County, Rocky Mount, Virginia

T. Keister Greer has lived at The Grove since 1959. Mr. Greer's ancestor built the home and it has remained in the family. He and his wife, Elizabeth "Ibby" Greer now reside there.

The Reynolds Homestead, Patrick County, Critz, Virginia

Leni Sorensen is the director of the house museum. Connie Kreh works in the office there as an administrative assistant, but she and her family resided in the house between the years 1970-1975, before the house became a museum. Her husband found the slave cemetery behind the house and they utilized the outbuildings on the property. John Reynolds is the facilities manager and historian for the site and provided records of Patrick County's history.

Interviews

The best method for collecting case study data is informal, face-to-face interviews (Creswell, 1994; Yin, 1994). At the beginning of each interview, the participant was asked to sign an informed consent form (see Appendix I) and each provided his or her consent. This was necessary because the interviews were audio taped. Interviews lasted from one hour to three hours for each participant.

Because the raw data consists of legends, only a few direct questions were asked and served only to guide the participants. As suggested by several leaders in the field of interviewing (including Creswell, 1994; Merriam, 2001; Spradley, 1979), the interviews resembled simple, friendly conversation, which included open-ended, flexible, and exploratory questions. The participants were asked to relate house histories and were allowed to do so freely. Follow-up questions or questions seeking to clarify statements were asked.

After the researcher left each interview, detailed notes were made that focused on each apparent theme that had surfaced during the interview. Each interview was transcribed and a transcribed copy of the interview was sent to each participant for his or her review and correction.

Interview Settings

Each interviewee decided where he or she would like to meet for the interview.

This was important because a known leader in the field of interviewing, Sharan B.

Merriam (2001), suggests that conversational interviews and observation should go handin-hand. According to Merriam, interviews that take place in a natural field setting will

prove to have more observational value than if the location is specifically chosen by the researcher. The legends told are also more meaningful and understandable to the researcher because they were told in a setting that is familiar to the interviewee (Seidman, 1998). Each historic homeowner (and previous resident) chose to meet with the researcher in his or her home. The interviews with house museum employees all took place in the house museum being discussed because the interviews were held during regular business hours. This was beneficial to the researcher, because in all of the cases, the researcher was able to take pictures of the historic home and understand many of the legends told by observing what was being described in the legend. The researcher was also able to see the context of each legend told.

Data Analysis

Because qualitative research is interpretive research (Creswell, 1994) and because it was the intent of the researcher to obtain the most thorough and detailed stories possible, the data was analyzed "simultaneously with the data collection," (p. 153). As suggested by Marshall and Rossman (1989), the analysis was based on "reduction" and "interpretation" (p. 114). At the conclusion of each interview and as each tape recorded interview was transcribed, notes were made of any overall tone, underlying themes, or subjects that were repeated throughout the various legends. After all of the interviews were transcribed a within-case analysis was completed to find recurring themes within each interview (Merriam, 2001). Then a cross-case analysis was completed that identified commonalities within and among the various legends. Seven main themes emerged.

Interview data is unstructured data. Tesch (1990) recommended an eight-step process (Table 3.1), however, only the first seven of those were implemented in this study. The last step suggested recoding the data, but this was unnecessary for this research as the first set of codes proved sufficient. Utilizing these seven steps allowed the researcher the ability to engage in a "systematic process of analyzing textual data" (Creswell, 1994, p. 155).

| NUMBER | STEP |
|--------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | Get a sense of the whole interview |
| 2 | Closely examine the interview as a whole; determine underlying meaning |
| 3 | After several transcriptions, make a list of all emerging themes or topics; |
| | cluster together |
| 4 | Assign codes to appropriate segments of the text; find new emerging |
| | categories and codes |
| 5 | Identify the most descriptive wording for the topics found and form |
| | categories; group related topics |
| 6 | Develop abbreviations for each category in order to aid in writing analysis |
| 7 | Assemble data material in one place for each category; perform |
| | preliminary analysis |
| 8 | Recode data if necessary |

Table 3.1

Eight-step design for qualitative data analysis

Modified from Tesch (1990, p. 142-145).

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS

This research had a two-fold purpose: (1) to discover the legends associated with selected antebellum homes in regions of Southwest Virginia and (2) to identify recurring themes within those legends in order to gain a better understanding of southern culture and the tellers' perspective of the Civil War. Eight historic houses were visited and multiple case study methods were used to collect and analyze oral histories concerning legends told by selected southwestern Virginians.

Employing the methods of a multiple case study, a within-case analysis was completed. In this analysis, each interview was treated as a comprehensive case in order to address the first purpose of this research: to discover the legends associated with selected antebellum homes in regions of Southwest Virginia. The findings of this within-case analysis can be found in Appendix V. Following the within-case analysis, a cross-case analysis was completed in order to address the second and more specific purpose of this research: to identify recurring themes within the legends in order to gain a better understanding of southern culture and the tellers' perspectives of the Civil War. This chapter identifies and describes the themes and sub-themes that emerged from the cross-case analysis of all of the collected oral histories. The seven themes detailed below are as follows: (1) ghosts; (2) women; (3) hometown heroes and local militia; (4) effects of Union fire; (5) atrocities of war; (6) Union soldiers as potential rapists, thieves, and destructive intruders; and (7) the act of hiding from Union troops. Chapter Five,

Discussion, serves to synthesize the themes in order to draw conclusions about the themes' recurrences.

Ghosts

Only four of the twelve participants discussed the sightings of ghosts in his or her historic homes or house museum; however, these individuals discussed the ghosts more frequently than they did any other individual topic. While the ghosts cited cannot be distinctly defined as Civil War ghosts, the stories were included in this research because of their Civil War associations. These associations include the ghosts resembling a past inhabitant who lived in the house during the time of the Civil War or wearing nineteenth-century garb. The ghosts that were only sensed, rather than seen, were also included in this research because the teller believed them to be connected to the Civil War. The ghosts were often spoken of as being nuisances, but were also cited as houseguests who seemed to be going about their own day-to-day business. They were also described in a variety of other ways: harmless, friendly, playful, or scary. The following categories outline each description of the ghost stories: ghosts as nuisances, ghosts as houseguests, ghosts as harmless presences, and ghosts as frightening.

Ghosts As Nuisances

Two interviewees at the Andrew Johnston House and one interviewee at Back Creek Farm described the ghosts as nuisances. At the Andrew Johnston House, one interviewee described a time when a ghost turned a stove unit on, even though the stove was unplugged. The same interviewee also stated that a ghost has hidden items from her. Another interviewee at the same house museum discussed instances when a ghost has

ruffled a straightened bedspread or sat in a chair just recently fluffed. This interviewee also discussed a time when a ghost pulled a chair out from under her twice, causing her to fall both times. The interviewee at Back Creek Farm remembered her mother complaining about the ghost who haunted the house's attic, making a commotion when company entered the house. Below, each instance of the ghosts bothering the interviewees is detailed.

Barbara Rowlette, curator at the Andrew Johnston House, said that while she and volunteers were gathering museum relics for displays marking the museum's grand October 1997 opening, she felt impelled to go into the basement of the doctor's office. "Something told me...to come up here [to the doctor's office], I didn't even know why I was coming." When she reached the basement, she found one of the stove's units on, white from the heat it was radiating. "So I immediately got the lady who does housekeeping and I said, 'Why is the stove on? Why did that happen?' and she said, 'I haven't been in that building since August.'" The interviewee also questioned the board members, who were working in the museum.

I said, "We have a problem. Has anyone broken in? Have the police called and said that our security system has gone off?" "No, no," they answered. One of the men told me . . . he pulled that stove away from the wall and unplugged it.

The same interviewee at the Andrew Johnston House stated that the ghosts there have hidden a number of things including photographs, keys, and scissors. Mrs. Rowlette told of a ghost who hid a picture she was using for a display.

We had a series of medical pictures from a doctor who used this as an office when I was a child and we had them stacked. And when I started putting them into the

case to display them, we were missing one. We looked everywhere. And two months later, we came back up here and we found the picture sitting in the shelf. She also spoke of a time her keys were hidden from her by the ghost.

And then one day I lost my keys. . . . I remember putting the keys on the exam table and I had medical books stacked here [gestures to chair]. . . . I know where I put my keys. The housekeeper knew where I put my keys. We looked everywhere. And her husband even lifted the books up and looked under them. . . . These keys were like that [demonstrates] and you can't flatten them out. . . . They were put in between three medical books like that [demonstrates]. So I picked one book up at a time and there they were and I thought, "Well, I'll be a you-know-what! There are my keys."

Rachel Tate, the housekeeper for all of the buildings on the property, spoke of ghosts. She discussed instances when ghosts made her work harder because they sat in a chair she had fluffed or laid in a bed she had made.

At one time, we had a chair here with a little ottoman in front of it. And I would come in and fluff it up. When I came back you could see where someone had sat in it. . . . In this room one day I came in and the bedspread was wadded up like this [demonstrates] and there was a big hole in the middle of the bed where someone had laid down. Nobody's going to just pull that up.

