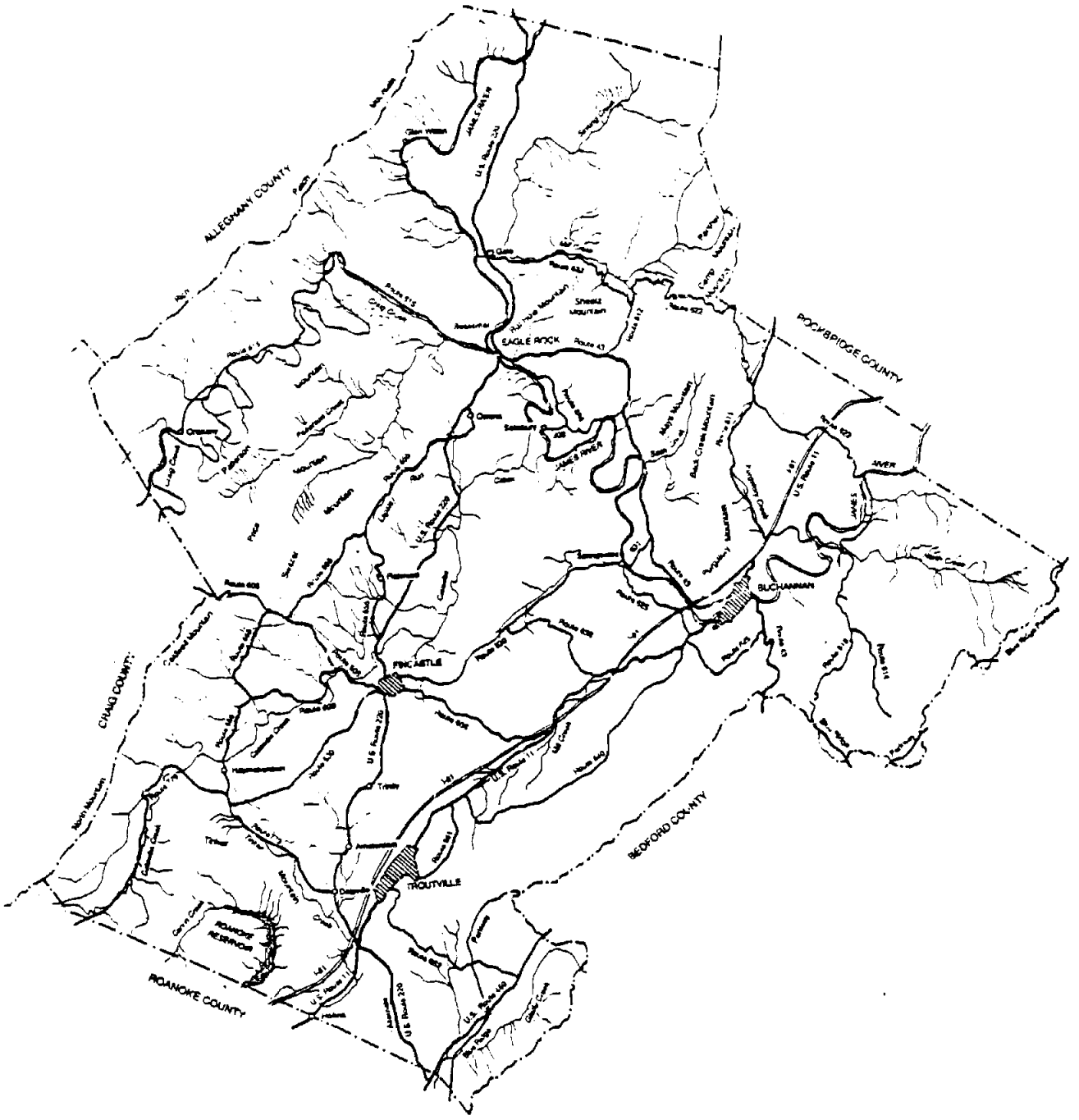
Botetourt County Reconnaissance Survey



Gibson Worsham, Architect

July, 1988

BOTETOURT COUNTY RECONNAISSANCE LEVEL SURVEY

Sponsored by the Virginia Division of Historic Landmarks
and the Museum of American Frontier Culture

Gibson Worsham, Architect
Montgomery County, Virginia
May 1988

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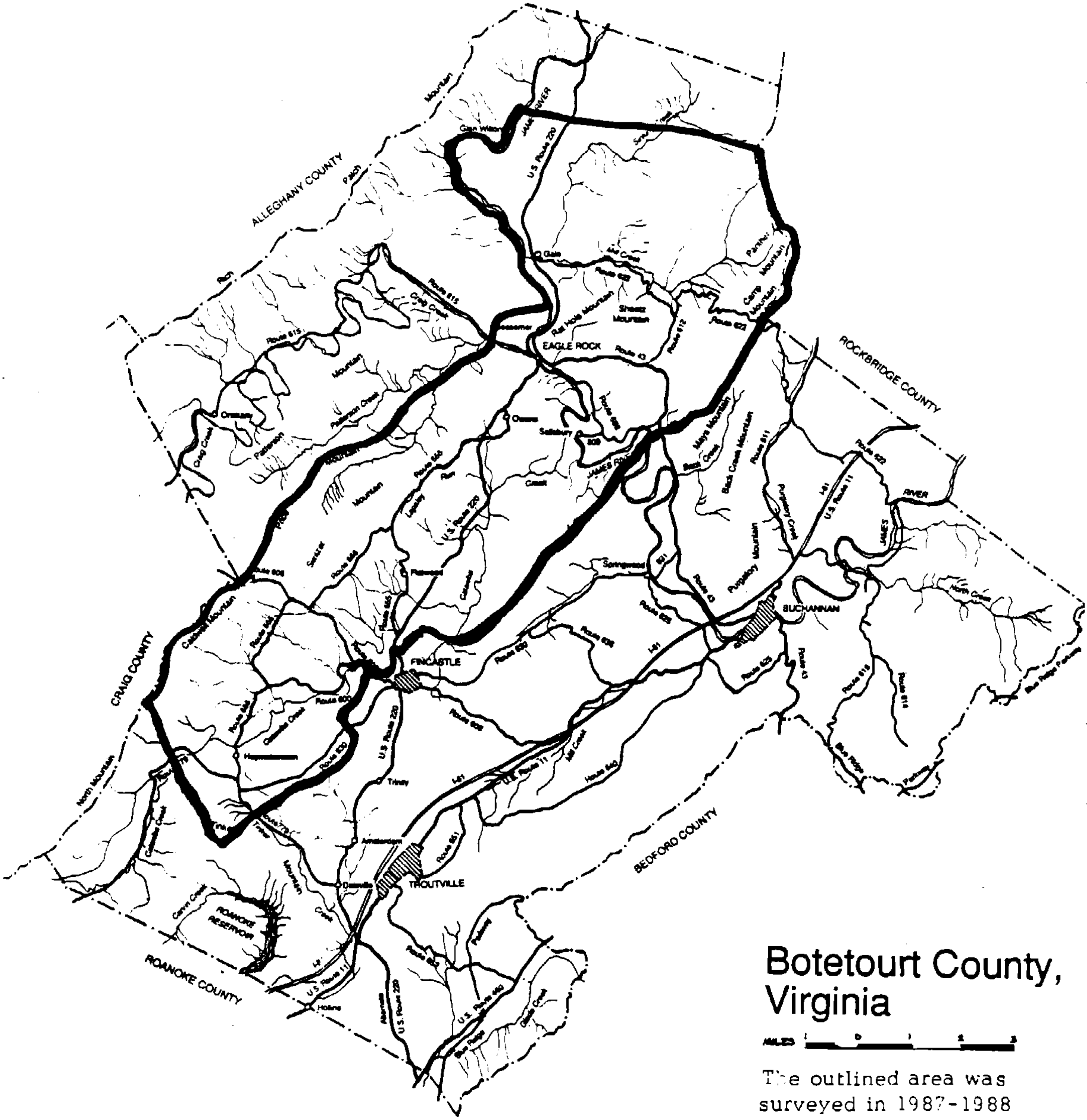
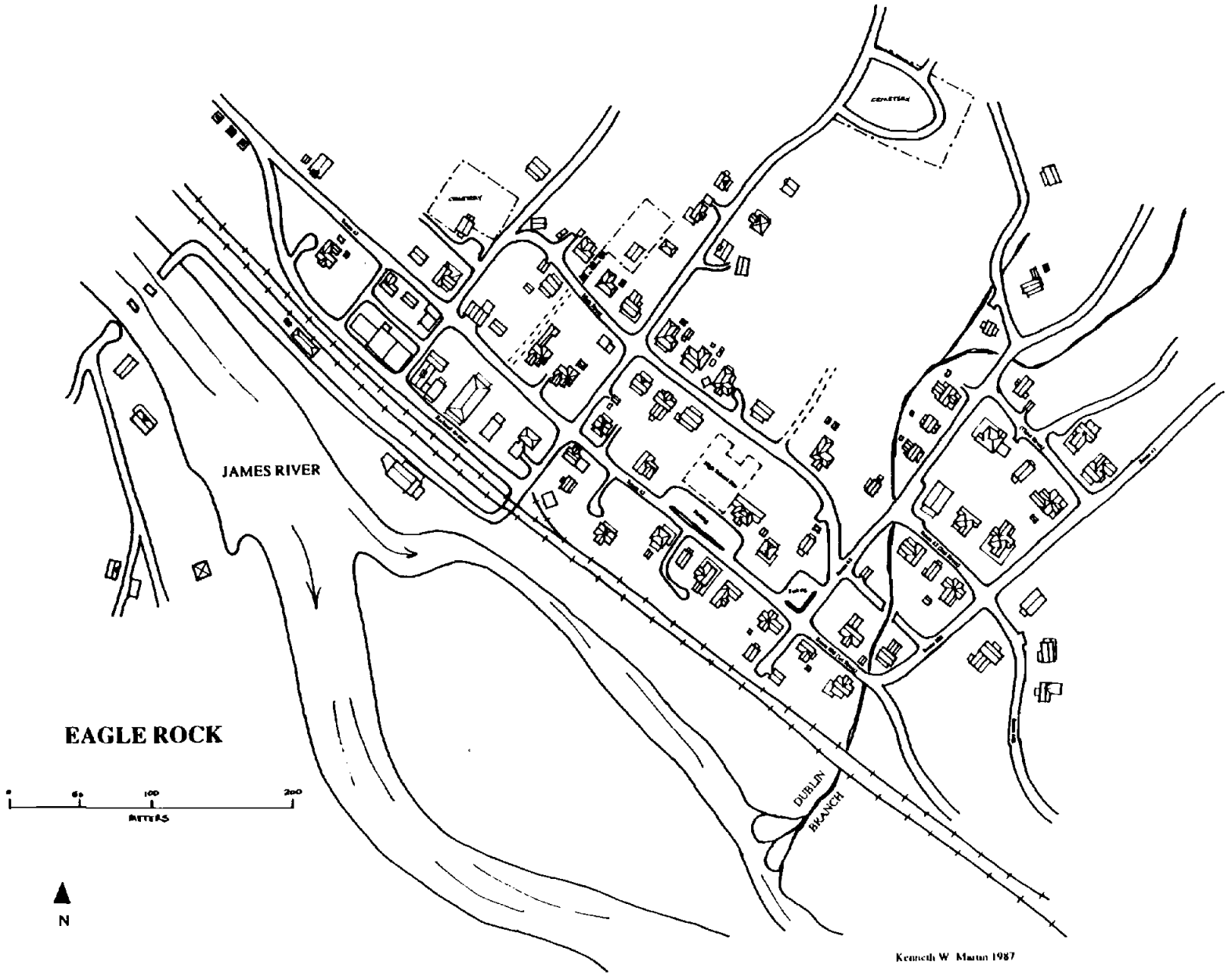


Botetourt County, Virginia

The outlined area was surveyed in 1987-1988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INTRODUCTION

The Botetourt County Reconnaissance Level Survey of 1987-88 was initiated by the Museum of American Frontier Culture through the survey subgrant program of the Virginia Division of Historic Landmarks. The work was undertaken to fulfill the Landmarks Division goal of surveying a representative portion of Botetourt County, and to obtain information which the Museum needed to better interpret its exhibits on Shenandoah Valley regional farming practices and housing forms. The survey work was contracted with the firm of Gibson Worsham, Architect, which has performed previous survey work in Western Virginia.

Work began in June, 1987, and included research in local libraries, the Virginia State Library, and the Newman Library at Virginia Polytechic Institute and State University. The research resulted in a preliminary historical review, the content of which is incorporated in this report. Fieldwork began in August, 1987 and was substantially completed in January of 1988. Most buildings were recorded in rural locations, but the town of Eagle Rock was completely surveyed, an action that will ideally result in a National Register district nomination for the town.

The Virginia Division of Historic Landmarks staff expressed a desire to have a good sampling of geographical areas and types of settlements. The survey study unit was chosen to include a wide variety of types of land, from mountain hollows to the broad bottomlands along the James River and Catawba Creek. Additional research and fieldwork could result in a more complete geographical coverage of the county.

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

The 1987-88 Botetourt County Partial Reconnaissance Survey was completed under a survey sub-grant program funded by the Museum of American Frontier Culture and of the Virginia Division of Historic Landmarks. The research and fieldwork were performed by the firm of Gibson Worsham, Architect. Gibson Worsham, Ken Martin, and Charlotte Worsham made up the survey team. In order to identify patterns of settlement and cultural activity within the county and the larger region, research was undertaken before the fieldwork was begun as recommended in the Resource Protection Planning Process (RP3) published by the National Park Service in 1980. The RP3 program is designed to link preservation planning with an analysis of the existing resources. To implement the process, the Division of Historic Landmarks has created a series of regional study units including the Valley of Virginia, which contains Botetourt County.

A useful data base was obtained by delineating a geographically distinct study unit. The study unit, located in a broad belt across the county from north to south, was selected with several goals in view: the first goal was to include the site of the John Barger farm, which has been acquired by the Museum of American Frontier Culture, and a large area related to it, in order to better understand the historical and architectural patterns influencing its form. The second goal was to obtain a representative and meaningful sampling of Botetourt County geographic areas and architecture for use in preservation planning and related endeavors.

Initial research suggests that in the relatively short period in which settlement and development have occurred the influence of most geographical features on cultural patterns has been consistent. In general, mountain ridges or drainage divides have created regions of distinct cultural activity. These regions were usually related to water sources, transportation, or the best agricultural land, all of which tend to relate principally to the geography of the area. For this reason ridges or divides have been selected as boundaries for the study unit. The study unit contains (A) Catawba Creek and its surrounding lands in the Daleville, Oriskary, and Salisbury quadrangles, (B) Lapsleys Run and Pattersons Creek in the Oriskany and Eagle Rock quadrangles. It also contains (C) the mouth of Craig Creek and the lands which surround the James River as it traverses the quadrangles of Eagle Rock and Salisbury, and (D) a portion of Buchanan, with Timber Ridge and the divide between Catawba Creek and Tinker Creek forming the southeastern border. The study unit also contains (E) Caldwell, Switzer, and Rich Patch Mountains to the northwest, (F) the town of Eagle Rock in its entirety, as well as (G) lands drained by Mill Creek and Sinking Creek and the area of mountainous land to their east as far as the edge of the county and Sugarloaf Mountain to the southeast. The area surveyed makes a wide swath through the county from north to south and encompass rural villages and a wide variety of topography and agricultural lands.

Early survey work in the area was undertaken in the 1930s by the Works Progress Administration. Additional work was done in the 1950s, under the direction of the Historic American Building Survey, and during the 1970s by the Roanoke Historical Society. Many of the surveys carefully document

the properties with photographs and sketch plans, but the selection of sites did not follow any chronological or geographical pattern, and thus do not present a particularly accurate picture of construction in the county.

Division of Historic Landmarks directives indicated that, when warranted, intensive field survey techniques were to be followed, involving room-by-room descriptions, photographs, and measured drawings. All of the study unit's historic resources were considered for the survey. Criteria for survey inclusion were based on local historical and architectural significance as defined by the National Park Service in the National Register Standards and Guidelines and the Virginia Landmarks Commission Architectural Survey Guide.

Fieldwork proceeded by county road and 7.5 minute U.S.G.S. quads. U.S.G.S. maps were used to locate all county routes and accessible private roads in the study unit. Structures were usually considered if they were more than fifty years old. Interiors were examined when the owner allowed it and when the building's age and relative importance warranted it. In some cases buildings were measured and the interiors photographed. Outbuildings and barns were recorded on site plans and photographed or measured when they contributed to a farm complex or were themselves significant structures. The sites were located by number on U.S.G.S. maps and historical research was performed wherever possible. Two hundred sixty-five sites were surveyed; twenty-seven of these were resurveys.

In addition to surveyed sites, most late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century dwellings that conformed to identified vernacular patterns, within limited parameters of building material and age, were

recorded on field maps. A survey typology was used which was developed in Kentucky by Camille Wells and refined for the region by the authors in Montgomery and Pulaski County (Wells, p. 1). Only buildings built of light sawn wood were recorded. Four types of buildings were distinguished, and their number of stories, depth, fenestration, roof type, and chimney placement were recorded using a code (See Appendix 2). Other dwelling types of various construction materials recorded in code on the maps included bungalows, foursquare houses and houses with bungaloid features. Churches, school houses, and bank barns were also recorded, if a survey was not made of the site.

For the purpose of this report the county's history was broken into five chronological units: 1730-1790, 1790-1830, 1830-1860, 1860-1910 and 1910-1940. In addition, the research was organized by ten themes or categories as mandated by the Division of Historic Landmarks. These include: Residential/Domestic; Agriculture; Government/Law/Welfare; Education; Military; Religion; Social/Cultural; Transportation; Commerce; and Industry/Manufacturing/Crafts. The themes are divided by the various temporal periods and discussed as far as research allowed and to the degree that each theme contributed to our understanding of the county's historic resources.

CHAPTER ONE

RESIDENTIAL/DOMESTIC THEME

1730 - 1790

The first substantial houses in the upper Shenandoah Valley were of necessity built of log. In the absence of sawmills and brickyards only the most wealthy could have built frame or brick houses, and few of the earliest settlers were prepared to invest heavily in housing in the first decades. Log proved to be such a suitable material for building that it apprears to have remained the material of choice for the majority of citizens until the mid-nineteenth century. No log homes are known for certain to survive from before the end of the eighteenth century. This and the fact that relatively few survive from the early nineteenth century, suggests that the homes of most settlers were of insubstantial and semi-permanent nature.

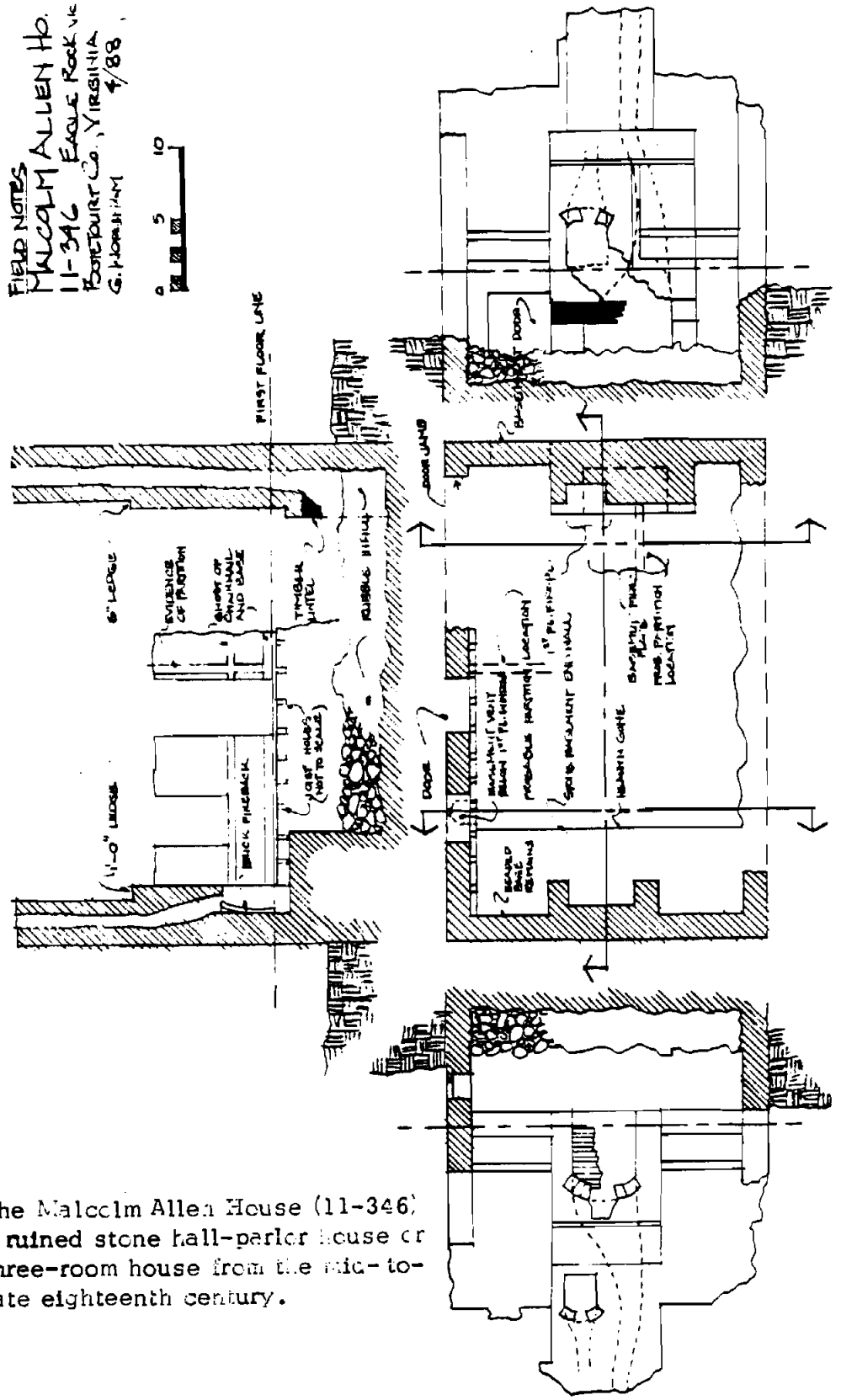
The log building tradition seems to have been brought to the North American continent by German and Swiss immigrants as a part of their cultural heritage. It was well suited to a land with an ample supply of clear-splitting, inexpensive timber, while the craftsmanship necessary to build a frame or masonry house seems to have been more expensive. The Scotch-Irish adapted log building technology they found in Pennsylvania and the Valley of Virginia to the kinds of houses they were familiar with in Ireland and carried the tradition with them through the Upland South and Midwest.

Two houses were located which purport to date from the period. One, the Bryan McDonald, Sr. House near Mt. Union in the southwest corner of the

county (11-44), is said to have been built in the mid-eighteenth century. The one-story log house, which takes the hall-parlor form described in the next period, has an unusual bank sitting with a full stone basement above ground on the front (north) facade. The basement has a large cooking fireplace. The mantel in the large main floor room has a deep molded shelf and a panelled frieze above an arched board over the fireplace. The fireplace with mantel projecting out from the chimney breast and the wall about a foot. The house appears to date from the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, but could represent an earlier shell with later woodwork.

The stone Bryan McDonald Jr. House (11-21) has an unusual building material (sandstone) and well-documented date. Also located near the Mt. Union village in the southwest corner of the county on the headwaters of Tinker's Creek but not far from Catawba Creek, the house features limestone construction with an unusual sandstone principal facade on which is carved "Bryan McDonald/1766." The house originally had a three-room plan (since altered) with an interior chimney at each end, including corner chimneys back-to-back in the two small rooms at the east end. A large brick addition to the rear (north) in c. 1850, including a new center passage with stair reoriented the house to the west and resulted in the rebuilding of the roof with a shallower slope. Restoration in recent years resulted in rebuilding of the west chimney and replacement of substantial amounts of woodwork. The house remains one of Botetourt County's most significant architectural resources.

The ruins of the Malcolm Allen House (11-346) are situated east of Eagle Rock on high rolling land above the James River, near the route of



The Malcolm Allen House (11-346), a ruined stone hall-parlor house or three-room house from the mid- to late eighteenth century.

an early road through the James River gorge west of Buchanan. The one-story house is traditionally dated at 1762, the date at which Allen was first reported as a tithable. A division of his lands at the time of his death indicate that he may have moved from the site some years before his death in 1792 (Stoner, p. 267). He is recorded on other lands in Botetourt in previous years, so the date of the house is unclear. Comparison with the several other early houses in the survey area seems to confirm an early date. Three walls and both chimneys remain standing. The 24' x 35' coursed rubble building had a full basement with cooking fireplace and seems to have had a hall-parlor or three-room plan. A large fireplace served the hall, and a smaller room at the opposite end (which may have been subdivided) was served by a small fireplace. Both chimneys were completely internal. Malcolm Allen is listed in 1785 as having three white persons resident at his home, one dwelling house, one barn, two "cabins" and a corn crib (Stoner, p. 235).

During this period two documents found among the tax records of Botetourt County for 1784 and 1785 shed a good deal of light on the domestic architecture of the period. The first document (included in Stoner, p. 235) is a list of certain landowners in 1784, chiefly in the Fincastle area, giving brief descriptions of their homes. The property owners include prominent citizens such as James Anderson, George Hancock, and Robert Harvey, among others. The terminology used to describe houses is illuminating, although not entirely consistent. Out of a total of fifty -nine, the houses are variously described as: log houses or log dwelling houses (26), "cabins to dwell in" or dwelling cabins (21), double cabins (1), and frame dwelling houses or frame houses (9). One was described as

a "cabin dwelling house." Information is given about type and number of chimneys and roofing material. If a building had a shingle roof it is mentioned and because they were associated with dwelling houses exclusively it may be assumed the omission of a note meant a roof of lesser quality. Frame houses had no roof reference given, however, and it may be that these were assumed, for the list-makers purposes to have had shingled roofs. Twenty-one of the log dwelling houses had shingle roofs and five had no roof mentioned, while only one had a "clapboard roof" mentioned. No other house type has a roof described. Whether cabins had clapboard roofs or something more primitive is not clear. There is no clear connection between a shingle roof and an inferior chimney.

Chimneys are described as being of brick, stone, or clay. In many cases (all of the cabins, four log dwelling houses, one frame dwelling house and the one "cabin dwelling house"), no mention of chimneys was made. The great majority of "dwelling houses" had a chimney or chimneys mentioned, which suggests a vastly inferior roofing material for cabins and the possible lack of what the tax assessor would have described as a chimney, unless a clay chimney would have been assumed for "cabins". Eight of the twenty-six log houses had clay chimneys, two had brick chimneys, and twelve had stone chimneys. The nine "frame dwellings" never had clay chimneys; four were recorded with stone and four had brick chimneys. Of the log houses seventeen had only a single chimney recorded (ten stone, five clay, and two brick), while five had multiple chimneys (two stone and three clay). One of these houses was said to have two stone chimneys. The double cabin had two stone chimneys, and one house recorded as being of log, frame, and brick had one brick and one stone

chimney. Of the frame houses, six had only one chimney (four of stone and two of brick, one of which was said to serve four fireplaces and belonged to prominent citizen George Hancock). Three "frame houses" had more than one chimney (one with two stone chimneys, one with two brick chimneys, and one with brick chimneys serving three hearths.

In addition, several sites had associated industries including a blacksmith's shop with a log dwelling house, owned by Jacob Mefford; grist and powder mill houses associated with a log dwelling house belonging to Robert Harvey; fulling and grist mills owned by Thomas Preston and adjacent to a "cabin to dwell in"; and a "stone mill house" near a log dwelling owned by Andrew Henery (Stoner, pp. 233-235).

The second list of tithables is the Militia Company of Captain Pryor, perhaps in the northern part of the county. Twenty-nine persons are listed, together with a number of white residents and their homes. The type of house is categorized, whether dwelling house (15), "cabin that he dwells in" (7), or dwelling cabin (4), as are agricultural outbuildings, including additional cabins, corn cribs, barns, "out cabins," and "outbuildings." Three tithables had no house or cabin listed, and two had multiple cabins (two and four) listed without any given precedence as a dwelling. One of them had a barn. Of the dwelling houses, six had a barn listed, of which three also had two cabins and a corncrib, one had an additional five cabins, one had four "out cabins", and one had four corn cribs and twelve "out cabins" (the only two references to out cabins). Of the dwelling houses without barns, one stood alone with a smith shop, one had an additional two cabins, one three cabins, one four cabins, and one each had three and six "other buildings."

The "cabin to dwell in" category contained listings for seven cabins without barns, two standing alone, one with another cabin, and four with two additional cabins (one of which had a corn crib also). No cabins had barns. However, the "dwelling cabin" category, which might be said to represent the same type of housing, had four listed examples, one with a grist mill, one with three additional cabins, and one with four cabins. None had barns.

It is interesting that Malcolm Allen, whose stone house (11-346, discussed above) was surveyed in the north central part of the county, had at this time a dwelling house with three white occupants, a barn, two cabins, and a corn crib. His three sons Hugh, Robert, and Moses all lived in cabins and did not have barns. Two of them had two additional cabins and one had one additional cabin. This indicates that a dwelling house may have been not so much a sign of social rank, or at least that cabins were not solely the homes of those recently arrived in the area or of grinding poverty, but were viewed probably as the basic dwelling for those starting out with a family or farm. The fact that mechanics and smiths lived in the more substantial houses is interesting, although mills seem to be associated in both lists with cabins, probably because many were used seasonally.

1790 - 1830

Surviving early houses in the upper Valley and Botetourt County after the frontier periods of settlement follow a limited number of plans. The floor plans were used regardless of whether the house was constructed of log, frame, or masonry. The most basic type of house to survive, and

probably the most popular, was the one-room house plan, in this case constructed almost invariably of logs, although found in brick and frame in other parts of Virginia. The house is often rectangular and less frequently square and is found in both one- and two-story examples with a garret reached by a ladder or stair. All of the family's indoor activities took place in the single main-floor room. Two houses which clearly date from the period and have intact detailing, both of log, took this form in the survey area: the house at site 11-108, a two-story rectangular, three-bay house and the house at 11-255, a one-story square, two-bay house.

A larger type of house used the hall-parlor plan. This, the house form often chosen by more prosperous farmers in the early nineteenth century, is a plan brought to the colonies by settlers from both England and Ireland. The rectangular hall- parlor house, generally built of log or masonry construction, is divided into two rooms. The larger of the two rooms, usually the only room with a fireplace, has been identified by architectural historians as the "hall" and was used for cooking and general family activities. The smaller room, separated from the hall by a partition, usually functioned as a parlor or "best room" and secondarily as a bedroom. While frame examples have been located from the period in neighboring counties, none have been found in the study area. The facade was usually pierced by three openings, often symmetrically placed, belying the unequal sizes of the rooms behind.

Another plan type, known as the three-room plan was mentioned in the previous period. The house plan as found in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Botetourt County, seems to have been used by settlers of both

German and Scotch-Irish background. In its Botetourt County manifestation it often resembles a hall-parlor dwelling, with the parlor subdivided into two small rooms of equal or unequal size.

A house plan which figured prominently in the upper and lower Shenandoah Valley and in Botetourt County from the last years of the eighteenth century is found in some of the homes of a group of wealthy men who wished to dramatize and confirm their position in the region's political and social sphere. The center-passage house plan reflects trends which influenced domestic building on a national scale. The type, which is characterized by a pair of similar rooms flanking a central passage, has been identified by architectural historians as developing out of an increased sense of privacy and a pervasive sense of classical symmetry and detail. In its two-story, single-pile manifestation it is sometimes referred to as the I-house. As the nineteenth century passed, the center-passage house and its rarer one-story counterpart became a prominent feature of the western Virginia landscape, and indeed of the entire Upland South. While early examples usually have five-bay facades, three-bay examples predominate in the antebellum era. Most of the early surviving examples are built of stone or brick. In the part of Botetourt Count surveyed, two brick two-story, center-passage houses were located.

