# Documentation of the Frazier Log House Wythe County, Virginia (098-5090)

WY-058

Prepared for American Electric Power, Inc. and The Virginia Department of Historic Resources VDHR File Number 1991-0278

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By Matthew G. Hyland, Ph.D. GAI Consultants, Inc. C020196.80

**June 2009** 

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author wishes to thank the Frazier Family for providing access to their property and working to preserve the house for many years. Furthermore, Donald Frazier's recollections about the house's history based on his conversations with previous owners are greatly appreciated. Matthew Frazier deserves special thanks for opening his home to us during the recordation process and providing access to the Howard Family cemetery. By facilitating this intensive-level documentation project, they have enriched the historic architectural record of Virginia's significant buildings.

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## 1.0 PREFACE

## This report is part of the environmental review and Section 106 consultation process associated with the Wyoming-Jacksons Ferry 765kV Transmission Line project undertaken by American Electric Power, Inc., (AEP), with the United States Forest Service/USDA (USFS) serving as the lead federal agency. AEP received authorization from the necessary state and federal agencies to design, construct, operate, and maintain a 765kV transmission line from its Wyoming Station in Oceana, West Virginia, to its Jacksons Ferry Station in Wythe County, Virginia. AEP divided the north-to-south-running project corridor into sequential priority design sections numbered Priority Section 1 through Priority Section 5. In Virginia, Priority Segments 1, 2, 3, and 5 proceeded through Tazewell, Bland, Pulaski, and Wythe Counties. The architectural and historic resources survey conducted in these priority segments identified historic properties, which are defined as buildings, sites, objects, structures, or districts listed in or eligible for listing in either the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) or the Virginia Landmarks Register (VLR)—or both. AEP's survey also assessed the project's environmental impacts on those identified historic properties. In consultation with the Virginia Department of Historic Resources (VDHR), USFS determined that the undertaking would result in an adverse effect to the Frazier Log House (098-5090). Development of an appropriate mitigation plan among consulting parties, pursuant to the Programmatic Agreement executed for this undertaking, produced a treatment plan that features intensive-level documentation of this historic

property. The consulting parties agreed that intensive-level documentation of this historic property should include primary and secondary historical research, oral history, photography, and architectural recordation. Publication and promulgation of this report, therefore, serves to mitigate the undertaking's adverse effects on this historic property.

Although this report is the product of the historic preservation regulatory environment, AEP is proud to support a publication such as this that promotes awareness of Virginia's rich history through its architecture.



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#### 2.0

#### INTRODUCTION

USFS, in consultation with VDHR, determined that the Frazier Log House (098-5090) is eligible for NRHP and VLR listing. The property is a significant early-nineteenth-century example from the region's repertoire of vernacular architecture. Therefore, it is eligible for historic register listing under Criterion C at the local level for its collection of representative and well-maintained examples of vernacular style domestic architecture. The historic property's period of significance ranges from the earlynineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century.

The Frazier Log House is a significant historic property. In other words, the property provides us with a physical link to ways of building and farming that once sustained families in Wythe County since the years of the early American republic, during the Civil War, through the end of the nineteenth century, and into the twentieth century. Its very presence reminds us, at least it should, of the struggle for existence and shelter that led to the development of rural communities in southwestern Virginia. It also brings us to a fuller understanding of Virginia's rich and diverse architectural heritage. In recent years, scholarly interest in western Virginia has increased, particularly through environmental studies initiated by undertakings such as AEP's 765kV transmission line, but most of the attention has been focused on the Shenandoah Valley or the James River watershed's upper reaches, leaving this section of southwestern Virginia underrepresented.<sup>1</sup>

It is worth noting that studies of Virginia architecture usually, but not always, direct our attention to the finest and best-preserved examples of high style architecture. More often than not, we are encouraged to venerate buildings that reflect the hand of President Thomas Jefferson, that direct our attention back across the Atlantic Ocean to Old World buildings of Palladio and Wren, that accurately mimic the designs found in pattern books, or evoke the sensibilities of ancestral British culture. Such examples of "great houses of Virginia" typically count first in the Commonwealth's architectural pantheon. But what of indigenous buildings created out of local cultural preferences, evolving building practices, family needs, agricultural possibilities, and economic forces? They lack the design antecedents sought after by connoisseurs of high style architecture built by wealthy planters. Yet, they open up a world of inquiry into social meaning and everyday uses relevant to a wider section of Virginia society. They too have a place in the Commonwealth's collection of great houses, not just for their ability to endure the ravages of time, but also for the example of competence and sufficiency they offer us.<sup>2</sup>

The Frazier Log House, then, broadens our understanding of Wythe County's settlement patterns, agricultural practices, and building decisions since the early nineteenth century. Although this is an object-centered study, other channels of human energy, such as westward expansion, the Civil War, industrial natural

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> McDaniel, John M., and Michael M. Gregory,

<sup>&</sup>quot;Archaeological Contributions to the Study of 19<sup>th</sup>-Century Western Virginia Settlement," in *The Archaeology of 19<sup>th</sup>*-

*Century Virginia*, ed. John H. Sprinkle, Jr., and Theodore R. Reinhart (Richmond, Virginia: Spectrum Press, 1999), 14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Charles B. Brownell, Calder Loth, William M.S. Rasmussen, and Richard Guy Wilson, *The Making of Virginia Architecture* (Richmond, Virginia: The Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, 1992), vii.

resource extraction, and railroad construction shape the way we understand the property and how it came to be part of county's cultural landscape. This is the house's context, and it will be described in the following chapters. Once the context has been framed, the intimate details of the house and its occupants that can be revealed through deeds, wills, family memories, and census data will be presented. In this manner, we can populate the historic property and tell its story. Taken as a counterpoint to the icons of Virginia architecture, this historic property reveals locally inspired ideas about housing that contribute to the Commonwealth's architectural heritage.

#### 3.0

#### ENVIRONMENTAL SETTING

Setting, which includes the surrounding terrain, natural features, and local soils, played an important role in the community's course of development. The historic property lies in the Ridge and Valley physiographic province. (Figure 1) Ridge and Valley is a rugged, mountainous region of high relief with elevations ranging from 2,200 feet to about 4,400 feet above mean sea level. Environmental features such as slope and soil influenced the region's settlement history. The geologic parent materials of the ridges are sandstone and quartzite, while the steep side slopes are underlain by shale, siltstone, and sandstone. Over time, a very long time, the mountains have weathered to form the materials that make up soils found on local farms presently. As the rocks erode, soils move down slopes where they accumulate on the sides and base of slopes. Viewed from above, long valleys separated by parallel, steep-sided ridges delineate the landscape and embrace the farm. In the valleys, soils are moderately-deep to deep, and are underlain by shale, siltstone, limestone, or dolomite.<sup>3</sup>

The Frazier Log House is located east of Wytheville above the New River's flood plain. Farther downstream, the New River receives the waters of the Greenbrier River and the Bluestone River near Hinton, Summers County, West Virginia. The New River then continues northwesterly, eventually meeting the Gauley River at Gauley Bridge, West Virginia. Here, the New and the Gauley form the Kanawha River, which empties into the Ohio River. The New River, then, would seem to have been a favorable route. trade Commerce and transportation from Wythe County, however, did not follow this route exclusively. Historically, wagon roads, turnpikes, and railroads moved people and goods toward Roanoke, Bristol, Richmond, rather Lynchburg, and than Charleston, West Virginia, and Cincinnati, Ohio.