The same interviewee also talked about the time a ghost pulled a chair out from under her, causing her to fall to the ground. She said,

The last thing that happened to me was when I was in the kitchen with Barbara three weeks ago. . . . It was on Friday and I was fixing the vacuum and...I was

going to sit down – it [the chair] was right behind me. Someone pulled that chair right out from under me. And I hit the floor. And it happened twice. And I said, "Alright, Dr Johnson! [referring to the doctor who lived in the house during the Civil War] I know I ain't supposed to be a-sittin' on the job!" [laughs]

Mrs. Mary Catherine Stout grew up at Back Creek Farm and remembered that her mother complained about a ghost that lived in the attic there.

My mother knew a ghost lived in the attic. Every single time she said she would have friends or anybody over, that ghost would get all upset and make noises in the attic.

Ghosts As Houseguests

Ghosts are often described as acting like a ghostly houseguests, engaging in activities intended only to remind the workers or residents of their presence. Both interviewees at the Andrew Johnston House, as well as the interviewee at the Grove, described the ghosts in this manner. Below are the stories they shared.

One interviewee at the Andrew Johnston House, Mrs. Rowlette, gave an example of that type of activity telling of an instance when a ghost opened a window in one of the bedrooms in the house.

So, we [Mrs. Rowlette and Mrs. Tate] went up to the bedroom. ... Rachel [Tate] looked up and said, "No wonder they're fussing about the heat." She said, "Somebody's come in here overnight and pulled the window down.". . . I said, "You didn't do that?" She said, "No I didn't do that," and she is very religious. And I said, "Do you believe in ghosts?" and she said, "Oh yeah. Do you?" and I said, "Yes, I do."

In addition, at the Andrew Johnston House, Mrs. Tate told of the time a ghost walked into the house and ran the vacuum downstairs when she was vacuuming upstairs.

I was vacuuming upstairs and I heard somebody run the vacuum down here. I come down and I thought it was Barbara [Rowlette]. I come down and it was nobody, nobody at all. And so I went back and started working again and it wasn't any time before I heard the door slam – like someone had walked in. I hollered again and said, "Barbara is that you?" But nobody was there.

Mrs. Rowlette remembered a time during the first year the museum was open, around Christmastime, when she and other volunteers and employees were working late in the house and heard noises.

I would come at Christmas and help decorate and I would be in there until late at night with a couple people that I know and we would hear all these little noises and we would just look at each other.

The same interviewee remembered a time when Habitat for Humanity workers from Winston-Salem, who were working in the area, wanted to tour the house. About 25 people came through with that group, including a chaperone who was a priest. She said,

So, we get upstairs and I was standing there and telling them about the little room and the beds and the quilts and the rocking chair was, I guess, maybe four feet from me. I couldn't just reach and touch it and there was no one closer to the rocking chair than me. And one of the girls in the group said, "Mrs. Rowlette, Mrs. Rowlette, look at the rocking chair!" And it was just rocking behind me. I walked over to stop it and I said, "It's ok," and I just finished up. And the priest looked at me and said, "Does this happen often?" And I said, "Well not this

exactly, but we have some things happen". And he just smiled at me and said, "Well, it really did happen."

Both interviewees at the Andrew Johnston House, recalled the ghost appearing and believed the ghost resembled the doctor who lived in the house and worked in the office during the time of the Civil War. Mrs. Rowlette told of the time when the doctor appeared to her in the gift shop.

And I did have a vision of the doctor. . . . It was the end of January. . . . We [Mrs. Rowlette, Mrs. Tate, and Mrs. Tate's husband who works as the groundskeeper for the museum] all work during January so we go downstairs to get a cup of coffee at the end of the day. I was the first one up the steps and I saw this man standing in front of one of the display cases with a long jacket on and he had his arms behind his back and he was just standing there looking. I turned around and looked and Rachel [Tate] and Ray [Tate] and I said, "How did he get in here without us hearing because of the security?" I stepped about four steps back and I said, "Can I help you?" and he just disappeared.

Mrs. Tate stated that she saw the same ghost.

A while back, I was down cleaning the windows on the research [building]. And somebody walked by me with a long tailcoat on. And I turned and looked and it was nobody. But he had a long black coat on so I had to run and tell Barbara. And I said, "Barbara look at this! Didn't you see it?" "No," she said, "I didn't see it." But I was just cleaning the windows and it was just like a phase, you know.

Mrs. Tate also remembered an occasion, when she was asked to take pictures of the flowers on the front porch. An unexplained arm showed up in the photograph and she stated that she believed it was Dr. Johnston's daughter, who died as a child.

And I just snapped it and got them developed and then there was a little arm sticking around in the window. . . . His [the doctor] daughter died at the age of three years with pneumonia. So, we think that that was her.

In a manner similar to some of the ghosts reported at the Andrew Johnston House, the ghosts at the Grove were cited as appearing to go about daily activities. Mrs. Greer, who lives at the Grove with her husband Keister, reported that many of the ghosts at the Grove are seen or felt in the music room. This is where, Mrs. Greer reported, the Hale family (the original owners) did most of their entertaining. She said, "This is also where a lot of activity takes place with the ghosts." Mrs. Greer went on to describe two other rooms where she and others have seen ghosts. One of these spaces is a kitchen wall where, according to Mrs. Greer, the original exit door was located.

This [gestures to specific spot on kitchen wall] is one of the places the ghost comes through the wall from the downstairs bedroom. It has been seen more than once and also on the back stairs. We have a whole family of ghosts here.

Mrs. Greer also told a story of one of her guests at the Grove who saw a woman walk through the kitchen wall as if going outside. She also mentioned another occasion when a guest saw one of the ghosts.

I have had a houseguest here who saw one of the women go through the wall in the guest room. I had someone here over Christmas who saw one coming down the back stairs dressed for shopping with a muff. . . . She [the ghost] saw her [the houseguest] and went back up.

Mrs. Greer stated that Mr. Greer, his late wife, and late daughter also had encounters with the ghosts and she briefly described the ghosts.

Keister [Mr. Greer] heard some of it when he bought the house and his late wife had sensed some of it. His late daughter, Celeste...had seen a number of them and some of her friends from Chatham Hall had seen them. . . . Keister himself saw two different women two different nights this winter, after never having seen any since 1959 when he bought it [the house]. So, all of a sudden, there is a lot more activity of whatever this is. . . . Some of them are in long dresses, most of them are. Most of them look like [they are dressed in] nineteenth century garb, nothing more recent than that.

Ghosts As Harmless Presences

However annoying or oblivious the ghosts seemed to the residents or employees at the historic homes, three out of the four interviewees that cited ghosts went on to indicate that the ghosts were harmless and even friendly. Both interviewees at the Andrew Johnston House and the interviewee at the Grove are convinced that the ghosts mean no harm.

One interviewee at the Andrew Johnston House, Mrs. Rowlette, mentioned that the ghosts have never bothered her, although some of the volunteers have been slightly disturbed because of the supernatural activity. She said,

So little funny things happen like that and it bothers some of the people who work here. We have had some who wouldn't work alone, some of the volunteers. But no, it doesn't bother any of us, we have just had a real good time with that.

The same interviewee also said that the ghosts' activities are usually "funny." She continues, "Things happen that aren't scary; you just wonder why they are doing this." Mrs. Tate also laughed about one of the ghost's antics in and around the house, "Now if you're scared...[laughs]. No, he is really a good ghost." At the Grove, the activity is perceived as harmless although Mrs. Greer admitted that, "We don't know why they are friendly. . . . You just have to live with it, you know."

Ghosts As Frightening

Three interviewees who mentioned ghosts shared stories about the ghosts frightening themselves or others. One of the interviewees at the Andrew Johnston House and the interviewee at the Grove described the ghosts as frightening to others who have seen or felt the ghostly presences. The interviewee at Back Creek Farm stated that the ghosts frightened her as a child.

The ghosts at the Andrew Johnston House were described as having frightened some of the museum employees. Mrs. Rowlette recalled a time when a past president of the Giles County Historical Society encountered a ghost.

And one of the presidents that started out when we first got the house had a big
Lab [Labrador retriever] and she is from Pennsylvania. She came one night. It
was right before Christmas and [the president at that time] had checked to see
how much stuff she needed to bring to decorate for the rooms. She had her dog
with her and she had gone downstairs. She was entering the dining room and she

heard someone jump on the porch and knock on the door. And she said the dog just looked, it didn't bark. She said, "Who's there?" and there was no answer.

She said the porch light was on and she could see that no one was there and she said, "I ran to the door and I slung it open and there was no one there and the dog just went out there and looked here and looked there and there was nothing there."

When the former president mentioned this encounter, Mrs. Rowlette suggested that some of the Union soldiers were paying her a visit. She said,

I said, "Well don't you think it might be some of those Yankee soldiers coming to say hello?" I guess some of them that were in the Ohio 23rd were from Pennsylvania and they had come out of that area. She just looked at me real funny and she kept hanging around the next Christmas when we were downstairs. . . . That just really scared her a lot.

When she was a child, the ghosts that haunted Back Creek Farm frightened Mrs.

Mary Catherine Stout, who spent much of her childhood in the home. She remembered the basement as being the location of many of the ghosts.

That is where all the ghosts lived as far as we [Mrs. Stout and her sister] were concerned, down in the basement. That area was dirt floored, even when we lived there. It still had dirt floors and that is where we kept all of the canned goods. And they had these wicked looking devices down there that they used for tenderizing meat and you would turn a handle and six or eight blades would come down, chop, chop, chop, chop to tenderize the meat. Of course as children, we just thought this was like a torture chamber.