One of these, the Dr. William Anderson House (11-56), an early nineteenth-century house near Haymaker in the southwest corner of the county, has an atypical asymmetrical four-bay principal facade, with rooms of unequal size flanking the central passage, and an enclosed stair in the corner of the passage. With its elaborate geometrically ornamented mantels with panelled friezes and strip pilasters and its molded brick

cornice, the house appears to date from the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The Jacob Stover House (11-25) on Lapsley's Run is a five-bay center-passage house apparently dating from late in the period. It also features a molded brick cornice, in addition to an elliptical Gothic fanlight and fluted pilasters flanking the central entry door. Like the other center-passage house from the period, it does not have a wide open-stringer stair, but has a small enclosed winder stair in the passage. The five-bay house at Hawthorne Hall (11-37) is the only one-story center-passage house recorded. It is said to have been built before 1801 by Mary Harvey and her husband Stephen Trigg. It is also one of the earliest double-pile houses in the area, with a second range of rooms flanking the passage behind the rooms on the principal front. Like the Stover House, Hawthorne Hall has an elliptical fanlight with Gothic dividers. It has a molded brick cornice and is built entirely in Flemish bond, like the Anderson House above. The Stover House has Flemish band facades only on the principal front (south) and the west end. The Stover House and Hawthorne Hall each have service wings: that at the Stover House takes the form of a one-story ell of two rooms, while the wing at Hawthorne Hall is connected by a breezway to the side of the house, allowing a symmetrical facade on the rear (north).

Two log houses built around 1800, Promised Land (11-31) and Rustic Lodge (11-53), are interesting variations on the center-passage plan. They are made up of a pair of two-story log pens joined by a framed passage. While it is possible that they are examples of the dog-trot form, otherwise rare in the area, the elaborate early woodwork, particularly at Promised Land which has a panelled chimney wall, indicates a

sophisticated intent on the part of the owners. Both houses are located west of Fincastle and were centers of prosperous farms. Both incorporate internal brick end chimneys. Rustic Lodge was built by members of the prominant eastern Virginia Burwell family, indicating ready adoption of regional building technology by newly-arrived easterners.

There seems to have been no middle ground in late eighteenth-century Valley housing. In contrast to the small and largely vanished houses of the majority of settlers, many of whom were to move in a series of hops towards the west, a number of wealthy landowners erected large and pretentious dwellings as soon as it was possible. Some of the landowners arrived with sufficient wealth to express themselves architecturally, while others gradually accumulated it during the decades after their arrival. The process of settlement seems to have been characterized by speculation and a commercial spirit from the earliest days, says Robert Mitchell in his study of the Shenandoah Valley entitled Commercialism and Frontier. In the best agricultural areas the land was sometimes bought up by a single large landowner after the first settlers had broken the country in. Often the first settlers would sell at a profit and move on, sometimes as many as three times, ending up in Tennessee or Kentucky in the 1780s. In a few cases, wealthy settlers were willing to take the risk of making the initial settlement. Such a man was William Preston, who settled in Botetourt County in the 1760s.

Preston was the nephew of James Patton, an Ulster speculator and ship owner, who had served as a land agent in Ireland for settlement in the Shenandoah Valley's Beverly Manor. Patton had received control of several large land grants, including the Beverly Manor Grant. By 1754 Preston was

deputy surveyor for Augusta County. In the 1760s Preston moved from Beverly Manor up the Valley to the Botetourt vicinity on the James River and developed a large farm called Greenfield. The early log house at Greenfield was destroyed by fire in 1959. In the early 1770s he purchased land in the Draper tract of the present-day Montgomery County beyond the Shenandoah Valley and almost immediately built a large one-story center-passage frame house which he called Smithfield. He moved his family to the region before 1774. According to Mitchell, with each move Preston was able to reap large profits by the sale of land at the high rates commanded for improved land in well-settled areas and buy new land at cheaper prices in the riskier frontier areas.

Colonel Robert Breckinridge settled in the Fincastle area in the early period, and was one of the justices in 1769. He married William Preston's daughter Letitia and settled there. His son, General James Breckinridge became, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, the county's most active, influential, and prominent citizen. He was very successful as a land speculator, and held over 4,000 acres by 1804 (Breckinridge, p. 3).

Breckinridge, who had a strong eastern Virginia connection, began work on his house soon after his marriage in 1791. Grove Hill is the county's most academically sophisticated and lavish dwelling. The house, valued at $10,000 in 1804, burned in 1901, but is well documented in a Virginia Mutual Assurance policy and historical photographs. The fifty by sixty foot two-story gabled brick dwelling featured stone belt courses, jack arches, and a well-defined modillion cornice. The principal entrance to the central passage seems to have been located in the center of the five-bay gable end. A cross-passage gave access to porches and doors

placed in the center of the five-bay side facades. The four rooms on each floor were apparently placed in the corners of the rectangular plan, and the chimneys were located along the interior partitions. The highly developed Georgian plan, as this is sometimes called, was most unusual at this early date in the upper Valley and reflected Breckenridge's unusual status.

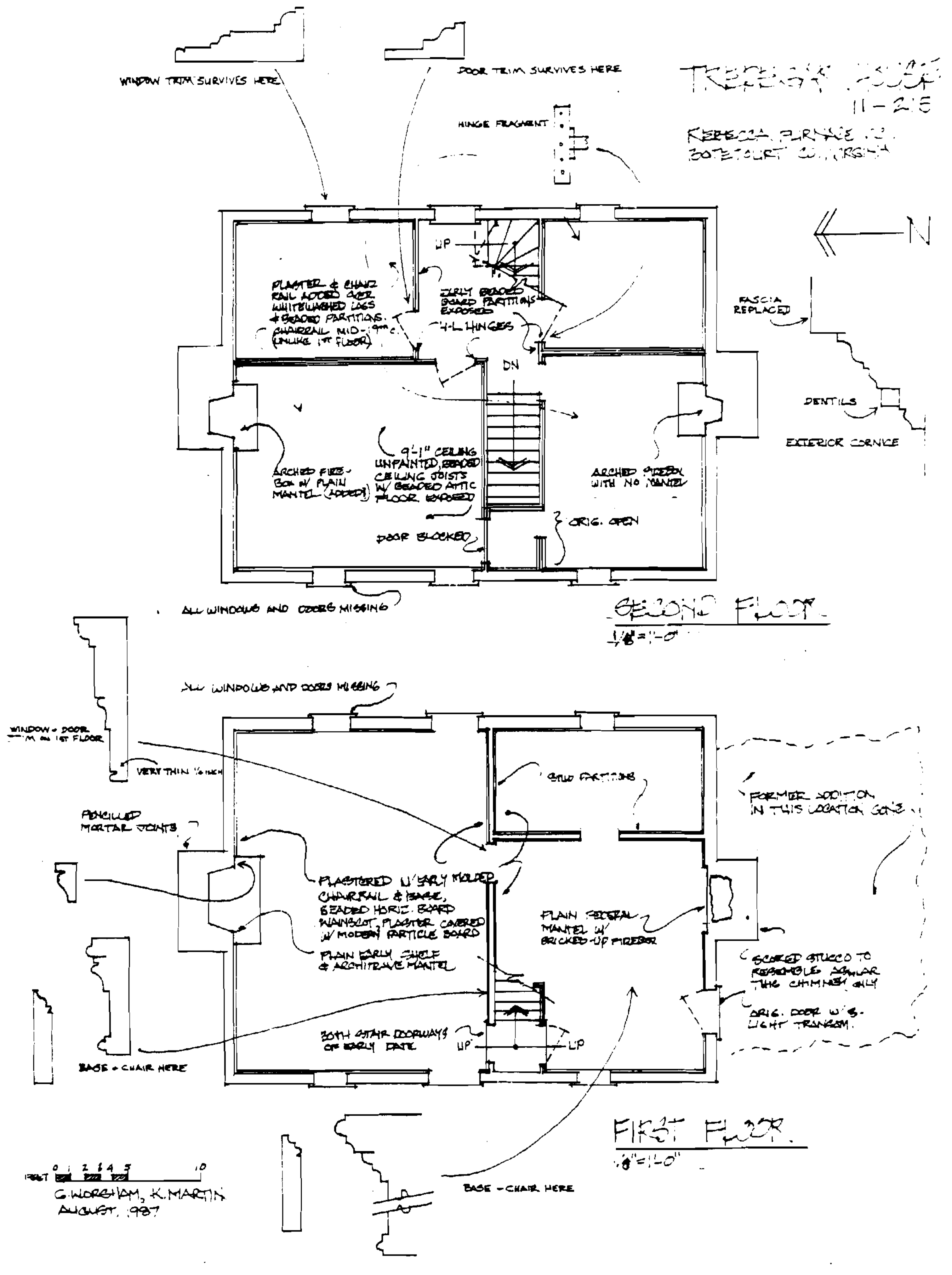
Surviving houses undoubtedly do not accurately represent the entire spectrum of building, but based on extant structures, it seems that log houses continued to be the most commonly built dwellings in the early nineteenth century. Most were of the one- and two-room forms. In this period the homes of middling and more prosperous farmers began to take on a more substantial character. Not enough information has been gathered to establish more detail. One house, Stonelea, near Fincastle, is a stone two-story, four-bay house built for Edward Mitchell. It incorporates a three-room plan, similar to houses in the Valley from Rockbridge County north and are said by some scholars to represent a survival of German ethnic architectural form.

The Tredegar House (11-215), a two-story log house located near the Rebecca Iron Furnace (11-216) in the remote mountainous area north of Eagle Rock, takes the full-scale three-room form. The house has carefully detailed Federal interior woodwork and a dentiled exterior cornice. The plan is of unusually large proportions, and features a large room at the west side of a central frame partition and two rooms of unequal size on the east. The smallest room of the three is unheated and located in the northeast corner. The house is important not only for its three-room form mentioned previously, which resembles a number of houses in the middle to

lower Shenandoah Valley, but for its clear connection with the important Rebecca Furnace. It may be unique in the state as an early nineteenth-century domestic structure related to a rural industrial site.

A Flemish-bond brick house of two stories built along Lapsley's Run late in the period incorporates the substantial three-room center-passage form. The Miller-Switzer House (11-29) resembles the center-passage houses described above but features a pair of rooms on the north side of the passage. The west room of the three is smaller than the adjacent room, with which it shares a corner chimney. Like the other early nineteenth-century center-passage houses mentioned previously, this example also contains an enclosed winder stair. The house has a molded brick cornice and a contemporary lateral one-story one-room kitchen wing at the north end. The two rooms north of the passage each have corner fireplaces sharing a chimney in the center of the north gable. The Federal mantels have reeded pilasters, enriched central tablets, and end blocks. The mantel in the south room has an early marbleized paint treatment.

In a list of 1815 Grayson County landowners compiled by the tax assessor and reported in Alderman, Carroll: 1765-1815 (p. 387-402), gives a record of the total acreage of each farm and the type and material of each building, together with an overall value for the land and improvements. The geography of Grayson County, located in Southwest Virginia, is similar to that of portions of mountainous Botetourt County. The list as reported only includes those owners whose land was in the present bounds of Carroll County, and the list is said to be incomplete, but it represents a rare cross-section of 211 landowners and about 290 tracts owned by them. Some owners possessed several improved tracts, while others owned several



WINDOW TRIM SURVIVES HERE
DOOR TRIM SURVIVES HERE
HINGE FRAGMENT
PLASTER & CHAIR RAIL ADDED OVER WHITEWASHED LOGS & BEADED PARTITIONS. CHAIRRAIL MID-19TH C. (UNLIKE 1ST FLOOR)
UP
EARLY BEADED BOARD PARTITIONS EXPOSED
H-L HINGES
DN
FASCIA REPLACED
DENTILS
EXTERIOR CORNICE
9'-1" CEILING UNPAINTED, BEADED CEILING JOISTS W/ BEADED ATTIC FLOOR EXPOSED
ARCHED FIRE-BOX W/ PLAIN MANTEL (ADDED)
ARCHED FIREBOX WITH NO MANTEL
ORIG. OPEN
DOOR BLOCKED
ALL WINDOWS AND DOORS MISSING
SECOND FLOOR
1/8"=1'-0"
ALL WINDOWS AND DOORS MISSING
WINDOW + DOOR TRIM ON 1ST FLOOR
VERY THIN 1/8 INCH
PENCILLED MORTAR JOINTS
STUD PARTITIONS
FORMER ADDITION IN THIS LOCATION GONE
PLASTERED W/ EARLY MOLDED CHAIRRAIL & BASE, BEADED HORIZ. BOARD WAINSCOT, PLASTER COVERED W/ MODERN PARTICLE BOARD
PLAIN EARLY SHELF & ARCHITRAVE MANTEL
PLAIN FEDERAL MANTEL W/ BRICKED-UP FIREBOX
SCORED STUCCO TO RESEMBLE ASHLAR THE CHIMNEY ONLY
ORIG. DOOR W/ 3-LIGHT TRANSOM
BOTH STAIR DOORWAYS OF EARLY DATE
UP
UP
BASE + CHAIR HERE
FIRST FLOOR
1/8"=1'-0"
BASE - CHAIR HERE
FEET 0 1 2 3 4 5 10
G. WORSHAM, K. MARTIN
AUGUST, 1987

completely unimproved tracts. The first tract for each owner is listed as a farm, and the additional plots are referred to as tracts whether or not they contain more substantial improvements or not. It is likely that the first tracts mentioned represented the landowner's home place. Terms for buildings include barn or cabin "of poles" (rare), "cabben" and dwelling house "of logs" and "of timber" or "of wood." In several cases the material is not specified. "Dwelling house, cabben roof" which appears twice may imply an inferior roofing material such as clapboard on a more substantial house. While Grayson County is not immediately adjacent to Botetourt, it provides interesting and valuable data about Appalachian farm form, development, and scale which may shed light on domestic and agricultural practices in Botetourt. The most popular form of housing in Grayson County in 1815 was the "cabben." Thirty-three farms had but a single cabin without any dependencies. Thirty-nine cabins were associated with a stable. Only six had a barn, and one was equipped with both a barn and a stable. Undoubtedly these cabins were semi-permanent and may have featured primitive roofing and heating facilities. Their exact form and materials are unclear, particularly since only one, together with an associated stable, was specified as being built "of poles" and one dwelling house was listed as being only fourteen feet square. Two dwelling houses were followed by the notation "cabben roof" after a comma, indicating perhaps that the house had a more primitive roof. Using monetary values as a gauge of the substance of the dwelling or cabin is difficult on a large scale due to the varying acreages and their differing locations.

Many tracts had two, three, or in a few cases, more cabins without any "dwelling house" or other structures. Fifteen such tracts were recorded,

most with two cabins. An additional twenty-three cabins had a nearby stable or stables (three had two stables), six had a barn, and one had a stable and barn. Several cabins were located on secondary tracts, and four single cabins were associated with grist mills on land owned by a farmer elsewhere in the area. Seven cabins had structures such as meat-houses, smith shops, a grist mill, or a crib associated with them, but the large majority did not.

"Log dwellings" made up the bulk of the remaining residences on eighty-eight of the sites. These were apparently similar or nearly identical to the log houses in the area dating from the antebellum period and later, but were more substantial with a shingle roof and masonry chimney(s). Fourteen of the houses were given dimensions, ranging from twenty-two to twenty-seven feet long by from sixteen to twenty-one feet in depth. Two log houses were square, one twenty-four by twenty-four feet and the other fourteen by fourteen feet. Only four were listed as being of two stories. While given value does generally exceed that of houses without dimensions, this is not always the case.

More than thirty sites with log dwellings had a small complex of buildings associated with them, often including a shop such as a wheelwright or smith, or a tanyard, a still house, milk house, meat house, crib, store house, or grist mill. Nine of the houses were identified as "log dwelling house", "dwelling house", or "house" (log was assumed when no material was specified). Twelve had only an associated barn, twenty-six had only a stable (including four with more than one), and two had a kitchen. Seven had a stable and a kitchen, fifteen had a barn and a kitchen, and only two were equipped with a barn, a stable, and a kitchen.

Five farms with log dwelling houses had a barn and one or more cabins, and two had a stable and a cabin. One farm had two log dwellings with no outbuildings, and one had a barn with two log houses, one had a stable with two log houses, and two others had a barn and a stable with two houses. Two had a barn, a stable, a kitchen, a cabin, and a grist mill with two dwelling houses. Other "outhouses" were occasionally mentioned in connection with log dwelling houses and other house types.

A final category of dwelling was the "timber dwelling" or frame house. Ten were described. One was without dependencies, one had a cabin nearby, three had a barn, four a stable, and one a barn and a stable. Four of the houses with stable or barn had detached kitchens. One of the farms with the highest value had a frame two-story house twenty by twenty-four feet in size. The house was described as being been built "primarily of wood" with sheds at each end and a porch on each side. The improvements were valued at $1000. It had a barn and a stable.

The data seems to indicate that by 1815 a majority of the 211 settlers in the Carroll County (formerly Grayson) area had either a barn or a stable but that few (seven) had both. More than one-third of all settlers, including about one-tenth of the owners of more substantial dwelling houses, log and timber, did not have any notable subordinate agricultural buildings. Only forty-seven barns had been counted, while there were a total of 104 stables. Thirty-two kitchens were recorded. In some cases the cabins recorded with larger houses seem to have been paired with shops as in "wheelwright shop and cabin." In Carroll County region in 1815 only four landowners possessed slaves and never more than one or two.

Interior decoration in the Shenandoah Valley during the first of the nineteenth century was characterized by a richness of detail developed through a blending of academic motifs and folk aesthetic. Turned and carved woodwork frequently centered around the mantlepieces and staircases of a house, but in some cases extended to room cornices. The woodwork is notable for imaginative and robust joinery and carving, only loosely based on popular Adam precedents, and fully informed by a regional decorative tradition (Chappell, "Cultural Change", p. 147). Only a few examples of this tradition were located in Botetourt County, notably the Dr. William Anderson House (11-56) mentioned above.

1830 - 1860

In the decades before the War Between the States, domestic architecture was influenced by national design trends to a greater extent than previously. The delicate and finely detailed finishes associated with the Federal style of the early nineteenth century were gradually replaced by the heavier and more two-dimensional Greek Revival, based in part on an increasing reliance on pattern books published nationally by architects and builders as a guide for the design of decorative elements and floor plans. Increasingly large windows, doors and, in some cases, rooms, were influenced by pattern book authors. But the introduction of new plans and decorative elements did not mean that traditional plans and forms were abandoned by builders of any economic level.

The one-room and hall-parlor house plans continued to be widely employed (twenty-nine examples), while the center-passage house became more popular, in masonry (four examples) as well as frame (four examples).

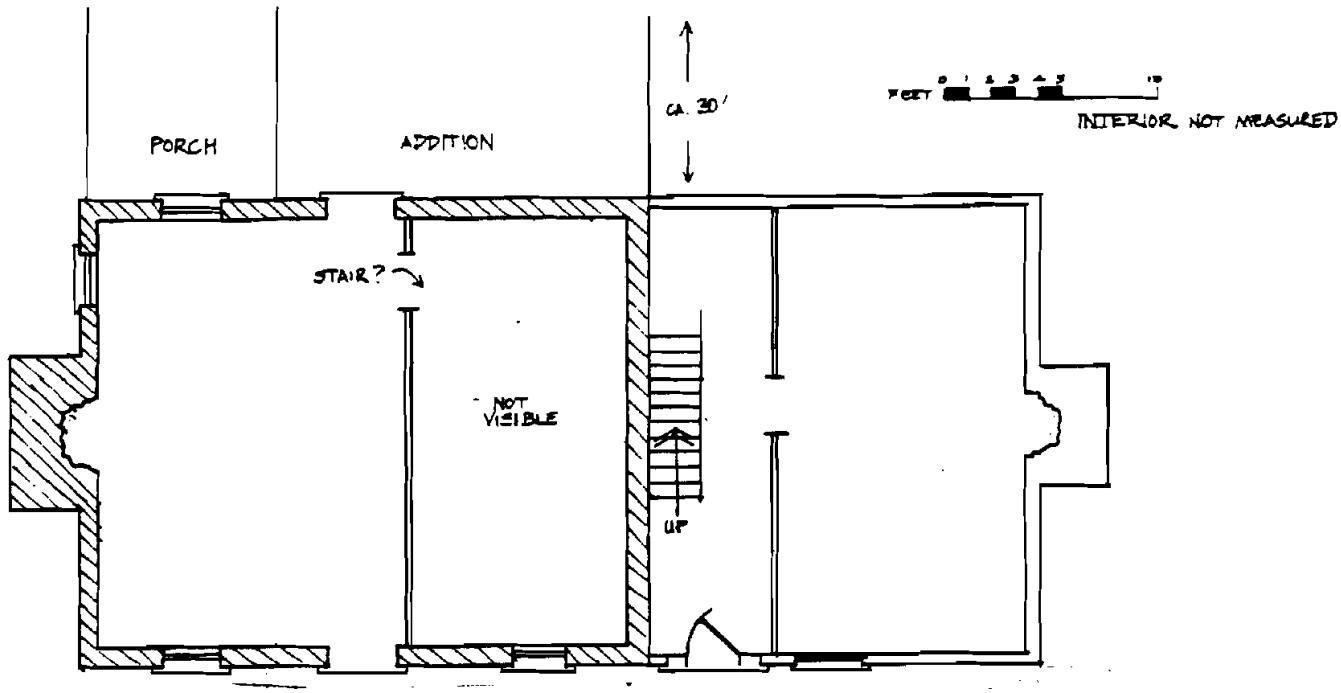
Four single-pen houses of one story and six of two stories were identified from the period. Thirteen log hall-parlor houses were located, including seven of two stories. Three hall-parlor houses were built of frame construction. Uncertainty about the building's original form makes these figures somewhat imprecise. Two additional log houses of one story and three of two stories were of either hall-parlor or single-pen form. One two-story dogtrot house of log, and three saddlebag houses were identified. A group of geographically related log houses, including the John Barger (III) House (11-107) on Little Patterson Creek (now the property of the Museum of American Frontier Culture), take the form of a two-story one-room plan on single-pen (in this case) or hall-parlor house with a lateral one-story pen added. This creates a saddlebag form with a central chimney between the pens. This is similar to the one-story house built in the previous period by John Barger III's father, John Barger, Jr. (11-255), approximately a mile away on Lapsleys Run, and a nearby Beamer House (11-359), a much altered saddlebag house. The nearby two-story Fisher House (11-256), also on Lapsleys Run, takes a similar form, but has end chimneys and a hall-parlor plan. The house at 11-316, just beyond the head of Lapsleys Run, is almost identical in plan, but follows the single-pen plan in the original section. The area along Lapsleys Run, home during the early nineteenth century and later to a dense German community, seems to have produced this group of related houses and a group of barns discussed in the agricultural theme. An unusual saddleburg is located in the northern part of the study unit. The Humphries-Dudley House is made up of an apparently identical pair of two-story log pens, separated by a massive chimney.

The center-passage dwelling is represented by several substantial dwellings from the period. Nine such houses were located, all of two stories, four of brick, four frame and one log. The large Greek Revival-detailed house at Wiloma (11-39) is perhaps characteristic of these houses, with its Flemish-bond principal facade, deep cornice, pedimented porch of two stories, and long rear ell.

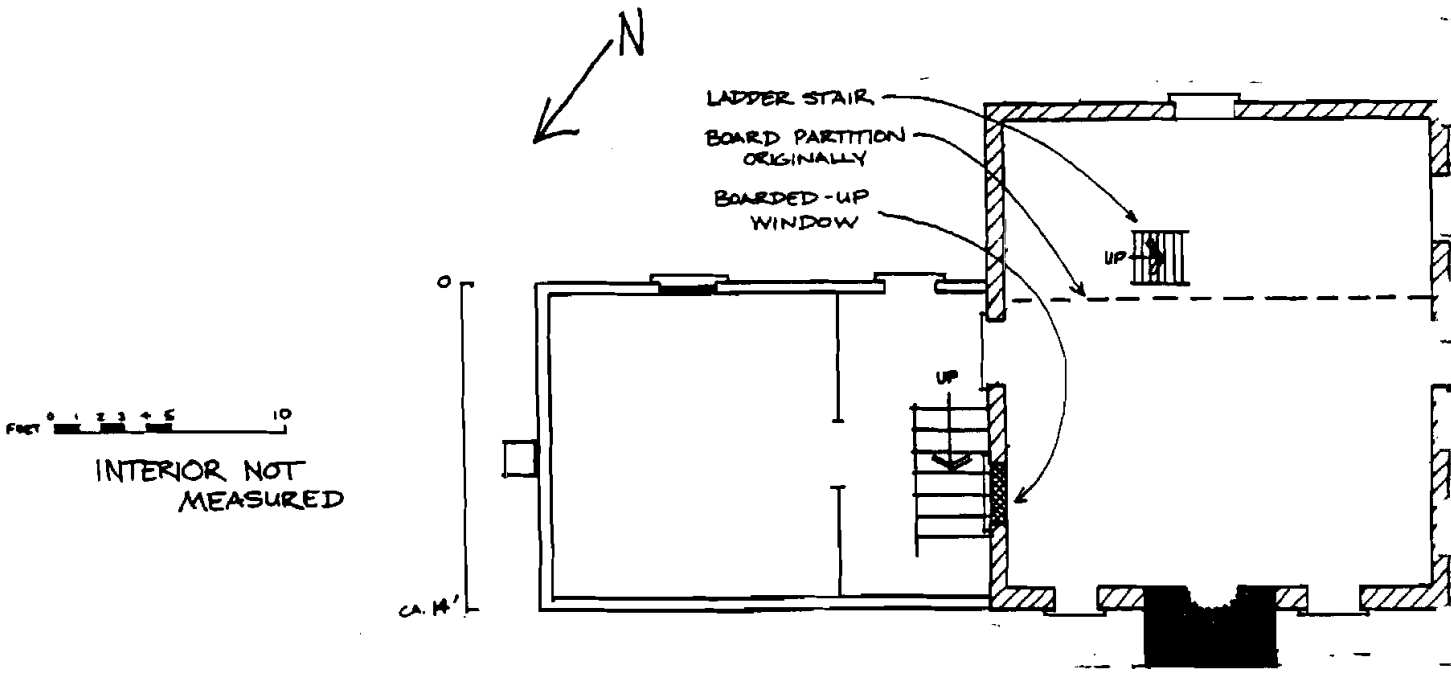
In many cases, additional room was gained by building an integral or the one- or two-room ell or lateral wing. The ell was almost invariably reached from the less formal of the two rooms in the center-passage houses and was usually aligned with the room from which it opened, although centrally placed ells do exist. The ell is found in both one- and two-story variations attached to two-story houses. Ells reached full development in two-story examples, just as is the case with center-passage houses.

As in earlier periods, the low survival rate among dwellings of poor farmers and landless inhabitants distorts available information.

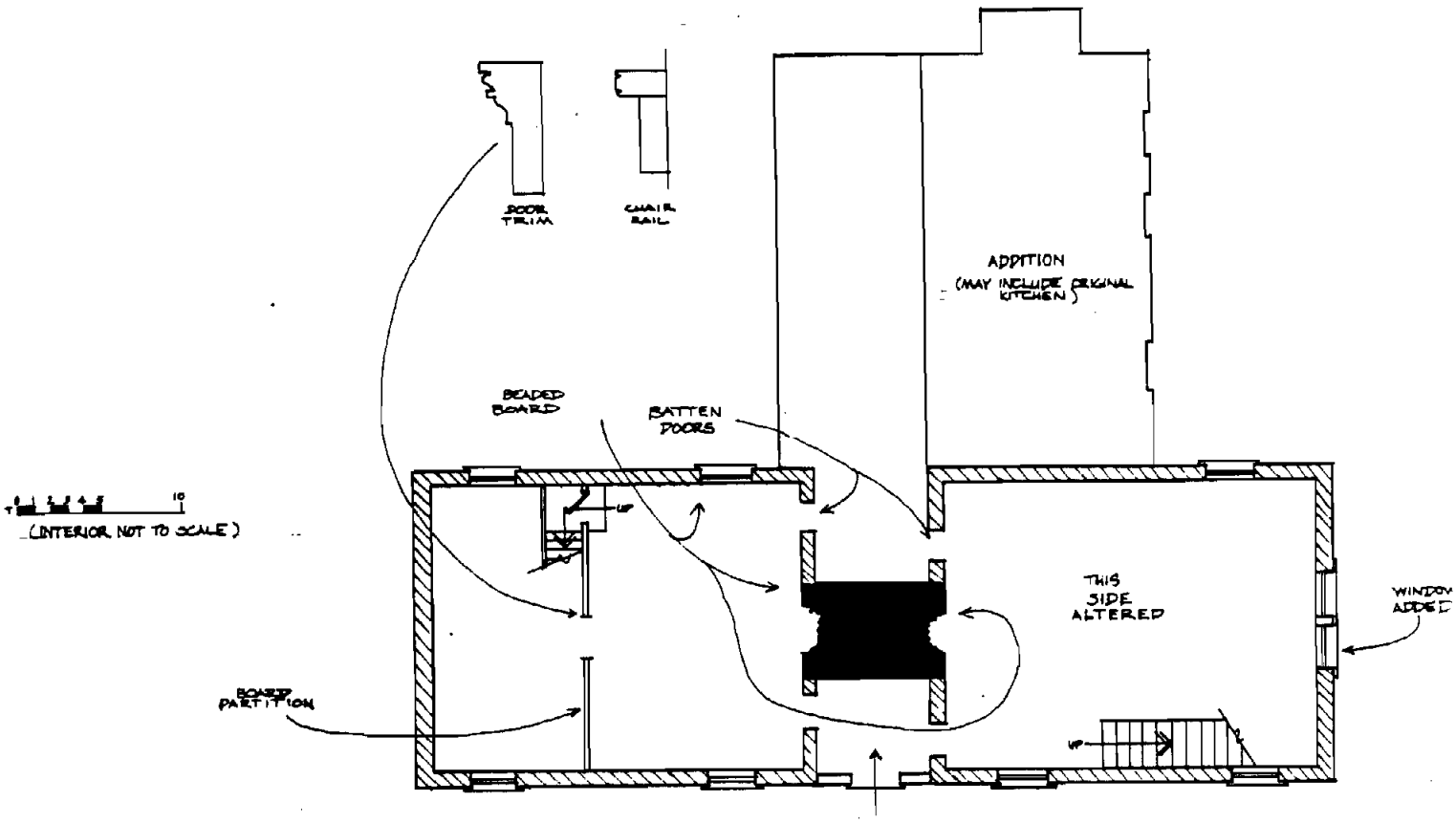
Interior decoration in the larger Valley area continues to feature rich carved and polychromed surfaces until well into the period, particularly at the mantels (Chappell,"Cultural Change," p. 129). As the Greek Revival influences penetrated the interior of Valley houses in mid-century, the regional tradition was transformed, but not completely wiped out. Botetourt County showed little connection with this tradition during any period, however, and no examples of richly decorated surfaces were found in the study area. The presence of German settlers from the earliest period in Botetourt County perhaps indicates additional factors in the development of the Shenandoah Valley decorative styles, often attributied to German cultural influence.



The Carper House (11-210), a log hall-parlor house of two stories, dating from the second quarter of the nineteenth century.



House at 11-241, a one-story log hall-parlor house dating from the mid-nineteenth century.



Humphries-Dudley House (11-220)
an unusual double-pen or saddlebag house with nearly identical two-story log pens.

1860 - 1910

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the agricultural, mining and metallurgical industries stimulated the building of houses for many industrial workers and tenant farmers. Many of these houses fit within types recognized by some architectural historians as double-cell dwellings. In a way they are very similar to the old two-room or hall-parlor house already familiar to most residents of the area. The houses are generally different in that they are lightly framed rather than built of log and are most often one story in elevation without a garret. Usually the house is composed of two rooms of equal size. The facade is often pierced by two windows flanking an off-center door leading directly to one of the rooms. In some cases, however, there is a window and a door in each room. Fewer of these houses were observed in the survey area than in areas surveyed in Southwest Virginia. Only four examples were surveyed although a limited number of others were coded on maps using a typology originally developed by Camille Wells (see Appendix II).