The Frazier house stands on a farm surrounded by hills and creeks draining into the New River in the southeastern section of Wythe County. North of the house runs Chestnut Ridge. The New River quickly flows past the property south of the house. Interstate 77's alignment runs through the area, up river from the house. In general, the soils here are sufficiently fertile, as they are in most of Wythe County, for livestock pasturage and crop cultivation, and flat land, with good soils, near water makes for an ideal habitation site.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Christopher M. Bailey, *Physiographic Map of Virginia*, College of William and Mary, 1999; H.H. Mills and P.A. Delcourt, "Quaternary Geology of the Appalachian Highlands and Interior Low Plateaus," in *Quaternary Non-glacial Geology: Coterminous* U.S. Geological Society of America, The Geology of North America, ed. by R.B. Morrison (Boulder, Colorado: Geological Society of America, 1991), Vol. K-2, 611-628; D.F. Wagner, *Soil Survey of Tazewell County, Virginia*, (Washington, DC: USDA-Natural Resources Conservation Service, Government Printing Office, 2001).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> McDaniel, John M., and Michael M. Gregory, "Archaeological Contributions to the Study of 19<sup>th</sup>-Century Western Virginia Settlement," in *The Archaeology of 19<sup>th</sup>-Century Virginia*, eds. John H. Sprinkle, Jr., and Theodore R. Reinhart (Richmond, Virginia: Spectrum Press, 1999), 12-13.





These physical attributes of the region shaped the cultural landscape and the course of history that its inhabitants created. Hills, mountains, valleys, streams, and soils determined where farmers would succeed in providing for their family. Natural resources and roadways determined the early economic activities, such as ferries, a business that drew the property's first owner to the area. More importantly, the wider environmental setting is rich in iron ore, lime, shale, barite, silica, gypsum, lead, zinc, and pyrite. Thus, there was a variety of natural stone and other mineral resources available to the Euro-American explorers, hunters, and inhabitants of southwestern Virginia. For example, they exploited such mineral resources as the natural salt deposits near Saltville, Smyth County, which became the basis for a profitable extraction industry. Later, iron works centered on the region's timber and ore deposits were exploited. The New River and its tributary creeks, such as Reed Creek, watered productive farmland and provided adequate power for mills in Wythe County.

## 4.0 HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL OVERVIEW

#### 4.1 Settlement to Society (1607-1750)

A variety of forces relate to the region's settlement history and the development of the Frazier's historic property. The rugged terrain, difficult rivers, and the availability of arable land due to the region's geomorphology and the colony's land disposal policies hindered the movement of Euro-American settlers here in this period. The long duration of a struggle between England and France over who would rule North America created a prevailing sense of unease in the region. Battles between native groups and European immigrants engendered episodes of violence that interrupted settlement. Lastly, the accumulation of large land tracts by wealthy planters limited ownership opportunities for landless farmers. The following sections detail these struggles.

The Allegheny Mountains challenged easy westward migration and formed a border between competing European colonial powers for North American territory. European explorers had ventured into the vast Virginia backcountry in the seventeenth century, but their efforts did not produce permanent settlements, trading posts, or lasting alliances with native groups. In 1671, Thomas Batts and Robert Fallam, commissioned agents in Colonel Abraham Wood's fur trading enterprise, completed an expedition with Appomattox and Sapony native guides from Fort Henry, near Col. Wood's Appomattox River plantation, to the New River in hopes of finding watercourses flowing westward. They reported on such a river and the location of a native group, the Tutelo, at a village they called Totera Town, and noted old Indian cornfields along the New River bottomlands. More reports of exploration stimulated the interest of other explorers and traders, who gradually journeyed into the area in search of opportunities in the fur trade. Exploration of the Shenandoah Valley in 1716 encouraged the interests of colonial officials and land speculators in pursuing opportunities for profit and power in western Virginia.<sup>5</sup>

During this period, settlement of the upper reaches of the New River can be characterized as sporadic. Due to the character of the region's topography, sustained settlement began in the lower Shenandoah Valley and gradually moved southwestwardly up the Great Valley to the New River area. Competition between Virginia's royal governor and one of the colony's largest landholders in the Shenandoah Valley eventually resulted in a land disposal program favorable to family farmers rather than wealthy speculators. In Europe, economic opportunities for the agrarian class constricted as the population burgeoned and royal governments struggled to control their mercantile system through trade regulations. Fear of France and its native allies made British colonial authorities see the need for populating their colony beyond the Blue Ridge Mountains.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> David Hackett Fischer and John C. Kelly, *Bound Away: Virginia and the Westward Movement* (Charlottesville, Virginia: The University of Virginia Press for the Virginia Historical Society, 2000), 81; Clarence Walworth Alvord and Lee Bidgood, *The First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region by the Virginians, 1650-1674* (Cleveland, Ohio: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1912), 65-73.

Apprehension over the expansion of French territory from the Great Lakes region, along the Mississippi River drainages, and down to the Gulf of Mexico, in addition to concerns for the security of their Tidewater plantations against Native American raiding parties, motivated British efforts to populate the land with settlers during Governor Alexander Spotswood's administration. To build their North American empire, the French became particularly adept at securing favorable relations with tribes of the Great Lakes region through trade networks. British efforts to develop similar trading networks in the Ohio country beyond the Allegheny Mountains proved difficult. Planting settlers there emerged as a solution. The Virginia backcountry also offered the Tidewater squirearchy a means for removing dissenting Protestant sects from their staunchly Anglican parishes. Virginia's class of ruling planters could abide Parliamentary acts that encouraged religious toleration and naturalization of foreigners by settling such suspect people and intractable dissenters in the backcountry. The next governor, William Gooch supported efforts to claim western lands for the same reasons.

Governor Gooch urged the colony's executive council to amend Virginia's land disposal laws in order to promote a speculative real estate market as well as settlement in the early 1730s. The council agreed upon the need for establishing a buffer between the Tidewater-to-Piedmont region and the western wilderness, which was the domain of French-allied native groups. Governor Gooch's designs for western settlement also sought to undermine the Northern Neck proprietary grant secured by Thomas Lord Fairfax, sixth Baron of Cameron, through seventeenth-century royal charters. Lord Fairfax's massive land grant allowed him,

not colonial Virginia authorities, to sell land titles and collect guitrents in the northwestern section of the colony. The council disregarded Lord Fairfax's proprietary rights. Through land grants approximating 250,000 acres and authorized by the executive council, families settled in the western and southwestern sections of the colony, forming a human buffer against perceived French imperial interests and threats and occupying land claimed by Lord Fairfax-just as Governor Gooch had hoped. Litigation between Lord Fairfax and Virginia lasted for years. Large grants of land and official acts of religious toleration prompted the settlement of large numbers of Ulster-Scots, Germans, and Swiss immigrants, a population quite different in ethnicity from the English of Tidewater. The ethnic composition of Tidewater also entailed African cultural groups that had been brought there as slaves. Settlers in the Great Valley typically moved in from Pennsylvania and did not have slaves in their households or labor force. Cultural differences extended to religion. Many of the Shenandoah Valley immigrants represented Protestant denominations other than Anglican: Presbyterians, Quakers, Lutheran, Dunkards, and German Baptists. By 1740, the Shenandoah Valley's population had reached approximately 10,000 people and began expanding up the valley toward the New River, which was within the bounds of Augusta County (and beyond Lord Fairfax's proprietary) at the time.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Frederick B. Kegley, *Kegley's Virginia Frontier: The Beginning of the Southwest; the Roanoke of Colonial Days, 1740-1783* (Roanoke, Virginia: Southwest Virginia Historical Society, 1938), 39, 92, 121; Warren R. Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia: Settlement and Landscape in the Shenandoah Valley* (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University

#### 4.2 Colony to Nation (1750-1789)

By the mid-eighteenth century, the first wave of Euro-American settlers began populating the New River drainage. At that time, the only native presence in the region was a transient population that included bands of Cherokee, Catawba, and League Iroquois utilizing pathways in their wars against each other. While Virginia's backcountry offered land for families of immigrants and religious toleration, it also offered profits for Virginia's class of wealthy land speculators. English treaties with the Iroquois at Fort Stanwix, New York, bolstered the Virginians' appetite for land speculation, based on their interpretation of the texts to read that the Iroquois had abandoned all claims, including claims of other tribes, to Appalachian land south of the Ohio River. To exploit the opportunity, they quickly organized land speculation companies and petitioned the crown for large grants of southwestern land. When the settlers who began venturing out of the Shenandoah Valley had reached the New River area, James Patton already had received a 100,000-acre grant along the river's bottomlands in the spring of 1745. Patton began transferring parcels along Reed Creek by the end of 1745.<sup>7</sup> The Frazier's historic property is located just upstream from the point where Reed Creek empties into the New River.