The same interviewee at Back Creek Farm also told of the house's use as a hospital after the Battle of Cloyd's Mountain, the Civil War battle fought just behind the homestead on the farmland. She mentioned bloodstains on the floor of the house and recalled how, as a child, she thought these bloodstains increased the likelihood that ghosts were in the house. She also described how she reacted to the thought of ghosts living there.

...we know this to be a true story, the house was used as a hospital and there are bloodstains on the floor. And they are still there and it has been verified as bloodstains. So when we were little children we were terrified of course that there might be ghosts in our house. You would always turn off the light at the bottom of the steps and run as fast as you could to get to your bedroom.

The interviewee at the Grove spoke of ghostly activity in the music room and she explained how it upset one of the children who saw it. Mrs. Greer stated,

We have had sightings in the music room. When I had the Roanoke Catholic Juniors here for history, we all saw something right in the middle of the room. It is like a twist of air, like an effervescent fountain of air twisting in the middle of the room, you could see its shape. They all saw it. One girl put her hand in, it was cold, and she screamed and went running out crying. So there are a lot of things going on in here.

The occurrence of women in the ghost stories is noteworthy. While both interviewees at the Andrew Johnston House often speculated that the unseen ghost was Dr. Johnston and both claimed to have had a vision of the male doctor, all of the other ghosts described were female. All of the ghosts seen at the Grove were women. One particular female ghost has been seen and described since the end of the nineteenth-

century. Many different individuals reported seeing this female ghost, including a clairvoyant person. Additionally, this ghost has been seen at many different locations on the Greer's land, including on the stairs, in the guest room and music room, and at the well near the original kitchen. She always wears a long blue dress and the smell of unexplained perfume is noticed in association with her appearances. The ghost is thought to be Margaret Hale, the wife of the original owner of the Grove. Because of this, Mrs. Greer named her bookshop The Blue Lady (Figure 4.1). Additionally, all of the people reported to have seen the ghosts are women or girls with one exception. The only man recorded as having seen the ghosts is Mr. Greer, who, until this year, had not seen any since 1959 when he purchased the home.

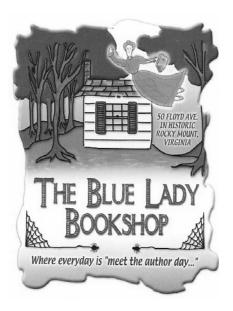


Figure 4.1

Picture taken from advertising brochure for The Blue Lady Bookshop.

Artist Unknown. Illustration used with permission.

Women

Women were mentioned often in the legends. They were spoken of either as providing powerful resistance against the invading Union troops or as being home alone with a small child during the Civil War. Five interviewees told legends about women that imply that females were strong and able to fend for themselves and others during the most trying times of the War, when the houses and communities in which they lived were under attack by Union forces. The sub-themes that are detailed below are as follows: (1) women as powerful resistances and (2) only women home during Civil War action.

Women As Powerful Resistances

Three of the five interviewees who told legends specifically about women, shared stories that described the women as powerful resistances against invading Union troops. The interviewee at the Salem Museum shared a legend about a mother trying to hide her daughters from Union soldiers who were marching in front of her house. The interviewee at the Grove communicated a legend about a young boy hiding behind one of his family's female slaves when the Union soldiers rode towards the house. At Ingleside, the interviewee told a legend about a woman hiding a Confederate soldier under her hoopskirt while a Union officer approached the house.

John Long, director of the Salem House Museum, reported a story about the women of the Brown house during the invasion of Union troops during the Civil War. When Union General Hunter was retreating with his army from Lynchburg, he and his troops came through Salem (Figure 4.2). Mr. Long says that, "according to the story that that family handed down, the mother saw the Yankees coming." Mrs. Brown acted as a stronghold, not allowing them to come into the house. Mr. Long continued,

According to the story, the Union soldiers came down this way and cut through the Johnston farm fields here in such a hurry to get up North. Then up at Hanging Rock you get on what is now [Highway] 311 and head back to West Virginia and into friendly territory. But Mrs. Brown told her daughters to duck down, don't look out the window - the Yankees were coming. One of them was naturally curious so she had to peek out the window. A Union soldier saw her. And you know pretty girls in that town and in that house. And he and some other soldiers came up to the house to investigate. And Mrs. Brown met them on the stairs and pushed them back out of the house. So, that is the end of the Yankee invasion of the Brown house.



Figure 4.2

Illustrated map by Ellen Morris showing Confederate and Union troops move towards Hanging Rock. Note Brown house in lower left-hand corner. Illustration in the public domain.

Similarly, Mrs. Greer recounted the story of Union troops invading the Grove. It was then that a slave woman acted as a place of security for one of the young Hale children.

One of the domestic kitchen servants had a big platter of biscuits. [She was standing] kind of behind what the back porch would be, between the back porch and the plantation kitchen. She was standing out there in the drive when they came down. Apparently, one of the children in the house ran up and hid behind her....

Another example of a woman resisting Union invasion was a story told by Bud Jeffries, owner and resident of the pre-Revolutionary house, Ingleside. He remembered his mother telling the story of how a woman protected a male family member, who was a Confederate soldier in the Civil War, from capture by a Union officer. The man had come to check on the women in the house during the time the Union troops were encamped on the farm. Mr. Jeffries stated,

One of the stories...is that one of the women was here and the men used to slip through the lines and somehow come by and make sure that the women were ok. One of the stories is that one of the women was in this hallway out here [gestures towards hall]. One of the men came to the house to check on her and a Union officer started to come through the house. The woman hid the family member under her hoopskirt and stood her ground while the officer passed by and then he [the Union officer] left and [the Confederate family member] just made sure everybody was ok.

Only Women Home During Civil War Action

Two interviewees out of the five who discussed women specifically stated that women were home alone during the Civil War. Whether they were already widows or their husbands were fighting with the Confederacy, the women were left at home to fend for themselves and any children. Both the interviewee at the Andrew Johnston House and the interviewee at the Arnheim spoke of this. Their statements follow.

The interviewee at the Andrew Johnston House pointed out that while Dr. Johnston was away tending to the Confederate wounded in Kentucky, his 15-year-old wife and his two sisters were left alone in the house when the Ohio 23rd invaded the house and took the town. Mrs. Rowlette said,

His first wife was only fifteen and she would have been the one that would have been here during that period of time. . . . And his two sisters were still living in the house at that time. . . . There were only women and children here...

The curator of the Glencoe and Arnheim Museums in Radford, also stated that Mrs.

Radford was left at home with only her young son during the Civil War. Mr. Loveland stated, "Only Mrs. Radford and James were home."

Hometown Heroes and Local Militia

Another theme that emerged from the interview data is related to hometown heroes and local militia. Groups and individuals were immortalized by the individuals in their hometowns who passed on the stories of their victories and activities during the Civil War. Three out of twelve interviewees brought up hometown heroes or local militia at least once.

Hometown Heroes

The interviewee at the Salem Museum told a legend about a local man who was killed while acting as the town of Salem's only defense from approaching Union troops.

The same interviewee repeated a locally known legend about a local man who was credited with firing the last artillery shot of Robert E. Lee's army. The interviewee at the Reynolds Homestead communicated a legend that acknowledged local boys who chased off advancing Union troops.

At the Salem Museum, the interviewee reported the story about Thomas Chapman, who lived in a historic home, Monterey, during the Civil War. Monterey is one of the few antebellum structures still standing in Salem. Chapman was home on leave when Union General Averill came through in December 1863. Mr. Long said,

He [Averill] was going to cut the railroad lines and burn a lot of supplies. . . . He [Chapman] took it on himself to take a small force to Brekinwater to see if there were actually Union soldiers on the way. And again up near Hanging Rock, where they fought the battle six months later, he ran into a small band of Union soldiers. It was dark and couldn't tell who they were and by the time he figured it out, they were shooting at him. So, Chapman was killed and the others were captured. That [Chapman] was the only thing between Averill and Salem.

Furthermore, the same interviewee credited Sergeant Walton, a Civil War era Salem resident, with firing the last shot of Confederate General Robert E. Lee's army at Appomattox. Below (Figure 4.3) is a sketch of the Salem Artillery Unit credited with firing that last shot. The interviewee stated,

The story is that a Sergeant Walton, who is buried across the street (there is actually a roadside marker), had loaded his gun and was getting ready to fire, but word came down that Lee had surrendered. And you can't unload a canon in those days, so he just went ahead and fired it off. And he saved the firing pin or primer as a souvenir and then claimed that that was the last shot of Lee's army with some justification.

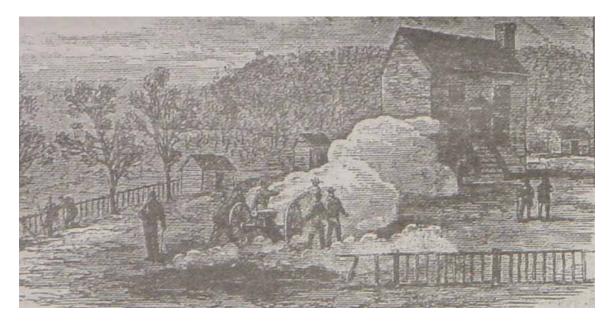


Figure 4.3

Sketch of Salem Artillery Unit firing last shot of Lee's army at Appomattox

Shown in Harper's Weekly, November 4, 1865. Illustration in the public domain.