To a limited degree hall-parlor houses of traditional form continued to be employed by builders. Seven such buildings, two of one story and five of two stories, were located from the period. These were built of log and frame. Three of the two-story examples were log, and were clearly in continuity with the traditions of the earlier periods.

The two-story center-passage house was the most commonly built form in the period after the War Between the States, and is almost entirely of light wood framing. Stylistic differences were achieved through the use of pattern-book ornament applied to the porch or gable ends. This took the form of spindle friezes, sawn brackets, and decorative wood shingles

in fishscale patterns. Forty-two frame examples of two stories were surveyed, one frame house of one story, and one two-story brick house. The double-pile form was rediscovered or newly incorporated by builders from pattern books, and many were built. Ten two-story frame examples of double-pile form were surveyed which date from the period.

During the late nineteenth century, larger homes were sometimes built in the region to replace older houses, establish new farms, or as managerial homes in industrial locations. In many cases they follow traditional patterns and are built of both brick and frame, but the ornament is influenced by the Italianate and Queen Anne styles as represented in pattern books. Towers, irregular silhouettes, and picturesque asymmetry were sometimes called into play in disguising what was usually an adaptation of the old center-passage plan. Only a few were located outside of the town of Eagle Rock. Two unusual Queen Anne houses of similar design were surveyed in Eagle Rock (11-112-29 and 11-112-30). These one-story frame houses are characterized by complex roofscapes and irregular plans. In Eagle Rock, as well, however, the center-passage plan prevailed where its popularity was spurred by the prosperity generated by the lime industry. Variations to the usual facade were obtained throughout the survey area by the addition of polygonal bay windows flanking the central entry.

A new variation of the center-passage plan was developed in this period referred to as the T-plan. In this house one of the two rooms flanking a center passage seems to have been pushed forward and a second room added behind, so that three rooms were accessible from the passage on each floor. This was apparently done to increase privacy (since an occupant no longer had to traverse any room to reach another to the rear), and to give

a more picturesque, varied shape to what was still a traditional form. Eleven examples were surveyed from the period, one being brick and the others frame. Several more which fulfilled the typology criteria were identified on the field maps using a code (see Appendix II).

A group of large T-plan and center-passage houses of the double-pile variety (where a second rank of rooms is built behind the front rooms), and single-pile examples were located in and around the site of Bessemer. Bessemer was laid out in the fourth quarter of the nineteenth century as an industrial and railroad town, just west of Eagle Rock. Although no industry successfully located there, Bessemer lot owners and adjacent farmers built large and fashionable houses, adapting traditional forms with decorative and planning concepts from popular pattern books. The house at 11-342 is a good example. Located on a farm overlooking the broad plains beside the James River where the town was laid out, the house has a deep hipped roof covering a double-pile T-plan";detailing includes cast iron roof cresting, projecting bay windows with gables above, and an ornate porch. Another house (11-337) in Bessemer proper is a single-pile T-plan of one and one-half stories, with ornamental bays and porches under-cut beneath a deep gable roof.

1910 - 1940

In the twentieth century, domestic architecture responded to classical forms which were popularized as the Colonial Revival style. This influenced the construction of a series of large frame and brick houses in very traditional forms. The plans and elevations mingle elements drawn from local vernacular forms and from pattern books such as the Radford

Book of American Homes. Some of these houses appear to take the double-pile center-passage form. One such house is the Colonial Revival house at 11-251. This two-story frame house is ornamented with pattern-book details, and appears to date from c. 1915. Houses utilizing traditional plans, however, were not built during this period with any frequency, but one single-pile, center-passage and one T-plan were recorded. The double-cell house, discussed in the previous period, continued to be built in limited numbers.

A new national building trend is reflected in the significant number of houses influenced by the Bungalow movement in parts of the Valley. These one-and-one-half story houses built of brick, frame, and occasionally of stone or concrete block, usually incorporate asymmetrical plans and deep gable roofs with central dormers. Three were surveyed, all in the town of Eagle Rock, the study unit's most economically active community during the period, but a number more were located using a code on the field maps. One of the houses, the J.D. Myers (11-112-25), built of brick in 1922-23 by an Eagle Rock merchant, resembles most national prototypes and was probably based on published sources. In many cases the double-cell house was adapted to resemble in one or more specifics the bungalow model.

CHAPTER TWO

AGRICULTURE THEME

1730 - 1790

The first settlers in the Shenandoah Valley were mostly of German and Scotch-Irish stock. Many of these had come south from Pennsylvania following the river valleys across Maryland to the Potomac River and then into the Valley. Once in the Valley acquiring a title to land was pursued in a number of ways. In his history of Augusta County, Lewis J. Peyton describes one method of land acquisition known as the "corn right." Under this system any settler who enclosed and cultivated one acre of corn is said to have received title to one hundred acres of land (Peyton, p. 62).

The exact number of farms in Botetourt County prior to the Revolution is unknown, but it is reasonable to assume that most, if not all of the region's residents, were engaged in some form of agriculture. Most of the early farms were between one hundred and four hundred acres with only a small portion of this cleared for cultivation. Robert Mitchell estimates that on the average Shenandoah Valley farm there were only ten to twelve acres of cleared land, the rest being wooded with perhaps a natural meadow. On the typical early farm the land under cultivation was usually fenced in with a one-story, log farm house and outbuildings situated nearby. Over time, the houses and fences were modified, usually according to the prosperity of their owner and other buildings added.

With the limited arable acreage and comparatively crude farm implements at his disposal, the pioneer farmer was compelled to exploit land to

its fullest. One Valley farmer recorded planting seventeen and one-quarter acres in 1749. On eight of these he planted wheat and rye, five were devoted to corn, three to oats, three-quarters to barley, and one-half to flax (Mitchell). Plows during this period were equipped with a wooden mould board. Harrows are said to have been simply a thornbush cut and tied to a handle with hickory bark. Wagons were reported to have been rare before the revolution and when they were found are said to have sported block wheels.

Of the crops planted by the Valley's early farmers wheat was the most important as a bread grain. It was often planted and ground in combination with rye to make maslin, an old western European flour. Rye was also used as a base for whiskey, and barley for brewing beer and ale. Corn was also of importance to the pioneer. This may have been used to make corn bread or corn cakes, but Mitchell believes that corn was used primarily as livestock feed. Yields of these grains were low by contemporary standards. Wheat and rye averaged between eight and twelve bushels per acre. Corn yields were higher, usually between twelve and seventeen bushels per acre.

In the early years flax was planted in small quantities as a fiber crop to be woven with wool for clothing. In the 1760s hemp appeared as a widely grown fiber crop. The major reason for the emergence of hemp was that there were external markets for this fiber for rope and coarse fabric. The Valley seems to have been well adapted to the cultivation of high quality hemp. The major drawback in the production of this crop was that it required a great deal of labor. In the 1740s the Virginia House of Burgesses began to encourage the cultivation of hemp by placing a

bounty of four shillings per hundred weight harvested with an additional two shillings per hundred weight exported to England.

Historians seems to disagree on whether pioneer farmers in the Shenandoah Valley maintained vegetable gardens. Oren F. Morton writes that they were said to be unknown before the Revolution. Mitchell on the other hand has found evidence that the typical pioneer farm included a vegetable patch in which peas, beans, potatoes, and onions were grown. Historians do agree, however, on the presence of fruit orchards. Apple and peach tree saplings were carried into that Valley by the early settlers. Apples were especially valued and, as one local historian writes, were "no more esteemed for eating than for [their] convertability into brandy" (Mitchell, p. 136). Further research is needed to determine to what degree tobacco was grown in Botetourt during this period.

Livestock and their by-products were a crucial element of early Botetourt County agriculture. The most frequently mentioned animals in early inventories from the region were horses and cattle although swine and sheep were also present. Horses were used primarily for transportation and as draft animals. Cattle were the most numerous farm animal in the early years and the source of several valuable by-products. Although no specialized dairy industry had developed at this early date, some inventories mention milk, butter, and cheese. Beef was the steer's most valuable contribution to the early farmer. Herds were sometimes driven to markets in Pennsylvania. With the outbreak of the French and Indian War in 1754 herds were driven to Winchester which was a collection point for hungry militia (Mitchell).

Sheep and swine were less numerous than cattle and horses. Sheep

were apparently valued more for wool than for mutton. Wool was woven with hemp or flax to produce "linsey-woolsey," a cloth which Easterners associated with the frontier. Swine, of course, were the pioneer's source of bacon, pork, and lard. Although they were rarely considered of sufficient value to be included in inventories, Mitchell points out that geese, ducks and chickens were commonly referred to as "dunghill fowl."

In the decade just prior to the American Revolution, farmers in the Shenandoah Valley were well enough established to move toward limited commercial production. Agriculture in the Valley still remained mixed for the most part, with emphasis on subsistence crops, but external markets were developing for wheat, hemp, and livestock by-products. The pioneer years were, without question, difficult. Botetourt County's early farmers surmounted many hardships, and in the process of developing the land they managed to put the region's agriculture on a sound basis.

Tax records from Botetourt County referred to in Chapter One carry much information about building types in the 1784-85 years (Stoner, p. 233-235). They are discussed in detail there. The list of tithables in Captain Pryor's Company of Militia for 1785 indicates that of the two basic house types, "dwelling house" and "cabins," cabins were the least substantial and the least likely to be associated with extensive agricultural outbuildings. Of the twenty-nine persons listed, fifteen lived in a dwelling house, and eleven lived in cabins. Three had no house listed. Agricultural and subsidiary building listed included barns, corn cribs, "outbuildings," and "out cabins." Dwelling houses (no construction material was given) are the only residential buildings associated with barns (six had them). Three of those also had a crib, and one cabin also

had a corn crib. Many houses and cabins had associated "cabins" ranging in number from one to five, of unknown function. One house and barn owned by John Poage had four "out cabins" and another had four corn cribs and twelve "out cabins." Poage's large farm seems to have occupied part of the fertile Locust Bottom area in the northwest part of the survey area. Malcolm Allen is listed (See site 11-346) as having a barn and a corn crib as well as the dwelling house recorded as part of this survey. Since so many landowners in this admittedly non-inclusive list do not have barns or other agricultural outbuildings, it would seem that the agricultural practices in Botetourt during this time did not regard as an essential the use of any but the most insubstantial shelters

travelers' accounts, which frequently describe the poor condition (unhoused, unfed) of Virginia livestock. No resources from this period are dentified.

Slavery was not a strong . . institution in the eighteenth or nineteenth-century upper Valley. In the eighteenth century in nearby Montgomery County slaves often performed work not related to agriculture: one slaveowner had his slaves operating a ferry and other slaves worked in mills or domestic capacities. Some property owners, including the Prestons of Greenfield and Smithfield did, however, assemble sizable work forces.

1790-1830

Farming in this period seems to have been accompanied by a consolidation and final settlement of most arable areas. In the survey

area many of the earliest houses date from this period, representing a second generation's development of land, or the arrival of a new and final major wave of settlement. The Patterson Creek/Lapsley Run area seems to have been settled in the early years of the nineteenth century by a group of farmers of German ancestry who intermarried and built a series of houses from 1800-1910 and after, in some ways contradicting notions of German dispersal in Botetourt County after the early years of settlement.

Farming practices remained similar to the previous period. The John Barger (III) Farm (11-107) on Little Patterson Creek was perhaps representative of most farms. Although Barger married in 1827, he did not buy property until 1832, and probably lived with his parents at site 11-255, the John Barger Jr. house. He began construction of his log house at site 11-107 nearby in the mid to late 1830s. He did not build a barn until c. 1855 when he built a large log double-crib barn and a similar tobacco barn (Harnish-Kopco). Clearly many farmers made do without substantial agricultural buildings well into the nineteenth century, just as the 1815 Grayson County tax records indicated farmers in a related mountain area did without substantial housing (Alderman). Few agricultural resources from this period remain.

1830 - 1860

The first half of the nineteenth century saw a surge in agricultural experimentation in the southern United States accompanied by a proliferation of agricultural societies and journals and the development of new agricultural implements. The extension of the James River Canal into the

upper Valley expanded the availability of cheap "plaster" or lime, which could be used as a fertilizer, according to methods introduced in northern Virginia by John Blinns and Israel Janney by 1790.

Agricultural societies and journals provided agriculturalists with the means to disseminate new ideas and farmers with a forum for the exchange of information on the results of experimentation. Various societies existed at the state level, such as the Virginia State Society (1811), the United Agricultural Society of Virginia (1818) and the Virginia State Agricultural Society, founded by one of the South's pre-eminent antebellum agriculturalists, Edmund Ruffin, and others in the 1840s. Agricultural journals existed in the early nineteenth century but they especially proliferated in the period from the 1830s through the 1850s. It is difficult to establish any definite influence of the agricultural reform movement on the practices of Botetourt County farmers in any period.

Two results of the antebellum agricultural ferment discussed in the previous period were the establishment of the Virginia State Board of Agriculture and the first stirrings of a desire for agricultural education. In 1822 an attempt was made to establish a professorship of agriculture at the University of Virginia and again in the 1850s at the Virginia Military Institute. However, agricultural education in Virginia was not instituted until the creation of Virginia Agricultural and Mechanical College in southwest Virginia in 1872, under the federal land grant system.

It would be difficult to determine agricultural trends from the statistics for cereal grain production for the years 1840, 1850, and

1860. The effects of market fluctuations and weather and crop depredations (or their absence) over the ten year periods between censuses would probably make the statistics unreliable indicators of long-range agricultural change.

Antebellum corn and wheat production levels in the Shenandoah Valley were below production levels of later in the century, whereas oats production was at an all time high. Botetourt County was one of the top corn producers of the region during the period, a distinction it was to lose later in the century. It was not a major wheat producer.

The statistics suggest a steep decline in oats production in Shenandoah Valley from 1840 to 1850, and equally steep decline for the four biggest producers -- Augusta, Rockingham, Rockbridge and Botetourt -- from 1850 to 1860. Production levels decreased only slightly through the rest of the century. Oats and some rye were generally grown as feed and as spring pasturage. While hay, rye, cloverseed, and orchard production were a factor in Botetourt County agriculture, the output of these crops did not rival that of more prosperous middle and lower Valley counties.

The combined production of flax and hemp for the Valley at large declined through the period, despite the fact that the Navy had pressed for bounties for hemp in the early 1840s. Hemp had ceased to be a profitable crop owing to fluctuation in prices and increasing competition from Russian growers. For the major producer, Shenandoah County, the decline in hemp and flax production was as drastic--from 116,000 pounds in 1840 to less than 1,500 pounds in 1850. In the other major producers, Botetourt, Rockingham, and Augusta Counties, the decline was less drastic: production in Botetourt dropped from 74,000 pounds in 1840 to 53,500

pounds in 1850. Ten thousand pounds of this combined figure for Botetourt was hemp.

Tobacco was not an important crop in the agriculture of the Valley, owing in large part to the lack of water connections between most counties of the region and eastern markets. Botetourt and Rockbridge Counties were the only significant producers during the period (the output of Botetourt was twice that of Rockbridge). The James River and later the James and Kanawha Canal provided these counties with access to the tobacco markets at Lynchburg. Alleghany County, upstream from Botetourt, also benefited from this connection, and although its crop was small compared to Botetourt and Rockbridge Counties, it still ranked third in the Valley in 1840 and 1850 and fourth in 1860 (Rockingham ranked third in that year). Market fluctuations drastically affected the production of these counties. The Panic of 1837 and the ensuing depression lowered the price of tobacco below the cost of transporting it for counties such as those in the Valley that were distant from markets. Between 1837 and 1845 tobacco at the Lynchburg markets dropped one-half to one-third the former price. In 1840, before the affects of the depression were deeply felt, 708,000 pounds of tobacco were produced. In 1850, after nearly a decade of low prices, production was very low: only 156,000 pounds. Tobacco production rebounded in the Valley by 1860. Botetourt County produced 875,000 pounds that year, Rockbridge County 457,000 and Rockingham County 153,000, yet the entire Valley crop contributed only one percent of the state's total output.

Livestock as a component of the agriculture of the Valley appears to have diminished in importance through the antebellum period. In general,

the decline in herds of sheep and swine was most pronounced and that of horses less so. Beef and dairy cattle herds remained more or less constant in size. Botetourt remained unremarkable throughout the period for either the size or value of its livestock. Botetourt County agriculture during the antebellum period seems to have been part of a continuous development since the turn of the century. As was seen in the fragmentary tax records for 1784-85, many farmers did not possess any substantial agricultural outbuildings. Incomplete records from 1815 in a not related southwestern Virginia region (i.e., Grayson County) document the taxable buildings on farms and other tracts. In Grayson County out of a total of 211 landowners owning about 290 tracts of land, fifty-six tracts of land were equipped with barns. One hundred and three tracts had only a stable. As many as sixty-four additional developed tracts had no major agricultural outbuildings (Alderman, p. 387-402). More information is given in the domestic theme.

The data above helps explain the sequence of building construction on the best documented farm in the study area, the John Barger (III) farm (11-107). The house was built beginning ca. 1835 as a substantial two-story log house. Rather than build a barn, the Bargers added a one-and-one half story log wing to their house in the mid-1840s. John Barger finally built a large double-crib log barn in the mid-1850s, but the lack of a barn previously had not kept him from raising crops and animals. At the same time he built a log tobacco barn, as tobacco became a popular crop in the Botetourt area (Harnish-Kopco). The John Barger (III) farm has been acquired by the Museum of American Frontier Culture in Staunton, sponsors of this report, and moved to the museum site. In 1860

the Bargers raised wheat, oats, corn, tobacco, and buckwheat. They had six horses, seven milk cows, thirty sheep, and seventy-one hogs (Harnish-Kopco).

There seem to have been several barn types from which to choose. The simplest barn was the log single-crib type, in which a central pen containing animals and hay or straw above is surrounded by leantos, either added or integral, usually on two or more sides. This form was also used in the two known tobacco barns at 11-257 and the John Barger (III) farm. At the Barger barn (11-257) an integral shed roof, enclosed in the present century, ran around the entire exterior supported by projecting log beams supported on corner posts. The other barn has been more seriously altered, and its original form is not as clear. The single-crib barn form was found in five other examples, including 11-304, 11-278, 11-267, and 11-224.

An alternate barn is known as the double-crib barn, in which a central aisle, sometimes with an intact threshing floor, is flanked by a pair of log pens. Four log examples were found, including sites 11-258 and 11-317. The best of the four is the John Barger (III) barn (11-107), with its partially cantilevered supports holding up a shed roof on all four sides. The barn has a central threshing floor, and partially enclosed areas, including an integral granary, below the hay lofts in the shed areas. The characteristic form is that of a gabled center section with a hipped shed on three or more sides, open to a southern exposure. The barn form seems to have been perpetuated into the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in nearly identical frame versions. Seven frame examples were located, most in an area within a few

miles of the John Barger (III) farm, suggesting some sort of local popularity and continuity for the form, which is, however, also found elsewhere in the region.

Another clearly related barn form found in the area of the Barger farm (Patterson Creek/Lapsley's Run), as well as throughout the survey area, is the bank barn. All of the four or five antebellum bank barns are of log, and resemble the double-crib barn in many respects. In essence the chief difference between the types is that the center aisle has been located at the loft level and is reached from the uphill side, given the barn's location in a steep hillside or bank. Like the double crib, the bank barns also often incorporate deep shed-roofed lofts over an open or enclosed lower story on at least two sides, generally open on the sides facing south or southeast. Most log bank barns have stalls for animals in the lower level, also built of log, rather than of stone as is more common in the middle to lower Valley, so that the barn is particularly close in most aspects of form and material to the double-crib barn.

One such barn, 11-330, located behind a later house, is extremely large (twenty-seven-foot by twenty-seven-foot cribs, with a twenty-four-foot aisle) and features deep (three foot) overhanging log plates and a partially rebuilt early shed on two sides. The barn at Rose Hill (11-170), a brick center-passage house from the second quarter of the nineteenth century, is a more conventionally sized bank barn (eighteen-by-eighteen-foot crib with an eighteen-foot aisle). Like the previously mentioned barn, the log pens extend through both levels. The upper floor contains hay storage, and the lower floor has stalls for animals. A leanto on the north was added, as was a wide leanto on the south, leaving

little if any trace of the original shed arrangement.

A log barn at 11-288 began as a single crib but was enlarged to form a double-crib barn with aisle and leantos. At least one single-crib log barn (11-278) was enlarged in the twentieth century to resemble double crib barn by adding a frame section and an aisle or drive-through. The log bank barn at 11-21 could be a late nineteenth- or even early twentieth-century barn. Its leantos are similar to the other barn mentioned, but the barn is built of poles (logs of narrow section) and the ground area is open - the log pens or cribs being supported on beams and posts below.

The most interesting barn in its relationship to the John Barger (III) house and barn, is at the nearby David Preston Barger farm (11-324). The simple log double-crib bank barn may look back to an ethnic prototype or may be related to the arrival, assumed by some scholars, of the Pennsylvania-type bank barn in the upper Valley. The sheds surrounding the central structure, the central aisle or threshing floor, and the sheltered area outside the entry to the animal stalls on the south side of the building all are akin to the classic bank barn. In a way the so-called "cantilever" might be more accurately referred to as a forebay, whether supported or unsupported or on one or more sides, for it surely performs the same function of providing a covered area for sheltering and feeding cattle.

Log outbuildings survive from the period. Granaries, meathouses and corncribs are fairly frequently encountered. Often, however, they have been replaced by later frame versions of the same structure. One complex without a dwelling, which may date from this or the following period,

includes a washhouse of brick construction, smokehouse, granary, and barn of frame construction (11-115). A stone root cellar with a frame upper story dating from the mid-nineteenth century is located at the John Noffsinger, Jr. farm (11-258). The unusual exterior cellar is located on Lapsley's Run, very close to the Barger farm, and is associated with the additive log double-crib barn mentioned above, and a later frame double crib barn.

One unusual outbuilding survives from the period. The carriage house at the Grove Hill farm of Robert Breckinridge (11-302) is the only building remaining at the site from the Breckinridge days, apart from a log outbuilding, possibly a meathouse. The great sums of money which Breckinridge chose to invest in his farm are shown by the carriage house, which is the size of a conventional dwelling, and built of Flemish-bond brick, probably during the second quarter of the nineteenth century. The three carriage bays -- since infilled with frame walls -- occupied one half of the structure, and were reached through doors facing the main house located below a stepped parapet gable. One room originally occupied the back of the building, heated by a fireplace with a Federal mantelpiece.

In the 1820s and after slaveholding increased in western sections of Virginia. While most farmers had few or no slaves, the Breckinridges had the largest number of slaves, approximately 100. In the Valley at large, one-sixth of the households owned slaves, but most only had one or two slaves, and appear to have worked beside them in the fields (Mitchell, p. 130).

1860 - 1910

The censuses of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries show that, in general, unimproved land on the farms of the Shenandoah Valley decreased from the beginning of the period to the end, while improved land increased, peaking between 1900 and 1920. There does not appear to have been a trend up or down for total amount of land in farms during the period.

The statistics for 1870 appear to reflect the negative effects of the Civil War. The amount of all land in farms, as well as the amount of improved farm land, decreased from 1860 levels. The number of farms doubled, however, between 1860 and 1900 in most Valley counties and tripled in Botetourt County. Only Shenandoah County showed a greater increase. The average size of the farms of the region decreased during the period by a half or more. Botetourt County showed the greatest decrease, from 429 acres per farm in 1860 to 119 acres in 1910, a drop of seventy-two percent. The radical decrease apparent in the figures may have resulted from the breakup of a number of very large landholdings during this period, probably related to the demise of slavery. Farms on the scale of the Breckinridge property (11-302) were seldom found in upper to middle Valley counties.

Corn and wheat production in the Shenandoah Valley for the period 1860 through 1910 was far above antebellum levels, whereas oat production declined. The 1879 report of the Commissioner of Agriculture contains information on average yields per acre of wheat, corn, and other crops for each county of the region, as reported by a single correspondent from each

county (Pollard). Botetourt County had the lowest yield in the region when calculated directly from census data: it produced only 5.6 bushels per acre of arable land -- well below the fifteen bushels claimed by the correspondent and the 10.3 average for the Valley and 8.7 for the state at large.

Average wheat yields had increased by the 1909 harvest. The regional average was 12.9 bushels per acre compared to a state average of 11.7. The average yield for Botetourt County was more than twice the yield of 1879, but Botetourt County yields had doubled by 1889, suggesting that the 1879 average was unnaturally low.

Hay production skyrocketed during the 1880s. Production in every Valley county doubled during the decade 1880 to 1890. This increase reflects the adoption of the practice of ensilage. In 1879, Commissioner of Agriculture Thomas Pollard spoke of the first experiments with ensilage in the state. Early silos were usually brick-lined pits dug into the floors of barns or with roofs or sheds built over them. Before ascribing the increase in hay production in the 1880s to the practice of ensilage alone, it should be noted that hay production was at only slightly higher levels in 1910 over 1890.

In 1889, the Commissioner of Agriculture asked his correspondents what they considered the most profitable crop in their counties. Three out of the twelve correspondents from the Valley said hay alone (Augusta, Frederick and Rockbridge Counties), and two said hay in addition to other crops. Alleghany County answered, "Hay, where near to market; trucking near the mines and furnaces." Seven correspondents mentioned wheat: Rockingham, Shenandoah and Highland Counties said wheat alone was the most

profitable crop. Three counties mentioned corn (Botetourt County mentioned corn alone), and grass and cloverseed were also mentioned.

Orchard production was not as important an aspect of the Valley's agriculture in the late nineteenth century as it was to become after 1910. One of the first attempts at commercial orchard production was made in 1867 when J.C. Moomaw of Cloverdale, Botetourt County, planted 4,000 peach trees (Cohen, p. 80). Botetourt County became the principal peach producer in the state with an 1890 harvest of 63,000 bushels from 130,000 trees, most of which went to market canned. Augusta County was the second largest producer in the region with 10,000 bushels in 1890. Crawford peaches were said to be the best variety grown in Botetourt County in 1889 (Pollard), to be replaced by the Elberta variety in the twentieth century (Cohen, p. 80). Peach production in 1900 and 1910 was far below 1890 levels, Botetourt County producing only 2,000 bushels in 1900.

"Trucking" of vegetables, that is, production for the market, was on the increase at the end of the nineteenth century. In 1889 seven of the Valley counties were finding vegetables profitable to market and consequently were producing more (Pollard). Of the counties that did truck, Botetourt County experienced a large increase in the years just prior to 1889, and Alleghany County found trucking profitable near mines and furnaces. Tomatoes were in great demand. Tomato canneries were located on almost all the farms around Troutville in Botetourt County. Proximity to the growing industries and railroad metropolis of Roanoke may have stimulated the demand for vegetables in Botetourt County. Towns, colleges, and springs resorts also provided markets for fresh vegetables and other products.

Tobacco continued to be grown in the upper Valley during the period, the peak census year being 1880 when Botetourt County produced 743,000 pounds, followed by Rockbridge County with 360,000 pounds. These amounts are not far below production levels of 1860, the all-time high. After 1880, however, tobacco production dropped to low levels where it stood through 1910. In 1889, it was noted that all varieties of tobacco were suitable for Botetourt County (Pollard).

Increasing numbers of livestock were raised in the Valley between 1860 and 1910, including cattle, sheep and horses. Swine production was the only exception, dropping off in almost every county by 1870 to well below antebellum levels, and increasing only slightly in succeeding decades. Botetourt County was a producer of medium size and scale.

The surveyed agricultural buildings date largely to this period. Many entire farms date from the late nineteenth century, and it was apparently a time when many older farms first acquired a substantial meathouse, corn crib, barn, or granary. Most farm buildings were built of frame, although some log agricultural outbuildings date from this period. Several stone cellars and springhouses date from this period (few were found which were older).

The most popular barn form in the period remained the double-crib form, apparently translated into frame from log. While one or two frame double-crib barns (notably 11-258) may date from before 1880, most appear to date from the late nineteenth or early twentieth century. Seven were located from the period. Each is similar to the double-crib log barns of the previous period. Barns, such as that at site 11-269, 11-258 and 11-256, are virtually identical in many respects to the John Barger (III)

barn, and are all close by. The later barns do not incorporate a threshing floor into the center aisle. Their division into a horse side and a cow side is particularly clear from the greater headroom in the open area below the shed lofts at the door to the horse stalls. At least one bank barn of frame (11-342) follows the double-crib form. A second tier of shed space was added around the east, south and west sides, while the lower story is completely open below the cribs and aisle above. One log barn, at the Bryan McDonald, Jr. farm (11-21), may date from the period. It is of log poles, and, while built like earlier log bank barns, has an open ground floor with the log pens supported on beams and posts.

At the same time a number of conventional bank barns were built in the survey area, such as the barn at 11-337, with a gambel roof, supported forebay and framed construction. These barns may be the result of the popularization of the form in agricultural journals. Not all were surveyed. They were built well into the twentieth century.

1910-1940

Agricultural practices during the twentieth century shifted away from a diversified farm economy to one characterized by a single crop or product. The number of farms increased and their size decreased. Dairy farming became much more widespread. County farmers probably benefitted from the presence of a strong school of agriculture and the Agricultural Experiment Station at Virginia Polytechnic Institute in nearby Montgomery County, as well as agricultural offerings at local high schools. Land under cultivation throughout the region reached an all-time high in the early part of this period.

Barns built in the period range from small log or frame single crib barns to large progressive dairy barns with central aisles and concrete floors. An unusual large barn (11-344), built around two central silos, stands just north of Fincastle. Bank barns continued to be built in the period, but usually on a somewhat smaller scale. The barn at 11-284 is a good example. The number and variety of surviving agricultural and domestic outbuildings increases during this period. Hen-houses, meathouses, root cellars, and springhouses were found at nearly all farms surveyed which date from this period. Moreover, many earlier farmhouses have associated outbuildings which date from this period, since these outbuildings tended to be replaced due to weathering or neglect through time, and initial poor or flimsy construction.

CHAPTER THREE

GOVERNMENT/LAW/WELFARE THEME

1730 - 1790

The governmental structure of western Virginia was based on the historical and legal precedents of eastern Virginia, but tempered by the different conditions and varied backgrounds of its settlers. It is clear that deference to wealth and status rewarded the larger landholders and those with eastern connections with political power, regardless of their ethnic background. The Valley and other western areas were,however, populated by a larger proportion of small isolated farmers then was the east, with its large landholdings farmed by gangs of slaves.

Winchester, Harrisonburg, Staunton, Lexington, and Fincastle (Botetourt's countyseat) were created early as government centers, and drew the largest accumulations of urban trades and commercial ventures. In each case the courthouse was among the first structures in the town. In several cases in western Virginia -- notably in Fincastle in this period and the next -- land for the courthouse was provided by the creation of a central public town square. Initially temporary log structures were used for the court and jail. The county's governing as well as judicial body was the court, made up of gentlemen justices, who once elected formed a self-perpetuating body.

During this period welfare consisted entirely of public assistance and housing provided by the vestries of the local Anglican parishes. Colonial law directed that the vestry, the governing body of the local branch of the state church, be responsible for the welfare of the poor and orphans in addition to other civic and religious duties (Morton, 48).

In mid-eighteenth-century western Virginia parishes generally corresponded in size to each county. Since active Anglican parishioners were rare in most areas of the Valley, some parishes existed in name only, simply to fulfill their legal offices. In many cases the vestrymen were practicing Lutherans or Presbyterians. In the case of Botetourt Parish (founded in 1770), the minister, Adam Smyth, served for only two years before the parish was dissolved for several years (Cohen, 17). In some cases glebe land was acquired to house and and provide for the minister. Botetourt County is unusual among upper Valley counties in that it did acquire a parish and then in 1772, a glebe, but disposed of it in 1795 (Stoner, 341-5).