Both France and Virginia sent agents into the backcountry to strengthen their territorial claims. France sent a military company, while Virginia dispatched a prominent doctor from Albemarle County and land company investor. In 1749, select members of the Virginia squirearchy founded the Loyal Land Company. With their charter, the company received an 800,000-acre grant in western Virginia. To instantiate the investment company's claims, Dr. Thomas Walker of Albemarle County undertook an exploration of the company's trans-Allegheny land grant in 1750. Walker's expedition documented the presence of coal and other mineral resources in the region and identified the Cumberland Gap as a viable passage to Kentucky. On their journey, Walker and his party camped along Reed Creek as they passed through Wythe County. In the New River drainage, they noted few English inhabitants and the occasional presence of Native American groups. At the same time Dr. Walker and his party were exploring Kentucky, the royal governor of New France sent a military expedition under Captain Pierre-Joseph Céloron de Blainville down the Ohio River. France sought to counter emerging alliances between native groups in the Ohio River drainage and British traders such as George Croghan and William Trent. At various points in the course of his march, Céloron buried lead plates and posted placards at major stream junctures. Inscriptions on the plates declared the region for Louis XV. One such plate was recovered at the mouth of the Kanawha River many years later. The 1751 Fry-Jefferson map, which included information provided by Dr. Walker, reflects the minimal backcountry development and elementary

Press, 2004), 6-7, 86, 90-114; Fischer and Kelly, Bound Away: Virginia and the Westward Movement, 83-87, 104-107.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Clarence W. Alvord and Lee Bidgood, *The First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region by the Virginians, 1650-1674* (Cleveland, Ohio: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1912), 65-73; Otis K. Rice, *A History of Greenbrier County* (Lewisburg, West Virginia: Greenbrier Historical Society, 1986), 12, 16, 19, 181; Hofstra, *The Planting of New Virginia*, 174, 177; Mary B. Kegley, *Wythe County, Virginia: A Bicentennial History* (Wytheville, Virginia: Wythe County Board of Supervisors, 1989), 17-20.

geographic understanding of the area at midcentury. (Figure 2) It does note, however, a prominent feature that facilitated settlement in the region: the Great Valley Road or the "Great Road from the Yadkin River." Joshua Fry's notes on backcountry settlements in 1750 estimated approximately 100 families on land in the Holston River and New River drainages. The earliest land sales by the Loyal Land Company date to 1754.<sup>8</sup>

By the middle of the eighteenth century, settlements in Virginia's backcountry constricted when existing arrangements between European colonial powers previously agreed upon in the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht, which set the French, Spanish, and British boundaries in North America, unraveled. Southwestern Virginia, with its potential access to the Ohio River country, became contested terrain. Conflicts over the fur trade and land merged with global hostilities to become the French and Indian War, and the threat of attack on backcountry settlers and on native villages in the Holston River, New River, and Kanawha River watersheds increased. This war ended the first period of Euro-American settlement in the region. Although most families abandoned their homes and farms for safety in eastern settlements, modest settlements on the upper reaches of the Roanoke River and New River clung to existence through the

construction of blockhouses and stockades. Fort Chiswell and Fort Frederick on the New River and Fort Vause located on the Roanoke River were part of Governor Robert Dinwiddie's chain of forts stretching from the southwest to the northwest of Virginia's frontier. Fort Chiswell, built in 1758, protected the area's lead mines, and Fort Frederick served as the rendezvous for Major Andrew Lewis's Big Sandy Expedition against Shawnee and Delaware warriors in 1756.<sup>9</sup>

After 1757, military action associated with the war moved north into Pennsylvania, New York, and then Canada. In 1758, General John Forbes led a campaign to expel French forces from the Forks of the Ohio. As British troops approached Fort Duquesne, the fort's commandant ordered his troops to demolish the fort and then withdraw farther up the Allegheny River to Fort Machault. Although British troops occupied the fort site in November 1758, the seizure of Fort Niagara in July 1759, rather than seizure of Fort Duquesne, played a more significant role in stabilizing the backcountry from the Ohio River to the Great Valley. Control of Fort Niagara denied France the ability to re-supply its western forts and promoted a shift of League Iroquois allegiances to the British side.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Michael N. McConnell, A Country Between: The Upper Ohio Valley and its Peoples, 1724-1774 (Lincoln, Nebraska: University Press of Nebraska, 1992), 82-88; William C. Pendleton, History of Tazewell County and Southwest Virginia: 1748-1920 (Richmond, Virginia: W. C. Hill Printing Company, 1920), 171; Otis K. Rice, The Allegheny Frontier: West Virginia Beginnings, 1730-1830 (Lexington, Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 1970), 33-40; Kegley, Wythe County, Virginia: A Bicentennial History, 20-21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Louis K. Koontz, *The Virginia Frontier*, 1754-1763
(Bowie, Maryland: Heritage Books, [1925 reprint]
1992), 114, 122, 144; Kegley, *Kegley's Virginia Frontier*, 210, 228, 562; Kegley, *Wythe County*, *Virginia: A Bicentennial History*, 26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Fred Anderson, *The Crucible of Empire: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754-1766* (New York, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000), 258, 283-285, 325, 330.



In spite of the success of British arms, life in the Virginia backcountry remained unstable due to hostile relations with dislocated and disgruntled native groups until the American Revolution. For instance, the Cherokee, former British allies in the French and Indian War, battled British colonial forces in 1760. Although these battles occurred in the South Carolina colony, Virginia forces laagered at Fort Chiswell under the command of Col. William Byrd, III, in anticipation of a march down the Holston River to Long Island. British forces, besieged by Cherokees at Fort Loudoun, surrendered their fortifications before Byrd's troops left Fort Chiswell. From Fort Chiswell, Byrd and other officers negotiated peace terms and prisoner exchanges with Cherokee delegates. In May 1761, some troops from Fort Chiswell were involved in skirmishes against the Cherokees near the fort. After the war, Fort Chiswell remained as an important regional trading center, mill seat, lead arsenal, crossroads, and base for local militia throughout the revolutionary period, even briefly serving as Montgomery County's courthouse.<sup>11</sup>