In Critz, the interviewee at the Reynolds Homestead described her own version of a hometown hero legend. Mrs. Kreh reported that when Union General Stoneman marched with his troops through Patrick County, a few of the Reynolds boys chased them off. During this chase, one of the Union soldiers dropped his weapon and one of the boys picked it up. The gun was mounted on display in the dining room of the house museum (Figure 4.4). The interviewee said,

Stoneman's forces came through here and when they were chasing them off supposedly one of the soldiers dropped it and the boys found it. Again, a story, but it makes sense. If it wasn't there, it had to come from somewhere. When you first look at it, you'll see it's a two-barrel shotgun, it's kind of like "yeah, right," you know, but then they took everything they had from home.



Figure 4.4
Shotgun recovered by Reynolds boys after Union soldiers were chased off their farm.

Local Militia

In addition to hometown heroes, two out of twelve participants also spoke of local militia movements in their communities. One interviewee discussed the movement and activities of a local group who formed at Roanoke College. Another interviewee reported that one of the local preachers in the area fought in a particular battle.

The interviewee at the Salem Musuem explained how Roanoke College was one of the only southern colleges allowed to stay open during war. The only stipulation given

to the president of the college was that the remaining students had to form a militia group and drill (Figure 4.5). While they never saw a battle, they were summoned several times.

Mr. Long described some of their activities and said,

The president and founder of the school is David Biddle, he was a Lutheran pastor from Pennsylvania (a Union state). But he didn't want to close down the school so he went to Richmond and made a special appeal and they were allowed to keep the school open provided that the students form a militia unit and drill. And they did and were called up a couple of times to go into active service, but never actually saw any real battle. They were called out to defend the Salt Mines down near Saltville and milled about for a few days and were sent home and at the end of the War they were told to head toward Appomattox and join up with Lee, but they couldn't get there. By the time they got about half way, they found out the War was over. So, they turned around and came back. At one point, they found a railroad car up on top of a hill and they had this big long hill to go down. They thought, "Well, why don't we just make it the easy way." So they all piled into this railroad car and somehow got it started. So, they went rolling down this hill, picking up speed and they thought they would all be killed, but apparently it eventually slowed down enough.

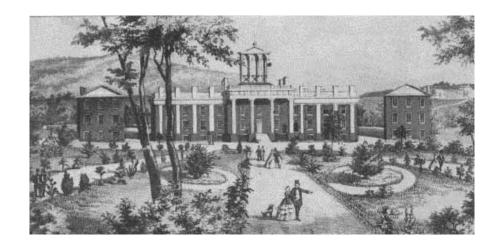


Figure 4.5

Rendering of Roanoke College around its conception in 1847

Artist Unknown. Illustration in the public domain.

In Dublin, the interviewee at Back Creek Farm, explained that local preachers fought for the Confederacy in the Battle of Cloyd's Farm. She said,

You can see here a story about the first pastor and he was wounded in the Battle of Cloyds Farm. I think that it's interesting that the preachers fought.

Effects of Union Fire

Two interviewees described historic houses being fired upon by Union forces.

The interviewee at Back Creek Farm showed a picture of the damaged exterior wall at Back Creek Farm. The interviewee at Arnheim also mentioned that type of event, although the damage is no longer visible.

The interviewee at Back Creek Farm said,

This little missing corner right here [shows photo], and it's still missing today, that's a chunk of the stone wall that was shot out by a cannonball during the battle of Cloyd's mountain.

The interviewee at Arnheim (Figure 4.6) stated the house took a hit by a Union cannonball. The cannonball supposedly is still lodged in the wall, but has since been covered up by an addition. He stated,

However it happened, the bridge took away the access from the federal troops coming over to this side of the river – Central Depot. So, they were firing shots across the river. And Arnheim, which translates into "Home of the Eagle" and is up on the rise, would have been one of the more prominent sites that they could have honed in on. Dr. Radford was away at the time that the city was under siege. . . . Arnheim was shelled from across the river by Union troops on May 9, 1864 during the Battle of Cloyd's Farm. . . . Arnheim survived intact. They don't talk about the cannonball here [at Glencoe museum] but it's one of those stories that everybody in town knows about. It's supposed to be in this wall underneath this wing [shows photo of Arnheim]. These wings were added in 1930 or 1931 when the school system took the building over. So it's not visible any longer.



Figure 4.6

Arnheim, home of Dr. John Blair Radford, for whom the city is named

Note the wing on right side of the photo; this is where the cannonball supposedly struck.

Atrocities of War

Different atrocities of war were frequently cited: tellers spoke of an individual's death, houses being used as hospitals for wounded soldiers, or bloodstains on the floors. Sub-themes of this theme were discussed by seven of the twelve interviewees that included the interview at the Andrew Johnston House Museum, the interview at Back Creek Farm, the interview at Smithfield Plantation, and the interview at the Grove. The sub-themes are listed and the associated legends are described below as follows: death, bloodstains, and wartime hospitals.

Death

Two interviewees told specific death stories. The interviewee at the Andrew Johnston House told a legend about a man who died at the news of the War's end. The

interviewee at Back Creek Farm detailed a burial request made by a Confederate soldier who died in the Battle of Cloyd's Mountain.

One interviewee at the Andrew Johnston House related a story of a man who immediately died at the news of Confederate General Robert E. Lee's surrender at Appomattox. Mrs. Rowlette said,

The building that the chamber is in is actually older than this house and it was a home built by a French [man]. He built it for himself and his children. All of his sons and brothers went to work for the Confederacy and for some reason, I don't know if he was not well (when I tell you the end of this you will think he wasn't well) but they turned it into a hotel to survive. Then they had a sort of a general store in there and they lived there in the building because it was so huge. But when the wire came through town and told people that the War was over with, they say he was standing at the door of his hotel and he dropped dead.

The interviewee at Back Creek Farm told the locally known tale of a Confederate Captain, Christopher Cleburne, who asked to be buried where he fell. He was killed in the Battle of Cloyd's Mountain and was buried on the west side of Highway 100 (Figure 4.7). She said,

Cleburne fought in the battle here but he told his buddies, he said, "If anything happens to me and I am killed, I would like to be buried where I fall." Well, he did in fact get wounded and he did in fact die before he reached Dublin and he is buried there at Cleburne's wayside. But we didn't let him rest. He was buried in a beautiful Oak Grove. . . . And they built the New River Valley airport. The

trees were in the flight path and so dear Mr. Cleburne was moved. But he is resting very near where he fell.



Figure 4.7

Cleburne's wayside located on the west side of Highway 100 just two miles outside of the town of Dublin. Cleburne fought and died in the Battle of Cloyd's Mountain.

Blood and Bloodstains

The interviewee at Back Creek Farm and the interviewee at Smithfield Plantation mentioned bloodstains on floors of historic homes. The same interviewee at Back Creek Farm attributed the stains to the house's use as a hospital during the Civil War. The interviewee at Smithfield Plantation also discussed the speculated bloodstains on the floor there.

The interviewee from Back Creek Farm remembered seeing bloodstains on the floors of the historic house. She said,

However, on the floors of the house (we know this to be a true story), the house was used as a hospital and there are bloodstains on the floor. And they are still there and it has been verified as blood stains.

The interviewee from Smithfield Plantation, Terry Nicholson, related a story about bloodstains that the volunteers used to tell when giving tours there. He stated,

The volunteers used to actually tell this story when they gave tours of the house. I don't think we ever really associated a time period with it. . . . There was a soldier that had died here in the house and they [volunteers] showed some of the stains that are on the floor and said they were bloodstains. Well, they are not actually bloodstains they are actually probably water stains on the floor and the floors are hardwood. So, that was kind of this fascination with death, I think, which does usually tend to be associated with the Civil War. It was a tragic event in our history, most people view it that way, and so they start to want to hear stories of the tragedy of that and people dying after being wounded in the War. Again, as I said, that story has never been proven although we do know of people who died here in the house that was not as a result of the War.

The interviewee from Back Creek Farm told the tale about the creek, for which the house was named, running red with blood after the Battle of Cloyd's Mountain (Figure 4.8).

She said,

It is said that the creek ran red during that battle. It is said also that it was one of the bloodiest battles of the War. If you drop a drop of red food coloring in a glass, all the water turns pink. So, you can see that that story is probably a true story, the creek probably did run red with blood.

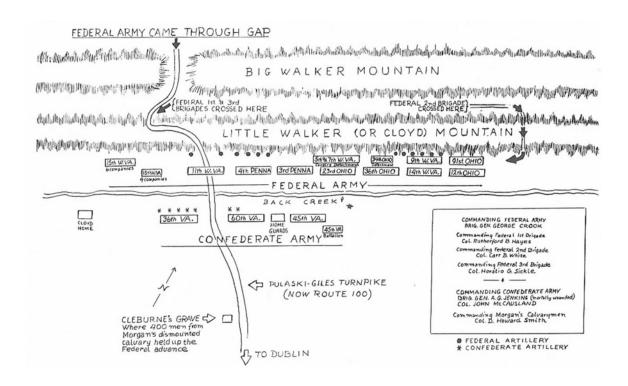


Figure 4.8

Sketch of battlefield of Cloyd's Mountain drawn by the author of *The Land that is Pulaski County* (p. 278), by C. Smith, 1981, Pulaski, VA: Pulaski County Library Board. Copyright 1981 by the Pulaski County Library Board. Reprinted with permission.