Among the structures typically found near courthouses in this period were stocks, a whipping post, and a ducking stool. A ducking stool was installed in Fincastle soon after 1770 for the punishment of women offenders. No government-, law-, or welfare-related structures from the period survive in the survey area.

1790 - 1830

During the early nineteenth century the political and economic differences between the landowners west of the Blue Ridge and that to the east became more pronounced and generated more friction. Improving roads over the hillier western terrain was more costly to fund, but the authorities gradually began to realize the value of the area as a source of revenue and natural resources.

Support for the Jacksonian movement was strong in the Valley during the campaigns of 1824 and 1828. Political control was kept firmly in

hand, however, by the eastern oligarchs through the measures contained in the new state Constitution of 1830. In spite of western resistance suffrage continued to be based on freehold and calculated, in part, on the number of slaves held, so that the east received a far larger share of representatives in the legislature. Of the 15,600 votes cast against the 1830 constitution in a state-wide referendum, 13,300 were from west of the Blue Ridge (Pendleton, 125). General James Breckinridge, the county's preeminent leader as well as largest slaveholder, served as the Botetourt County's representative to the Virginia House of Delegates for thirteen terms, beginning in 1789. He also served as United States congressman from 1809 to 1817 (Breckinridge, p. 2).

The county courts remained self-perpetuating governing and judicial bodies until 1852 (Morton, 1920, p. 46). During the period Botetourt county built a new courthouse and jail as the population of the area and its activities rendered inadequate the earlier structures. The small scope of local government demanded relatively little space. The plans for the courthouse building, of which little record remains, were provided by Thomas Jefferson (Neiderer).

In 1780 the General Assembly passed a law setting up a body of Overseers of the Poor. The vestries of the Anglican Church were required to make a settlement of their accounts with the new Overseers of the Poor, who took over their role as the primary welfare body in each county. Hugh Allen, whose house site was surveyed (60-346), was one of the Botetourt County Overseers. An act of 1802 disposed of the Anglican glebe property across the state for the benefit of the poor or other causes. Botetourt's glebe had been sold some years before, in 1795, under a special act, but

it is not clear whether the money went to the relief of the poor (Stoner, 358). Counties in Virginia operated their own poorhouses after 1785, and the overseers of the poor appointed a superintendent of the poor who managed the almshouse or county poor farm. Farming was the principal support and activity of the superintendent, and the residents were supposed to aid in the work, which supported the almshouse. Little is known about Botetourt's poor farm. Oral history suggesting that a poor farm once stood near site 11-314, was confirmed by the fact an adjacent hollow at the foot of Switzers Mountain was named Poorhouse Hollow.

1830 - 1860

During the antebellum period political tensions between eastern and western Virginia grew until they were partially resolved by the new constitution adopted in 1851. Universal white anhood suffrage without property requirements was adopted, and thereafter the Valley influenced the course of Virginia politics to a much greater degree. Democratic or Jacksonian politics continued to be the strongest force in the west, although there were powerful Whigs in the region. According to one writer, the Whig candidate, William Henry Harrison, was given strong support in the presidential election of 1890 by the overwhelmingly Democratic western Virginians, making the political field there a debatable one for the Democratic Party. In the Valley itself Harrison carried only Augusta and Rockbridge. Van Buren's and the Democratic victory was said to be actually gained, however, by the votes of the counties of western Virginia (Pendleton, 1927, p. 143).

Slavery was widely practiced in the west, having a wide acceptance

in the upper as well as the lower Valley. While some German famers (particularly Brethern and Memonites) were less disposed to own slaves than the Irish and English, the practice was broad-based. Of the one-sixth of the households owning slaves in 1800 many owned only one or two slaves and appear to have worked beside them in the fields (Mitchell, p. 130). Slavery, however, was never as strongly tied to the regional economy as in the east.

The rebuilding of the Botetourt County courthouse began in 1845. The new courthouse, with its Greek columns and churchlike spire, replaced the Jeffersonian one of 1820. Although it burned in recent years, it was carefully reconstructed within the original walls. Local support for the unfortunate continued to take the form of almshouses and poor farms at the county and town level. No structures related to the theme were identified from this period in the survey area.

1860 - 1910

In 1860, Virginia's election of a governor from nearby Lexington indicated the Valley's political strength. Before the Constitutional Convention of 1850-1851, Govenor John Letcher had chafed at the fact that a majority of Virginians lived west of the Blue Ridge Mountains, and yet were controlled by the eastern elite. After the new constitution had improved the Valley's position, he retreated somewhat from his liberal views,which at one time included advocating gradual emancipation in the Valley and separation from the eastern section of the state. Pursuing a course more cautious and conservative, he was elected Virginia's wartime governor. While he stood firmly with the Unionists in Virginia before

secession, afterwards he received considerable criticism for his readiness to cooperate in every demand the Confederate government made of the state (Younger et al., pp. 10-14).

The western portion of Virginia beyond the Allegheny Mountains broke completely with the Richmond government over secession, but the Valley and Botetourt County supported secession. In the end, the Valley bore a major portion of the destruction brought upon the state.

After the war, the quarrel over readjustment or payment in full of the ever-increasing pre-war debt was intense. In the western counties the sentiment was strong for readjustment, saving funding for the newly legislated public schools, as well as state hospitals and colleges. When the Funding Bill of 1871 was passed, forcing payment of the debt at full interest to the speculators and outside interests who held the bonds, western Virginia largely opposed it. The struggle did not end with the bill, however, and the issue dominated the state political scene well into the late 1880s.

In 1902 a new constitution was approved that was intended to disenfranchise black and poor white voters. Illiterate voters were required to demonstrate understanding of the state Constitution to a party-appointed official who had virtually total authority to reject registration. Republican or "anti-machine" supporters were removed from the books in great numbers in the western counties (Pendleton, 1927, p. 457) helping to change the political face of the region.

Many courthouses, notably in Lexington, Harrisonburg, and Winchester, were replaced by larger, more complex buildings to handle the increasing loads of governmental work, but Fincastle's courthouse (218-5) survived,

while the public work of the almshouses, state schools and hospitals continued. The chief new architectural feature of the center of Fincastle was the new steel-plated fireproof brick jail (218-9), of unusual size and pretension, built in 1897. The three-story structure housed the jailer and an up-to-date penal facility. The exterior was ornamented with a central tower containing arched windows above an ornate iron porch. This unusually elaborate jail structure is an exception to the normally undistinguished jails in small western Virginia county seats, which often housed the jailer and his family in a typical regional dwelling (See Newbern, Pulaski County). Although few details are known, Botetourt seems to have operated its own poor farm well into the twentieth century under the poor laws described in the previous period. No government-, law-, or welfare-related structures from the period was found in the survey area.

1910 -1940

In the post-1910 era the Democratic machine cemented its hold on Virginia politics. E. Lee Trinkle, a descendant of German settlers of Southwest Virginia, was elected governor in 1921. His campaign was marked by debate on the old issue of Virginia's poor public road system. While Trinkle came out in support of funding road improvements through the issuance of bonds, the young chairman of the state Democratic Party, Harry F. Byrd, championed a Jeffersonian "pay-as-you-go" approach based on a fuel tax. In 1923 a referendum mandated the anti-bond position. The only pro-bond vote came from the cities and the mountainous counties in the west of the Valley. The Valley proper, indicating satisfaction with its relatively good highways, voted solidly against the bond issue (Younger et al., p. 229).

Government structures did not increase dramatically during this period, because the county population remained predominately rural. The Botetourt County courthouse burned in the 1970s, and was rebuilt within the original walls to resemble as closely as possible the original building. While hospitals, nursing homes, and improved welfare institutions are characteristic of the period, none were located in the survey area.

CHAPTER FOUR

EDUCATION THEME

1730-1790

Throughout the eighteenth century, educational opportunities were quite limited in the Valley, being restricted to varying types of private schools and craft or trade apprenticeships. In colonial Virginia, the most common schools were private plantation schools in which parents hired tutors to instruct their children in the basics of reading and writing. These were probably the most common kind of school in the Valley as well. The sparse settlement of the Valley during this period did not encourage the development of many schools outside the home.

Local county histories do not deny the presence of schools in this period, although little is said about the nature of these schools. Some may have been small community schools where several families pooled their resources to hire a teacher. A Rockbridge County history records a school as early as 1752, and a Bath County history describes a school standing by 1779. The descriptions suggest that these were private schools outside the homes, but little other information is available.

Most of the private schools outside the home were associated with churches, many of which emphasized the need to be able to read the Bible and other religious tracts. In Harrisonburg, for example, the Methodist Church opened a subscription school in 1794 in the old log church building. Historical sources suggest that the pastor often served as the teacher, sometimes in a effort to augment a rather meager income. German churches in the Valley sponsored their own schools using German as the

primary language. By the 1760s, German schools began to appear in Winchester, Strasburg, and Woodstock, and these continued to flourish in the late eighteenth century (Mitchell, p. 107; Wust, The Valley Germans, pp. 56, 66,71).

Some of the church schools from the eighteenth century were termed academies, which suggests an effort to include more advanced studies along with elementary instruction. The Hanover Presbytery decided to establish an academy in the Valley in the early days of its settlement, and organized Augusta Academy in Rockbridge County in 1749. Several historical sources suggest that this was one of the first classical schools established west of the Blue Ridge. Eighteenth-century academies usually proved to have a fairly short life, often depending on the commitment of the teacher (s) involved. An academy was established in Fincastle by act of the state legislature in 1785. The Botetourt Seminary apparently did not prosper, but its site was used for educational purposes through the 1950s (Stoner, p. 474).

As the century progressed educational opportunities improved. It would be difficult to determine the number of private schools in homes during this period, since these have not been recorded in county histories. None were recorded from this period and no other educational resources were surveyed from this period.

1790 - 1830

During this period, the General Assembly began to encourage the development of public education in Virginia. The State enacted several laws, but all were voluntary on the part of counties. Private schools

continued to provide more educational opportunities for those who could afford them, and the number of community schools and academies grew during these years.

Not until the end of the eighteenth century did Virginia begin to consider the creation of a public school system. In 1779, Thomas Jefferson proposed a tax-supported public school network for all Virginia counties, but the General Assembly did not pass an act for a voluntary educational program until 1796. The state law provided for non-compulsory payment of local revenue for pauper schools, but it was left to the justices of each county court to decide whether their county would be involved in the program. During the next fifty years, the Virginia Assembly continued to strengthen the newly emerging public school system. In 1810, the state Literary Fund was created to provide funds for the education of poor white children, distributing money to each county on the basis of population. The county court employed the teachers and sought out deserving children. In 1819, the Literary Fund was made available to increase teachers' salaries in public schools, and in 1829 to construct school buildings. Eventually the state granted counties the option to establish free schools to be funded by local taxes and the Literary Fund.

In spite of these measures to create endowed free schools for white children, such schools were not popular anywhere in the state in this period. Since the measures were voluntary, many counties simply chose not to respond. There was much prejudice against free schools in the antebellum years, since they were intended primarily for the poor. County histories indicate that Shenandoah Valley counties exhibited the same attitudes as those in the rest of the state.

Most educational opportunities for Botetourt County youth still remained in the private realm. Private plantation schools, "old field" schools, church or parish schools, and private academies flourished during the antebellum years. The pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Fincastle, Robert Logan, taught a classical school (Cohen, p. 129).

In the first half of the nineteenth century, community schools, called "old field" schools because of their locations, gradually became more common. Here parents from several households would hire a teacher and build or locate a building for school purposes. The type and quality of education in these schools varied depending upon the teacher, funding, and needs of the students. Some were able to offer more advanced instruction while others provided only the rudiments of education. No structures were recorded from this period.

1830 - 1860

Education during the period followed earlier trends but a gradual improvement followed state, voluntary guidelines and the availability of building funds after 1829. Churches continued to sponsor schools, holding classes within the church itself or in a separate building constructed on the same lot. As in the eighteenth century, the church minister often served as the teacher. While old field schools and parish schools taught the basics in education, private academies, often called classical or Latin schools, provided secondary education in the antebellum period.

Fincastle had a male and a female academy by 1850. The Botetourt Seminary, begun in the late eighteenth century, seems to have been known as the Fincastle Academy by 1825 (Stoner, p. 480). In 1836, it was

reorganized as the Botetourt Seminary, teaching classics, mathematics, and English. It received more money than any other school in Virginia from the state Literary Fund from 1838-1843. By 1850 a female seminary was also operated in a building built as a combination temperance hall and seminary in Fincastle (Stoner, p. 480-1). The Knox school in Fincastle, about which little is known, was housed in a private dwelling and dates from the period (survey data for site 218-42).

In compliance with state directions designed to encourage citizens to voluntarily improve education in counties, Botetourt County proceeded to divide itself into districts. In 1846, eleven districts were created, (including areas now in Craig County). Buchanan contained a "common school" as early as 1835 (Stoner, p. 482-487). All white children over the age of six were to receive an education free of charge (Cohen, p. 130). No educational resources from this period were located in the study unit.

1860 - 1910

This fourth period in the educational history of Botetourt County is characterized by the development of a free public school system. Yet in spite of its growing popularity over these years, many private schools and academies continued to operate, providing the secondary and college education often unavailable through the public schools. In Fincastle, however, both the male and female seminaries were converted into public schools during the 1870s (Cohen, p. 130).

The 1869 Underwood Constitution in Virginia mandated that Virginia establish free public schools to open for the 1870-71 academic year. The

state provided funds to be matched by local tax dollars. Despite some prejudice against free schools, since these originally catered primarily to the poor, Valley counties responded to the state mandates and a sizeable number of schools were established by 1870. In the early years, the Botetourt County government rented quarters in churches, meeting halls, and other buildings. However, by 1873 sixteen new buildings completed at a cost of $125.00 each, with eight more under construction (Educational Movement, p. 8). Although relatively small in the 1870s, the number of schools established for black students grew in the following decades.

The majority of schoolhouses in the first several decades were one-room buildings, distributed fairly evenly across the country. One small one-room school house surveyed dates from the period. Located on a farm in the remote Locust Bottom area, the weatherboarded frame structure (11-222) may have functioned as a small private school for the families in the area in the pattern described in earlier periods.

However, larger schools of two or three rooms were more commonly found in the towns and county seats throughout the Valley region. As the century came to an end, the number of graded schools had increased in rural areas in response to the state's philosophy that graded schools would improve rural education. Instruction in graded schools could be divided into a primary room, for grades one through three, an upper room, for grades four through seven; and sometimes some high school instruction if a third room was available.

In Botetourt County public schooling progressed rapidly during the 1870s. Two high schools, Buchanan and Fincastle, were in place before passage of the Mann Act in 1906 provided for a system of high schools

across the state. The citizens of Buchanan opened the county's first high school in an old bank building in 1901. Fincastle's high school was started in 1905. Other high schools were started in Troutville, Eagle Rock, and Haymakertown in the 1900-1910 decade (Education Movement, pp. 8-9). In 1907, there were over 114 schools in the county. Three schools offered a full three years of high school work to the white population (Cohen, p. 130-1).

Churches became more involved in creating opportunities in higher education during this period. The Church of the Brethren organized two colleges in the Valley in the late nineteenth century, Daleville College in Botetourt County and Bridgewater College in Rockingham County. The college at Daleville closed in the mid-twentieth century, but the structures that remain are recorded in the survey files (11-3).

1910 - 1940

A new image of the public school was evolving in Virginia at the turn of the century. Progressive era reformers noted in the late nineteenth century that life, particularly in the South, was not keeping pace with the improvement found in other American cities. The Country Life Commission, appointed by President Roosevelt to explore the underlying problems of country life, determined that the poor quality of one- and two-room schools contributed significantly to its decline. Country schools needed to be "modernized", to adopt a new vision of country life. This philosophy led the State Board of Education to assume more control over public schools in the early twentieth century, diminishing the power and authority of local trustees and patrons.

The new county school was to be a community center, training both children and adults and hence serving as a catalyst for social change:

> "Every public school in Virginia is a community center, where the citizens may unite for the improvement of their education, social, moral, physical, civic, and economic interest."

State Superintendent J.D. Eggleston envisioned the modern school building as a "more dignified and beautiful structure," with large playgrounds, a school garden, and an agricultural plot, along with facilities for manual training, domestic science, and a more diversified curriculum. By serving as a center for the formation of children's clubs, cooperative industries for women and men, and citizen's leagues, the new schools could "socialize the isolated districts" and maximize community life.

The Virginia Assembly passed several acts in the first decades of the twentieth century to create such schools. In 1906, the Mann High School Act established a system of public high schools across the state, providing the first serious attempt to fund, develop, and regulate high schools. Between 1905 and 1917, the number of high schools grew from 74 to 575. Beginning in 1906, the state legislature passed several financial incentives to encourage the construction, enlargement, or repair of old buildings. Counties could now borrow from the Literary Fund to build larger schools. The value of Virginia's school property increased from eight and a half to thirty-nine million between 1910 and 1923. By attaching directives for school construction to these new loan funds, the state began to supervise school construction more closely, including ventilation, lighting, design, and toilet facilities.

Several other educational improvements were encouraged during these

years. Counties began to consolidate the smaller one- and two-room schools as larger schools were built, relying on improved transportation facilities in the region. With larger schools and a more concentrated student body, the curriculum could be improved to include vocational programs, sciences, physical education, and specialized clubs that were not possible in the smaller schools with the supervision of only one or two teachers.

The increasing state control over education in the early twentieth century led to more conformity throughout the state in building plans. The state provided design service to save counties and cities the cost of architects' fees while providing plans meeting the most modern specifications. By 1911, the Department of Public Instruction was furnishing designs for sixteen different types of schoolhouses. In 1920, this service was moved to the newly established Division of School Buildings, which furnished plans, advised on sites, wrote specifications for buildings, and supervised their construction. County school boards were now required to obtain plans from the state for either new construction or for remodeling older buildings.

Although many one-room schools closed during these years, school reports indicate that two- and three-room schools continued to be used in the first several decades of the twentieth century, largely in the region's smaller villages. However, schools with four rooms or more gradually replaced these smaller schools. By 1940, there were twenty-one (fifteen white and six colored) in existence in Botetourt County. Eight of the schools were one-room buildings, two had two rooms, and eleven had three rooms. Six of the schools were high schools (Cohen, p. 153). The

Colonial High School had opened in the town of Blue Ridge in 1939 in cooperation with the Public Works Administration. It provided a full twelve grades and brought the most modern facility to Botetourt County. By this time the schools at Buchanan, Eagle Rock, Troutville, and Fincastle were all relatively new brick buildings with six or more rooms (Educational Movement, p. 10).

In the survey area four rural school buildings and one urban educational building were identified. The Eagle Rock High School was torn down in recent decades, but the one-story Home Economics Building (11-112- 26) remains, typifying the more progressive programs in this period. Today it continues to serve as Eagle Rock's community center. Three of the schools identified were of frame construction. These buildings -- sites 11-259 (c. 1920), 11-308 (c. 1910), and 11-313 (c. 1910) -- are substantial two-room schools from early in the period. The fourth rural school is a Colonial Revival-style, brick, four-room graded school near Haymakertown dating from c. 1930. It features the four rooms grouped together under a hipped roof, with arched brick porches and vestibules at each end (11-286).

CHAPTER FIVE

MILITARY THEME

1730-1790

Although the Botetourt County area was located in the frontier region of the colony of Virginia throughout most of this period, white settlers enjoyed nearby two decades of relative peace with the Indians before 1752. Local history accounts often describe scattered Indian skirmishes and raids during the first years of European settlement. However, nineteenth century historian Joseph Waddell states that there was "no concerted action by the Indians until the French and Indian War in 1752." Most early county historians devote several chapters to descriptions of massacres and battles associated with the war between 1753 and 1764.

Early defense of the Valley was entrusted to Colonel George Washington, who established his headquarters in Winchester. After Braddock's defeat by the French on July 9, 1755, Washington began the construction of Fort Loudon at the present intersection of Braddock and Peyton streets in Winchester. Braddock's defeat encouraged local residents to demand better protection. At a council of war held in Staunton on July 27, 1756, it was resolved to build ten forts to defend the two-hundred-mile Augusta frontier. Similarly, several months previous to this, Governor Robert Dinwiddie had earlier recommended that forts be erected along the ridge of the Allegheny Mountains, and the General Assembly approved his suggestion. County histories list the forts built in their respective regions and mention fortified homes that were also to serve for protection. However, the entire scheme of forts as proposed in 1756 was never finished. Forts

were proposed to be sixty feet square with two bastions in each fort. George Washington came into the area to inspect the forts in October 1756. Many of the forts as built are said to have consisted of two-story log blockhouses at each corner of a palisaded enclosure. They provided protection for the garrisons of soldiers, and places of refuge for settlers (Stoner, p. 88).

Historian Robert Mitchell argued that the Shenandoah Valley itself was not as vulnerable to attack as earlier local histories suggest. Augusta County was quite large at this time, and it was in the western portions that many of the skirmishes occurred. The area he defined as the frontier fort zone was mainly in modern Bath, Alleghany, and Botetourt counties in the Valley region, along with southwest Virginia and the present state of West Virginia. While the entire region was subjected to raids by Indians, the conflict and danger was apparently most intense in Alleghany and Bath counties.

The settlers in the Valley were involved with other wartime activities as well. The frontier counties naturally furnished the largest number of fighting men. Despite the hostilities, Valley residents found a new market for their agricultural products: Valley farmers furnished more food stuffs for both the colony's troops and the Indian allies in the region. Flour and beef were most in demand; local farmers grew more wheat and slaughtered more beef cattle and swine than in previous years. The war also proved a boom for the wagoneers and drovers who transported food supplies to local troops. Increased travel led also to the improvement in local road networks.

Although sporadic Indian skirmishes continued in the region after the

war, the last major conflicts with Indians occurred during Dunmore's Warin 1774. However, the decisive battle for this was was actually fought in the Kanawha Valley of present-day West Virginia. Histories indicate that smaller skirmishes still occurred outside the Valley region, largely in southwest Virginia and West Virginia. The only Valley counties reporting much activity during these years were Botetourt, Rockbridge, and Alleghany. Fort Fauquier is one site identified from the period in Botetourt County. It was constructed near the mouth of Looney's Creek near James Patton's settlement on the James River, by Patton's son-in-law, John Buchanan in 1757. It was named for the new govenor of the colony Francis Fauquier. The fort housed Buchanan's own company of Militia. A previous fort on the site shows up in the records as Looney's Fort, built in 1755. It is not clear whether this is the same fort under another name or a predecessor (Stoner, p. 88).

The other major fort in the area was built before 1756, about three miles west of the later town of Fincastle. Fort William, as it was called, was considered to be of sufficient strength to guard the Catawba Valley pass from Indian attack. A Col. Nash was in charge of the garrison, which was alloted 75 men by George Washington. It was attacked in October of 1756, breaking up the settlement (Stoner, p. 90). Other fortifications included William Preston's house at Greenfield in 1763, and a fort at Audley Paul's house near the present Botetourt-Rockbridge county line. Little is known about the exact form or sites of any of the above, although a local historian mentioned the stone foundation of a substantial building on lands originally belonging to David Mitchell, which he felt might be the ruins of Fort Williams (Stoner, p. 92).

The Shenandoah Valley region was not severely affected by the battles of the revolutionary war, none of which occurred within its bounds. Historian Joseph Waddell argued that the Valley was too "removed from the scene of combat," so "the people and businesses of the court were generally undisturbed by the war" (Mitchell, 13). Valley residents still participated in the war in a variety of ways, from sending soldiers to the battle to housing and supplying Hessian prisoners.

The Valley's greatest contribution to the war effort, in fact, was in furnishing needed supplies. At the outbreak of the war, larger planters began to turn to those products which proved highly marketable during the earlier Indian wars, particularly livestock and wheat. The quartering of troops, guards, and prisoners of war in the region produced a considerable demand for meat, especially beef and pork. Still, the greatest monetary profits came from crops, especially flour, wheat, meal, corn, and such by-products as rum and whiskey. These grains were needed not only for food supplies but also to feed the cattle, oxen, and draft and pack horses maintained by the Virginia regiments in the Valley. Backcountry drovers proved active in transporting cattle to military centers in eastern Virginia. Horses were also in heavy demand for transportation, and along with the cattle were driven to eastern Virginia for use by the militias (Mitchell, 179-84).

Other products also increased in demand and reoriented the Valley's established trade network. Locally produced linens were sent to Alexandria, Fredericksburg, Richmond, and Williamsburg, and dairy products were sent to Richmond and Fredericksburg (Mitchell, 205, 224). According to historian Robert Mitchell, the war changed the "conduct, direction and

trading activities in the Valley." During these years, trade routes between the upper Shenandoah Valley and Richmond were improved, with direct ties between Staunton and Richmond established on a much sounder basis. The need for better wagon roads clearly led to additional road improvements.

During the revolutionary war no significant military engagements took place in Botetourt County's borders, which had been established in a division of Augusta County in 1770. Botetourt citizens went to fight in other areas such as at the Battle of King's Mountain. Local activities included disciplining a significant Tory population. A commissary depot of Fincastle supplied the wartime needs of the army, and prisoners of war were housed in the county. No structures or sites associated with the period were located.

1790-1860

The Shenandoah Valley prospered economically during the first half of the nineteenth century, and was little touched by the nation's wars of the period. Soldiers from Botetourt County served in the war of 1812, but saw very little action. Several hundred volunteers composed a few companies from the Valley at large sent off to Mexico in 1847, but only a handful arrived in time to participate in any battles. Nonetheless, the militia units in the Valley thrived in the absence of war since they were more social than practical nature. At the end of the 1850s, as many as 8,000 Valley residents were enrolled and many would fight in the upcoming war. No sites or structures associated with military activity during the period were located.

The Civil War clearly had the strongest impact on the Valley region of any war in the history of the United States. The Valley was significant both for the military battles fought on its ground and for the products and supplies produced there. The north-south roads running through the Valley made it a frequent pathway for troops of both sides. The heavy traffic through the area brought substantial destruction of older buildings and cultural resources.

The Federal and Confederate armies each devoted substantial, though secondary, efforts to control the Valley. Campaigns of varying magnitude were fought there each year of the war. The Official Records list over 780 engagements as having taken place here; the smallest an exchange of shots between outposts, the largest a full scale battle contested by over 50,000 men. Botetourt County, however, saw less action than the more accessible lower Valley. One set of breastworks has been identified in the Virginia Landmarks Division's files (Shenandoah Valley Preservation Plan).

Throughout the Civil War, the Valley was recognized as the "breadbasket of the South," supplying Southern forces with food and grain. As in earlier wars, local farmers realized the army's demands for wheat and flour as well as livestock, and they strove to meet those needs. This region, and in particular Botetourt County, was also called the "Arsenal of the South," due to its booming iron industry. Boosted by the Revolutionary War, the iron industry had become one of the major industries in the Valley during the antebellum period. All of the working iron furnaces

and even some of those which had ceased operation went into full-scale production to meet the army's needs, including the Catawba, Jane and Rebecca furnaces, operated by the Tredegar Iron Works of Richmond. During the Valley campaigns, these furnaces often became the targets of Union forces. Three iron furnaces were surveyed and one associated log dwelling at the Rebecca furnace, known as the Tredegar House (11-213, 216, 262, and 215). The Tredegar House is particularly significant as one of very few surviving buildings associated with the pre-Civil War iron industry in the Valley.

The period following the Civil War was one of relative peace for Botetourt County residents. Federal occupation of the Valley was not resisted by force during the Reconstruction. The early years witnessed a great period of rebuilding. Transportation resources in particular had been damaged; and bridges, roads, and railroads were rebuilt. The Valley sprang back fairly quickly in the late 1860s, triggered by a period of general prosperity. Lucy Gilmer Breckenridge recorded the relatively benign occupation of Fincastle and the surrounding area in her diary (Breckenridge).

1910 - 1940

Under the flag of the 28th Infantry Division or the 116th Infantry Brigade, national guardsmen from Virginia, including the Valley region, fought in both World Wars. While the soldiers were overseas, Valley women participated in a variety of war programs. Little data exists for this period in Botetourt County. In some counties several different types of

societies were formed, largely for women, during the First World War, including the Home Guard, the Women's Service League, the Food Card Campaign and the United War Work campaign. Many communities organized Red Cross Societies which assisted with war work. Valley families also planted war gardens and conserved food and fuel. No sites were inventoried for this period which relate to the military theme.

CHAPTER SIX

RELIGION THEME

1730 - 1790

In the earliest period, religion in the Botetourt County area followed the ethnic pattern of each settlement or family group. Ministers were almost unknown, and religious observance was personal and lay-ministered with occasional visits from traveling preachers or missionaries. Culturally related denominations such as Scotch Irish Presbyterians or the German Lutherans and Reformed often met together. The official church of the colony, the Church of England, was mandated in each county, being organized by parishes. While it was strong in the lower Valley in the later part of the period, its practical functions in the eighteenth-century upper valley lay in the political realm and in certain welfare activities. Officials in Williamsburg left dissenting (non-Anglican) congregations west of the Blue Ridge largely to their own devices. It was through small congregations in the Valley area that many dissenting denominations were introduced to the colony. While German communities kept a greater degree of cultural identity, the cultural homogeneity of the Scotch-Irish and the Germans appears to have been broken down by the evangelical movement in the 1750s known as the Great Awakening and the revivals of the Revolutionary Period (Mitchell p. 105). No resources from this period were found in the study area.

Presbyterian: 1730 - 1790

While limited numbers of settlers in the eastern sections of Virginia

had allied themselves with the Presbyterian church during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries under the Toleration Act of 1688, almost all forms of dissent from the Anglican church were kept weak by the colonial government. By the time the Donegal Presbytery in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania (organized in 1732) sent a minister to "set in order" a meeting house in Opequon (near present-day Winchester), Presbyterianism was almost extinct in Virginia.

In the first decades of settlement itinerant ministers visited the growing Scotch-Irish communities of the Valley. Groups of unofficially organized Scotch-Irish settlers meeting for spiritual purposes, known as "Christian Societies," were organized into Presbyterian churches by emissaries of Donegal Presbytery. New congregations grew up in the Valley, and in Botetourt County, during the 1740s. John Craig, the Valley's first Presbyterian minister, had supplied congregations in Botetourt and elsewhere from 1740 through the 1760's. A congregation at Catawba Creek requested that a minister be supplied in 1761 (Stoner p. 349). Sinking Spring Church and the Craigs Creek Church, founded in the 1760s, united later to form the Fincastle Presbyterian Church (Stoner, p. 352). A Reverend James Campbell, the first settled minister in the county arrived in the year 1771. He was followed by Edward Crawford, who served from 1778 to 1794 (Stoner, p 354).

The Great Awakening, a revival beginning within the Church of England and other dissenting groups, and involving an emotional response, was felt in the Presbyterian Church by the mid-eighteenth century. The revival caused the Valley churches to grow but created great division among the membership. From 1741 to 1758 the church split into "New Side" and "Old Side" factions.

In the mid-eighteenth century dissenting places of worship were referred to as meeting houses, in part because the established religion reserved the definition of "church" for itself, and required the licensing of dissenting ministers to preach in specified locations, usually houses owned by believers. The form of early meeting houses in the Valley is similar to religious buildings in New England as well as dissenting and Anglican churches in the lower colonies. The rectangular meeting houses in the Shenandoah Valley had domestic scale and exterior form. Entrance was usually gained through a door in the center of the principal facade (on one of the long walls) as well as doors in the gable ends (Wayland p. 269). The interior was organized with emphasis on the pulpit, located opposite the main door on the other long wall. Pews were usually arranged in three groups each facing the pulpit from a different direction. No buildings from this period survive.

The Presbyterian church grew in the Valley between 1776 and 1785, the decade of controversy over religious liberty. The number of Presbyterian ministers east of the Blue Ridge, based in Hanover Presbytery, remained static at about six. In the west, it increased from four to nineteen. In 1786 Lexington Presbytery, including Botetout County, was formed from the western part of Hanover Presbytery. All but five of the Lexington Presbytery's twenty-nine active congregations were in the Valley. There were twelve ministers in the presbytery.