After the British conquest of Canada, Pontiac's Uprising briefly abated European settlement until Col. Henry Bouquet defeated Pontiac's warriors at the Battle of Bushy Run in western Pennsylvania, but frontier violence persisted. In 1763, Shawnee raids on New River settlements intensified to such a degree that British officials

proclaimed land grants west of the Alleghenies would not be authorized. This peace gesture, intended to appease native groups in the Ohio country, only aggravated Virginia settlers who anticipated claiming that land based on Governor Dinwiddie's promise of land bounties for military service. Virginia's assertive land policy and the ambitions of settlers were checked until further negotiations in the Treaty of Fort Stanwix (1768), the Treaty of Hard Labor (1769), and the Treaty of Lochaber (1770) produced expanded boundaries and secured British rights to land held by the Cherokee and Iroquois from the Kanawha River south to the Tennessee River. As the treaties opened territory south of the Ohio River to Britishsettlement, American surveying activity commenced. However, settlement activities in this area were countered by continued native resistance to British authority and harassment of surveying parties and emigrant families. Ohio country native groups living along the Scioto River drainage, who had utilized lands in the Kanawha River drainage, had been excluded from the treaty making process. In the upper reaches of the New River and the Clinch River, the Cherokees and Shawnees sensed the increasing demographic pressures created by the burgeoning British American population's agricultural colonization. Their hunting grounds and trade networks were disrupted, and British authorities proved unable to exercise adequate authority over the settlers. Surveying encouraged property speculation, and a climate of lawlessness prevailed in the region, where, according to the historian Eric Hinderaker, British-American "aggressive opportunism was the rule." These developments resulted in another period of violence known as Dunmore's War. Virginia's militia forces, some of them

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Kegley, Wythe County, Virginia: A Bicentennial History, 27, 32; John H. Sprinkle, Jr., "The Difference Betwixt a Chevaux de Frise and a Cabbage Garden: The Archaeology of 18<sup>th</sup>-Century Military Sites in Virginia," in *The Archaeology of 18<sup>th</sup>-Century* Virginia, ed. Theodore R. Reinhart (Richmond, Virginia: Spectrum Press for the Archaeological Society of Virginia, 1996), 254.

rallying from forts along the New River, marched to the confluence of the Kanawha River and the Ohio River where they defeated Ohio country native groups (Shawnee, Delaware, and Mingo) at the Battle of Point Pleasant in 1774. Following the military action, the Treaty of Camp Charlotte reinforced Britain's claim to territory in the Kanawha River drainage. Five years after the conclusion of Dunmore's War, newly independent Virginia amended its land laws to allow the transfer and sale of preemption rights and military land bounty warrants. This change in land policy put in motion feverish land speculation and increased settlement in the New River drainage.<sup>12</sup>

Despite their remote location in the New River watershed, what few settlers were there did make their cries for independence from Great Britain heard through local committees. From 1772 to 1776, the area was under the jurisdiction of Fincastle County, and supporters of independence there organized the Fincastle Committee of Safety in 1775 to express their support for resolutions passed by the Continental Congress, to suppress Loyalist activities, to organize local militia forces, and to supply salt and lead to the troops. In the midst of wartime, a reorganization of Fincastle County resulted in the formation of Montgomery, Washington, and Kentucky Counties, as well as the dissolution of Fincastle County in 1776. Fort Chiswell became the county seat for Montgomery, due to its ideal location at the juncture of a road to North Carolina and the New River and its proximity to local lead mines, and many local residents mustered at the fort on their way to battles farther afield. Although the local lead mines might have been a military target, British forces never threatened them, and Shawnee raids focused instead on isolated homesteads. Throughout the war, lands in the New River drainage appealed to surveyors and settlers not as a destination, but rather as a pathway to the cheaper arable lands of Kentucky and Tennessee. Roads constructed for military purposes during the French and Indian War and the American Revolution facilitated the movement of immigrants proceeding through Fort Chiswell and the Cumberland Gap west to Kentucky. The Great Road passed through Montgomery County, and other thoroughfares led to North Carolina. A ferry crossing of the New River authorized by Montgomery County in this period illustrates this historic transportation theme. John Craig's ferry facilitated this movement of people beginning in 1779 and led to his land claims along the river near this ferry. Thus, the area remained an important crossroads for travel and trade as Americans pressed beyond the Allegheny Mountains to expand the nation. (Figure 3) When a division of Montgomery County occurred in 1790, Fort Chiswell remained as the county seat.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Anderson, The Crucible of Empire, 473-475, 525,
540; Rice, The Allegheny Frontier, 59-64; Eric
Hinderaker, Elusive Empires: Constructing
Colonialism in the Ohio Valley, 1673-1800
(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 174175, 192; Rice, A History of Greenbrier County, 3451; Kegley, Wythe County, Virginia: A Bicentennial
History, 27-32.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Kegley, Wythe County, Virginia: A Bicentennial History, 39-45, 49.



Although independence from Great Britain had been secured, the New River drainage was still a hostile environment in the early years of the republic. George Rogers Clark had defeated British-allied native groups in the Illinois country, but subsequent American attempts to subdue Ohio country native groups failed to achieve their aim. In fact, the Moore family, which had occupied land in Abb's Valley, suffered considerably when Shawnees attacked their homestead, killing some family members and abducting others in 1786. Not until General Anthony Wayne's success at the Battle of Fallen Timbers in 1794, and the Treaty of Greenville that concluded the action in 1795, did New River settlements enjoy peaceful conditions.<sup>14</sup> The constancy of hostilities with native groups left a lasting mark on subsequent depictions of life in southwestern Virginia. Writing in the nineteenth century, William Wirt perpetuated the notion that life there frequently included episodes of violence. For instance, Wirt wrote: "The white people who inhabited the frontier, from the constant state of warfare in which they lived with the Indians, had imbibed much of their character; and learned to delight so highly in scenes of crafty, bloody, and desperate conflict, that they as often gave as they received the provocation to hostilities. Hunting, which was their occupation, became dull and tiresome, unless diversified occasionally by the more animated and piquant amusement of an Indian skirmish."15

Without the threat of hostile native groups from the Ohio country, life in the New River drainage was easier, but it was not without other anxieties. Uncertain land claims and speculation created consternation for military veterans and pioneering settlers. Overlapping land claims, non-resident speculation, trespassing, and other infringements on land claims prompted complaints and petitions to the local courts and the state government by local settlers and land companies. The differences ran along class lines. between yeoman farmers holding less than 400 acres and the wealthy investors with rights to tracts over 1,000 acres. To address the inadequacies of the current policy, the General Assembly passed legislation guaranteeing preemption rights to squatters for no more than 400 acres, recognizing land bounties promised to soldiers by Governor Dinwiddie, and establishing a land office that would validate surveys and settle claims in 1779. The new land disposal policy allowed for the transfer and sale of preemption rights and military land warrants. It also confirmed the legality of the surveys completed by the Greenbrier Land Company and the Loyal Land Company. Anxieties of settlers were not relieved by a provision of the law that required payment of back taxes. If the taxes were delinquent over six months, the land would revert to ownership by the land company. Settlers protested the terms, and the General Assembly extended payment deadlines in the early 1780s. Land companies, in turn, complained about the commonwealth's determination to grant military land warrants within their land claims. The complexity of land claims and the speculative real estate market that flourished in Richmond resulted in a sporadic settlement pattern in the New River drainage. Non-resident owners held large tracts.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Fischer and Kelly, *Bound Away: Virginia and the Westward Movement*, 127; Rice, *A History of Greenbrier County*, 78-81.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> William Wirt, *The Letters of the British Spy*, 9<sup>th</sup> Edition (Baltimore, Maryland: Fielding Lucas, Jr., 1831), 257.

while yeoman families operated small farms throughout the national period. Although disparities and hardships contributed to the area's settlement pattern, population growth occurred without the dramatic mortality and morbidity that characterized life in seventeenthcentury Tidewater Virginia.<sup>16</sup>