Wartime Hospitals

Three out of twelve interviewees brought up buildings being used as hospitals for wounded soldiers during the Civil War. The interviewee at the Andrew Johnston House indicated that the local Pearisburg hospital "was listed as a main hospital for the Civil War...." The interviewee at Back Creek Farm stated that, "the house was used as a hospital." The interviewee at the Grove discussed a building on her alma mater's campus as having been a Civil War time hospital. She stated,

The building called East (where my dorm was) when you faced the main building in the quadrangle at Hollins [College], the building on the right housed Confederate wounded. All of the schools around here had that kind of history.

Union Soldiers: Potential Rapists, Thieves, and Destructive Intruders

Five out of twelve interviewees characterized Union soldiers as being potential rapists, thieves, and destructive intruders. However, one interviewee from the Andrew Johnston House believed that the Union soldiers were congenial. Mrs. Rowlette stated that, "I don't think they invaded the house and I don't think they bothered the women," and that the town of Pearisburg was taken by Union forces without a shot fired.

Furthermore, she said that the Union soldiers departed so abruptly that they left their own horses with the women of the Andrew Johnston House. According to the interviewee, even in their haste, the troops were still thoughtful. She said that Union troops left the women corn to use to feed their horses. She went on to explain that the family did not use the corn; instead, they left it to rot in the basement as a reminder of the troops. She said,

The women watched as they [Union troops] left here very quickly and there was a burlap sack that they [Union troops] sat out and the women thought, "They've left us coffee, they've left us coffee!" So, they waited until everybody left and they ran over and it was corn - it was fill corn for the horses that they left. Now what came down through the family to me was they put that bag of fill corn in the basement and left it until it rotted to remind them what they had left them after they had been here.

That interviewee's stories about the Union soldiers' thoughtfulness and kindness were vastly different from the stories told by the interviewee at the Salem Museum, the interviewee at the Grove, the interviewee at Ingleside, and the interviewee at the

Reynolds Homestead. The legends that described the Union soldiers as potential rapisits, thieves, and destructive intruders are described below.

Union Soldiers: Potential Rapists

The interviewee at the Salem Museum told a story about the Union soldiers invading the Brown house (see page 54). This legend reinforced the idea that most of the interviewees in this study conveyed: the Union soldiers were brutal. In the interviewee's account, the several Union soldiers were cited as rushing the Brown house in an attempt to find the girl who was peeking out of the window. The interviewee is unclear as to what the Union soldiers would have done if they had been allowed entrance; however, the way the legend was told would imply that the soldiers did not have honorable intentions.

Union Soldiers: Theives

The interviewees at the Grove, Ingleside, and the Reynolds Homestead stated that the Union soldiers stole from the families who lived in the houses they were discussing. The interviewee at the Grove, a Midwesterner by birth, believed that, "There were no nice Union soldiers at the end of this War. . . . They weren't kind." She went on to describe the soldiers' actions while at the Grove.

The smokehouse was raided in 1864 (or early '65) towards the end of the War by Union troops coming down the drive. They raided it of all of the meat. . . . By the end of the War, the Union troops were (like Custer's idea) out to just rape and scour the landscape and get the thing over with and do away with everyone. They were not nice and they came down this driveway and there wasn't much left.

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They came and while they didn't harm them [the women of the house], they did take all of the food. They would have taken everything else if they could have gotten hold of it.

The interviewee at Ingleside also discussed the items reported stolen when the Union troops were encamped on his ancestral farm.

They [Union soldiers] carried off all livestock. Of course, the army had to eat.

And all fences were burned because when the armies were camped out, they used the split rail fence to cut up as firewood. The wood is already seasoned and dry.

Luckily, they didn't burn the buildings.

The Reynolds Homestead interviewee stated that the soldiers stole the few horses that Mr. Reynolds did not hide in the forestland on his property.

He would keep a few hags out here so again, if the soldiers came through, which they did, they would steal those and they would still have some horses of their own and they wouldn't be taking everything.

Union Soldiers: Destructive Intruders

Two interviewees mentioned that the Union soldiers were destructive. The Salem Museum interviewee stated, "We had a raid by Averill in 1863. He came through and cut the railroad lines." The interviewee at the Andrew House Museum stated that the reason Hayes came to Giles County in the first place was to, "take the river and destroy the railroad and to get rid of a lot of bridges because this was sort of a main supply area. The river was so convenient to the Confederate troops and to the people."

The Act of Hiding from Union Troops

Perhaps the most compelling theme to the researcher includes aspects of hiding items and people from advancing Union soldiers. Facets of this theme appeared in interview data from six of the twelve interviewees. This theme emerged in several different forms. Additionally, the interviewee from Arnheim and the interviewee from Back Creek Farm both mentioned that the historic homes they discussed are said to have tunnels where people could hide, although both admit that such tunnels are no longer visible. The sub-themes are detailed below as follows: horses, food, silver, people, and in tunnels.

Hiding Horses

Two interviewees, one from Back Creek Farm and one from the Reynolds

Homestead, mentioned that the individuals living in the house during the Civil War hid
horses from advancing Union forces. According to the interviewee at Back Creek Farm,
the Civil War era inhabitants hid horses in the basement of a slave house on the property.

The stories about this one [the slave house on the Back Creek Farm property], they called it Dan's hut, even though it's a house. Evidently, that was a hired man who lived on the farm. But we used it for our hired help. But we were told many stories about what it was used for. We were told it was the schoolhouse, the farm office, but the one I like the best (it had a dirt floor) is that during the time of the Civil War, the battle [of Cloyd's Mountain], they brought their horses into there and hid them in the basement of this house, which makes good sense. It was a dirt floor and it wouldn't harm anything and it was the standard room size so horses and animals could have gone in there and you wouldn't have expected

them to be in this house, you would have expected them to be down here at the barn.

The interviewee from the Reynolds Homestead also stated that, at times during the Civil War, the Reynolds family hid their horses in a forest across from the house (Figure 4.9). She further explained that only a few of the horses were hidden in order to fool the Union troops into thinking that none had been hidden and so that the family would still have the hidden animals if the Union troops stole the others.

It was said that during the Civil War that R.J., the father, would send the horses up into No Business Mountain. He would keep a few hags out here so again, if the soldiers came through, which they did, they would steal those and they would still have some horses of their own and they wouldn't be taking everything. That was pretty common practice I think. You would need to hide part of it, but keep enough out so that they wouldn't know that you hid it all. But that was pretty much what happened in that area.



Figure 4.9

Photograph looking out towards No Business Mountain from the front porch of the Reynolds

Homestead. This is where the Reynolds family sent their horses during the Civil War so they would

not be stolen.

Hiding Food

The interviewee from Ingleside indicated that the inhabitants of his home hid food from the Union troops encamped on the adjacent farm. This interviewee recollected a story told by his mother about the women of the house hiding a ham when the Union troops encamped on the farm at Ingleside. According to the story, the ham was hidden under a floorboard on the second floor, and caused a grease spot on the ceiling of the first floor.

I have heard my mother say that she can remember as a young girl some of the old timers talking about that they [the women of the house] hid (during that time) a ham under the floorboards in the attic because the Union forces would take food to subsist. And for years and years, because of the heat in the attic, a grease spot was on the ceiling. Now I never did see it. When we renovated the house we

took all of the wallpaper off. . . . But the plaster over there did not show any grease spot. But it's supposedly in what we call the parlor. But it wouldn't have been in the attic; it would have been in the second story. But they put it between the floor and the ceiling. And the ham and the heat and everything caused the lard to melt some of its fat and leave a spot in the wall. And it was there and every summer it would get more pronounced because of the heat.

Hiding Silver

The interviewee from Back Creek Farm also mentioned that the families living on the farm hid silver from the Union army and the interviewee from the Grove stated the same idea. The interviewee from the Grove reported, "The family had hidden the silver in this well that I had bricked up for safety.... They hid their silver, the Hale silver, in the well." Likewise, the interviewee from Back Creek Farm stated that the family silver was hidden in holes that were specifically dug on the farm for that purpose.

Now it is also said that before the battle, they sent family members or slaves to hide all of the silver, to dig holes. If they did, they must have gone back out and gotten it because nothing like that has ever been found.

Hiding People

Three interviewees told tales of people hiding: the interviewee from Salem Museum, the interviewee from the Grove, and the interviewee from Ingleside. Relating back to the legend told by the interviewee at the Salem Museum (see page 54), the story about Mrs. Brown refusing the Union soldiers entry exemplifies this sub-theme. The reason that the Union soldiers attempted to get into the house in the first place was

because one daughter, out of curiosity, decided not to obey her mother's instructions to hide herself by ducking down. Likewise, drawing on the legend told by the interviewee at the Grove (see page 55), the child hiding behind a slave further illustrates this subtheme. The interviewee from Ingleside repeated a story similar to the story told at the Grove (see page 56). At Ingleside, a Confederate soldier hid in a family member's hoop skirt. The skirts were, in fact, large enough for a man to hide under (Figure 4.10).



Figure 4.10 Drawing of typical 1860's hoopskirts.

Picture plate from *Historic Dress of America: 1800-1870* (p. 381), by E. McClellan, 1910, Philadelphia, PA: George W. Jacobs. In the public domain.