A presbytery received its name from its governing presbyters or elders. There were two types of elders: preaching elders or ministers, and ruling elders, elected by individual congregations for life; the latter, with the minister, formed the governing body of the church. The

session, as it was called, constituted a court with legislative, executive, and judicial powers. In practice the presbytery was the principal governing body in the Presbyterian Church hierarchy. The presbytery -- made up of all the ministers in the district and one elder from each congregation -- examined, licensed, ordained, and installed ministers, supervised the churches, and acted as a court of appeals from the sessions. Above the presbytery in a similar relation stood the synod. After 1789 came the highest court of appeal, the general assembly, which met once a year, and was composed of representatives of ministers and elders in a strict ratio to the number of ministers in each presbytery.

German: 1730-1790

In the first years of settlement in the Shenandoah Valley, German settlers established three neighborhoods in the middle and lower Valley. Athough some Germans settled in Botetourt County, they were not organized in such close-knit communities as in the lower valley areas. The Locust Bottom area, the Amsterdam area, and the Howrytown area, among others, seem to have been home to communities of German settlers. As in eighteenth-century Europe, the two principal German denominations established in the valley were Luthern and Reformed.

The Evangelical Lutheran Church was founded by Martin Luther in his reaction to the abuses of the Roman Catholic Church in continental Europe. The church held that salvation was gained through faith in Jesus Christ and not by works. It also taught that there were two sacraments: baptism and the Lord's Supper (Mead, p. 114).

The American branch of the Reformed Church, sometimes erroneously

referred to as the "Dutch Presbyterian Church," had its origins in Switzerland and Germany, being brought by German immigrants to Pennsylvania in the eighteenth century. More than half of the Germans in Pennsylvania were of the Reformed tradition. This church formed the second arm of the Reformation in Europe, differing from Luther and siding with the Calvinism of Zwingli.

Despite the efforts of itinerant preachers, the two major German denominations, Reformed and Lutheran, lacked an efficient pastoral service in the colonies. The Moravian Brotherhood at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania responded to the needs of the frontier communities. The Moravians, an undogmatic, evangelical group which settled in Pennsylvania in 1740, sought to unite all Germans, regardless of their beliefs, into one body. Leonard Schenell, a Luthern minister who had joined the Moravians, and an Englishman, Robert Hussy, were dispatched to travel throughout the South in 1743-44. They visited the Opequon and Shenandoah settlements and then crossed into the Piedmont in order to avoid what they called the "Irish Tract," or upper Valley. From there they traveled to Georgia, entirely missing the Germans then living in present-day Botetourt. Eventually Moravians visited nearly every Valley German settlement (Wust).

The dominant place in every German community came to be the church, despite a chronic lack of ministers. Reformed and Lutheran congregations cooperated closely. In most localities union churches were built and owned communally by the two groups. A union church was built by a group of Germans at Zion in Botetourt County on a lot acquired in 1786. It was of brick and measured thirty by fifty feet. The building was plastered inside and contained an "old fashioned, high and wide pulpit" (Leslie, p. 4). It no longer stands.

A deed for a church at Locust Bottom records the gift in the 1780s of one acre of land for "the community of Dutch Calvinists and Lutherans". Although the church is gone, the cemetery (11-240) with its five carved tombstones (the earliest dating to 1806) and a portion of an early rock fence, have been well preserved.

The Valley was settled early by Mennonites, as well as members of the Lutheran and Reformed churches. Adherants to the faith lived in what are now Page, Frederick, and Shenandoah Counties, but apparently few lived in Botetourt County. The Mennonites were a dissenting group of Swiss Calvinist Brethren, who took exception to other Swiss Calvinists desire to join church and state. They also denied infant baptism, being called "Anabaptists." The church, organized in Holland, met with great persecution throughout Europe. Mennonites were offered haven in Pennsylvania and settled there in large numbers (Mead, p. 124).

Baptist: 1730-1790

Baptists, an important British Protestant group adhering to a strict Calvinist theology, had been present in Rhode Island since ca. 1640. They first appeared in the southeast region in 1714. The preaching tour of George Whitefield initiated a division between Baptists similar to that in the Presbyterian Church. The Baptists split into New Lights or Separate Baptists, who espoused the emotional content of the Great Awakening, and the Old Lights or Regular Baptists, who distrusted revivals and emotionalism.

Edward Hayes and Thomas Yates, members of a Baptist congregation in Maryland where there was greater religious toleration than in Virginia,

moved in 1743 with a group of coreligionists to Opequon in what was then Berkeley County (Semple, p. 375). In 1751 they were "purified" or purged of a suspected Arminian or Universalist element by ministers from the active Philadelphia Baptist Association. When the Valley was threatened by Indian attack in the mid-1750s, the congregation of Regular Baptists moved to Loudon County on the east side of the Blue Ridge. Their church, named Ketockton, was formed soon after (Semple p. 375). In spite of several other attempts to establish the Baptist church in the lower Valley, no Baptist congregations are known to have existed in Botetourt County before 1781, when Samuel Goodwin served a congregation at Catawba (Stoner p. 391).

Anglican: 1730-1790

In the years before the disestablishment of the state church in 1785, the Anglican Church was the official church both west and east of the Blue Ridge. Parish organizations were mandated by the Church of England and governed by an elected vestry, the official caretaker of the poor as well as the governing body of the local church. While the Anglican Church west of the Blue Ridge never had a large membership, and only achieved much strength in the lower Valley, its existence was guaranteed by the requirement that all political officials be members. In some areas the colonial government allowed German or Irish ministers to take holy orders as Anglican priests and thereby serve local dissenting congregations as official ministers of the state church. The lower counties of Shenandoah, Berkeley, and Fredrick, which were served by less than ten Presbyterian churches, had at least fifteen Anglican congregations by the end of the

colonial period, but the upper Valley had only one active Anglican church (in Fincastle) and two small chapels. This is in contrast to the more than twenty Presbyterian congregations in the region. Land was set aside in 1771 for an Anglican parish church in Fincastle near the town spring. It functioned until it was closed in 1785, and was taken over by Presbyterians in 1795 (Neiderer p. 29).

Methodist: 1730-1790

The conversion in 1738 of John Wesley, an Anglican clergyman in England, was the first step in a train of events leading to the establishment of the Methodist Church. Wesley, under the influence of Moravian and evangelical Anglican thought, founded a movement within the Church of England that stressed personal conversion and sinlessness in living. The organization of the Methodist Church reflects its English origin and its rapid growth in post-Revolutionary America. While the church's government is called episcopal, it is largely managed by a series of quarterly, annual, and general conferences, each relating to local, district, and national matters. Local churches probably had less freedom than in other Protestant denominations. They were called charges, to which pastors were appointed by the bishops at annual conferences. Stewards and trustees made up the local church governing boards.

The church's theology was Arminian, stressing universal salvation. Methodists believed in a future world of rewards and punishment and in perfection, sanctification, and holiness; they believed that after the regeneration which followed conversion, members would be free from the sinful life which had been unavoidable before. The church sacraments were

Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Membership in the church followed conversion and a revision of personal habits. The worship service was broadly based on the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England, but much emphasis was placed on extemporaneous preaching and prayer (Mead p. 130-132).

Great Methodist revivals began in Virginia in 1787, principally in the southern part of the state. In 1788, 4,761 members were added in Virginia and Kentucky. In 1791 the membership in the state was listed at 17, 203 (Sweet p. 125). The revivals paralleled the revivals begun in 1786 among the Presbyterians, and while the principal converts were said at the time to be in the "New Virginia," beyond the Alleghenies, the Valley does not actually appear to have gained a significant Methodist following until the early part of the next century. A Botetourt circuit was formed in 1789 (Stoner p. 367).

1790-1830

The Second Great Awakening, beginning in the first part of the period, did much to break down the ethnic structure of the Valley. The emotional content of the Second Great Awakening was expressed in outdoor revivals or extended camp-meetings, and by an ecumenical spirit in which most denominations took part.

After the revolution, the Scotch-Irish, as an English-speaking ethnic group, were probably the most affected by the religious mood. Being removed intellectually from the dispersed and educated clergy, they werefar more thoroughly assimilated than the German community (Mitchell p. 106). The German denominations gradually had to come to grips with the

increasing external orientation of younger generations; by the end of the period they were losing members to English-speaking churches and adopting English as a primary language for worship. Methodist, Baptists, and associated revival-based groups took members from groups of settlers who had no previous religious affiliation as well as from the German denominations.

Few standing structures remain from the period. The Locust Bottom church site and cemetery (11-240) is addressed under German churches. Church builders in the Shenandoah Valley during this period tended to abandon the meeting house plan mentioned in the previous period and began building nave-plan churches, in which the entrance (or pair of entries) was in the gable end. In these churches the pulpit and/or communion table was at the end opposite the entry, and the pews were arranged in rows flanking an aisle or aisles and facing the pulpit end. Windows were arranged along each side, usually in a two- or three-bay group.

Presbyterian: 1790-1830

A revival took place in the Presbyterian Church in the years following the legislation supporting religious liberty in 1785. Evangelizing students travelled through the Valley and western regions, and their efforts strengthened the church. Several of the students soon settled in the lower Valley as ministers. In 1794 Winchester Presbytery was formed in the lower Valley, containing sixteen churches. Botetourt County remained a part of Lexington Presbytery.

The revival, which extended into the early nineteenth century and affected most other denominations, is referred to as the Second Great

Awakening. While camp meetings and sensational features were associated after 1800 with Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist revivalism, it does not seem to have been as uncontrolled among the Presbyterians in the Shenandoah as in other regions. In spite of this, however, Lexington Presbytery enjoined its members in 1804 to "prevent as far as may be within their power, all extraordinary bodily exercises which appear voluntary and ostentatious" (Wilson p. 80-81).

In 1813 the Presbyterians in Fincastle, who had taken over the old Anglican Church, petitioned to build a new church on the site of the old one, citing its "ruinous condition." In 1818, a brick church was built but was considerably altered in 1849. It remains in use today.

In 1800 Lexington Presbytery licensed John Chavis, a local black church member, to work as a missionary among the blacks. He was unsuccessful in fulfilling his desire to work in the area of the Hanover Presbytery in eastern Virginia. In 1805 he transferred to North Carolina, where he ministered to both black and white congregations.

German: 1790-1830

The German churches during the early part of the period still relied heavily on itinerant ministers to reach remote congregations. In 1785 Christian Streit accepted the Winchester Lutheran pastorate, and he preached as well at several churches in Clarke and Frederick Counties. He trained a self-declared itinerant minister, Paul Henkel, who worked hard to preserve the congregations of Botetourt, the upper Valley, and southwest Virginia. Streit and Henkel provided resistence for Lutheranism in the Valley against the emotional onslaught of the Second Great Awakening.

Many Lutheran leaders did not share Henkel's active campaign against revivalism among the Germans, and felt that the emotional appeal would soon pass and that the German language would prove too great a barrier for Methodism (Wust p. 131).

The first settled Lutheran minister in Botetourt was the Rev. J. G. Butler, who organized a church at Howerytown in 1796 in a house he owned. He left in 1805, and there was a ten year hiatus before a regular ministry resumed. Congregations founded around 1800 included Copps and Blade Creek.

In the early years Reformed congregations were even more bereft of ministers than the Lutheran churches. Only after the Revolution did permanent pastors settle in Virginia. By 1797 the visit of the Rev. Philip Stock to the Shenandoah Valley encouraged the church to send Johannes Braun the following year. He remained in active ministry there for fifty years. While he strongly believed in the value of the German language, he preferred to compromise rather than risk the dimunition of the church he worked hard to revive. At one time there were thirty-seven congregations and five pastors, but by the end of the period the church had experienced the loss of many of the members Braun had helped attract (Wust, p. 142-3). The actual size of the Reformed Church is not clear. By 1786 Prebyterian ministers were serving the Locust Bottom Church built by the Reformed and Lutheran families in that area, indicating perhaps an early acculturation into the Presbyterian church, which was the denomination most similar to the Reformed faith (Stoner). The church at Locust Bottom is gone, but the cemetery remains, with several carved tombstones for German settlers dating as early as 1806 (11-240).

One other German denomination was visible in the Valley beginning in the period after the Revolutionary War. Regular Dunkers or Brethren were organized in 1708 in Germany. Like the Mennonites, Dunkers required a way of life that confronted local customs and the laws of the state. These were "German Baptists" took their theology and practice from the Pietists, who were former Lutherans attempting to recreate New Testament practices, abandoning formalism and ritual. The heart of their practice was the twice-yearly love feast preceded by foot washing. Brethren refrained from worldly activities, were pacifists, and did not take oaths. They took a stand against the practice of slavery, unlike many Germans of the more numerous denominations. The Seventh Day Baptists or Subaltern Brethren (already in the Valley in small numbers) had split from the Regular Dunkers in 1728 to found the communal society at Ephrata (Mead p.40).

Regular Dunkers did not believe in a trained clergy or written statement of belief. The informal evangelical nature of the sect helped it survive when other more conventional German churches suffered from a lack of ministers. Soon after the Revolution there had appeared a large group of Brethren in Botetourt County, principally in the south at New Amsterdam in the 1780s. Until the 1840s the congregation met in barns and houses.

The Mennonites were more seclusive than the Dunkers. They also gathered in houses, building churches only after proselytizing by other denominations began to reduce the numbers of adherents. By 1843 the Mennonites had thirty-five churches in three districts in Virginia with more than thirty ministers.

After 1800 a new denomination, the United Brethren, was created by

the activities of Reformed minister William Otterbein and Mennonite Martin Boehm in Pennsylvania and Maryland. This movement was strongly influenced by Methodist policy and theology, so the adherents were frequently called German Methodists. From 1795 onward, United Brethren preachers had been evangelizing, not with the intent of creating a new denomination, but to reach a more open communication among Germans within the context of the Second Great Awakening. Camp meetings similar in spirit and agitation to those of the Methodists were held throughout the Valley, Presbyterians, Lutherans, Baptists, Mennonites, and Methodists frequently participated. Camp meetings were held for many years at several sites in the Valley including George Rule's house at an unknown location in Botetourt. Originally the very successful revival professed not to separate anyone from other churches, but by 1808 United Brethren congregations had been formed at Sleepy Creek, near Winchester, and south to Botetourt (Wust p. 134).

The United Bretherns' insistence on retaining the German language prompted many members to leave it for the Methodist Church, which shared a similar creed. The denomination was further reduced before 1830 because there were no full-time preachers.

Baptist: 1790-1830

After the Revolution the Baptist population in the Shenandoah Valley swelled, but the church was never as popular as many other demoninations until much later. Before 1782 the Strawberry Association was formed by Separate Baptists. It originally included all of the churches in Virginia on the south side of the James and southwest Virginia. In 1809 the

association had been reduced to contain Bedford, Franklin, Patrick, Henry, and Campbell counties east of the Blue Ridge, and Botetourt and Rockbridge in the Valley. Only three of the twenty-four churches in the association were west of the Blue Ridge and two of these were in Botetourt County. Rock Spring Church near Buchanan and Mill Creek Church near Fincastle, were founded in 1804 and contained thirty-five and twenty-eight members respectively (Semple, p. 338).

Methodist: 1790-1830

The revival of 1787 in the Methodist Church was brought to an abrupt end beginning in 1792 by controversies over the strictness of church government. During the decade the church declined by twenty-five per cent (Sweet, p. 134), but at the same time new circuits were being added. Botetourt County's congregation grew from forty members at its founding in 1789 to 470 in the mid-1790s. The Mitchell brothers were "active burning and shining lights" in that area. In 1794, one thousand people attended a revival at present-day Eagle Rock (Stoner p.368). When conference boundaries were set up for the first time in 1796, the Shenandoah Valley was included in the Virginia Conference. Two circuits of the Virginia Conference were located west of the Blue Ridge.

In the years after 1801 renewed revivals were felt throughout the state. In Rockingham County a meeting continued for nine days and nearly all secular business was curtailed. In Botetourt County 500 people were converted at camp meetings. Originating in Kentucky, the practice of holding camp meetings, originating in Kentucky, spread throughout the region, and circuit riders penetrated many rural areas. Until 1815 Bishop

Francis Asbury made regular periodic trips through Virginia and the Shenandoah Valley providing important personal leadership. Asbury records visits to Botetourt beginning in 1790.

In 1802, Asbury recorded in his journal that he "drew a plan of a house forty feet long, thirty feet wide, and two stories high, of brick to be built in Fincastle, two-thirds of the money must be collected before we begin." A church lot was purchased in Fincastle in 1803 (Stoner, p. 371-3). The church was built, but was replaced in 1840 by the present structure (Neiderer, p.29). In the same year, Asbury preached to three thousand at a camp meeting held at Amsterdam.

1830-1860

The antebellum period was a time of ferment and controversy in the Valley churches, and for some denominations a period of growth. For others, chiefly the historically ethnic churches, only radical change would serve to counteract loss of membership. Presbyterianism suffered seriously from defection to the more emotional Methodists and Baptists, while German Lutheran and Reformed Churches had to accommodate themselves to a weakened cultural identity on the part of the younger generation. The Methodists and Baptists, however, split internally over doctrinal matters, and arguments over the question of slavery led to the creation of separate southern Presbyterian, Baptist and Methodist denominations by 1861. Architectural resources are discussed under each denominational heading.

Presbyterian: 1830-1860

The revival was followed by a period of growth marred by growing division over slavery issues. Between 1786 and 1838 Lexington Presbytery organized thirty-nine new churches. By 1835 it was numerically the largest presbytery in the General Assembly. On a local level, attempts at ecumenical relations with other churches was squashed (Wilson, p. 89). On a national level, a plan of union with the Congregational Church of Connecticut split the church into Old and New School factions.

While Tidewater region presbyteries such as Hanover lost a small proportion of congregations to the New School Assembly, western presbyteries were torn apart. Lexington Presbytery lost more than fifty per cent of its membership between 1836 and 1865, in part because of an inability to hold onto the converts of the earlier revivals and because of continued migration to the West (Wilson, p. 106). Increasing affluence and lack of immediate relation of church policy to the lives of the people made it easy for the Methodist and Baptist Churches to attract former Presbyterians. The church ceased to be the center of community life in the sense that it had been in previous years (Wilson, p. 107).

Debate over slavery did not divide the national church in the antebellum period. Lexington Presbytery sent instructions to its delegates to the General Assembly of 1845 to use all "their influence to prevent any discussion in the Assembly on the subject of slavery" (Wilson, p. 114). The presbytery did accept a report which deplored the moral and spiritual ignorance of slaves in the Valley, and recommended Sunday schools for enslaved black people belonging to members (Wilson, p. 115).

In 1850, Botetourt County had only two Presbyterian churches, while

neighboring Rockbridge had twelve, Bath had four, and Alleghany had five. In 1849, the Presbyterians of Fincastle enlarged and improved their church building (218-12) to create a new entrance front with a dramatic Greek Revival tower over a pair of Greek Doric columns in antis. The spire and tower are similar to the local Methodist church tower of 1840. Not until after the secession of the southern states did the Synod of Virginia withdraw from the General Assembly. One Presbyterian church (11-111) from the period is located in the survey area. The Mt. Carmel Presbyterian Church of 1843 stands east of Eagle Rock in the community of Saltpeter Cave. It is a nearly square brick two-bay nave-plan structure with large nine-over-nine sash windows, paired gable-end entries, and a Flemish-bond front. A high door below the corbelled brick cornice on one side indicates a former gallery with an exterior stair -- a not uncommon feature in the period -- said to have been used by slaves.

German: 1830-1860

By the second quarter of the 19th century it was apparent that the German churches of the Valley were in danger of losing membership to rival English-language denominations because of similarities in worship or theology, radical evangelism, and the increasing distance of younger generations from the sources of their distinct culture. Increased use of English in worship promised to dilute their threatened culture, while avoiding it cost the church many followers. Several Botetourt Lutheran congregations are said to have built churches -- called union churches -- in cooperation with the Presbyterians. The Union Church at Howerytown is a surviving example (Stoner, p. 379). The most remote congregations of

the Reformed Church, those in Botetourt County and Southwest Virginia, had dissolved by 1830, and by 1850 no Lutheran or Reformed churches are recorded in Botetourt County.

The Dunkers and Mennonites continued to build churches in western Virginia during the period. The Dunker population built their first church in Botetourt County in 1848, at Laymantown. Three Dunker congregations survived into recent times

The English language became necessary when the sects began proselytizing in the Valley. When educational and acculturational pressures threatened the Church of the Brethren, two ministers, Peter Nead and John Kline, contributed to the revival and continuity of the church. Resentment grew over the Bretherens' pacifist positions, and Kline was murdered during the Civil War for his refusal to fight (Wust, p. 144).

Baptist: 1830-1860

By the second quarter of the 19th century the Regular and Separate Baptist had found more to unite themselves than to keep them apart. They cooperated in the General Baptist Convention, as well as in tract and missionary activities. The anti-missionary controversy generated by these trends caused large groups of Baptists throughout the country to withdraw from the majority over changes they felt compromised the Calvinist principles of the Church. By 1840 many of the oldest Valley churches had allied themselves with a group identified as the Primitive Baptists.

In 1840, before the removal of the Anti-Missionary Congregations, there were twenty-three Baptist Churches in the Valley region: Page and Frederick each had five, Rockbridge, Rockingham, and Clarke each had

three, Botetourt had two, and, while Augusta and Shenandoah each had one, Allegheny, Bath, and Highland had none. Mill Creek Churches founded in 1804, became the Fincastle Baptist Church in 1831.

Episcopal: 1830-1860

The former established church in colonial times did not regain a foothold in the Valley for many years. The Protestant Episcopal Church undertook successful missionary work in eastern Virginia during the antebellum period. This resulted in the redevelopment of Anglican churches throughout the state, and the establishment of congregations in urban areas of the Valley during the period after the war. St. Mark's Church (218-22) in Fincastle, a small brick nave-plan church with pointed arch windows in an otherwise Greek Revival shell, was built in the late 1830s (Neiderer, p. 42).

Methodist: 1830-1860

During the antebellum years the Methodist Church grew steadily, but lost members to an unsuccessful reform movement in 1828, resulting in the establishment of the Methodist Protestant Church, favoring increased lay representation in the church. Dissention over slavery grew after 1830. In the South the Methodists had been traditionally totally opposed to slaveholding, and did not permit clergy to own slaves, in keeping with the church's position on purity of living. As more and more slaveholders became Methodists and the South became increasingly dependent on slavery, the church in the South moderated its position. During the first decades of the nineteeenth centurythe national church gradually grew more and more

amenable to a passive position on the subject, in spite of agitation by abolitionist elements within the church. Debate was smothered in the late 1830s and early 1840s. By 1844 debate was rekindled by the cases of a bishop and minister who were slaveowners. When the bishop was suspended by the General Convention, the Southern church separated and convened in 1845 as the Methodist Episcopal Church South (Mead, p. 131). Churches in the Valley became part of this new southern denomination, which continued to officially condemn slavery as an evil, at least during its first years. The Fincastle Methodist congregation built a fashionable new church (218-11) on the site of its old one in 1840. The large nave-plan church featured simple bold Greek Revival details drawn from pattern books popular in the period (Neiderer, p. 44). Another congregation built its first church on a lot purchased in 1837, in the Big Hill community twenty miles north of Fincastle (Stoner, p. 374). In the survey area one Methodist church was located in the upland area west of Catawba Creek. The Mt. Pleasant church is a two-bay frame nave-plan church. It features a center entry in the gable end, nine-over-nine sash windows, a modillion cornice, and a panelled-front gallery supported on square posts. The carpenters were Samuel and James Hickok, who built churches as far afield as Christiansburg (Christiansburg Presbyterian Church). Another church, Pierce Chapel, north of Fincastle, was built as a union church by the Methodists and Presbyterians in c. 1840. The two-bay, brick, nave-plan structure (11-118) has been somewhat altered, but retains its corbelled crick cornice.

In the post-war period, the Southern denominations continued to work independently of their Northern counterparts, although in some cases

Northern missionary activities were instituted in the Valley, and numerous black churches were founded. Church architecture continued to be of the three- or four-bay nave-plan in small or rural churches, but the urban congregation began building church buildings related to popular Gothic and Romanesque styles. The Akron plan, in which circular seating arrangements and expandable sanctuaries connected with Sunday school facilities by rolling or folding doors, became influential, particularly among the Methodist congregations. Most rural churches, however, continued to follow the vernacular nave-plan form. Usually of framed wood, the simple weatherboarded structures are usually of three-bay length, with or without a small louvered bell tower above the centrally located doors. Occasional features such as columned portices, bracketed eaves, or shingled gables draw on published pattern book sources. In 1880 census records for Botetourt County, while probably not complete, show two Presbyterian, two Baptist, five Methodist, two Episcopal, and six Union churches. While no German churches show, it could be because they were union churches (in combination with another denomination).

Most churches surviving from this period in the study unit take the nave-plan form. All are of frame construction. As many as eleven such churches were surveyed. Individual churches are discussed under denominational headings.

Presbyterian: 1860-1910

Presbyterians continued to be a minority in the upper Valley after the Civil War. Most rural congregations survived, and many urban churches were founded or rebuilt. Published information about church trends during

these years is limited. Two Presbyterian churches from the period were located in the survey area. One, the frame Mt. Union Presbyterian Church (11-284), may have begun as a union church. It is one of the county's most elegant churches in the Greek Revival style. The two-bay nave-plan church has an integral pedimented portice supported on four slender, octagonal columns. The church, although built in c. 1870 (possibly earlier), features beaded weatherboarding, similar to that on the 1888 Eagle Rock Methodist Church (11-112-57). The Galetia Presbyterian Church of 1886 (11-202), north of Eagle Rock in the village of Gala, is a simple frame nave-plan structure of three bays, with a central entry door and a small spire-topped belfry.

German: 1860-1910

Information on the late nineteenth century is not extensive for the German denominations. Many of the groups suffered from continued acculturation, and became less distinctly German as a similar process took place in Valley German society generally. New church buildings were constructed in growing towns and cities throughout the Valley. In 1881 conservative members of the Church of the Brethern formed the Old Order Dunker Church. In 1882, the Progressive Brethern, a liberal group, were expelled from the Brethern Church nationally, and by 1885 a congregation had organized in Shenandoah County. By 1907 there were twenty churches in the Valley with one thousand members. In the same year the Conservative Dunkers, as the original church now called itself colloquially, was composed of five thousand members in sixty-three churches, with nearly forty per cent in Rockingham County (Wayland, p. 129). The church founded two

colleges during the period: Bridgewater College in Rockingham County, and Daleville College in southern Botetourt County.

Valley Lutherans in 1906 maintained seventy churches with six to seven thousand members. The Lutherans were divided into a number of competing factions. Most Lutherans were located in the lower Valley, principally in Shenandoah County. After 1910 unification efforts met with increasing success. By the end of the period census records show no German churches officially recorded as active in the county. No structures were recorded in the study area except the frame nave-plan Pleasant Dale Brethern Church of c. 1910 (11-300), north of Daleville.

Baptist: 1860-1910

After the Civil War there was expanded missionary work in the upper Valley by Baptist preachers. The Baptist churches were located in the study area, including the unusual late nineteenth-century Forest Grove Baptist Church (11-268) which features an octagonal plan.

Episcopal: 1860-1910

The Episcopal Church was active in the period, establishing several missions in the county, including one at a community called Purgatory. Eagle Rock and Buchanan both became church centers. The Eagle Rock church, known as Emmanuel Episcopal Church (11-109), was built in 1884. It is a frame nave-plan church sided with board and batten. It is unique in its elaborate Gothic Revival design and in its loyalty to the ecclesiastical architecture popularized in pattern books and developed by Richard Upjohn in the mid-nineteenth century.

The years following the Civil War were productive for the Methodist Church. The North asserted its desire to establish churches in southern areas; and in the Valley, Rockingham District was organized as part of the Northern church in 1869, but ceased operations after 1908. The African Methodist Episcopal Church, founded in 1818 in the North, and several other Black Methodist groups expanded their southern operations rapidly after the War. The Methodist Episcopal Church South's Virginia membership increased from the 29,794 members in Virginia in 1865 to 56,922 by 1880, a period of great evangelism and zeal (Sweet, p. 299). Extreme emotionalism and camp-meetings were not as popular as during the pre-war years, however.

As early as 1870, a national movement was under way toward restoration of Wesley's doctrine of perfect love, which posited a second experience to follow conversion, that of perfection, or sanctification. A life of perfect motives and desires was thought to follow, during which a follower could achieve victory over sin (Synan, p. 18-19). A movement within the church advocating sanctification of "Holiness" received considerable support from laity and ministers. It appealed to Methodists as a restoration of the enthusiasm of the early 19th-century camp-meeting era.

By 1887 the Holiness Association had held sixty-seven meetings in sixteen states, with particular success in the South. Beginning in 1885, however, the southern church led the way in purging the popular holiness movement from the church. Between 1895 and 1905 churches split or new churches formed in a score of New Holiness or Pentecostal denominations. As many as 100,000 persons left the Methodist denominations. The new denominations, many of them active in the Valley, included the Pentecostal

Holiness Church, the Church of God of Anderson Indiana, the Church of the Nazarene, the Fire-Baptized Church, and the Church of God (Synan, p. 50-61).

The only Methodist Church located from the period in the study area was the Eagle Rock Methodist Episcopal Church (11-112-57) (several churches were recorded without clear denominational affiliation and may have been Methodist). The very plain frame nave-plan structure was built on a high knoll overlooking the village in 1888. It is surrounded by a large cemetery. The church has not been regularily used since the Southern and Northern (with which this congregation was affiliated) churches united in a new structure several blocks away in the mid-twentieth century. It is unusual in being sided with beaded weatherboard, which by this time had been almost universally abandoned by regional builders. (Another coeval church with beaded weatherboard is the Mt. Union Presbyterian Church (11-284) in the southwest part of the county, built in 1870 or before).

1910-1940

Few published sources comprehensively document the Valley's churches in the first half of the 20th-century. The region's well-established denominations including the Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian continued to grow. Black denominations became better established. In populated areas new churches were built, usually in the popular Gothic or Classical Revival styles, many designed by local or nationally known architects. In rural areas the frame nave-plan church continued in popularity. In Eagle Rock, the Baptists and Methodists built new high-style churches in the

period. The Eagle Rock Baptist Church (11-112-48) of 1924 is a large brick building. Four Doric columns support a pedimented temple front in the Classical Revival structure. One of few black churches in the county, the First Baptist Church of Eagle Rock (11-112-33) is a brick or brick veneer nave-plan church with a central tower. It was built (or renovated) in c. 1932. Its predecessor dated to 1894, and is situated on the west edge of the village of Eagle Rock. Another is the Rising Mt. Zion Church in the small black community east of Gala, originally made up mostly of railroad workers. The brick nave-plan structure (11-230) dates from 1928, and features pointed-arch windows and a large corner entrance tower.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SOCIAL-CULTURAL THEME

1730-1790

Social-cultural activities were fairly limited in Botetourt County in the eighteenth century, as the region was only in the early stages of settlement during those years. Little research has been done on the social and cultural elements of ethnic settlement patterns during this period: rather, most historians have focused on the economic, agricultural, and commercial patterns of the Shenandoah Valley region. However, the cultural traditions early settlers brought with them created an essential backdrop for the development of this theme in the nineteenth century.

Botetourt County settlers came from different European backgrounds, primarily Scotch-Irish, German, or English. Their ethnic traditions colored the development of the Valley region during this period, more so than in later periods. In his study of eighteenth-century Valley life, Robert Mitchell argues that ethnic distinctions were reduced after the 1760s, attesting that "most groups did not possess a tight cultural unity." His research suggests a wide range of regional and sectarian identities. The linguistic and religious differences of the German settlers did tend to prolong their isolation from the other ethnic groups, and they formed distinct ethnic communities to a greater degree than did the Scotch-Irish or English (Mitchell, p. 240).