#### 4.3 Early National Period (1789-1830)

In the years of the early American republic, New River settlements began to gain a momentum that initiated social transformation. Communities emerged out of sites of pioneering occupations. County formation illustrates the expanding population; Wythe County was organized in 1789, and soon thereafter, Tazewell County was formed in 1799 from sections of Wythe. Wythe and Tazewell Counties, as well as their principal towns of Wytheville and Tazewell, respectively, provide informative examples that illustrate the historic themes of the region's growth and development, and this context will utilize them together frequently in its overview. The region's beginnings were, of course, rudimentary. Travelers noticed the region's population growth, but they also commented on social developments that seemed, in their eyes, to lag behind the eastern settlements. One such traveler, Francois Alexandre Frédéric, duc de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, wrote in 1797 that in western Virginia the settlements are "more numerous than on the other side of

the Blue Mountains, but the houses are miserable; mean, small log houses, inhabited by families which swarm with children. There exists here the same appearance of misery as in the parts of Pennsylvania."17 back Humble beginnings, indeed. Yet, the Frenchman may have been travel weary and disgruntled in such a way that darkened his opinion of the country. For just a few years later in 1800, Bishop Francis Asbury, an itinerant Methodist preacher on his way to the Holston River drainage from Fincastle, noted that Wytheville, "a pleasant town," featured "about twenty houses, some neat and most of them new and painted." As for Wytheville's hospitality, Bishop Asbury wrote that "we had good accommodations at Mr. Johnson's-both man and horse needed it." Most of Wytheville's buildings from this early period were of log construction.<sup>18</sup>

Transportation, agricultural intensification, natural resource exploitation, and commerce represent the significant themes of local settlement history in the early republic. Wars among empires, tribal enmity, and real estate speculation shaped the timing of settlement phases. An energizing spirit kindled by liberty and democracy moved the region's inhabitants toward prosperity in the face of significant challenges. In southwest Virginia, navigable waterways could not provide adequate

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Thomas Perkins Abernethy, *Western Lands and the American Revolution* (New York, New York: Russell and Russell, 1959), 217-229; Rice, *A History of Greenbrier County*, 84-94; Warren R. Hofstra and Clarence R. Geier, "Beyond the Great Blue Mountain: Historical Archaeology and 18th-Century Settlement in Virginia West of the Blue Ridge," in *The Archaeology of 18<sup>th</sup>-Century Virginia*, ed. Theodore R. Reinhart (Richmond, Virginia: Spectrum Press, 1996), 213.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Francois Alexandre Frédéric, duc de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, *Travels through the United States of North America* (London: Gillet and Phillips, 1800), vol. 3, 173-176.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Francis Asbury, *The Journal of the Rev. Francis* Asbury Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church: From July 15, 1786, to November 6, 1800 (New York: N. Bangs and T. Mason for the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1821), vol. 2, 392; Gibson Worsham, Wytheville Final Survey Report (Richmond: Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 1992), 5.

transportation. For example, the Roanoke River proved insufficient for freighting bulk goods to market. Thomas Jefferson described the uselessness of the Roanoke River for transportation thusly: "so far as it lies within this State, is no where navigable, but for canoes, or light batteaux; and, even for these, in such detached parcels as to have prevented the inhabitants from availing themselves of it at all." The New River proved to be equally difficult, and even hazardous, to local boatmen. The area's transportation network at this time was limited to unimproved roadways. Turnpikes, therefore, emerged as a solution. The Allegheny Turnpike, which was chartered in 1805, improved local transportation over the rudimentary network of roads maintained by the county courts' road overseers and tithed laborers. Claudius Crozet, a Frenchman and Virginia's prominent engineer for the Board of Public Works, hastened the expansion of the commonwealth's transportation network. He supervised surveys of existing and proposed road networks, which included turnpikes, in the New River drainage in the 1820s. Among his recommendations, Crozet advocated major transportation improvements, including canals, turnpikes, and railroads, that would connect the New River drainage to the Roanoke River. Important turnpikes in the region included the Southwest Virginia Turnpike, the Wythe-Grayson Turnpike, and the Raleigh-Grayson Turnpike. The Cumberland Gap & Fincastle Turnpike followed the Bluestone River south to the courthouse at Tazewell. The Allegheny Turnpike provided eastern market access to local farmers via Christiansburg, over the South Fork of the Roanoke River, to Salem, and then

on to Lynchburg, where a canal proceeded to Richmond.<sup>19</sup>

In the early years of the nineteenth century, community development along overland transportation corridors grew vigorously. Construction of the Frazier Log House dates from this period. Agriculture, with its attendant marketing and processing activities, formed the economic base of local communities in the New River watershed and brought profits to its substantial farmers. The number of grist mills increased as farming became more widespread and productive. The number of tanneries also increased as livestock herds grew in size. During this period, John Craig patented a 200-acre New River land tract that he later bequeathed to his heirs.<sup>20</sup> Although he did not develop a farm here before his death in 1808, he did operate a ferry across the New River near this parcel. John Craig's ownership of this tract was a business investment, similar in nature to the thousands of acres he patented in the vicinity of Hans Meadow, Montgomery County, and Bourbon County, Kentucky, in the 1790s.<sup>21</sup> Wythe County

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia: With Related Documents*, ed. David Waldstreicher (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 81; Gibson Worsham, *Prehistoric and Historic Resources of Montgomery County, Virginia*, (Richmond, Virginia: Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 1989), E7-E8; Gibson Worsham, *Historic Architectural Survey of Tazewell County, Virginia* (Richmond, Virginia: Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2001), 14; Kegley, *Wythe County, Virginia: A Bicentennial History*, 66-68, 93.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Virginia Land Office Grants, 23 November 1797,
 No. 36, 1796-1797, p. 51 (Reel 102), microfilm on file at the Library of Virginia, Richmond.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Virginia Land Office Grants, 20 November 1786, No. 1, 1785, 1786-1787, p. 699 (Reel 67); 18 July
1788, No. 18, 1788-1789, p. 145 (Reel 84); 4
February 1790, No. 21, 1789-1790, p. 547 (Reel 87);
4 February 1790, No. 22, 1789-1791, p. 25 (Reel 88);

land tax records indicate John Craig's ownership of two tracts of 500 and 450 acres. However, John Craig and his wife Molly lived on a farm at Hans Meadow. In 1770, Botetourt County officers appointed John Craig an overseer of the road passing by his home and Ingle's Ferry on the New River. Later, Montgomery County granted John Craig a ferry license on 2 June 1779. Craig's ferry linked the roadway between Fort Chiswell, the New River, and Christiansburg. Craig's Ferry was still in operation in 1789.<sup>22</sup> Upon her husband's death, Molly received her dower, which included a life interest in part of the Hans Meadow farm, four negro slaves (Aggy, Peggy, Esther, and London), an unspecified number of horses, cattle, sheep, hogs, farming utensils, and kitchen furniture for her use. Molly Craig died on 14 February 1816, and the inventory of her estates indicates a comfortable household served by slaves. Along with livestock, farm tools, and furniture, the Craigs owned "one washing tub and pail" and a set of "old books," which suggests genteel culture, based on slave labor, may have prevailed there. His children (John Craig, James Craig, Hiram Craig, David Craig, Jane Allison, Sinthea Statts, Idress Carter, and Nancy Craig) received allotments of land and slaves. Of particular interest is John Craig's division of land called Pearce's Ferry plantation along the New River in Wythe County to his daughters Sinthea,

Idress, and Nancy. All three daughters received 200-acre parcels on the New River, but only the item description for Idress's parcel notes "where she now lives." Sinthea and Nancy most likely lived elsewhere. In fact, Nancy Craig married Samuel Crockett after her father's death, and they sold her 200-acre tract to their brother-inlaw Mitchell Carter, Idress Carter's husband, in 1828. Furthermore, Wythe County land tax records indicate that Samuel Crockett owned farms on Cove Creek and Little Walker Creek in the 1820s, which supports the assumption that Nancy lived elsewhere in Wythe County. Instead, Mitchell and Idress Carter incorporated it into their farm, which they sold in 1843.<sup>23</sup> Pearce's Ferry became known as Carter's Ferry in the nineteenth century.