Hiding In Tunnels

Another aspect of hiding was related by participants who stated that historic houses contained tunnels in which residents of the houses could hide in case of Union attack. Both of the interviewees from Back Creek Farm and Arnheim gave examples. The interviewee from Back Creek Farm relayed a story about a tunnel that leads to the

barn. A tunnel has not been located, but she explained that there is a logical place in the barn where the tunnel would have ended.

Now it is said, and it's one of the stories, we never found it, that a tunnel was made from the stairway in the kitchen house. Like if you went under the stairs, it's just a dirt floor, but there should have been a tunnel that tunneled all the way to the barn so that people could hide in there. And in this barn behind this stone wall there is a greenery. Well, that greenery is like a square box. The box is as big as most people's kitchen, a small room. But, it doesn't come all the way to the stonewall. There is a place large enough for two or three people that could be in there.

The interviewee from Arnheim explained that the house supposedly had a tunnel, which led to what is now a park. The interviewee also indicated that all of Arnheim's past residents knew about the tunnel. However, no tunnel has been found during the restoration, although there has been some speculation about where a tunnel might have been.

Supposedly, there is an escape tunnel from this house on this side of the house [points to photo] going east to Wildwood Park. I don't know where the cave is, but again, all of the residents know about the cave. And the story, as it goes, is that it was an escape tunnel to the house that connected to the cave and would have allowed exit from the house into what is now Wildwood Park away from the house. This house was built in 1840, which was not the frontier anymore, but still not entirely safe in some ways. And it was sparsely populated around here. And the question I have always had in my mind is well if that was the case, then why

was Mrs. Radford and one or two of her children in the house if there was an escape tunnel. Why didn't she go down into the cave system if the house was being shelled? In the basement there is a cinderblock wall built away from what would have been one of the fireplaces. It's not a structural wall, it's just there as a barrier. As we were doing some cosmetic clean up around the house, a guess was that this place could have been the place [for the tunnel] and they could have walled it up to cover up access to prevent anyone from trying to get down there and getting into trouble.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the twelve individuals interviewed communicated Civil War legends that cover a wide range of topics. One theme that emerged from the interview data included many stories about ghost sightings and ghostly activity. Six of these legends portrayed the ghosts as nuisances, ten legends portrayed the ghosts as houseguests, four legends made references to the ghosts as being harmless presences, and four legends revealed the ghosts as frightening. Another theme that emerged from the data includes legends told about women. Three legends about women portrayed them as strong resistances against Union forces and two legends referenced women as being home alone during the Civil war action. A third theme that emerged from the data discusses hometown heroes and local militia. Hometown heroes were discussed in three legends and local militia were discussed in two legends. The effects of Union fire represented a fourth theme that emerged from the data and included two stories about houses that were fired upon during Civil War battles. A fifth theme that emerged from the data includes legends that deal with atrocities of war. This theme highlights two

legends told about death, three legends about blood or bloodstains, and three references to houses used as wartime hospitals. A sixth theme includes legends told about Union soldiers. One of these legends presented the soldiers as potential rapists, three legends presented them as thieves, and two presented the Union soldiers as destructive intruders. The act of hiding from Union troops is a seventh theme that emerged from the data. This theme includes two legends told about wartime residents hiding horses, one legend told about residents hiding food, two legends told about residents hiding silver, and three legends about residents hiding other people. This theme also includes the legends told about tunnels that were a part of the houses' designs in case residents needed to hide from Union soldiers. Findings are discussed and conclusions drawn in the following chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION

The primary purpose of this study was to uncover the Civil War legends associated with selected antebellum houses in regions of Southwest Virginia. More specifically, this study identified the recurring themes that would provide insight into southern culture as well as the tellers' perspectives of the Civil War. Previous research has been conducted by other scholars to collect old house myths and Civil War legends. This research is the first known to specifically collect Civil War legends that are told in reference to antebellum homes in Southwest Virginia. The present research sought to extend the existing literature in the fields of Civil War legends, folklore, and architectural history in two ways, by 1) identifying a lack of research in these fields on the topic of Civil War legends and antebellum houses and 2) creating a forum for legend telling.

This chapter serves as a synthesis of the literature, methods, and results previously discussed and is composed of four sections. The first is a brief discussion of major findings that address each theme and sub-theme that emerged in the analysis of the data. Next, conclusions are drawn concerning how these themes provide insight into southern culture and the tellers' perspectives of the Civil War. The third contains suggestions for future related research. The fourth and last section contains concluding remarks about the research.

Discussion of Major Findings

The framework of this study was a multiple case study method. Using this method, each case was analyzed individually for recurring themes and then all cases were cross-analyzed to uncover overall recurring themes. The single-case analysis findings as well as the findings from the cross-case analysis are described in Chapter Four. This section addresses the themes that emerged in the cross-case analysis in order to draw conclusions concerning how these themes specifically address the second purpose of the research: to identify themes that provide insight into southern culture as well as the tellers' perspectives of the Civil War.

Authors of existing literature related to legends and legend-telling have placed an emphasis on the importance of collecting legends in order to learn more about legend-tellers' cultures as well as the tellers' perspectives of the specific subjects mentioned in the legends they tell (Degh, 2001; Radcliffe-Browne, 1933; Simpson, 1992; Vansina, 1965; Yentsch, 1988). The current study collected legends with those particular intentions acting as guides for the present research. Existing literature also suggests that legends can extend across geographic boundaries (Yentsch, 1988). This study reinforces that idea, as the same seven themes emerged through a cross-case analysis of the interview data, which was collected in six southwestern Virginia counties. The Civil War legends collected covered a wide range of topics. Seven main themes emerged during the analysis of the collected Civil War legends. Those seven recurring subjects were: (1) ghosts; (2) women; (3) hometown heroes and local militia; (4) effects of Union fire; (5) atrocities of war; (6) Union soldiers; and (7) hiding. A summary of each topic and subtopic follows.

Ghosts

Ghosts were mentioned by four out of twelve participants and were discussed as acting four different ways. Two participants indicated that the ghosts were nuisances; three participants described the ghosts as houseguests; two participants stated that the ghosts were harmless presences; and three participants declared that the ghosts were frightening. The participants that spoke of the ghosts did so frequently and often indicated that the ghosts acted in several of the above-mentioned ways.

Women

Five out of twelve participants mentioned women. More specifically, three participants told legends that described women's actions during the War. The tellers of these legends described the women as providing strong resistance against invading Union troops. Two participants told legends that stressed the idea that women were home alone in wartime.

Hometown Heroes and Local Militia

Three out of twelve participants shared legends that proclaimed average citizens acted in honorable ways during the Civil War. One participant discussed a legend about a man acting as the only barrier between his own small community and Union forces.

This participant also spoke of a man who was credited with firing the last shot of Lee's army. Another participant shared a legend about several boys who chased off invading Union soldiers so quickly that the soldiers dropped a rifle that was later recovered by one of the boys. One participant discussed the activities of a local militia group and another participant explained that local preachers fought for the Confederacy in a specific battle.

Effects of Union Fire

Two out of twelve participants told legends about historic houses being fired upon by Union forces. Both houses were supposedly hit by cannonballs, but only one of the houses still shows evidence of the strike. According to one participant, one house was hit intentionally; the other participant indicated that the Union troops probably hit the house by mistake.

Atrocities of War

Four participants out of twelve spoke of death, bloodstains on the floor, or of houses used as hospitals for wounded soldiers. One participant told a tale about a man who dropped dead in his own doorway when he learned of Lee's surrender at Appomattox. Another participant spoke of a Confederate Captain who asked to be buried wherever he died in battle. Two participants discussed bloodstains on the floors of the houses. Two participants also stated that houses were used for hospitals during the War.

Union Soldiers as Potential Rapists, Thieves and Destructive Intruders

Four participants spoke of Union soldiers as potential rapists, thieves, and destructive intruders; however, one interviewee related a legend that would suggest that Union soldiers were congenial. This participant told a legend about Union troops who left a bag of corn for the women of a house where the troops had been encamped for several days. Another legend told by a participant suggested that Union soldiers invaded a home in order to find a girl who had peeked out of the window. Although the legend-teller was unclear about exactly what the soldiers would have done if they had been allowed entrance, the legend teller implied that the soldiers did not have honorable

intentions. Three interviewees stated that Union soldiers stole from southwestern Virginians' houses during the Civil War. Two interviewees stated that the Union soldiers were destructive; demolishing railroads, bridges, and supplies.

Hiding

Six of twelve interviewees discussed some aspect of the hiding theme. Facets of this theme appeared in six of eight interviews. Two participants stated that during the Civil War residents hid horses from advancing Union troops. One participant indicated that residents hid food from the Union army. Two participants stated that residents hid silver from the Union soldiers. Three participants told tales of residents hiding other people from the Union troops. Two participants stated that tunnels were made below the house for individuals to hide in case of Union attack.

Conclusions from Major Findings

Because existing literature concludes that legends are told as truth (Degh, 1965; Degh, 2001; Hand, ed., 1971; Halpert, 1971; Leach, ed., 1984), and because existing literature has proven that legends provide insight into the tellers' culture as well as the tellers' perspective of the subject discussed in the legends told (Degh, 2001; Radcliffe-Browne, 1933; Simpson, 1992; Vansina, 1965; Yentsch, 1988), the following section groups the recurring themes into three general categories. These categories include ideas that can be concluded from the recurring themes identified in the interview data in order to gain insight into southern culture and the tellers' perspectives of the Civil War.