Few buildings associated strictly with social-cultural activities were built duirng these years. Undoubtedly many of these activities took

place either in private homes or in churches. Taverns, discussed in Chapter Eight, were one of the few public building types in the period and consequently also served as social centers. However, the number of taverns and ordinaries remained fairly small in the eighteenth century, increasing in the following period with the growth of Valley's population. No surviving resources from this period were recorded.

1790-1860

This period, beginning with the end of the revolutionary war, proved to be exciting years for the development of social and cultural institutions in the Valley of Virginia. After the colonies became independent from the mother country, Virginia developed a wide range of cultural and social activities reflecting life in a new nation. The Valley shared in this development, with its improved commercial and transportation ties and the economic and agricultural prosperity of the period.

This proved to be a period of prosperity for the medicinal springs in Botetourt County as well as other Valley regions. Some Valley resorts had been founded in the mid-eighteenth century, but those in Botetourt did not become well known until later. With the creation of turnpikes in the early nineteenth century and the coming of railroads in the mid-nineteenth century, the springs resorts prospered. In 1835 Botetourt Springs (now in Roanoke County) was large enough to cater to 100 guests, and Dagger's Springs, northeast of Eagle Rock had a capacity of seventy to eighty (Stoner, p. 486). Dagger's Springs opened before 1820 and was operated by James Dibrell of Richmond for a period before 1859, when Houston & Shields built a hotel for 200 guests, many of whom came from the

surrounding neighborhood (Cohen, p. 189). By the 1850s, these springs were enjoying their heyday, and people crowded into old resorts and rushed to new ones. Catering to this growing traffic, many springs in western Virginia constructed elegant building complexes during the 1840s and 1850s, employing the Greek Revival styles. Continued improvements in transportation made the springs increasingly popular and fashionable. Botetourt Springs is now the site of Hollins College, which takes its quadrangular form from that of the old hotel, while Dagger's and other resorts such as Coyner and Mineral Springs no longer stand. The site of Dagger's Springs (11-206) was surveyed, but all that remains is a gravestone (dated 1832) referring to the resort as Dibrell's Springs. The spring itself still issues from the ground.

Improvements in transportation and the more commercialized Valley economy led to a large increase in the number of towns and villages established in the region during this period. The transportation theme chronicles this development, focusing on turnpike towns in the antebellum period. Few boasted particularly innovative town plans. In most cases, land for a town, such as Buchanan, was laid out by the landholder, who would divide the property along the main road or turnpike into rows of lots. There would often be a back street on each side, behind the lots along the main streets, and sometimes a second row of lots off the back street, but these lots were seldom developed during the towns' early years. Most towns did have a regular pattern of cross streets which are sometimes still visible, although these have often fallen into disuse. These towns occasionally set aside land for community cemeteries, which often remained in use through the nineteenth century.

Fincastle was laid out as the county seat of Botetourt in 1770, during the previous period, but its growth occurred principally after 1790. It was laid out in the form of a grid on the lands of Israel Christian. The courthouse was sited on one corner of the principal streets, Main Street and Roanoke Street, on the highest ground in the town. Later additions to the town included a market space near the town spring and a church and graveyard for the Anglicans (1771, later Presbyterian) and for the Methodists (1803).

Other towns planned in the early years of Botetourt's history included Florence and Pendleton, both platted in 1804 by county surveyor William Anderson. Although the towns were situated side by side flanking the mouth of Looney's Creek on the south bank of the James River, they took radically different forms, each dictated by their respective promoters. Florence had long narrow lots on long blocks, while Pendleton was characterized by square blocks divided into equal fourths in an overall checkerboard pattern (Pezzoni). More research is needed into town planning in this period and into these towns in particular. None exist in the survey area.

1860-1910

Many of the Botetourt County's social and cultural activities in the early 1860s were either curtailed by the Civil War or assumed importance as part of the war-time effort. The Valley bounced back fairly quickly after the War, and subsequent prosperity encouraged development of a wide range of cultural resources.

The springs resorts, many of which were established in the antebellum

years in the Valley region, became some of the east coast's most appealing social and cultural meccas during these years. The term hotel itself became popular in the Valley in the 1840s and 1850s after the appearance of "hotels" at Virginia's mountain and seaside resorts. Botetourt County's resorts were smaller affairs, drawing a more local clientele and providing vacation or summer residences. Some springs, including Dagger's (11-206), of which nothing remains, bottled the water and shipped it out to large cities for a considerable profit. The discovery of springs in Fincastle in the 1880s and 1890s made this small town a popular destination for health seekers and led to the construction of two major hotels, the Western and the Hayths. Both still stand in Fincastle, along with a variety of community buildings.

The Social-cultural theme includes includes the history of regional urban design and planning. Several planned towns were created in the Valley in this period, particularly in response to the anticipated development of communities along the railroads. The most promising towns were those along the Shenandoah Valley Railroad, which was built through the eastern part of the Valley in the 1870s and completed in the early 1880s. The new towns platted in the late 1880s included Bessemer in Botetourt County. These town plans were not particularly innovative: most featured grid designs.

Still visible, the grid of Bessemer orders the location of several dozen houses and farms. The community is home to a group of well-detailed frame houses from the late nineteenth century, all related to the nearly forgotten boom town, of which no commercial or industrial features remain (sites 11-234, 337-342). Nearby, the town of Eagle Rock developed in a

more ad hoc manner. The town was developed by the Moore Lime Company beginning in the mid-1880s and several houses and churches on the hill above the railroad tracks and the James River date from that period. Both the Methodist Church and the Episcopal Church are situated on elevated ground in cemeteries. Irregular streets and lanes climb the slopes of the hill. Commercial and industrial businesses developed along Railroad Avenue, which paralleled the tracks and the river. Lime kilns stood at each end of town and, later, across the river. The streets were gradually altered, lengthened, and straightened through the twentieth century to form the present rough grid, but no evidence has been found of a plat or early layout of the town.

The industrial development of the Valley, especially of its mineral resources, led to the establishment of numerous company towns in the last decades of the nineteenth century and first decade of the twentieth century. Among these was New Town near Gala, a mining community located near the ore deposits in the northern part of the county. Again, little research of these towns in Botetourt County has been done to document the forms and plans which they assumed. In most cases, however, the companies erected much of the housing as well as a variety of commercial, social, and cultural resources. Many of these towns were removed from older, settled areas, and the company employees depended heavily on the new towns' facilities. Settlements such as New Town are said to have provided a company store or commissary, churches and schools. Fraternal organizations such as the Masons and the Odd Fellows founded lodges and chapters in the larger communities in the upper Valley. No resources from this period documented in the study area.

1910-1940

The twentieth century has brought noticeable change to the familiar social and cultural activities in the Valley region. The advent of the automobile and improved transportation has contributed to this increased development and cultural transformation. Resort springs lost their appeal, but the Valley became increasingly popular for its historic and scenic attractions and has remained a tourist area. The smaller towns and villages, which had been the focus of social and cultural activities, gradually yielded to the larger cities, due in large part to improved transportation. Consequently, new types of social and cultural resources have been established, while others have assumed a new character, again because of the automobile.

Fraternal and social organizations have prospered well into the twentieth century, but many of the smaller rural lodges have now merged with larger lodges in the bigger towns. The 1920s and 1930s witnessed the establishment of many new fraternal organizations. No resources of this kind were located in the survey area.

CHAPTER EIGHT

TRANSPORTATION THEME

1730 - 1790

The history of transportation in the Botetourt County region involved the development of roads for the Valley's first travelers and settlers. Older Indian paths and mountain passes were improved into either roads or trails which still remained quite primitive. The physical geography of this mountainous region determined the location of these early roads. Water transporation was not extensively used during the period, due to the difficulty of navigating the rocky streams and rivers.

Local histories reveal that Valley counties began to issue local road orders in the 1740s and 1750s, laying out roads to courthouse, mills, meeting houses and churches, and ferries. Many of the earliest routes followed rivers and waterways, especially in the more mountainous regions. Ferries were established in this period, one of the earliest being Loonys Ferry (ca. 1750) near Buchanan in eastern Botetourt County. However, travelers more often forded the rivers, since much travel was by horseback, and many of the earliest roads were no more than trails.

The state assumed some responsibility for one of the most important arteries, the Great Wagon Road, which ran north and south through the Valley. In 1745 the Orange County Court had ordered James Patton and John Buchanan to blaze a road from the Frederick County line south to the upper Valley and beyond. Shortly thereafter they reported that they had surveyed the road as far as the New River (near Blacksburg). The road was often referred to as the Indian Road and later as the western branch of

the Great Road. It would have been principally used by those settling in western Botetourt or going to Southwest Virginia or beyond: most early travellers passing through Botetourt were heading for North Carolina and used an easterly branch.

The westerly route (to the New River), corresponding to State Routes 630 and 739, and the easterly route (to Salem and beyond), corresponding to U.S. Rt. 11, forked at or near Pattonsbury (Buchanan). The westerly route went through Fincastle and along Craig Creek, and the easterly one (the Great Wagon Road) went through Amsterdam and through Roanoke County at Salem (Newlon, Backsights, p. 19). According to Louis Phillipe, who passed through the region in 1797, the two roads were regarded as alternate paths of the Great Road to the west, and the easterly route was by far preferred (Louis Phillipe). Moravian brethren traveling south along this road to North Carolina in 1753 documented their travels, providing one of the first travel reports of the road, calling it the "Great Road." Although long known as the Great Wagon Road, it was not until the 1760s that the road was suitable for wagon travel.

The route through Salem was better and became the great corridor of navigation known as the Wilderness Road after the revolution, when thousands of immigrants poured west to the newly opened territories in Kentucky and Tennessee.

Road development south of Staunton was consistently hindered by the lack of landowners to subsidize it or aid in construction. There were few improvements south of Staunton before 1755. It was the Revolutionary War that provided the major impetus to improving the road between Staunton and Lexington and further south of Lexington in 1770s and 1780s.

By the 1750s, numerous ordinaries had been established to provide lodging and food for travelers. By 1770, for example, relatively remote Botetourt County already had eleven ordinaries. Taverns developed at the major stopping or crossing points along these roads. Loony's Ferry had an ordinary by the 1750s. Often these ordinaries became the focus of small hamlets.

The "lower" or northern part of the Valley had better connections at an earlier date with eastern Virginia through gaps in the Blue Ridge Mountains. By 1755 large towns had developed at key east-west crossroads with the Wagon Road at Winchester and Staunton, among other sites. In the upper Shenandoah Valley, road improvement progressed more slowly during the latter part of the period and often meant little more than "clearing a trail" (Mitchell, p. 151). Gaps in the Blue Ridge were higher and more difficult to negotiate. In addition, the major eastern trading centers were located further from the region and their merchants were less interested in improving western trade connections during this period.

1790-1830

A period of road building and improvement occurred throughout the country after the Revolution and the upper Shenandoah Valley was no exception. Indeed, the Revolution had awakened eastern Virginians as to the poor quality of transportation routes into and through the Valley. The need to move soldiers and supplies was often complicated by the Valley's poor roads, especially the east-west routes in the upper Valley. Water transportation was even worse, with one commander complaining that enough

stores had been lost trying to transport them by water to buy twenty wagons and teams for moving stores to and from Staunton" (quoted in Mitchell, p. 193).

During this period, the state became more involved in road improvement in the Valley. In 1782, the General Assembly enacted a statute for a general survey of a road through the Blue Ridge. Three years later, the general road law in Virginia was revised to allow for problems in road construction in the western part of the state. The Valley counties had a smaller tax base and greater construction problems, and they lacked the private road building companies found in the east. Consequently, most of the roads in the west prior to 1811 were directed by the legislature. In the 1780s, efforts were made to widen and straighten the Old Wagon Road (Mitchell, p. 151). However, with over half of the Valley's population by 1800, the lower Valley continued to remain ahead of the upper Valley in road construction and improvement.

With improved transportation, increased trade, and larger population came a flurry of town building, especially along the major roads and turnpikes (this was particularly evident in the upper Valley). Between 1786 and 1800, many local landowners laid out towns and speculation in lots was very active (Mitchell, p. 90). The town of Antwerp (1801), now in Roanoke County, was an outright swindle, while towns like Crowsville (1787), and the competing and almost immediately adjoining towns of Pendleton and Florence (1804) near present-day Buchanan were never realized (Pezzoni). While these ambitous towns, like the county seat of Fincastle (1770), were developed in grid patterns, most successful towns were laid out in contiguous lots along the main roads after the real economic climate had

been tested. In 1800, the towns in the lower Valley were ten to twelve miles apart, while in the upper Valley they were still twenty-two to thirty miles apart. Most new towns had access to roads to the east. An increasing number of taverns had also been built along major roads. No taverns or other structures were identified from the period.

Howard Newlon, in "The Evolution of Transportation in Virginia," calls this period one of experimentation and this proved to be the case for the development of water transportation as well as roads. In the 1790s, Virginians expressed increased interest in the use of waterways as transportation in the Valley. Jacques Pierre Brissot de Warville, a French traveler who did not actually visit the Valley, said in 1788 that the Shenandoah River brought the "promise of good transportation by water." However, the realities were not nearly so bright as the picture such promotional tracts often suggested. While improvements were suggested during these years, they were seldom achieved. The South Fork of the Shenandoah River was to be improved, with all obstacles as far south as Front Royal removed, and the channel of the North River was to be deepened to Lexington. However, by 1807 only eight miles of the South Fork above Harpers Ferry had been cleared, and the deepening of the North Fork scarcely began, but the James River had been improved to just above Buchanan, giving Botetourt seasonal connection to markets downstream. Historian Robert Mitchell argues that the region was without cheap water transportation throughout the eighteenth century and commerce was entirely dependent upon the maintenance of a highway network (Mitchell, p. 195).

One Rockingham County history suggests that some river transportation occurred during these years. Historian John Wayland argued that Port

Republic was an active river port town in the early nineteenth century, sending "flour, lumber, iron, and other articles of trade" down the Valley to Harpers Ferry. How extensively these waterways were used has been the source of some debate among scholars.

More promising were the efforts to establish canals in the upper Valley. Canal fever spread throughout the eastern part of the state at the turn of the century, with many prominent Virginians considering canals to be the most modern form of commercial transportation. When the Potomac River Company and the James River Company were launched in 1785, plans included the extension of the James River Canal to just east of Buchanan in Botetourt County (Mitchell, p. 194). No actual construction occurred in the county or the Valley during this period. However, in 1812 the General Assembly appointed twenty-two commissioners to view and survey the James River west of Lynchburg, the New, Greenbrier, and Kanawha Rivers.

1830-1860

The antebellum years proved to be an extremely productive period for the development of transportation in the Valley region as well as Botetourt County. The developments in this period were spurred by the 1816 General Assembly act to create the Fund for Internal Improvement and the Board of Public Works to administer the fund. Bemoaning the rather fragmented road building efforts of individual counties, the board encouraged a good state-wide system of transportation, including the creation of turnpikes and the improvement of canals, replacing the county road-building systems. The fund was set apart in the state treasury to ensure a sound basis for these improvements. In addition, the General Assembly created

the position of principal engineer to be responsible to the board and to ensure that the state's efforts were utilizing the most modern forms of technology and engineering. With the improvement of transportation funding and construction, many new roads were constructed, a large number of bridges were erected, canals were finished through the Piedmont and into the Valley, and several railroads were projected and some begun.

Although eight turnpikes had been incorporated in Virginia before 1815, the real heyday of the turnpikes occurred in this period. By 1860, 190 turnpikes had been incorporated, although some were never built. The continued interest in developing Valley transportation led to the creation of many turnpikes here between 1820 and 1860. New state guidelines were available to prescribe regulations for these roads, outlining the requirement for regular and "summer" roads. Following designs of the Scottish engineers, the roads were to be constructed of three layers of stones, the last being coarse gravel. It was assumed that the wagons would pack down the road surface (Newlon, "The Evolution of Transportation in Virginia," p. 17).

The turnpike mania involved both improvements to older roads and development of new ones. The most significant road to be incorporated in the Valley during this period was the Valley turnpike. As early as 1817, the General Assembly had authorized paving the Great Wagon Road. However, the road was not formally incorporated as a turnpike until 1834, when the sixty-eight-mile stretch from Winchester to Harrisonburg and Staunton was chartered. The state paid three-fifths of the subscriptions; private citizens along the route were enlisted to pay the remaining two-fifths. It was not until this incorporation that serious work on paving was begun,

and by 1840 the entire turnpike had been macadamized. Toll gates were installed at intervals and at major bridges. As early as 1825, stages had been traveling down this road through the Valley. Traffic continued to increase over this period. While turnpike towns along the Valley Pike in Botetourt County constitute significant cultural resources, no similar towns were found in the study unit.

In the southern Valley, efforts continued to extend the James River Canal to Botetourt and Rockbridge Counties. The project was not completed until the end of the period. By 1816, only a seven-mile stretch of the canal around the falls at Richmond had been finished. In 1851, the canal was completed from Richmond to Buchanan in Botetourt County by the James River and Kanawha Canal Company, making Buchanan an important commercial station. Most canal building in Botetourt County occurred in the 1850s.

Between 1851 and 1856, construction took place on the North River Navigation, a twenty-mile branch of the James River and Kanawha Canal along the North (now Maury) River from the James to the Lexington docks. A fifteen-mile stretch of the James River Canal from Buchanan to Eagle Rock was begun in 1853, but ended in 1856 without ever opening beyond Buchanan. Although the canal was projected to Covington, it was never finished. The Marshall tunnel (11-144), a remnant of this last extension past Buchanan, remains unfinished.

Botetourt County contains one of the Valley's largest collections of water transportation-related sites. Forty-four canal sites have been recorded. Two, Gwynn Lock and Dam (11-348) and the unfinished locks at Eagle Rock (11-344) were recorded in this survey. Census records show large numbers of imported stone masons living in groups in the county.

Most had come from Ireland to work on the canals. The locks and dams demanded huge amounts of stone and are monuments to the stonemason's craftsmanship.

An 1850s account of a trip by batteau through Botetourt County from just below Clifton Forge at Glen Wilton to Buchanan indicates that the canal generated a great deal of river traffic. The writer observed that a fleet of six narrow boats ranging from seventy-five to 100 feet in length were floated downstream in about six hours; however, they required two days for the return trip.

This period witnessed the emergence of a new transportation form that was to dominate the Valley in the late nineteenth century: the railroad. By the end of this period, four railroads had begun construction in the Valley, but none directly affected Botetourt County, except by improving access to markets though neighboring counties. In 1854, the Virginia Central Railroad entered the Valley through Rockfish Gap and ran as far south as Staunton. Staunton businessmen had petitioned in 1840 to have the Louisa Railroad from Richmond (later the Chesapeake and Ohio) extend west of the Blue Ridge. Claudius Crozet's tunnel through the Blue Ridge at Rockfish Gap was completed for use by the railroad in 1856.

South of Botetourt County, the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad (later the Norfolk and Western) opened from Lynchburg to Bristol in 1856. Rails were laid to Jackson's River in Allegany County in 1856, bringing many Irish immigrants to the area. Other smaller railroad projects contemplated in the southern Valley during these years were not completed. Other than the canal locks, no transportation-related sites were documented in

the area from the period, many having been destroyed in the region by Union forces during the Civil War.

1860-1910

This period witnessed the devastation of transportation facilities in the Valley as result of the Civil War and their fairly rapid reconstruction and improvement in the late nineteenth century. The turnpikes gradually yielded to the railroads as the most important type of transportation in the Valley (this was symbolized by the establishment of the post of a state Railroad Commissioner in 1877). While canals continued in use in the early years following the war, the great floods of 1870 and 1877 and the popularity of the railroads brought an end to the canals by 1880.

After the war, the Board of Public Works transferred interest in turnpikes from the state to the counties, who became responsible for rebuilding the old roads and creating new ones. Counties appointed road commissioners to oversee these responsibilities. Many roads were macadamized in the second half of the century and by 1900 nearly all the major Valley roads were hard surfaced, though the same could not be said of local roads. Following a survey of Virginia's resources by Matthew Fontaine Maury, Jr. in the 1880s, the state began to systematically establish road signs and mile markers for the first time.

As a result of agitation in the eastern part of the Valley, a second north-south railroad, the Shenandoah Valley Railroad, was chartered in February 1867 to run east of the Massanutten Mountain from Hagerstown to Roanoke. By 1880, the major stretch from Waynesboro to Hagerstown had

been completed. The last track from Waynesboro to Roanoke was finally finished in June of 1882 with a stop in Botetourt County at Buchanan. Fincastle began to yield to Buchanan as an economic enter, a trend begun by the development of Buchanan in relation to the canal. The new railroad later became the Norfolk and Western Railway. It traversed the south central portion of Botetourt County.

The last major railroad to be constructed during this period was the Richmond and Alleghany Company Railroad, which purchased the James River and Kanawha Canal. Using the towpath for the roadbed, the company constructed a second east-west railway from Richmond to Clifton Forge. This was later purchased by the Cheaspeake and Ohio Corporation. It traversed 100 miles of the county along the James River. The Springwood Bridge (11-103) in central Botetourt, listed in the National Register, was built by the Richmond and Alleghany Railroad in the 1880s. It is an unusual wood truss bridge. The Phoenix Bridge (11-95) carried a branch railway line to New Castle in neighboring Craig County. This important iron bridge near Bessemer dates from 1887. This rare example of a prefabricated iron bridge has highly elaborate decoration and is also listed in the National Register. The town of Bessemer was developed at the junction of the Richmond and Alleghany and the potentially lucrative branch line. The venture failed, however, to substantially materialize. Eagle Rock may be said to be a railroad town which grew up as soon as its lime products could be readily shipped out by rail.

The arrival of the railroad in the Valley stimulated the construction and improvement of roads throughout the region. Although turnpikes never

assumed the same popularity as in the antebellum years, several were established in the 1870s and 1880s and many bridges were built and repaired (Wayland, Rock Co. 223). The Eagle Rock Bridge, a wood truss bridge dating from the 1880s (11-92), crossed the James River at Eagle Rock. It was heavily damaged in floods in recent years and only one span survives. It was built by the Richmond and Alleghany Railroad Company for use as a highway bridge, presumably to encourage use of the railroad by citizens on the opposite side of the river.

Railroad and turnpike traffic provided great stimulus for the hotel business and almost all of the major towns had at least one and often several hotels. Lugers Inn or boarding house, housed in a large Queen Anne-Style dwelling (11-112-30) in Eagle Rock, served the salesmen or "drummers" travelling on the railroad and in the area. In towns like Fincastle, these hotels also served the summer guests coming to nearby resorts such as Dagger's Springs (11-206), north of Eagle Rock, and the large resorts in Bath County and further west. No hotel resources were located in the study unit, other than the site of Dagger's Springs.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the seeds for the next period had already been sown. The automobile had been developed, but it was not until the 1920s and 1930s it full impact would be felt.

1910 - 1940

The twentieth century brought a new form of transportation that dominated this period--the automobile. While railroads continued in use, largely for freight, several new forms of transportation became popular

for passenger travel, including buses and airplanes. Transportation facilities changed considerably in this period, reflecting the age of the automobile and the increased mobility it brought.

Virginia's Board of Public Works and the post of the Railroad Commissioner were dissolved in 1902. Four years later, the Virginia Highway Commission was established, reflecting the promise of the automobile as the mode of transportantion for the future. Henry Ford marketed his first car in 1893, and the American public reacted quickly and enthusiastically. The first automobile produced in Virginia, a 1901 Dawson, was manufactured in the Valley's Basic City (now Waynesboro). Although only one car was built at that time, its production "presaged a bustling automobile industry in Virginia that continued into the 1920s" (Newlon, "The Evolution of Transportation in Virginia," p. 21).

The emergence of the automobile necessitated the improvement of older roads that were not equipped to accommodate it. Whereas steel-tired wagons had served as "rollers and road crushers, grinding and packing the loose macadam, autos got traction by the contact of wheels with the road surface, scattering the gravel and clawing out holes" (Wayland, p. 66-7). Similarly older bridges often needed to be rebuilt to accommodate the automobile. Consequently, road transportation facilities required more attention throughout the early years of the twentieth century.

In response to increasing demands for toll-free turnpikes by car owners and operators, the General Assembly authorized funds in 1918 to purchase the Valley Turnpike north of Staunton and to make it a public road (Wayland, p. 66-7). The state soon developed plans for widening and rebuilding the road between Winchester and Staunton, but the majority of

construction occurred between 1928 and 1936. In 1933 the stretch of the Valley Pike south of Staunton, known as the Lee Highway, was improved through Botetourt County.

With the large number of county roads, each county had to decide which roads to improve and which to abandon. Traces of older roads are still clearly visible throughout the region and can be located on old maps as well. Several were found and noted on DHL survey forms, particularly along Lapsley Run. Bridge improvement continued into the first several decades of this period, with an increasing number of steel truss bridges being constructed as part of county road improvement projects. One such bridge was surveyed in the Gala vicinity, the Mill Creek steel truss bridge (11-231), built in c. 1940.

The appearance of the automobile in the early twentieth century spearheaded the drive for improved roads for vacationers as well as residents. Tourists now came to the Valley in even greater numbers. The upper Valley boasted many historical and natural tourist attractions, including Natural Bridge and Washington and Lee University. Gas stations, motels, and tourist courts cropped up along the major transportation arteries throughout the region.

Jigg's (11-112-14A), a restaurant in Eagle Rock, resembles a gas station from this period. Built in 1932 with materials from a house that was relocated when the new highway cut through the town, the rock-faced concrete block structure has a projecting canopy. A gas station/store (11-233) on Rt. 220 north of Eagle Rock is related to the highway use. It is also constructed of rock-faced concrete block. A frame gas station

(11-345) with a projecting canopy with light fixtures in the cornice soffit, is located just west of Eagle Rock. No motels from the period were located in the study area, probably because it is off the main routes through the region. By the 1940s, Route 11, the old Valley Pike, was still one of the most traveled roads in Virginia, being heavily used by tourists as well as residents. Route 11 remained popular until the 1960s, with the construction of parallel Interstate 81. A new network of larger motels and fast-food restaurants sprang up along the path of the interstate, particularly in Troutville in the southeast corner of the county.

As more people began to use cars, passenger rail bookings dropped off, and the Valley railroads became targets for purchase by larger railroad companies. The railroads were increasingly used solely for freight, and the region's smaller passenger stations began to close. At Eagle Rock, however, the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad built a new station about 1930. The one-story Flemish-bond brick building (11-112-4) follows established railroad designs, with a long rectangular plan, a deep hipped roof, and a projecting bay on the trackside facade marking the station-master's office. The building of a new depot indicated Eagle Rock's continuing importance as an industrial and mining center. No other stations were located from any period in the study area.

CHAPTER NINE

COMMERCE THEME

1730 - 1790

The generating spirit of eighteenth-century settlement in the Botetourt County area, like elsewhere in the American colonies in the previous century, was clearly commercial. After a brief period of subsistence, the economy moved through various phases of commercialism. Land itself was one of the most important elements of the economy. Robert B. Mitchell, in his important study of commerce in the Shenandoah Valley, the major resource for this theme, interprets Valley settlers' views of the land as less a carefully tended garden than a commodity to be sold or bought in the open market (Mitchell, p. 3).

The region's population came from southeastern Pennsylvania, characterized by a mixed agricultural, small-proprietor farming system, as well as from tidewater Virginia, where a large proportion of the planters engaged in large scale, single-crop agriculture. The more open, less hilly lower Valley offered a less difficult physical environment to settlers than did the upper Valley, which was been slower to develop economically due to a combination of geography and poor transportation routes.

The inhabitants of the upper Valley during the first years may have been operating chiefly at a subsistence level, but they were far from self-sufficient. Numerous processed commodities were required, including salt, sugar, rum, fine woven goods, and finished clothing. Trade was conducted chiefly by pack horses in the upper Valley. (Mitchell, p. 152). Philadelphia and Great Britain were the chief markets to which surplus

goods were sent in the colonial period. Cattle drives down the Great Road were an important feature of Valley trade. These were organized by independent farmers and mercantile interests as early as the 1740, but declined in the mid-1760s (Mitchell, p. 147-149).

Most stores were operated in the early decades by farmer/merchants in rural areas. They served as a source for finished goods and as a market for surplus farm products. These merchants often exchanged goods for farm produce or kept an account system which functioned as the only reliable local source of long-term credit (Mitchell, p. 154-155). Farmers also occasionally bartered their services as workmen in exchange for goods. Peddlers filled the interstices of the trading network, supplying areas which had no immediate access to stores.

Specialized merchants began operating in the vicinity of county courthouses. Unlike the farmer/storekeeper, the merchant had direct contacts with northern and eastern suppliers. By 1764 there were at least five storekeepers in Staunton, and probably considerably more in Winchester (Mitchell, p. 156). Israel Christian, probably Botetourt's best-known merchant from the period, kept a store in Staunton until 1760, when he opened a store near present-day Cloverdale in Botetourt County. He was one of the original county justices in 1770 and was commissary to the battalion commanded by George Washington during the Indian War. His son-in-law, Stephen Trigg, followed him as a leading storekeeper in the area (Stoner, p. 285-287). Some - and perhaps many- stores were operated in houses, and thus are difficult to document. No commercial properties were recorded for this period.

1790 - 1830

During the last thirty years of the eighteenth century, Shenandoah Valley commercial life diversified dramatically. A doubling of the population during the last quarter of the century improved internal trade by creating more producers of surplus goods and a larger local market. By 1800, three towns in the upper Valley (compared with eight in the lower) were supplying basic services and helping to concentrate and coordinate regional and external trading patterns. As the entire Valley's economy became more commercially oriented, the importation of goods came increasingly under the control of merchants in Winchester and Staunton. Commerce was stimulated by the development of the larger industries of sawmilling, iron production, tanning, and distilling (Mitchell, p. 195-209), and in Botetourt, by the growth of small towns, including Fincastle, Amsterdam, and Pattonsburg.

Local stores continued to supply the rural population with goods and to accept surplus goods just as in previous periods. In this period, however, Mitchell shows that cash was the primary used to pay the typically small accounts kept at most Valley stores, with payment in goods second and payment in services last (Mitchell, p. 211). Often wealthy landowners maintained independent contact with eastern merchants. In the neighboring upper Valley county of Rockbridge, a different picture is drawn by the account book of Joseph Caruthers, a storekeeper, recording transactions in 1796-1798. Analysis of entries in the book, which cannot be taken as necessarily representative, shows that cash was little used; rather, barter based on seasonal crops was used to pay off accounts, and labor was commonly used as well. Caruthers appears to have sold a little of every-

thing. Meat, sugar, coffee, tea, grains, whiskey, dishes and glasses, nails, hinges, window glass, planks, cloth, dyes, needles, buttons, hats, shoes, and neckcloths, were among the goods at his store (Bowen, p. 60-62).

Mitchell states that a merchant class seems to have developed by the end of the century. There was not a clear-cut distinction between retail and wholesale merchants, but a network of local merchants, some of whom maintained external trading contacts. As many as seventy local merchants or merchant/farmers ran businesses in the lower Valley. Most upper Valley merchants were in Staunton, with a few in Harrisonburg and Lexington. In the upper Valley, by the end of the colonial period, a small number of prominent merchants had been accepted at the top of the region's social hierarchy (Mitchell, p. 214-318). While Mitchell's study focuses on Lexington and Staunton in the upper Valley, preliminary research indicated that Fincastle followed the same model. Most of the Valley's trade was with eastern Virginia cities after the Revolution. Alexandria and Fredericksburg supplied the lower Valley while the upper Valley traded with Richmond (Mitchell p. 222).

In the Appalachian region, as in other predominantly rural parts of the United States, legal tender continued to be scarce during the whole of the nineteenth century. While the relationship of the Valley economies to those of the surrounding mountain communities remains to be studied, it seems that barter formed the principal means of exchange in these areas. The merchant remained the central figure in the local economy, exchanging goods for the farmer's surplus produce, and extending credit. Similarly, gristmills provided a service in exchange for a toll or a portion of the

product. This commercial system tended to insulated the local Appalachian economy from the fluctuations of the national cash system (Eller, p. 44).