The Frazier Log House dates to the early 1800s. Donald Frazier, present owner of the property, asserts a construction date of 1805, based on his conversation with previous owners years ago. John Craig's bequest to Idress Carter supports a construction date prior to 1808. Furthermore, historic mapping (Figure 4) of Wythe County from 1821 identifies "Carter" as the owner of property downriver and on the opposite side of the New River from the location of the Frazier's log house. Since this mapping does not identify all farms and focuses on towns, mills, and taverns, "Carter" is most likely the location where Carter's Ferry crossed the river.<sup>24</sup> The Frazier's homeplace is not mapped in 1821.

<sup>1</sup> February 1793, No. 27, 1792-1793, p. 454 (Reel 93); microfilm on file at the Library of Virginia, Richmond.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Ann B. Miller, Botetourt County Road Orders,
 1770-1778 (Charlottesville, Virginia: Virginia
 Transportation Research Council, 2007), 1, 11-12;
 Betty E. Spillman, Shirley P. Thomas, and Ann B.
 Miller, Montgomery County Road Orders, 1777-1806 (Charlottesville, Virginia: Virginia Transportation
 Research Council, 2008), 6, 21, 26, 34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Kegley, Wythe County, Virginia: A Bicentennial History, 65; Wythe County Wills, Book 1, p. 399;
Wythe County Land Tax Book, microfilm on file at the Library of Virginia, Richmond.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Donald Frazier, personal communication, May
 2009; Wythe County Wills, Book 1, p. 399.



Other extractive industries, such as timber harvesting, quarrying for limestone, milling, and coal mining, continued to contribute to the economic development, industry, and commercial activity of the area as it manifested the characteristics of the market revolution. Local mines provided coal for the forges of blacksmiths. Lead mines were particularly active. Numerous lead smelters and iron furnaces could be found along the New River. The Shot Tower (098-0016) is a legacy of this industry. Owners of the works relied on local farmers to supply provisions to their work force. Graham's furnace and forge, which date from 1796 under ownership by the Crockett family, operated until circa 1900. Production of iron under the Grahams, who utilized enslaved African laborers, began in 1826, and continued throughout and after the Civil War, when they supplied materials for the Confederate iron works at Tredegar in Richmond. The Grahams' works included a blast furnace, a forge, a nail factory, and rolling mills. The operation remained profitable and active even after the Civil War. Industrial activity along the New River also included a boring mill related to the production of armaments and saltpeter mining for gunpowder manufacture in the vicinity of Christiansburg. Throughout the region, iron masters improved forges, furnaces, and collieries following a period of depressed iron prices after the Revolution. The resurgence of iron production placed Virginia third, following New York and Pennsylvania, in national pig iron sales rankings by 1810. According to Mary Kegley, Wythe County's numerous historic blast furnaces testify to the "great industrial activity which existed for approximately one hundred years in the New River-Cripple Creek mineral region." Crop surpluses and industrialized

natural resource extraction provided profits and a foundation for capitalism.<sup>25</sup>

Although their numbers were small in comparison to Tidewater and Piedmont plantations, slaves were a part of the labor system used on farms and industrial sites in the upper reaches of the New River. The Craigs owned twelve slaves, according to John Craig's will of 1808. Most slaves, however, labored on local roads, at ferries across the New River, at local mills, or in domestic services at homes or taverns. The mines, furnaces, and forges also employed large numbers of slaves brought there from regions in Virginia east of the Blue Ridge and Pennsylvania. A large slave work force lived and labored at David Graham's forge and furnace in the antebellum period. By 1830, the regional slave population had increased substantially due to the growing economy, but they remained a minor percentage (17 percent) of the county's whole population. As was the practice in most Virginia counties, slave auctions occurred on the courthouse steps in Wytheville. Evidence of slaves resisting the authority of their masters in Wythe County comes from an account of two slaves murdering their master in the Graham's Forge area in 1786. Following the revolution, some slave owners in Virginia, who believed that liberty, as a natural right, extended to all humankind, freed their slaves,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Kegley, Wythe County, Virginia: A Bicentennial History, 327-362; Janet Friedman, The Iron Industry of Virginia, 1620 to 1920, NRHP Multiple Property Documentation for George Washington and Jefferson National Forests, (Washington, D.C.: Department of Agriculture, 1999), E11; Worsham, Historic Architectural Survey of Tazewell County, Virginia, 11-12; Worsham, Prehistoric and Historic Resources of Montgomery County, Virginia (Richmond: Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 1989), E29, E63-64.

but emancipation in Virginia also required migration out of the commonwealth for newly freed African-Americans. Nevertheless, slavery remained a feature of the regional economy.<sup>26</sup>

Commerce on the turnpikes, which consisted mainly of livestock such as cattle, hogs, sheep, and poultry, led to the establishment of ordinaries and stores along its alignments. (Figure 5) These developments further signified the initiation of market-oriented agriculture in the region. Residual subsistence-level farming remained, but the variety of crops and the creation of local agricultural improvement societies that advocated innovative farming techniques in journal publications and the construction of specialized farm outbuildings marked an intensification of farm productivity. The organization of county fairs during this period accompanied the formation of agricultural societies such as the Southwest Virginia Agricultural Society and the Lynchburg Agricultural and Mechanical Society, which sought to make regional farming more profitable. Local produce included sheep, cattle, corn, wheat, oats, swine, rye, hay, hemp, flax, and tobacco. Hat-making and home manufacture of textiles provided a livelihood, in part, to most residents of the region. Distilling grains into whiskey and tanning hides also provided profits to local farmers. Reed Creek powered water wheels for various mills.<sup>27</sup>

#### 4.4 Antebellum Period (1830-1860)

A westward shift of Virginia's population from eastern counties propelled economic growth and infrastructure improvements in the region during this period. Most of this traffic continued westward to Kentucky and Tennessee. (Figure 6) Canal building and railroad construction characterized the nature of these improvements. In the earlier period, Claudius Crozet, the principal engineer for the Board of Public Works, had recommended construction of either a canal or a railroad to link the New River and the Roanoke River drainages. Turnpikes, and later a railroad, were constructed to fill this need. Chartered by the General Assembly in 1832, the James River & Kanawha Canal reached Lynchburg in 1840 and Buchanan by 1851. The canal promoted commercial activity and the development of towns at critical nodes along its alignment, but the upper reaches of the New River at this time still featured only small agricultural crossroads communities, which did not derive any direct benefit from canals. Before the completion of a railroad through Wytheville, area farmers and manufacturers instead utilized a growing network of turnpikes to reach Bristol, Salem, Staunton, Winchester, Baltimore, or Lynchburg. They included the aforementioned roadways and the Southwestern Turnpike (1835), the Salem & Pepper's Ferry Turnpike (1839), the Lafayette & Ingles Turnpike (1839), Blacksburg & Newport Turnpike (1850), and the Jacksonville & Christiansburg Turnpike (1852). Within a few years, the Tazewell & Saltville Turnpike linked Tazewell Court House to the railroad at Glade Spring. As these turnpikes were developing business, railroad surveys began in 1848, and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Kegley, Wythe County, Virginia: A Bicentennial History, 165-167, 331, 356.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Kegley, Wythe County, Virginia: A Bicentennial History, 279-280, 287; Worsham, Prehistoric and Historic Resources of Montgomery County, Virginia, E7, E9, E40, E42, E74-79.







the residents of Wytheville began improving the roads within the boundaries of the town.<sup>28</sup>