The first category discusses themes that suggest that northern soldiers were aggressors during the Civil War. The second category identifies themes that indicate that

southerners were strong during the Civil War. The third and last category discusses the sub-themes that emerged regarding ghosts and ghostly activity and relates this theme to the idea that, in these cases, the ghosts serve as reminders of the Civil War.

The Civil War and Northern Aggression

Four out of the seven themes that emerged from the interview data address issues related to northern aggression. These four themes are (1) effects of Union fire (2) atrocities of war (3) Union soldiers as potential rapists, thieves, and destructive intruders and (4) hiding. The theme that discusses houses under attack by Union troops indicates that the southern culture during the time of the Civil War was under duress. The theme also suggests that these legend-tellers wanted to inform the researcher that Union soldiers fired upon innocent civilians located in the houses.

The theme that discusses atrocities of war is an example of participants sharing legends that would seek to instill fear in the hearers of these tales. According to these legends, the residents of southwestern Virginia during the Civil War were being slaughtered by Union troops and the legend tellers remind the hearers of this. By telling these legends, the participants indicate that Union soldiers were people to fear. This provides insight into southern culture during the Civil War era because the residents of southwestern Virginia were afraid of the Union forces.

The theme that discusses Union soldiers as potential rapists, thieves, and destructive intruders also provides an example of southwestern Virginians telling tales that indicate Union soldiers were unkind. The hiding theme most clearly identifies the tellers' idea that the Union troops were feared, because the residents of Southwest

Virginia felt as if they had to hide their belongings and loved ones from the invading armies.

This category provides insight not only into southern culture during the Civil War era, but may also provide insight into southern culture of the present time. Many southerners have negative connotations of northerners (Current, 1988). This study helps to identify some of the reasons behind such negativity. This category also makes sense of the title that many southerners still use for the Civil War: the War of Northern Aggression (Walker, 1985). Additionally, this category provides insight into the legend-tellers' perspectives of the Civil War. By continuing to tell these tales of northern aggression, the tellers suggest that the Civil War was one imposed on residents of Southwest Virginia by northern men who were ill-intentioned; firing on, stealing from, attempting to attack, and even murdering women, children, and gentlemen of the Confederacy.

The Civil War and Strong Southerners

Two of the seven themes that emerged from the interview data address issues related to strong southerners. These two themes are (1) women and (2) hometown heroes and local militia. The theme about women includes two sub-themes, or types, of legends. The first sub-theme names women as acting as strong resistance against invading Union troops. The second sub-theme names women as being home alone during the War.

Both themes in this category provide insight into southern culture by highlighting the important role of women during the time of the Civil War. According to the legends that stated that women acted as strong resistance to invading Union troops, women were the protectors of the home front while the men were away fighting the battles.

Additionally, the sub-theme that highlights the fact that women were home alone further reinforces this idea that women were the only homeland defense. Contrarily, however, this same sub-theme may also perpetuate the stereotype that is common to the South: a woman's place is in the home, not on the battlefields. The idea that women were home alone during the War is not an unusual one; women were not allowed to join an army in the nineteenth-century and so logically, they would be at home. The theme that addresses hometown heroes and local militia suggests that the participants take pride in the local connection or ancestral connection they may have with an individual who fought honorably or unconventionally for the Confederacy. This theme also shows a connection between the participants and their communities.

Ghosts as Reminders of the Civil War

One theme that emerged from the data deals with legends told about ghosts.

Because all of the ghosts included in this study are related by the teller to the Civil War, the conclusion can be drawn that these ghosts are reminders of the Civil War. Whether the ghosts were hiding items, rocking furniture, or merely appearing, each ghost acted as a reminder of the Civil War to the individual who had the ghostly experience. The War lives on through the ghosts that haunt the participants' houses. This can provide insight into today's southern culture because the recurrence of this theme indicates that individuals are still experiencing Civil War related phenomena. These experiences remind individuals of the War and they think about it at least as often as the ghosts appear.

Suggestions for Future Research

Existing literature that uncovered Civil War legends as a whole were limited, and often based on secondary sources. This is the first known qualitative study to collect Civil War legends told in reference to antebellum houses in Southwest Virginia and the first known to analyze the recurring themes. Contributions to literature that focus on Civil War legends, legends told about historic houses or features of those houses, and legends told in specific regions are needed.

Future research could attempt to determine why individuals tell these stories (or create them in some instances). Additionally, future research could uncover legends that were told immediately after the Civil War (when veterans were still alive) and then compare those to legends still told today in order to determine which survived the years. Proving or disproving the legends could provide more insight into the practice of legend telling. Determining the tellers' motives for passing on the legends could help to conclude why individuals tell them.

Future research could closely examine the practice of legend telling. Perhaps examining how the legends were told and not only what legends were told would prove helpful in attempting to determine more about the legends and legend-tellers. Future research could also attempt to gather legends without the legend-teller knowing the researcher's purpose. This potentially could provide a more expansive range of legends and would help determine if these legends are being continuously passed on to the general public, and not merely to the researcher.

Concluding Comments

The findings from this study indicate that Civil War legends in reference to antebellum homes in Southwest Virginia are being told. Additionally, the tellers of the legends have common thoughts about the Civil War, which can be deduced from the themes that emerged through a cross-case analysis of the legends collected. The three major conclusions made in this study are (1) northern soldiers were aggressors during the Civil War; (2) southerners were strong during the Civil War; and (3) ghosts and ghostly activity serve as reminders of the Civil War. By continuing to share these legends, the tellers indicate their own perspectives and the perspectives of those who originated the legends. Additionally, the legend-tellers provide insight into the culture of southwestern Virginians during the Civil War era as well as current southwestern Virginians.

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APPENDIX I

PARTICIPANT'S INFORMED CONSENT

Title of the Study:

A Multiple Case Study on the Civil War Legends Associated with Antebellum Homes in Southwestern Virginia

Investigator:

This study is being conducted by Margaret Dale, candidate for a master's degree in Interior Design at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University. Margaret can be reached at (540) 951-5944.

I. Study Purpose

• The purpose of this study is to uncover the stories that form the oral tradition surrounding antebellum homes in southwestern Virginia and to find recurring themes in the legends that would suggest that these oral traditions form a sort of American mythology.

II. What Will I Have to Do?

- Fill out the Background Questionnaire, Preliminary Survey, and Informed Consent Form and mail them to the interviewer in the envelope provided.
- If asked, participate in an interview, answer questions about your home, and tell the interviewer the stories that you know about your home. The interviewer is interested in stories that are both true and not true.
- The interview will take about two hours and will be conducted in your home at your convenience.
- The interview will be audio-recorded and typed for analysis and still-life photos will be taken of the exterior of your home.
- You will be contacted to see if you would like to review a summary of the findings.

III. Benefits of this project

• You will be helping the researcher, historians, and those interested in folk culture learn more about the legends that surround your historic home. These stories could prove the home to have significant historic value, which could be used to gain a listing on the National Register of Historic Homes, if you are not already and chose to apply.

IV. Is It Private?

- The information you share will be treated as completely confidential. Your responses to these questions will not be shared with anyone not working on this specific project before publication of the study.
- Only the researcher (who is also the interviewer) and her faculty advisors will have access to the information you share prior to the publication of the study.
- A copy of the transcribed interview will be shared with you soon after the interview. You will be allowed to omit answers you gave at this point if you so desire.
- If you share information that leads the researcher to believe you are in danger of harming yourself or someone else, the researcher must take steps to protect

you or others.

V. Risks

- You will not be asked to discuss any issue that causes great discomfort and which you are not willing to discuss.
- You may decline to answer any question. The interview will be terminated at any point at which you are no longer comfortable proceeding.

VI. Compensation

- When the project has been completed, you will be sent a summary of the studies' findings.
- No monetary compensation will be given.

VII. Freedom to Withdraw

• If at any time you change your mind about participating in this study, you are encouraged to withdraw your consent and to cancel your participation.

VIII. Approval of Research

• This research project has been approved, as required, for projects involving human subjects by the Institutional Review Board of Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University and by the Department of Human Development.

IX. Participant's Agreement and Responsibilities

- I have read and understand what my participation in this study consists of. I know of no reason that I cannot participate in this study. I have had all my questions answered and hereby give my voluntary consent for participation in this project.
- If I participate, I may withdraw at any time without penalty. I agree to abide by the rules of this project.
- Should I have questions about this research I will contact: Margaret Dale (540) 951-5944 Researcher/Interviewer Dr. H. T. Hurd (540) 231-5281 Chair of the Virginia Tech IRB

| Participant's Signature | Date |
|-------------------------|------|

APPENDIX II

BASICS: INFORMATION SHEET

(Filled out by researcher directly prior to interview)

| Name: | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| Town of residence: | |
| | |
| Phone number: | |
| Best times to call: | |
| Address (if applicable): | |
| | |
| | |
| Area where legend takes place: | |

APPENDIX III

THANK YOU LETTER TO PARTICIPANTS

January 3, 2003

Dear Mr. or Mrs. Participant,

Thank you for participating in my study. As I mentioned in our previous phone conversation, this study seeks to uncover the stories that form the oral tradition surrounding the antebellum homes in our region and you have helped me to uncover those. This study will provide important information for those interested in local history, folklore, legend telling, the importance of oral history, as well as many others. Hopefully, from the information gained because of your willingness to share, historians as well as fellow Virginians will be able to better understand the southern culture of this part of our state.