Few commercial structures outside Fincastle and Buchanan are likely to remain from the period. No properties in this category were recorded in the survey for the period.

1830-1860

While research needs to be extended by scholars to the mid-nineteenth-century commercial developments in the upper Shenandoah Valley and related Appalachian areas, it would appear that the merchant-dominated economy still held in the towns and country. While merchants continued to provide the most ready source of credit to most farmers, wealthy landowners had maintained independent relationships with banks and wholesale merchants in the East since the eighteenth century. In 1850, in an attempt to encourage the local economy, the General Assembly passed an act to establish a branch of one of several major banks in Fincastle.

Winchester and Staunton continued to lead the Valley as the major commercial centers, but smaller regional centers grew -- many of them county seats, as was the case at Fincastle. Buchanan grew up during the period at the head of the James River and Kanawha Canal, as a major shipping port and commercial center. The importance of the earlier commercial center of Pattonsburg declined as the century progressed, probably because it was almost immediately adjacent to Buchanan. The Wilson Warehouse (180-6) in Buchanan has been identified in previous surveys as a commercial structure from the period related to the canal. A brick structure (11-87) on the Breckinridge estate west of Fincastle may be a small

warehouse or store building from the period. It is built into a bank beside the road leading to the Breckinridge Mill. More detailed research for Buchanan and Fincastle would establish more data on surviving resources for these communities.

1860-1910

While barter continued to be an important tool in the farm economy, the increased dependence of the local market on extraregional commerce tied it more closely to the national economy and led to the growth of banks and stores throughout the county. New banks were developed in communities through the county. Only the town of Eagle Rock had a bank in the study unit (see below).

The first commercial buildings located in this survey date from well after the Civil War. Four were located from the early twentieth century; two of these are frame. Almost all are located in the important commercial and industrial community of Eagle Rock. All are typical commercial buildings of the period, except the one of brick discussed below. Most commercial buildings in the region are entered through doors in their gable ends and consist of a long sectional room lined with shelves and counters. The most interesting of the commercial buildings are the Eagle Rock Bank (11-112-1) and the commissary built by the Moore Lime Company in Eagle Rock (11-112-1). The first commissary, built in the 1880s, occupied the same site. It resembled similar company stores built by industrial concerns such as iron furnaces and mines throughout the region during the post-war period. The frame building burned and was replaced in 1917 by an almost identical structure of cream-colored brick. The second commissary

building originally incorporated a store on the first floor and company offices and housing on an upper floor. Entrance is gained through double doors in the center of the gable front and the bulk of the rectangular building extends back from the street.

The more unusual Bank of Eagle Rock is built of red brick and is of two stories. The classically detailed building was built in 1905 and survived the destructive fire of 1917. It features a pediment supported by colossal columns in antis and a delicately detailed teller's screen of wood and marble. It may have been designed by H.H. Huggins, a popular Roanoke-based architect who is known to have designed the now-replaced Eagle Rock Methodist Church in 1912 and the Bank of Fincastle building in 1908 (Wells, John). The building is probably the town's most distinguished example of architecture.

The two other commercial buildings from the period stand in rural villages and feature a single story with gable front entry and deep rectangular floor plans. In addition, one office building from the 1880s was identified in Eagle Rock (11-112-17); the gable-fronted one-room structure served as an office for W.W. Cash, who sold and developed land. With its ornamental brackets and turned posts, it resembles professional offices of the period in the region at large.

1910-1940

The forms and types of commercial building expanded during this period to include urban commercial buildings, automobile dealerships, restaurants, and other buildings. Local commerce became ever more tied to the national economy, and stores were increasingly allied to large corpora-

tions or retail chains which dictated their forms. With a few exceptions most of the buildings surveyed were of traditional form and located in semi-urban areas. Most stood in the town of Eagle Rock, which boasted ten of the thirteen commercial buildings surveyed from the period. Few rural hamlets have surviving stores from before 1940. The Eagle Rock stores represent the rebuilding of the commercial row fronting on the railroad after the 1917 fire. Two groups of one-story storefronts, each containing three stores, were built soon after the fire by two brothers. The stores have minimal detailing and large expanses of glass opening onto the street. One frame building, which resembles a double-cell dwelling, was built soon after 1910 as the telephone exchange for Eagle Rock (11-112-58A). The three structures outside Eagle Rock include a traditional frame rural store (11-232) of c. 1920, a rock-faced concrete-block store and gas station north of Eagle Rock on U.S. 220 (11-233), and a frame gas station with projecting canopy and hipped roof just outside the town (11-345).

CHAPTER TEN

INDUSTRY/MANUFACTURING/CRAFTS THEME

1730-1790

Among the first non-residential buildings to be erected by settlers were mills to grind corn and wheat. These were invariably water-powered and were generally located on a stream where the water dropped sharply over a short distance. Early mills were built throughout the region, many in the late eighteenth century.

The development of a linen industry, based on the skills of the Scotch-Irish immigrants, had been encouraged in the Shenandoah Valley during the mid-eighteenth century (Mitchel, p. 146). A sizeable population was engaged in cloth production during the period. When figures became available for numbers of hand looms in 1810, in the next period, Botetourt County had the second highest number of weavers in the Valley. Cloth production represented an easily transported commodity which processed locally grown materials. No resources from the period remained to be surveyed.

1790 - 1830

The only general statistics available for industrial output in early nineteenth-century America were those of the "Statement of the Arts and Manufactures of the United States of America for the Year 1810," prepared by Tench Coxe. There are a number of omissions in Coxe's tables, and the accuracy of some of his figures is questionable. Nevertheless, the listing resembles in many respects later censuses of industry. Although

the size of Botetourt County changed significantly during the period, the census is indispensable to the industrial history of the region in this period.

The industrial make-up of the Shenandoah Valley in the early nineteenth century was significantly different from the character of the region later in the century. The relative isolation of the upper Valley from the markets of Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Alexandria seems to have been the principal determining factor in the region's industrial make-up. Limited local demand and abundant natural resources were also important factors, but ultimately less significant ones. Some lower Valley counties were close enough to eastern markets that they could profitably produce flour. Flour and grist milling was therefore the dominant industrial undertaking in these counties. In the upper Valley however, cloth manufacture and iron production were the major industries. Milling was limited to custom work for local farmers. These patterns were to continue into the antebellum period, but by 1860, due in part to an expanding canal and rail network, distance from markets became less important. In the late nineteenth century, other factors were to determine the nature of industry in Botetourt County.

Frederick County, the northernmost county of the Valley and the one nearest to major markets, produced 84,500 barrels of flour, the output of 48 "wheat mills," (a category which probably includes many grist mills and few merchant flour mills). This was the largest production in the Valley. The dollar figure for Frederick's production ($676,000) accounted for seventy-three percent of the industrial output of the county. The rest of the Valley shows a steady change from large flour

production in the north to small production in the south. The dollar figure for Shenandoah County's flour production was $181,930 (thirty-eight percent of its industrial output); and for Rockingham the figure was $135,080 (twenty percent). For Botetourt, the southern and westernmost county of the period, with seventeen mills doing merchant business, the figure was $10,600, only four percent of the industrial output of the county.

The industry of the upper Valley was geared more towards the exploitation of sizeable iron deposits and the production of easily-transported commodities such as cloth. Botetourt County was the best endowed in the first respect, producing 1,400 tons of iron from six blast furnaces in 1810. This production was worth $47,650, which coupled with the $49,800 production from four forges, amounted to $97,450 or thirty-nine percent of the industrial output of the county. Shenandoah's furnace and forge output of $94,600 rivaled Botetourt's but accounted for only twenty percent of the county's industrial output. The combined output of Rockbridge County's two forges and three trip hammers was $48,400, comprising twenty-two percent of the county's industrial output. Augusta County's three blast furnaces produced the most iron in the region (and the state) --3,158 tons--but the value of this iron was only $17,366. As historian Robert Mitchell notes, the presence of greater iron production in the upper Valley represents a shift from eighteenth-century lower Valley centers of production (Mitchell, p. 206).

Some of the most important furnaces in the Valley were located in Botetourt County. The charcoal iron produced by the Catawba Furnace in this county was considered the best in Virginia (Bruce, p. 212). Other

early nineteenth-century Botetourt furnaces were the Aetna (in operation before 1802), Cloverdale (1830?), Roaring Run (1832), and Rebecca (before 1826).

Cloth production was one of the Valley's most important cottage industries, and from the eighteenth century onwards hand looms accounted for a large percentage of the cloth production. Botetourt County, with 734 looms, had the second largest number in the Valley, following Rockingham's 764.

Another important component of the Valley's industry, in terms of revenue generated, was distilling. As Mitchell notes, "in the minds of the eighteenth-century Virginians, the industry most associated with the Shenandoah Valley was distilling, and with good reason. The Valley was the largest regional producer of liquors in Virginia, if not the entire South by end of the [eighteenth] century" (Mitchell, p. 208). Botetourt produced a moderate 56,500 gallons in its ninety-two distilleries, compared with other Valley counties.

The presence of many sawmills in the Valley suggests lumbering was an important industry in the region by the early nineteenth century. However, as Mitchell points out, lapses in the 1810 statistics for number of sawmills in some counties, and for value of production in all counties, make it difficult to determine the real importance of this industry. Given the distance of the Shenandoah region from markets, Mitchell argues that sawmill production was limited to local market demands.

Small industries in Botetourt which set it apart from other Valley counties included gun manufacture and tin and copper ware production. Interestingly, the Valley produced the greatest number of carriages in

Virginia: Frederick County made 288, worth $28,800 in 1810, followed by third-placed Botetourt County with 195 carriages worth $7,040. Other Botetourt County industries included flax seed oil mills (medium production among Valley counties), and gun-powder mills (first in the Valley with eleven mills producing $3820 worth of gunpowder).

Small scale industry was well represented in the Grayson County tax schedules for 1815 for the Southwest Virginia region now in Carroll County. The data in the schedule may have some revelance to the early nineteenth-century mountainous areas of Botetourt County, before the changes brought about by improved roads and other forms of transportation. There were about seven mills and eighteen shops in the area, which included 211 landowners and 290 tracts of land. Four of these are not identified, but seven were smiths', five wheelwrights', and two hatters' shops. One tanyard, and one loom house, -- both in a domestic setting -- were also recorded. Of the shops, only one smith (associated with a gristmill) is not found in a domestic setting, which ranges from a single "cabben" with stable or barn (one mill, four smiths, and one wheelwright) to a substantial log dwelling house (six mills, two wheelwrights, three smiths, three wheelwrights, four shops, one loom house, and one hatter's shop). In some cases the industrial workers may have been housed in one or more cabins on the tract. In few cases is there more than one unrelated craft per tract (Alderman).

Sites inventoried in the study unit representing industrial production from this period include the Rebecca Iron Furnace (11-216), put into blast as early as 1819, and an associated c. 1825 three-room log house (11-215). The furnace site includes foundations of related buildings,

slag heaps, and a water-powered feature including a sluice or headstock. The house is very unusual as an industrial-related dwelling from the early nineteenth century. Few buildings exist in the state with associations with the pre-Civil War iron industry.

1830 - 1860

Differences in the industrial makeup of the lower and upper Valley became less exaggerated in the antebellum period. An expanding transportation network allowed the counties of the upper Valley to join the lower Valley in the milling of grain for market. As a result, milling became the dominant industrial activity in the entire region, and iron production, although still important, diminished proportionally.

Better statistics exist for industrial production in the antebellum period than in the preceding period. In 1840, 1850 and 1860 industrial statistics were gathered with the census (this analysis draws on the 1840 and 1860 statistics only). These data are more readily comparable to later industrial census statistics than are those of Tench Coxe's 1810 "Statement of the Arts and Manufactures of the United States."

In 1840, the lower Valley was still the major producer of flour in the region. As milling rose to dominance throughout the Valley in the antebellum period, the importance of iron production was somewhat diminished, but this industry still flourished in certain areas, including Botetourt. In 1840 the six iron-producing counties of the region accounted for one-third of the cast iron and bar iron produced in the state. Shenandoah County produced a total of 1656 tons of iron (placing it third behind Ohio and Monongahela Counties, now in West Virginia), followed by

Rockbridge with 1627 tons, and Botetourt with 1566 (Page County followed with 1439). Each one of these counties produced more iron than did Botetourt County in 1810, then the leader in the region with 1400 tons. The majority of the iron produced in the region was cast iron. In the mid-nineteenth century slaves comprised the majority of iron workers; the Rebecca and Jane Furnaces employed 150, of which 87 were black slaves. The Catawba Furnace, founded before 1807, produced iron that was considered the best in Virginia. It brought $60 per ton. The Cloverdale Furnace succeeded it after 1840 (it had ceased operations by the late 30s) and built a reputation as the producer of the best iron in Virginia. Both it and the Rebecca Furnace were operated by the Tredegar Iron Company of Richmond during the Civil War, and supplied iron to the Confederacy (Bruce, pp. 212-277).

The statistics for 1860 iron production are difficult to compare with those of 1810 and 1840 since only value of iron production is given, not tonnage. As in 1840, Shenandoah County was the largest producer, making $69,700 worth of "iron castings" and "iron pig." Botetourt followed with $55,000, Rockbridge with $54,000 and Rockingham with $40,500. The pig iron production of the region accounted for nearly sixty percent of the state total. Several of the counties of the region also produced finished iron in "bar, railroad, and sheet" form. Shenandoah produced $28,100 worth of the finished iron. Due to the unaccountably low level of flour production in Shenandoah County, the $97,700 total iron production accounts for fifty-eight percent of the industrial output of the county. Iron production had made up thirty-nine percent of total industrial output in Botetourt County in 1810. In 1860 the figure was fifteen percent.

Antebellum cloth production was greatly reduced from early nineteenth-century levels. This may represent the exclusion from the 1840 statistics of household cloth production. By 1860, the value of products from carding machines, mills, wooden manufactories, mixed manufactories, and gloves and mitten makers in the Valley at large was up from 1840 levels and in some cases approached 1810 levels.

Distilling, which had been important to the region in 1810, was becoming less important in the antebellum period. Distilling was down dramatically in Botetourt County as well as in Frederick and Rockingham counties. Tanning and the manufacture of leather goods remained of some importance in the overall industrial make-up of the Valley. Production, as measured by value of product, was not very different in 1860 from 1810 levels.

Sites recorded from the period include two additional iron furnaces, the Jane Furnace (11-213) of c. 1835 or earlier, located in a remote area in the northern part of the county, and the Salisbury Furnace (11-262), with an associated mill race, just south of the mouth of Catawba Creek on the James River. Also recorded were the Breckinridge Mill (listed in the National Register) of c. 1840, and the site of the Buhrman Mill (11-218) near Gala, north of Eagle Rock, dating from the mid-nineteenth century. A stone mill foundation (11-354) was found just off the James River on a small stream near Saltpetre Cave on the eastern edge of the survey area.

1860 - 1910

By the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, milling had become the industrial mainstay of most counties of the Valley, except

for those with a well-developed modern iron and steel industry such as Alleghany and Page Counties. Botetourt County's iron industry never picked up significantly after 1865.

The construction of carriages and wagons had continued unabated through the antebellum period, but this industry experienced drastic change by 1880. The flourishing carriage and wagon firms of Botetourt had completely disappeared. Cloth manufacturing and liquor distilling had ceased to be a significant element in the county 's industrial production.

The late nineteenth century witnessed greater lumbering activity than in previous periods, but large scale lumbering had not reached the mountains and wooded part of the Valley before 1900. The total value of lumber harvested in the Shenandoah Valley at large in 1860 was $180,000. In 1880 the value was $351,000 and in 1900 it was $481,000. Lumber production represented twenty-seven percent of the industrial output of Clarke County as opposed to between seventeen and thirteen percent for Botetourt, Page, Shenandoah and Rockingham Counties. In 1900 Augusta ranked first with a production of $97,000 worth of lumber followed by Rockingham ($94,000), Shenandoah ($63,000), and Botetourt ($52,000).

In 1860 the largest manufacturing concern in Alleghany County was a cement plant with products valued at $30,000. Lime was an important raw material produced in Botetourt County for this plant, as well as for the sale outside the region. By 1880 lime was also being produced in Botetourt and Warren Counties, with one lime manufacturer in each county producing $30,000 worth of lime. The town of Eagle Rock was founded in the mid-1880s as an industrial town associated with the manufacture of

lime. Several lime kilns belonging to the Moore Lime Company were located (11-91) in a previous survey.

Mining of several minerals including iron ore occurred in the county. Further research could develop a better understanding of mining. The site of New Town (11-207), near Dagger's Spring, includes the foundations of several houses associated with the early twentieth-century mining town. The community at one time supported a commissary and a church and was served by a branch line of the railroad. The ore was brought down from the mines by cable car.

Industries in Eagle Rock included a large stave mill for manufacturing barrels (demolished) and a large flour mill and ice plant (11-112-3). The Moore Lime Company operated a commissary for its employees in the town (11-113). Across the James River, features associated with the Eagle Rock Lime Company survive, as do the homes of its two successive owners (11-236 and 237). The Eagle Rock Mill is a traditional three-story timber-framed mill structure incorporating large interior grain bins, each of which were capable of holding a railroad car full of wheat. The Eagle Rock Lime Company's owners' houses, dating from the late nineteenth century, are typical of the region but feature unusual plans and, in one case (11-237), massive stone basement walls. The unusual asymmetrical floor plan of the house with stone basement may be related to the New England origins of the owner.

1910 - 1940

The first half of the twentieth century saw the continuation of many of the major industries of the nineteenth century, but with increased

development of manufacturing and mining. Milling and tanning remained important industries in the Botetourt County area well into the century. The extractive industry may have been the most important industry in the region in the twentieth century, although the absence of coherent statistics for the period make this difficult to substantiate.

A variety of ores and useful stone was exploited in Botetourt County in the latter nineteenth century and first half of the twentieth century. For a brief period in the late 1930s barite was mined in at least five locations in the county, including a deposit near Fincastle where a small washing plant was constructed (Cohen, p. 39). At least one manganese mine was in operation in the county near Troutville in 1942. Iron ore, lead and zinc, marble and other building stone, lithographic stone and limestone for burning (at plants such as those of the Moore Lime Company near Eagle Rock) were all mined, quarried, or capable of being marketably mined or quarried in Botetourt County.

In 1946 the Liberty Limestone Corporation near Buchanan was producing $450,000 worth of crushed stone and other products annually. The James River Hydrate and Supply Company at Indian Rock was producing $117,550 worth of agricultural lime and crushed stone annually, and the Virginia Lime Products Company at Eagle Rock, The Blue Ridge Stone Corporation and the Roanoke Webster Brick Company were also in operation. Offices for the Eagle Rock Lime Company were built of brick and reinforced concrete c. 1930. They included lower floor garages with upper floor offices and a drive-on truck scale (11-237a).

Increased cultivation of fruits and vegetables in other counties necessitated the creation of processing plants, especially canneries. In

Botetourt in 1939 there were eight canning establishments (Cohen, p. 98). Oral history conducted by the Museum of American Frontier Culture near Troutville with Jackie Rader and Ellen Wigren have revealed that tomato canneries were unusually common on farms in the Botetourt area, supplying the markets in Roanoke and areas on the Norfolk and Western Railroad. The Beamer House, near Eagle Rock (11-359), was used as a small tomato cannery in the 1930s.

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APPENDIX I

SURVEY AND NATIONAL REGISTER RECOMMENDATIONS

THREATS AND RESOURCES

Appendix I - National Register and Survey Recommendations, Threats, and Resources.

Survey Recommendations

The survey has been completed throughout the study unit at the same level of intensity. While the brief survey form was used, information in many cases is equal to tha contained in intensive survey forms, particularily for pre-1860 structures. Measured drawings were made of several of the more important buildings. More measured drawings could be made at many sites. Survey data on the portions of the county not included in the study unit is sketchy and uneven, and additional survey is needed in those areas. The sites selected for survey by previous researchers in the study unit included here give an indication that many important structures remain unrecorded in the rest of the county.

National Register Recommendations

Properties recommended for National Register listing in the study unit are given in an attached list. The only urban historic district identified in the survey was the town of Eagle Rock, which was throroughly surveyed, and which retains a large proportion of its late 20th- and early 19th-century character. A rural historic district is proposed for the area along Lapsleys Run, which contains a significant number of early-to-mid-19th-century farms and other structures. A grouping of log saddlebag houses and log and frame double-crib barns are centered around this area, and seem to be related to the settlement of the area by descendants of German families in the early 19th century. A thematic multi property listing including canal-related resources would be useful.

Threats

There are a few serious threats to the historic resources of the study unit, including ongoing neglect and deterioration at many sites. Residential and industrial development pressure is being felt in the southern part of the study unit, responding to the growth of th Roanoke area. The rural landscape and several historic sites are threatened by residential

development and the expansion of quarrying operations in the Haymakertown/Mt. Union vicinity. Threatened sites include the Bryan McDonald Jr. House of 1766 (11-21). Small communities in the study unit, and the town of Eagle Rock are threatened chiefly by economic stagnation, as local industries and agriculture are transformed by contemporary developments.

List of Properties Recommended for the National Register of Historic Places

11-21, McDonald, Bryan Jr, House, a stone hall-parlor with date 1766 incised in front wall.

11-29, Miller-Switzer House, an early 19th-century brick three-room dwelling with well-preserved ornamental paint on interior features.

11-31, Promised Land Farm, a two-story log double-pen or saddlebag house dating from the late 18th or early 19th centuries.

11-37, Hawthorne Hall, a fine one-story, brick double-pile, center-passage dwelling dating from the early 19th century.

11-44, McDonald, Bryan Sr., House, a log house of early date, built into a bank.

11-53, Rustic Lodge, a two-story double-pen or dogtrot house of log built by the prominent Burwell family of Tidewater Virginia in the early 19th century.

11-56, Anderson, Dr. William, House, a finely detailed early 19th-century brick two-story center-passage house.

11-109-110, 112, Eagle Rock Historic District, a well-preserved railroad and industrial town dating from the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

11-111, Mt. Carmel Church, a well-preserved brick two-bay nave-plan church from 1843.

11-114, Mt Pleasant Church, a frame two-bay nave-plan built in about 1850.

11-170, Rose Hill, a somewhat-altered 1840's brick two-story center-passage house with a fine agricultural complex, including a log bank barn.

11-194, Sloss House, an unusual three-room-plan house of one story dating from the mid-19th century or earlier.

11-202, Grove Hill site, the site of a 1790s hilltop mansion built by the Breckinridge family includes a standing log smokehouse and brick carriage house of c.1830.

11-215, Tredegar House, an unusual two-story log three-room-plan dwelling associated with the 1820s development of the nearby Rebecca Furnace.

11-216, Rebecca Furnace, a well-preserved c. 1819-1826 iron furnace part of the iron supply of the Tredegar Iron Works during the Civil War.

11-220, Humphries-Dudley House, an unusual early 19th-century two-story log double-pile house of large proportions, apparently built in on campaign.

11-254, House, an unusual three-part Palladian composition with one-story wings flanking a central pedimented two-story section, built in the second quarter of the 19th century of frame.

11-284, Mt. Union Church, a two-bay frame nave-plan church with an integral pedimented porch and braded weatherboards, built in the 1870s.

11-286, Ashbury School, a substantial brick Colonial Revival four-room one-story school built in c. 1930.

11-330, Alfred Firebaugh Farm, a late 19th-century center-passage house with well-preserved farm buildings, including a log bank barn, granary and meathouse.

11-342, House at Bessemer, finely detailed two-story, double-pile, center-passage dwelling at failed late 19th-century industrial and railroad town of Bessemer.

11-346, Allen, Malcolm, House, ruin of mid-18th-century stone hall-parlor house with many intact above-ground and subsurface features.

11-348, Gwynn Lock and Dam, mid-19th-century stone lock and dam in good condition.

11-349, Stone House, early 19th-century stone house of unusual scale and proportions, of unusual material, located near Gwynn Locks.

Resources

Preservation resources in the Botetourt County area include the Botetourt County Historical Society, headquartered in Fincastle, with a historical collection, the Botetourt County Library, also in Fincastle, with a collection of historically related materials, and numerous individuals. Many helpful people reside in Eagle Rock, but in that community Mr. Jim Vaughn proved to be of the greatest help.

APPENDIX II

SURVEY TYPOLOGY

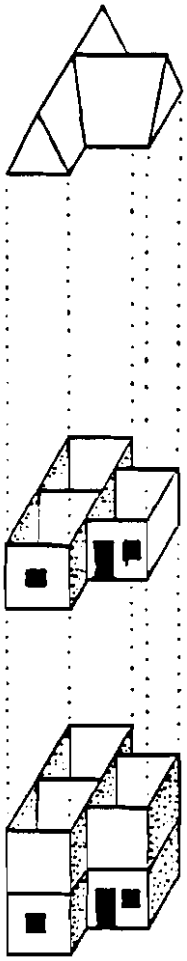
Appendix II Survey Typology

The typology codes used in the survey of the Botetourt County study unit were based on the following system devised by Camille Wells in Kentucky, modified and refined by the authors by work in western Virginia. The principal modifications were the addition of a code representing the number, location and type of chimneys or flues as shown in the attached diagrams. End flues were coded as ef, center flues as cf, end chimneys as ec and center chimneys as cc. "End" is defined as being located at the ends of the main section of the house, while "center" in this case refers to flues or chimneys flanking the center passage. Chimney or flue location was generally given only for center-passage houses since the flue location rarely changes fo the other house types recorded in the typology. Flues and chimney locations are usually between the rooms in T-plan and double-cell dwellings. A rare location is identified as "ell chimney" or "ell flue" where the flue or chimney is located between the ell and a room in the main section of a center-passage house.

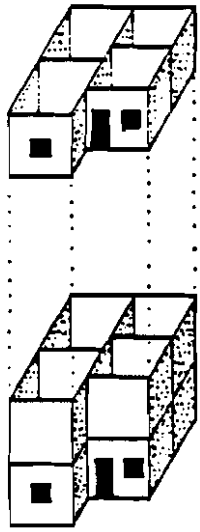
In addition to chimney and flue location, GF was used as a code to indicate a central gable. Bungalows and foursquare houses were coded on the maps as well, using B and 4 SQ. Gable-fronted bungalows were indicated by the code Bg, and occasional vernacular houses identified as double-pile double cell houses which had decorative and formal characteristics typical of bungalows were coded with a B or Bg following the typology code. In addition late 19th-century and early 20th-century nave-plan churches were coded on the field maps using nave plan preceded by the number of side bays. Please see the authors' report on survey work in Montgomery County, Virginia for additional information.

Typical roof type:

gable

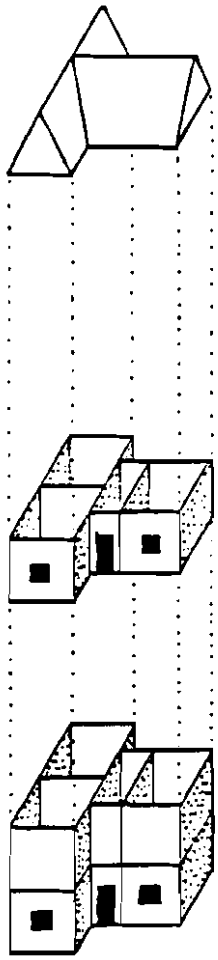


One- and two-story
single-pile
T-plan
house

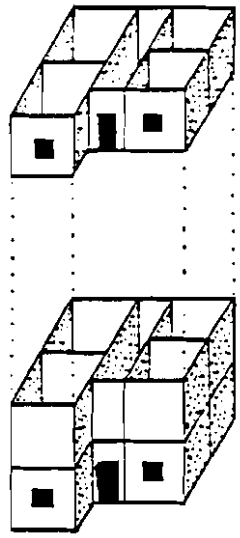


One- and two-story
double-pile
T-plan
house

gable

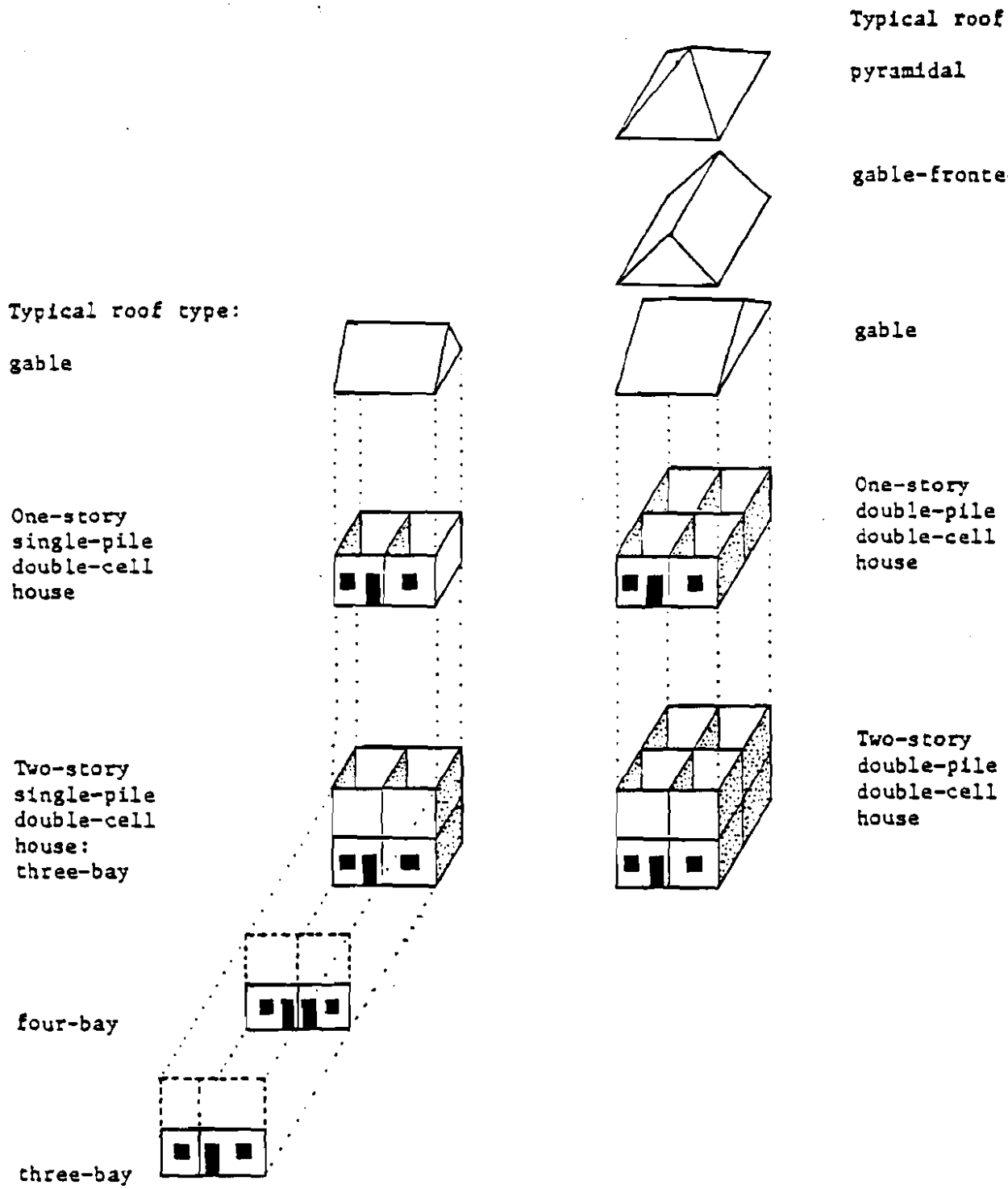


One- and two-story
single-pile
center-passage
T-plan
house



One- and two-story
double-pile
center-passage
T-plan
house

Typology


Typical roof types:
pyramidal
gable-fronted gable
gable
One-story
double-pile
double-cell
house
Two-story
double-pile
double-cell
house
Typical roof type:
gable
One-story
single-pile
double-cell
house
Two-story
single-pile
double-cell
house:
three-bay
four-bay
three-bay

Typology

Typical roof types:

pyramidal

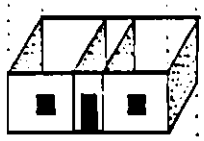
hipped

gable

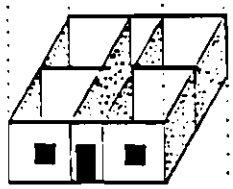
Typical roof type:

gable

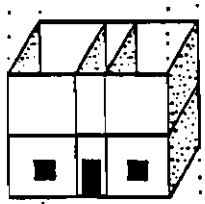
One-story
single-pile
center-passage
house



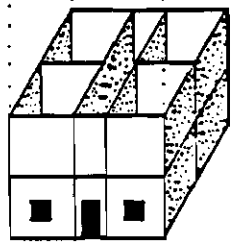
One-story
double-pile
center-passage
house



Two-story
single-pile
center-passage
house
(I house)

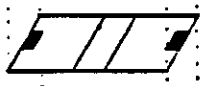


Two-story
double-pile
center-passage
house



Typical chimney and
flue arrangements:

(end chimneys)



(center chimneys)

(end flues)

(center flues)

VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE NEWSLETTER

No. 5 Fall, 1980

Published by the Vernacular Architecture Forum Dell Upton, Editor

FORMING A TYPOLOGY FOR AN HISTORIC BUILDINGS SURVEY

An historic buildings survey should involve the careful recording of a broad range of structures. Unlike the traversal, which provides only flimsy justification for the recognition and preservation of a few superlative buildings, the intensive architectural study includes detailed information about a variety of buildings and many aspects of a cultural landscape. This kind of survey is a necessary basis for both scholarly analysis and informed preservation efforts.