During this upward change in the regional economy, ownership of the farm changed. The Carters, who had inherited it from John Craig, sold the property to Anderson Howard, a farmer of substantial means, in 1843. Three years earlier, they had sold their ferry property to other family members, who owned it well into the twentieth century. Anderson Howard, his wife Sally, his daughter Margaret Sofia, and his sons John M. Howard and Robert A. Howard began farming here on the eve of significant regional changes. The availability of cheap farmland west of the Mississippi River drew Virginians westward and slavery emerged as a touchstone issue across the nation. Anderson Howard had been involved in Wythe County community life as a trustee of the United Methodist Brick Church and as a school commissioner from the 1840s up to 1850. He also served as a Wythe County justice of the peace in 1833. According to headstones in the Howard Family cemetery, Anderson Howard was born in 1794, and his wife was born in 1799. The headstones also indicate that Margaret Sofia Howard, their daughter, died in 1844, one year after they purchased the farm.<sup>29</sup>

Shifts in the commercial character of life for residents in the counties drained by the New River came with the expansion of Virginia's

railroad networks. For instance, the Virginia & Tennessee Railroad, incorporated in 1848 in Lynchburg, started construction in 1850 and built stations in Wytheville and Max Meadows in 1854. The Howards lived close to the Max Meadows station. Railroad service allowed more direct delivery of goods to and from southwestern Virginia to eastern ports and markets. In conjunction with regional turnpikes, the Virginia & Tennessee Railroad connected producers and consumers living in the project area with markets in Bristol, Lynchburg, and Richmond, and it reflects the development of American capitalism as the railroad was incorporated and later consolidated into the nationwide Norfolk & Western Railway system following the Civil War. Within a few years of the railroad completion, new livestock markets opened, population increased in the region, land values doubled, and travel to Virginia's mountains became easier. The railroad facilitated the expansion of the region's timber industry, mineral extraction industry, and local resorts that promoted healing mineral water spas. With the increasing population in the region came more skilled craftsmen and tradesmen such as painters, plasters, brick masons, stonemasons, carpenters, and brick makers. The installation of telegraph lines along the railroad enhanced communications with markets beyond the region. Wytheville featured seven taverns, the Boyd Hotel, the courthouse, a cabinet shop, churches, a tanyard, attorneys, physicians, gunsmiths, silversmiths, tinsmiths, a newspaper publisher, two banks, general merchants, shoemakers, and potters. One local historian argues that the construction of the Virginia & Tennessee Railroad "helped to open the region to the national economic system and began the alteration of local economic

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Kegley, Wythe County, Virginia: A Bicentennial History, 93; Worsham, Historic Architectural Survey of Tazewell County, Virginia, 14; Worsham, Prehistoric and Historic Resources of Montgomery County, Virginia, E10-11, E25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Kegley, Wythe County, Virginia: A Bicentennial History, 65, 142-143, 228, 464; Wythe County Deeds, Book 16, pp. 755-756; headstones in the Howard Family Cemetery, Wythe County, Virginia.

structures."<sup>30</sup> The ante-bellum history of the upper New River area reflects a pronounced development of a community following the introduction of the railroad; changes that are even more dramatic came after the Civil War with industrialization and manufacturing intensifying the pace of change. Before the war, however, the most noticeable effect of the railroad was the exponential increase in land values.

Historic census data show that Anderson Howard had established a diversified farm along the New River without large numbers of slaves in the antebellum period. The 1850 federal census's agricultural schedule documented the contents and value of Howard's 600-acre farm. Livestock included seven horses, twelve milk cows, 21 other types of cattle, a herd of 80 sheep, and 50 pigs. The estimated value of livestock on the hoof was \$740, and the value of slaughtered livestock for 1849 was \$150. The sheep yielded 120 pounds of wool, and the milk cows yielded 600 pounds of butter. Of the farm's 600 acres, 200 acres were described as improved. The fields produced 200 bushels of wheat, 75 bushels of rye, 50 pounds of flax, 800 bushels of corn, and 200 bushels of oats. The hay fields produced ten tons of hay, three bushels of clover seed. The Howards made 24 pounds of beeswax and honey, four pounds of silk cocoons, and \$75 worth of unspecified household manufactures. Howard's tools were valued at \$100, and the cash value of the farm was estimated at \$3,000. County land tax records show that the Howard's farm consisted of five separate tracts. The 70-acre tract included \$200 worth of buildings, and the 109acre tract was taxed for \$150 worth of buildings. Anderson Howard relied on the labor of his two sons and one, 50-year-old, black male slave. Wythe County personal property tax records examined at intervals show that Anderson Howard owned only one slave throughout the 1840s. In comparison, Howard's neighbor David Graham owned 29 slaves at his iron works.<sup>31</sup>

Ten years later, the value of the Howard's farm had increased four times over its 1850 value. The growth was due to doubling the farm's improved acreage, an investment in new farm implements, and, arguably, the arrival of the railroad. John M. Howard had owned the farm solely since 1853. His father died on 30 April 1852, and his brother Robert A. Howard sold his interest in the farm to him in 1853. In his will, Anderson Howard left to his sons an equal part in all of his real and personal property and to his daughter, Elizabeth June, \$100. There was no inventory of his estate made. At the time he sold his interest in his father's farm to John, Robert A. Howard was living in Pulaski County, Virginia. Although slaves were not a salient part of the Howards' farm labor system, there was racial tension on the farm. In 1855, one of John M. Howard's slaves, George, was convicted in Wythe County court for assaulting a married white woman. After a trial, the court found

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Kegley, Wythe County, Virginia: A Bicentennial History, 69-72, 88-93, 294-299, 313-314; Worsham, Prehistoric and Historic Resources of Montgomery County, Virginia, E11, E41, E42, E66; Worsham, Historic Architectural Survey of Tazewell County, Virginia, 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> US Bureau of the Census, *Seventh Census of the United States (1850)*, Agricultural Schedule, Wythe County, p. 725-726; US Bureau of the Census, *Seventh Census of the United States (1850)*, Slave Schedule, Wythe County, 68<sup>th</sup> District; Wythe County Personal Property Tax Book, microfilm on file at the Library of Virginia, Richmond; Wythe County Land Tax Book, microfilm on file at the Library of Virginia, Richmond.

George guilty and sentenced him to death by hanging. He was hanged at the courthouse on 23 December 1855. John M. Howard had been involved in local law enforcement as a deputy sheriff in the 1850s, which suggests that he may have been involved intimately with the charges against George.<sup>32</sup>

Census data from 1860 detail the farm's thriving operation. Two slaves, a nineteen-year-old black male and an 81-year-old black female belonged to John M. Howard. The farm now featured 400 improved acres and was valued at \$12,000. The value of tools had increased to \$250. The value of slaughtered livestock was \$850, and the value of livestock on the hoof was \$3,965. Orchard products, an item not present in 1850, were valued at \$175. Livestock included eleven horses, fourteen milk cows, four working oxen, 60 other cattle, 50 sheep, 40 hogs. The farm produced an estimated 850 bushels of wheat, 100 bushels of rye, 2,000 bushels of corn, 500 bushels of oats, and 50 pounds of Irish potatoes. The flock of sheep produced 200 pounds of wool. The dairy herd yielded 400 pounds of butter. Thirty tons of hay came from the hay field. Their hives produced 300 pounds of honey. They also made twelve gallons of wine. Since 1850, the livestock herd, cattle in particular, had increased, as had the production of grains, particularly wheat, oats, and corn. The flock of sheep was larger (80) in 1850, but a smaller herd (50) produced more pounds of wool in 1860 (200) than in 1850 (120). With only two slaves, and one of them quite old, Howard mostly likely paid wages to local farm laborers or hired hands as needed according to