Your personal responses will be combined with the responses of other historic homeowners in southwest Virginia, like yourself, and used to find recurring themes. A general summary of the findings will be given to all participants so that you may know how what you said compared with the stories told by others who also have historic homes in the same region. You will also be sent a copy of your transcribed interview for your review.

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to call me at any time. If I am not immediately available, I will return your call as soon as possible.

Thank you again for your time, interest, and your willingness to share your legend.

Margaret Dale

Virginia Tech Masters Candidate (540) 951-5944

APPENDIX IV

TABLE OF INTERVIEWEES AND SITES VISITED

| DATE | NUMBER | LOCATION/SITE DISCUSSED | PARTICIPANT |
|-------------------|-------------|------------------------------|----------------------|
| January 10, 2003 | Interview 1 | Andrew Johnston House Museum | Barbara Rowlette |
| January 10, 2003 | Interview 1 | Andrew Johnston House Museum | Rachel Tate |
| January 21, 2003 | Interview 2 | The Salem Museum | John Long |
| January 31, 2003 | Interview 3 | Back Creek Farm | Mary Catherine Stout |
| February 4, 2003 | Interview 4 | Arnheim | Rich Loveland |
| February 10, 2003 | Interview 5 | Smithfield Plantation | Terry Nicholson |
| February 20, 2003 | Interview 6 | The Grove | Elizabeth Greer |
| February 20, 2003 | Interview 6 | The Grove | T. Keister Greer |
| February 25, 2003 | Interview 7 | Ingleside | Lewis "Bud" Jeffries |
| March 13, 2003 | Interview 8 | Reynolds Homestead | Leni Sorensen |
| March 13, 2003 | Interview 8 | Reynolds Homestead | Connie Kreh |
| March 13, 2003 | Interview 8 | Reynolds Homestead | John Reynolds |

APPENDIX V

WITHIN-CASE ANALYSIS OF CIVIL WAR LEGENDS COLLECTED

| 1829 ANDREW JOHNSTON HOUSE |
|-------------------------------------------------------|
| GHOSTS |
| (1) Ghost turns on stove in basement |
| (2) Ghost opens window |
| (3) Christmas ghost |
| (4) Ghost hides scissors |
| (5) Ghost in museum |
| (6) Ghost hides pictures |
| (7) Ghost hides keys |
| (8) Ghost rocks rocking chair |
| (9) Ghost opens house door |
| (10) Ghost sits on ottoman |
| (11) Ghost lays in bed |
| (12) Ghost appears in reflection |
| (13) Ghostly arm appears in photo |
| (14) Ghost pulls chair out |
| WOMEN |
| (1) Women home alone during Civil War |
| ATROCITIES OF WAR |
| (1) Local courthouse used as wartime hospital |
| (2) Man drops dead at news of Lee's surrender |
| UNION SOLDIERS |
| (1) OH 23 rd takes town without shot fired |
| (2) Hayes is honest; pays tavern bill |
| (3) Union troops leave corn for women |
| (4) Union troops did not bother women |
| LOCAL RECONSTRUCTION |
| (1) Pearisburg recovers quickly from War |

| BACK CREEK FARM | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------|--|
| GHOSTS | |
| (1) Ghosts live in house | |
| (2) Ghosts in basement | |
| (3) Interviewee's mother said ghost in basement makes noise | |
| HOMETOWN HEROES AND LOCAL MILITIA | |
| (1) Preachers fought in Battle of Cloyd's Mountain | |
| EFFECTS OF UNION FIRE | |
| (1) Chunk of wall missing from cannonball shot | |
| ATROCITIES OF WAR | |
| (1) Bloodstains on floor | |
| (2) Back Creek ran red with blood | |
| (3) Cleburne's wayside | |
| THE ACT OF HIDING FROM UNION TROOPS | |
| (1) Tunnel under house | |
| (2) Owners hid horses in basement of slave quarters during War | |
| (3) Owners hid silver in holes on land during War | |

| ARNHEIM |
|--------------------------------------------|
| WOMEN |
| (1) Mrs. Radford home alone with young son |
| EFFECTS OF UNION FIRE |
| (1) Arnheim shelled |
| THE ACT OF HIDING FROM UNION TROOPS |
| (1) Tunnel |

| SMITHFIELD PLANTATION | |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| ATROCITIES OF WAR | |
| (1) Bloodstains from wounded soldiers | |

| THE GROVE | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|--|
| GHOSTS | |
| (1) Music room ghost | |
| (2) Other ghosts, walking through wall, seen around house | |
| UNION SOLDIERS | |
| (1) Union troops raided smokehouse | |
| (2) Union troops unkind | |
| THE ACT OF HIDING FROM UNION TROOPS/WOMEN | |
| (1) Family hid silver in well | |
| (2) Hale child hid behind slave | |

| INGLESIDE |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| UNION SOLDIERS |
| (1) Occupy farm, use fence as firewood, raid house |
| THE ACT OF HIDING FROM UNION TROOPS/WOMEN |
| (1) Women hid ham in floorboards |
| (2) Women hid family member in hoopskirt from Union officer |

| REYNOLDS HOMESTEAD |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
| HOMETOWN HEROES AND LOCAL MILITIA |
| (1) Shotgun recovered by Reynolds boys who chase off Union troops |
| THE ACT OF HIDING FROM UNION TROOPS |
| (1) Family hid horses in woods during War |
| GENERAL |
| (1) General store as integral part of plantation |

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Education:

■ M.S. Housing, Interior Design and Resource Management within the College of Architecture and Urban Studies; Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Blacksburg, VA; May 2003: Concentration: Interior Design

Thesis Title: House Legends and Perceptions of the Civil War: A Multiple Case Study on the Civil War Legends Told about Antebellum Homes in the New River Valley, Roanoke Valley, and Nearby Counties of Virginia

G.P.A.: 3.6

■ B.S. Fine and Applied Arts; Appalachian State University, Boone, NC; December 2000

Major: Housing and Interior Design; Minor: Business

Major G.P.A.: 3.5

Relevant Work Experience:

January 2003 -May 2003 ■ Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University Blacksburg, VA

Full-time Graduate Student and Teaching Assistant

• instructor of NEID 1124 Design Drawing

August 2002 -December 2002 ■ Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University Blacksburg, VA

Full-time Graduate Student and Teaching Assistant

• assisted Dr. Marilyn Casto, NEID 1114 Design Appreciation • graded papers and quizzes • performed quest lectures

May 2002 -August 2002 ■ Skinner, Lamm & Highsmith, PA Architects Wilson, NC

Interior Designer

worked with architects and/or clients to design new public school facilities,
 renovate a hospital, and spatially plan the new American Red Cross facility
 maintained sample room
 met with sales representatives
 selected all interior finishes for all ongoing projects
 prepared presentation boards for clients showing interior finishes selected
 developed color schedules for ongoing projects

January 2002 -May 2002 ■ Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University Blacksburg, VA
Full-time Graduate Student and Teaching and Research Assistant

 assisted Dr. Marilyn Casto with research and with NEID 3125 History of Interiors (guest lecturer) ● teaching assistant to Lisa Tucker; NEID 3144 Third Year Studio ● worked with students on design development and creative problem-solving ● assisted with peer critique

August 2001 -January 2002 ■ Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University Blacksburg, VA
Full-time Graduate Student and Teaching and Research Assistant

• assisted Dr. Marilyn Casto with research • gathered and organized class materials

January 2001 -August 2001 ■ Skinner, Lamm & Highsmith, PA Architects Wilson, NC

Interior Designer

worked with architects and/or clients to design new interior spaces as well as renovations of existing hospitals, schools, and other government funded projects
 maintained sample room
 met with sales representatives
 selected all interior finishes for all ongoing projects
 chose exterior finishes for several projects
 built models for clients
 prepared presentation boards for clients showing interior finishes selected
 developed color schedules for ongoing projects

July 2000 -October 2000 ■ Century Furniture Industries Hickory, NC

Interior Designer Intern

designed furniture showrooms all over the United States ● took field
measurements of showroom space ● worked showroom during furniture market ●
worked with sales representatives to decide which inventory pieces would sell best
in particular regions ● designed CAD representations of showrooms ● helped
develop furniture blocks using CAD ● selected upholstery fabric for furniture chosen
for showrooms ● prepared promotional mailers for clients to depict the pieces
chosen for their showroom

Graduate Activities:

• Recipient: Jean M. Lane Scholarship • Interior Design Educators Council (graduate student member) • Graduate Student Association (department representative) • Library Committee (graduate student representative) • Association for the Preservation of Virginia • Vernacular Architecture Forum • Smithfield Preston Foundation • Graduate Honor System (panelist) • Intervarsity Christian Fellowship Graduate Chapter (steering committee member) • Blacksburg Baptist Church Chancel Choir

College Activities:

• Dean's List, Spring 1999, Fall 1999, Spring 2000, Fall 2000 • Campus Crusade for Christ • Intervarsity Christian Fellowship • ASU Campus Coordinator "Youth for Bush" • ASU College Republicans (Co-Founder; Executive Vice Chairperson; Secretary) • International Interior Design Association (Secretary) • Women's Club Soccer

Skills:

• IBM & Macintosh • Microsoft Office including PowerPoint • AutoCAD 14, 2000i, 3.3 • Adobe Photoshop

Graduate Activities:

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