A clear problem with the intensive survey is that it requires considerably more time and money than the "windshield survey" that was first recommended to state preservation offices some ten years ago. Therefore, practical constraints usually force the surveyor to make value judgments about which buildings should be studied, and how much time should be devoted to each subject. One response to this problem has been the decision to record less significant buildings in groups. An effective group survey technique is to establish a typology for the recording of structures with related characteristics.

In Kentucky, successful use has been made of a typology for the late 19th- and early 20th-century dwelling forms that were built with great frequency in the rural parts of the state. Because of their numbers, recent construction dates, and predictability of form, these houses are not usually accorded individual study. Their very profusion and uniformity, however, makes them a significant demographic feature. The typology allows the surveyor to quickly record the locations and fundamental features of these turn-of-the-century buildings. A code that summarizes these major characteristics is then used to identify each house on the survey maps.

The spatial frame of this typology is always the county to be surveyed. The temporal frame is a period of forty years between about 1880 and 1920, during which there was a discernible proliferation of these dwelling forms. Any older or more recently constructed houses must be treated separately, even though they exhibit the appropriate formal attributes.

Only buildings constructed as dwellings of light sawn wood are recorded within the parameters of this typology. The fabric requirement includes those houses composed of wood frame and weatherboarding, vertical-board boxing and weatherboarding, or board and batten. Recent application of such sheathings as asphalt paper or

asbestos shingles are ignored if datable features assured the proper period of construction.

Among dwellings with the proper formal characteristics, a fabric of brick, stone, or hewn logs generally indicates an earlier construction date, and these buildings are excluded from the typology on temporal grounds. A few buildings are always identified, however, that fit all the requirements of the typology except that of sawn-wood fabric. While it is not generally acceptable to catagorize building types on the basis of material, it has been a useful limitation in this case. Typeable forms built of masonry or hewn logs usually exhibit distinguishing characteristics that suggest a different orientation or intention on the part of the builder. Such houses warrant individual study.

Within this framework, classification is made by plan:

I. Double-Cell II. Double-Cell with Passage III. T-Plan IV. T-Plan with Passage

Both the double-cell or two-room plans, one of which has an intervening circulation space, have clear connections with the traditional domestic architecture of early 19th-century Kentucky. The T-plan, which was built both with and without a passage, originated with the 19th-century picturesque movement. Variations of the form appear in numerous popular publications. The rural Kentucky version can be sensibly interpreted as the result of a jogging forward of one of the two traditional front rooms. In this way, an otherwise symmetrical, unbroken facade is given a rambling, picturesque quality without major disruption of established room arrangements.

Variations in the typology are based on:

Stories	Depth	Fenestration	Roof
1. one	S. single pile	2. two bays	G. gable
2. two	D. double pile	3. three bays	P. pyramidal
		4. four bays	H. hipped
		5. five bays	

The attached diagram shows plans and diagnostic features that can be identified and recorded on the survey maps. For example, a one-story gable-roofed T-plan with a single file of rooms and a circulation passage would be marked on the map as: IVISG. An additional designation for the number of bays is necessary for the flush facades of the double-cell and central-passage forms. For example, a two-story, five-bay, single-pile central-passage-plan dwelling (commonly called an I-house) would be recorded as II2S5G. While the use of four or five symbols to identify a plain house may seem excessively complex, it is an important part of responsibly recording these usually overlooked buildings. The separate designations both emphasize important variations in detail, and identify formal patterns among seemingly unrelated dwelling types.

Though this typology includes 120 possible combinations of features, only a limited range were ever built with any frequency. In addition, certain characteristics, such as the hipped roof (H) and the double-pile plan (D) are closely, though not inevitably linked. As might be expected, different combinations of features were favored in different parts of Kentucky. Some variations, such as the overwhelming predominance of three-bay double-cell houses (II53G) in Fleming County and four-bay versions (II54G) in Clark County, seem to be the result of local selection. Other differences can be linked to social, economic, or geographic factors. The one-story double-cell form, for example, has been associated with tenant farming in Kentucky and in accordance with this function, is usually inconspicuously sited in low areas, scattered fairly evenly across the county. In keeping with the popular, published origin of the type, the T-plan usually shows up in groups at stringtowns, small service communities that "string out" along sections of country roads, and at rural railroad crossings.

This rural house typology has worked well in Kentucky because of the high rate of predictability among the subjects. A word should be said about the reasons for this cohesion. All of these unpretentious houses were built in a period of Kentucky's history that was characterized by economic stagnation in the rural areas. New dwellings were

built either by landowners retrenching to more modest farming operations, or as housing for the growing number of tenant farmers. Simultaneously, the predominance of light wood construction came about as a result of the availability by rail of cheap milled lumber from regional urban centers, and the depletion of Kentucky's abundant timber which had formerly sustained local traditions of hewn-log and heavy-frame construction.

Accompanied by a descriptive, explanatory essay and photographs of representative examples, the typology can expand the number of buildings for which the surveyor has some record. In Daviess County, Kentucky, 300 buildings and structures were individually studied, and some 1100 additional buildings were coded on the maps according to this typology. Because of a relatively confining survey budget, these dwellings would not otherwise have received attention, except as amorphous, unmapped groups described in some final report of the county survey.

The use of a typology has obvious merit for numerous contexts in which large numbers of buildings have a relatively low variance in form and detail. The typology might be applicable to the treatment of urban speculator housing or industrial worker communities. Another use could be in the recording of specialized building forms such as tobacco barns or detached root cellars. It should be emphasized that the typology, like any system of catagorization, is a framework that the surveyor is imposing on the subject at hand. For that reason, great care must accompany the selection of appropriate criteria. In order to insure that no important variations are ignored, it is necessary to precede the formulation of a typology with a period of field work during which the potential subject buildings are individually recorded. Properly used, however, the typology can be more that a necessary evil resulting from the surveyor's limited resources. It can emphasize relationships among forms, details, functions, and locations that are necessary to understanding architecture.

--Camille Wells
Kentucky Heritage Commission

APPENDIX III

NUMERICAL LIST OF SITES

Site	Name	Map
11- 21	McDonald, Bryan Jr. House	Daleville
11- 25	Stover, Jack House	Salisbury
11- 29	Miller-Switzer House	Salisbury
11- 31	Promised Land Farm	Oriskany
11- 37	Hawthorne Hall	Oriskany
11- 39	Wiloma	Oriskany
11- 44	McDonald, Bryan Sr. House	Daleville
11- 46	Sessler House	Daleville
11- 51	Pogue, George Farm	Eagle Rock
11- 53	Rustic Lodge	Daleville
11- 54	Firebaugh House	Daleville
11- 55	Walnut Hill Farm	Daleville
11- 56	Anderson, Dr. William House	Daleville
11- 87	Breckenridge Building	Oriskany
11- 91	Moore Lime Co. Lime Kilns	Eagle Rock
11- 92	Eagle Rock Bridge	Eagle Rock
11-108	Markham House	Oriskany
11-109	Emmanuel Episcopal Church	Eagle Rock
11-110	Mays House	Eagle Rock
11-111	Mt. Carmel Church	Buchanan
11-112- 1	Eagle Rock Bank	Eagle Rock
11-112- 2	Moore Lime Co. Warehouse	Eagle Rock
11-112- 3	Eagle Rock Milling and Mfg. Co. Inc.	Eagle Rock
11-112- 4	Eagle Rock Depot	Eagle Rock
11-112- 5	Brooks, J. M. General Store	Eagle Rock
11-112- 6	Eagle Rock Garage	Eagle Rock
11-112- 7	Myers, A. H. Building	Eagle Rock
11-112- 8	Myers, J.D. Building	Eagle Rock
11-112- 9	Building	Eagle Rock
11-112-10	Owens, Ben House	Eagle Rock
11-112-11	Rudisill House	Eagle Rock
11-112-11A	House	Eagle Rock
11-112-12	Eagle Rock Funeral Home	Eagle Rock
11-112-13	Edmond's, Dr. House	Eagle Rock
11-112-14	Turpin House	Eagle Rock
11-112-14A	Jiggs' Restaurant	Eagle Rock
11-112-15	Simpson House	Eagle Rock
11-112-16	Myers A.H. First House	Eagle Rock
11-112-17	Cash, W. W. Office	Eagle Rock
11-112-18	Cash, W. W. House	Eagle Rock
11-112-19	Barbee House	Eagle Rock
11-112-20	Methodist Church, The	Eagle Rock
11-112-21	House	Eagle Rock
11-112-22	House	Eagle Rock
11-112-22A	House	Eagle Rock
11-112-23	Peters, John House	Eagle Rock
11-112-24	Finney House	Eagle Rock
11-112-25	Myers, J. D. House	Eagle Rock
11-112-26	Eagle Rock High School Home Ec. Bldg.	Eagle Rock
11-112-27	Myers, A. H. Second House	Eagle Rock
11-112-28	Flaherty, N. V. House	Eagle Rock
11-112-29	Vaughn House	Eagle Rock
11-112-30	Lugers Inn	Eagle Rock
11-112-30A	House	Eagle Rock
11-112-31	Eagle Rock Volunteer Fire Dept.	Eagle Rock
11-112-32	Bell, Dr. House	Eagle Rock
11-112-33	First Baptist Church of Eagle Rock	Eagle Rock
11-112-33A	House	Eagle Rock
11-112-34	East House	Eagle Rock
11-112-35	Central Office	Eagle Rock

Site	Name	Map
11-112-36	Flaherty, E. D. House	Eagle Rock
11-112-37	Flaherty, George House	Eagle Rock
11-112-38	Moore Lime Co. House #1	Eagle Rock
11-112-39	House	Eagle Rock
11-112-40	Honts House	Eagle Rock
11-112-41	Hill House	Eagle Rock
11-112-42	Mankey House	Eagle Rock
11-112-43	Moore Lime Co. House #5	Eagle Rock
11-112-44	Moore Lime Co. House #2	Eagle Rock
11-112-45	Moore Lime Co. House #3	Eagle Rock
11-112-46	Moore Lime Co. House #4	Eagle Rock
11-112-47	Pullan House	Eagle Rock
11-112-47A	Hunter House	Eagle Rock
11-112-48	Eagle Rock Baptist Church	Eagle Rock
11-112-49	House	Eagle Rock
11-112-50	McKallister, J. W. House	Eagle Rock
11-112-51	Moore Lime Company House #5	Eagle Rock
11-112-52	Hook House #3	Eagle Rock
11-112-53	Hook House #2	Eagle Rock
11-112-54	Hook House #1	Eagle Rock
11-112-55	Owens House	Eagle Rock
11-112-56	Methodist Parsonage	Eagle Rock
11-112-57	Methodist Episcopal Church	Eagle Rock
11-112-58	Wilhelm House	Eagle Rock
11-112-59	Henderson, Ezekiel House	Eagle Rock
11-112-60	Dasher House	Eagle Rock
11-112-60A	Simmons House	Eagle Rock
11-112-60B	Milton House	Eagle Rock
11-112-60C	Clock Collection House	Eagle Rock
11-112-60D	House	Eagle Rock
11-112-60E	Beamer, E. T. House	Eagle Rock
11-112-60F	House	Eagle Rock
11-112-61	House	Eagle Rock
11-112-62	Vanness House	Eagle Rock
11-112-63	Dasher, Arley House	Eagle Rock
11-112-64	Whitner House	Eagle Rock
11-112-65	Wright House	Eagle Rock
11-112-66	Boggess House	Eagle Rock
11-112-66A	Wooltz House	Eagle Rock
11-112-67	Fireburn House	Eagle Rock
11-112-68	Pullen, Elbert "Buck" House	Eagle Rock
11-112-68A	Lyle, Ivan House	Eagle Rock
11-112-69	Grubbs, Doc House	Eagle Rock
11-113	Moore Lime Co. Commissary	Eagle Rock
11-114	Mt. Pleasant Church	Oriskany
11-115	Farm	Oriskany
11-118	Pierce Chapel	Salisbury
11-154	Linkenauger House	Daleville
11-159	Sesler Mill House	Daleville
11-164	Ferrell Tobacco Barn	Daleville
11-170	Rose Hill	Daleville
11-187	Breckenridge Mill	Daleville
11-189	House	Eagle Rock
11-190	House	Eagle Rock
11-191	House	Eagle Rock
11-192	Whitmer House	Eagle Rock
11-193	Whitmer, John Lemon House	Eagle Rock
11-194	Sloss House	Eagle Rock
11-195	Dasher House	Eagle Rock
11-196	Shiloh Church	Eagle Rock

Site	Name	Map
11-197	King House	Eagle Rock
11-198	Stull House	Eagle Rock
11-199	McClung Farm	Eagle Rock
11-200	Buhrman, Joseph House	Eagle Rock
11-201	Wills House	Eagle Rock
11-202	Galatia Presbyterian Church	Eagle Rock
11-203	House	Eagle Rock
11-204	House	Eagle Rock
11-205	Golden House	Eagle Rock
11-206	Daggar Springs/Dibrell Springs	Eagle Rock
11-207	New Town	Eagle Rock
11-208	House	Eagle Rock
11-209	House	Eagle Rock
11-210	Carper House	Sugarloaf
11-211	House	Sugarloaf
11-212	House	Sugarloaf
11-213	Jane Furnace	Sugarloaf
11-214	Logging Camp Site	Sugarloaf
11-215	Tredegar House	Sugarloaf
11-216	Rebecca Furnace	Sugarloaf
11-217	Thomas House	Eagle Rock
11-218	Buhrman Mill Site	Eagle Rock
11-219	House	Eagle Rock
11-220	Humphries-Dudley Farm	Eagle Rock
11-221	Bethel Church	Eagle Rock
11-222	Circle Farm	Eagle Rock
11-223	Chestnut House	Eagle Rock
11-224	Glendale Farm	Eagle Rock
11-225	House	Eagle Rock
11-226	Ogden Store	Eagle Rock
11-227	House	Eagle Rock
11-228	House	Eagle Rock
11-229	Sinking Creek Log Foot Bridge	Eagle Rock
11-230	Rising Mt. Zion Baptist Church	Eagle Rock
11-231	Mill Creek Bridge	Eagle Rock
11-232	Store	Eagle Rock
11-233	Big Hill Grocery	Eagle Rock
11-234	House	Eagle Rock
11-235	Building	Eagle Rock
11-236	Hope House	Eagle Rock
11-237	McNamara House	Eagle Rock
11-237A	Eagle Rock Lime Co. Office	Eagle Rock
11-238	House	Eagle Rock
11-239	Carper Farm	Eagle Rock
11-240	Locust Bottom Church	Eagle Rock
11-241	Not Assigned	
11-242	Not Assigned	
11-243	Not Assigned	
11-244	Not Assigned	
11-245	Not Assigned	
11-246	Not Assigned	
11-247	Not Assigned	
11-248	Not Assigned	
11-249	Not Assigned	
11-250	Not Assigned	
11-251	House	Salisbury
11-252	Farm	Salisbury
11-253	House	Salisbury
11-254	House	Salisbury
11-255	Barger, John House	Salisbury

Site	Name	Map
11-256	Fisher Farm	Salisbury
11-257	House	Salisbury
11-258	Noffsinger, John Sr. House	Salisbury
11-259	School	Salisbury
11-260	Kraft House	Salisbury
11-261	Lindenhoker House	Salisbury
11-262	Salisbury Furnace	Salisbury
11-263	House	Salisbury
11-264	House	Salisbury
11-265	Farm	Salisbury
11-266	Wilhelm, Halbert Farm	Salisbury
11-267	Wilhelm, Jim Buck House	Salisbury
11-268	Forest Grove Baptist Church	Salisbury
11-269	Ruble, James House	Salisbury
11-270	Church	Salisbury
11-271	Stull House	Salisbury
11-272	Barn	Salisbury
11-273	Farm	Salisbury
11-274	Mt. Moriah Church	Salisbury
11-275	Barn	Salisbury
11-276	House	Not Mapped
11-277	Britz House	Eagle Rock
11-278	Wright, George Farm	Eagle Rock
11-279	Not Assigned	
11-280	Gardner House	Daleville
11-281	Baptist Church	Daleville
11-282	Cherry Hill	Daleville
11-283	Not Assigned	
11-284	Mountain Union Presbyterian Church	Daleville
11-285	Barn	Daleville
11-286	Ashbury School	Daleville
11-287	Store	Daleville
11-288	Alls House	Daleville
11-289	Lee, William Jackson House	Daleville
11-290	House	Daleville
11-291	Barn	Daleville
11-292	House	Daleville
11-293	Barn	Daleville
11-294	House	Daleville
11-295	House	Daleville
11-296	House	Daleville
11-297	Cox House	Daleville
11-298	Not Assigned	
11-299	House	Daleville
11-300	Pleasant Dale Church of the Brethren	Daleville
11-301	House	Oriskany
11-302	Grove Hill Site/Carriage House	Oriskany
11-303	House	Oriskany
11-305	Rhinehart House	Oriskany
11-306	Haymaker House	Oriskany
11-307	Alston House	Oriskany
11-308	North Fork School	Oriskany
11-309	North Fork Church	Oriskany
11-310	Sheep Farm	Oriskany
11-311	House	Oriskany
11-312	House	Daleville
11-313	School	Daleville
11-314	House	Oriskany
11-315	House	Oriskany
11-316	House	Oriskany

	Map
	Salisbury
	Salisbury
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	Salisbury
	Salisbury
	Not Mapped
	Eagle Rock
	Eagle Rock
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	Oriskany

APPENDIX IV

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF SITES

Site	Name	Map
11-346	Allen, Malcolm House	Eagle Rock
11-347	Allen-Carper Cemetery	Eagle Rock
11-288	Alls House	Daleville
11-307	Alston House	Oriskany
11- 56	Anderson, Dr. William House	Daleville
11-286	Ashbury School	Daleville
11-281	Baptist Church	Daleville
11-112-19	Barbee House	Eagle Rock
11-324	Barger, David Preston House	Salisbury
11-255	Barger, John House	Salisbury
11-272	Barn	Salisbury
11-275	Barn	Salisbury
11-285	Barn	Daleville
11-291	Barn	Daleville
11-293	Barn	Daleville
11-332	Barn	Salisbury
11-344	Barn	Salisbury
11-359	Beamer House	Salisbury
11-112-60E	Beamer, E. T. House	Eagle Rock
11-112-32	Bell, Dr. House	Eagle Rock
11-221	Bethel Church	Eagle Rock
11-233	Big Hill Grocery	Eagle Rock
11-112-66	Boggess House	Eagle Rock
11- 87	Breckenridge Building	Oriskany
11-187	Breckenridge Mill	Daleville
11-277	Britz House	Eagle Rock
11-112- 5	Brooks, J. M. General Store	Eagle Rock
11-218	Buhrman Mill Site	Eagle Rock
11-200	Buhrman, Joseph House	Eagle Rock
11-112- 9	Building	Eagle Rock
11-235	Building	Eagle Rock
11-319	Caldwell/Thacker House	Daleville
11-239	Carper Farm	Eagle Rock
11-210	Carper House	Sugarloaf
11-112-18	Cash, W. W. House	Eagle Rock
11-112-17	Cash, W. W. Office	Eagle Rock
11-112-35	Central Office	Eagle Rock
11-282	Cherry Hill	Daleville
11-223	Chestnut House	Eagle Rock
11-270	Church	Salisbury
11-222	Circle Farm	Eagle Rock
11-112-60C	Clock Collection House	Eagle Rock
11-297	Cox House	Daleville
11-206	Daggar Springs/Dibrell Springs	Eagle Rock
11-112-60	Dasher House	Eagle Rock
11-195	Dasher House	Eagle Rock
11-112-63	Dasher, Arley House	Eagle Rock
11-112- 1	Eagle Rock Bank	Eagle Rock
11-112-48	Eagle Rock Baptist Church	Eagle Rock
11- 92	Eagle Rock Bridge	Eagle Rock
11-112- 4	Eagle Rock Depot	Eagle Rock
11-112-12	Eagle Rock Funeral Home	Eagle Rock
11-112- 6	Eagle Rock Garage	Eagle Rock
11-112-26	Eagle Rock High School Home Ec. Bldg.	Eagle Rock
11-237A	Eagle Rock Lime Co. Office	Eagle Rock
11-112- 3	Eagle Rock Milling and Mfg. Co. Inc.	Eagle Rock
11-112-31	Eagle Rock Volunteer Fire Dept.	Eagle Rock
11-112-34	East House	Eagle Rock
11-112-13	Edmond's, Dr. House	Eagle Rock
11-109	Emmanuel Episcopal Church	Eagle Rock

Site	Name	Map
11-115	Farm	Oriskany
11-252	Farm	Salisbury
11-265	Farm	Salisbury
11-273	Farm	Salisbury
11-325	Farm	Oriskany
11-342	Farm	Eagle Rock
11-164	Ferrell Tobacco Barn	Daleville
11-344	Final Lock, Kanawha Canal	Eagle Rock
11-112-24	Finney House	Eagle Rock
11- 54	Firebaugh House	Daleville
11-330	Firebaugh, Alfred Farm	Daleville
11-329	Firebaugh, Alfred House	Daleville
11-112-67	Fireburn House	Eagle Rock
11-112-33	First Baptist Church of Eagle Rock	Eagle Rock
11-256	Fisher Farm	Salisbury
11-112-36	Flaherty, E. D. House	Eagle Rock
11-112-37	Flaherty, George House	Eagle Rock
11-112-28	Flaherty, N. V. House	Eagle Rock
11-268	Forest Grove Baptist Church	Salisbury
11-202	Galatia Presbyterian Church	Eagle Rock
11-280	Gardner House	Daleville
11-345	Gas Station	Eagle Rock
11-224	Glendale Farm	Eagle Rock
11-205	Golden House	Eagle Rock
11-302	Grove Hill Site/Carriage House	Oriskany
11-112-69	Grubbs, Doc House	Eagle Rock
11-348	Gwynn Lock and Dam	Salisbury
11- 37	Hawthorne Hall	Oriskany
11-306	Haymaker House	Oriskany
11-112-59	Henderson, Ezekiel House	Eagle Rock
11-112-41	Hill House	Eagle Rock
11-112-40	Honts House	Eagle Rock
11-112-54	Hook House #1	Eagle Rock
11-112-53	Hook House #2	Eagle Rock
11-112-52	Hook House #3	Eagle Rock
11-236	Hope House	Eagle Rock
11-112-11A	House	Eagle Rock
11-112-21	House	Eagle Rock
11-112-22	House	Eagle Rock
11-112-22A	House	Eagle Rock
11-112-30A	House	Eagle Rock
11-112-33A	House	Eagle Rock
11-112-39	House	Eagle Rock
11-112-49	House	Eagle Rock
11-112-60D	House	Eagle Rock
11-112-60F	House	Eagle Rock
11-112-61	House	Eagle Rock
11-189	House	Eagle Rock
11-190	House	Eagle Rock
11-191	House	Eagle Rock
11-203	House	Eagle Rock
11-204	House	Eagle Rock
11-208	House	Eagle Rock
11-209	House	Eagle Rock
11-211	House	Sugarloaf
11-212	House	Sugarloaf
11-219	House	Eagle Rock
11-225	House	Eagle Rock
11-227	House	Eagle Rock
11-228	House	Eagle Rock

Site	Name	Map
11-234	House	Eagle Rock
11-238	House	Eagle Rock
11-251	House	Salisbury
11-253	House	Salisbury
11-254	House	Salisbury
11-257	House	Salisbury
11-263	House	Salisbury
11-264	House	Salisbury
11-276	House	Not Mapped
11-290	House	Daleville
11-292	House	Daleville
11-294	House	Daleville
11-295	House	Daleville
11-296	House	Daleville
11-299	House	Daleville
11-301	House	Oriskany
11-303	House	Oriskany
11-311	House	Oriskany
11-312	House	Daleville
11-314	House	Oriskany
11-315	House	Oriskany
11-316	House	Oriskany
11-318	House	Oriskany
11-320	House	Oriskany
11-326	House	Oriskany
11-328	House	Daleville
11-331	House	Salisbury
11-333	House	Salisbury
11-334	House	Salisbury
11-335	House	Salisbury
11-337	House	Eagle Rock
11-338	House	Eagle Rock
11-339	House	Eagle Rock
11-340	House	Eagle Rock
11-341	House	Eagle Rock
11-343	House	Eagle Rock
11-349	House	Salisbury
11-350	House	Salisbury
11-351	House	Salisbury
11-352	House	Salisbury
11-353	House	Buchanan
11-355	House	Buchanan
11-357	House	Buchanan
11-358	House	Buchanan
11-327	Houses	Daleville
11-220	Humphries-Dudley Farm	Eagle Rock
11-112-47A	Hunter House	Eagle Rock
11-213	Jane Furnace	Sugarloaf
11-112-14A	Jiggs' Restaurant	Eagle Rock
11-197	King House	Eagle Rock
11-260	Kraft House	Salisbury
11-289	Lee, William Jackson House	Daleville
11-261	Lindenhoker House	Salisbury
11-154	Linkenauger House	Daleville
11-240	Locust Bottom Church	Eagle Rock
11-214	Logging Camp Site	Sugarloaf
11-112-30	Lugers Inn	Eagle Rock
11-112-68A	Lyle, Ivan House	Eagle Rock
11-112-42	Mankey House	Eagle Rock
11-108	Markham House	Oriskany

Site	Name	Map
11-110	Mays House	Eagle Rock
11-199	McClung Farm	Eagle Rock
11- 21	McDonald, Bryan Jr. House	Daleville
11- 44	McDonald, Bryan Sr. House	Daleville
11-112-50	McKallister, J. W. House	Eagle Rock
11-237	McNamara House	Eagle Rock
11-112-20	Methodist Church, The	Eagle Rock
11-112-57	Methodist Episcopal Church	Eagle Rock
11-112-56	Methodist Parsonage	Eagle Rock
11-354	Mill	Buchanan
11-231	Mill Creek Bridge	Eagle Rock
11- 29	Miller-Switzer House	Salisbury
11-112-60B	Milton House	Eagle Rock
11-112-51	Moore Lime Company House #5	Eagle Rock
11-113	Moore Lime Co. Commissary	Eagle Rock
11-112-38	Moore Lime Co. House #1	Eagle Rock
11-112-44	Moore Lime Co. House #2	Eagle Rock
11-112-45	Moore Lime Co. House #3	Eagle Rock
11-112-46	Moore Lime Co. House #4	Eagle Rock
11-112-43	Moore Lime Co. House #5	Eagle Rock
11- 91	Moore Lime Co. Lime Kilns	Eagle Rock
11-112- 2	Moore Lime Co. Warehouse	Eagle Rock
11-284	Mountain Union Presbyterian Church	Daleville
11-111	Mt. Carmel Church	Buchanan
11-274	Mt. Moriah Church	Salisbury
11-114	Mt. Pleasant Church	Oriskany
11-112-16	Myers A.H. First House	Eagle Rock
11-112- 7	Myers, A. H. Building	Eagle Rock
11-112-27	Myers, A. H. Second House	Eagle Rock
11-112-25	Myers, J. D. House	Eagle Rock
11-112- 8	Myers, J.D. Building	Eagle Rock
11-207	New Town	Eagle Rock
11-258	Noffsinger, John Sr. House	Salisbury
11-309	North Fork Church	Oriskany
11-308	North Fork School	Oriskany
11-241	Not Assigned	
11-242	Not Assigned	
11-243	Not Assigned	
11-244	Not Assigned	
11-245	Not Assigned	
11-246	Not Assigned	
11-247	Not Assigned	
11-248	Not Assigned	
11-249	Not Assigned	
11-250	Not Assigned	
11-279	Not Assigned	
11-283	Not Assigned	
11-298	Not Assigned	
11-322	Not Assigned	
11-323	Not Assigned	
11-226	Ogden Store	Eagle Rock
11-112-55	Owens House	Eagle Rock
11-112-10	Owens, Ben House	Eagle Rock
11-112-23	Peters, John House	Eagle Rock
11-118	Pierce Chapel	Salisbury
11-300	Pleasant Dale Church of the Brethren	Daleville
11- 51	Pogue, George Farm	Eagle Rock
11- 31	Promised Land Farm	Oriskany
11-112-47	Pullan House	Eagle Rock
11-112-68	Pullen, Elbert "Buck" House	Eagle Rock

Site	Name	Map
11-216	Rebecca Furnace	Sugarloaf
11-305	Rhinehart House	Oriskany
11-230	Rising Mt. Zion Baptist Church	Eagle Rock
11-170	Rose Hill	Daleville
11-269	Ruble, James House	Salisbury
11-112-11	Rudisill House	Eagle Rock
11- 53	Rustic Lodge	Daleville
11-262	Salisbury Furnace	Salisbury
11-259	School	Salisbury
11-313	School	Daleville
11-321	School	Oriskany
11-159	Sesler Mill House	Daleville
11- 46	Sessler House	Daleville
11-310	Sheep Farm	Oriskany
11-196	Shiloh Church	Eagle Rock
11-112-60A	Simmons House	Eagle Rock
11-112-15	Simpson House	Eagle Rock
11-229	Sinking Creek Log Foot Bridge	Eagle Rock
11-194	Sloss House	Eagle Rock
11-232	Store	Eagle Rock
11-287	Store	Daleville
11-356	Store	Buchanan
11- 25	Stover, Jack House	Salisbury
11-198	Stull House	Eagle Rock
11-271	Stull House	Salisbury
11-317	Switzer, Cephas Farm	Oriskany
11-336	Thackett Farm	Salisbury
11-217	Thomas House	Eagle Rock
11-215	Tredegar House	Sugarloaf
11-112-14	Turpin House	Eagle Rock
11-112-62	Vanness House	Eagle Rock
11-112-29	Vaughn House	Eagle Rock
11- 55	Walnut Hill Farm	Daleville
11-192	Whitmer House	Eagle Rock
11-193	Whitmer, John Lemon House	Eagle Rock
11-112-64	Whitner House	Eagle Rock
11-112-58	Wilhelm House	Eagle Rock
11-266	Wilhelm, Halbert Farm	Salisbury
11-267	Wilhelm, Jim Buck House	Salisbury
11-201	Wills House	Eagle Rock
11- 39	Wiloma	Oriskany
11-112-66A	Wooltz House	Eagle Rock
11-112-65	Wright House	Eagle Rock
11-278	Wright, George Farm	Eagle Rock