the season. This upward trend of farm activity was only temporary.<sup>33</sup>

Since the earliest period, steep mountain ranges, competition with France, hostilities with native groups, conflicting ambitions for land acquisition among British colonial elites, differences of belief and practice among Protestant denominations, and a wave of human migration from Europe through the British Isles played their role in the region's settlement history before the Civil War. Colonial wars, which dislocated inhabitants, interrupted population growth. In summary, the French and Indian War, Pontiac's Uprising, and Dunmore's War left their mark. Settlement of land progressed slowly, due to acquisition of large land tracts by the wealthy. Industrialization of natural resource extraction and transportation improvements continued throughout this period. Slavery became a modest, rather than crucial, feature of the regional economy, but its presence was sufficient to keep regional loyalties on the side of secession. On the eve of breaking up the Union, the region had developed a foundation for sustained prosperity. The Howard farm was expanding and reaping profits. States' rights and slavery, however, undermined that prospect.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Wythe County Wills, Book 7, p. 541; Headstone in the Howard Family Cemetery, Wythe County; Wythe County Deeds, Book 19, p. 397-398; Kegley, *Wythe County, Virginia: A Bicentennial History*, 171, 472.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> US Bureau of the Census, *Eighth Census of the United States (1860)*, Agricultural Schedule, Wythe County, p. 764; US Bureau of the Census, *Eighth Census of the United States (1860)*, Slave Schedule, Wythe County, p. 22.

#### 4.5 Civil War (1861-1865)

Although this section of the New River watershed in the project area witnessed limited military action in comparison to Northern Virginia, the Piedmont, and Tidewater, the disruption of the regional economy engendered by the Civil War, with its violence and destruction, stifled commercial activity, halted construction, and transformed local demographics. Local activities during the war included countywide patrols dedicated to monitoring gatherings of slaves and suppressing uprisings. Households and farms provided such materials as uniforms and bandages to the troops. Young male slaves were requisitioned by the confederate government from local farms and sent to labor on defenses around Richmond. To support the war effort, local mining, smelting, and forging activity increased along the New River and Cripple Creek. Raw materials from Graham's forge and furnace proved to be of insufficient quality when tested at Tredegar in Richmond. In nearby Montgomery County, Confederate collieries at Merrimac, which shipped coal to coastal Virginia ports and may have fueled the Confederate ironclad Merrimac in its battle against the Union blockade and the USS Monitor at Hampton Roads in 1863. During the war, depots along the Virginia & Tennessee Railroad served as important supply points for the Confederate army, in particular handling the shipment of pig iron from furnaces in surrounding mountains and regional agricultural produce down to Richmond. (Figure 7) The Virginia & Tennessee Railroad offered a target for Union raids, as did the railroad's bridge over the New River near Radford and bridges between Max Meadows and Rural Retreat. Four times Union forces attacked this area of the upper New River. Union cavalry first attacked Virginia & Tennessee Railroad infrastructure at Wytheville in July 1863, an action that involved Union forces moving through Tazewell County, Abb's Valley, and Burkes Garden to reach Wytheville. Although they reached their target, damage to the railroad was minimal. In May 1864, Union troops stationed at Fayetteville, West Virginia, returned to Tazewell County on their way to raid various targets, including local salt works up the New River, the railroad at Wytheville, or the bridge over the New River. Confederate forces met them at Crockett's Cove and drove them out toward Christiansburg. Although the railroad bridge near Central Depot was destroyed, engineers soon repaired it. A third Union raid in December 1864 focused on the lead mines, the bridge, railroad and infrastructure in Wythe County, but they burned only a few houses in Wytheville, destroyed a railroad bridge between Max Meadows and Wytheville, and slightly damaged the mines. The last raid on Wytheville occurred in April 1865 when Union forces again damaged the lead mines and destroyed property in town.<sup>34</sup>

As for the Howards, the later years of the Civil War diminished much of the farm's value, but the farm seemed to prosper during the early 1860s. For example, Wythe County personal property tax records from 1863 show John M. Howard paying taxes on himself, six slaves (valued at \$4,700), nine horses, one carriage, 55 head of cattle, 65 sheep, 55 hogs, two clocks, and \$250 worth of household furniture. One year later, he was taxed only for himself and one

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Kegley, Wythe County, Virginia: A Bicentennial History, 195-202; Worsham, Historic Architectural Survey of Tazewell County, Virginia, 16.


other white male over 16-years old. It is highly likely that his enslaved work force was drafted by the Confederacy to dig defensive earthworks or repair damaged railroads. His land tax for both 1864 and 1867 listed a \$600 value for the buildings on the 70-acre parcel. None of the other tracts contained buildings. In 1866, his personal property taxes included only the amount for himself, not even his horses, if he had any at all.<sup>35</sup>

The emancipation of slaves altered the local labor system and resulted in population shifts with out-migration of freedmen and their families to northern industrial cities. Local efforts to improve the skills and education of emancipated slaves who stayed in the area drew support from the Friends' Freedmens' Association of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, rather than local groups of whites who frequently acted upon their racist ideologies. The federal Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands established an office in Wytheville in 1866 and monitored the local courts for acts of injustice. Officers of this bureau reported on local wages and the labor market, noting that some freedmen worked for shares in seasonal crops while others managed to purchase land and raise their own crops. The Virginia & Tennessee Railroad and the cotton fields of Tennessee provided other opportunities for wage labor. Schools for freed blacks were established, but white resistance to black selfimprovement manifested itself in the burning of such a school at Speedwell, Wythe County. In contrast to events at Speedwell, Mud Fork in

Tazewell County fostered a small community of freed blacks.<sup>36</sup>

#### 4.6 Reconstruction and Growth (1865-1917)

Immediately following the devastation of the war, the pace of population growth and economic development stalled in the region. The farming system, local economies, banks, and transportation networks had been ruined. Local political activities were dedicated to ending reconstruction and disfranchising, and segregating freed African Americans who remained in the region. Livestock were lost: fields were ruined. Confederate currency was worthless, and those who held it faced financial ruin and the long process of recovering from their financial loss. Veterans, some of them wounded or in ill health, returned home to rebuild their lives. Extractive industries, such as timber harvesting, agriculture, and mining, continued to support the local economy. Regional industrialization and agricultural diversification continued to be linked to improved railroad access. The local timber industry benefited from the railroad's demand for wood ties and poles.<sup>37</sup>

By 1870, John M. Howard had rebuilt his farm to about half of its 1860 value. The amount of improved acres was 300. The cash value of the farm was \$6,000, and farm tools were valued at \$200. Howard estimated that he paid \$150 in wages the previous year. His livestock included five horses, twelve milk cows, two working oxen, 30 other cattle, 100 sheep, and 25 swine. The numbers of each category of livestock were

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Wythe County Personal Property Tax Book, microfilm on file at the Library of Virginia, Richmond; Wythe County Land Tax Book, microfilm on file at the Library of Virginia, Richmond.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Kegley, Wythe County, Virginia: A Bicentennial History, 172-175; Worsham, Historic Architectural Survey of Tazewell County, Virginia, 18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Worsham, Prehistoric and Historic Resources of Montgomery County, Virginia, E12, E71.

below 1860 levels, except for sheep. The flock had doubled since 1860, but the enumeration did not include an estimate on how many pounds of wool they had yielded. The value of all livestock was estimated at \$1,000. Slaughtered livestock was estimated at \$25. The production of grains included 500 bushels of wheat, 25 bushels of rye, 400 bushels of corn, and 450 bushels of oats. The farm also produced 15 bushels of Irish potatoes, 50 pounds of butter, and one ton of hay.<sup>38</sup>

Census returns for 1880 illustrate a return to prosperity at the Howard farm. The amount of improved acres was now at 400. The cash value of the farm was \$18,000, and farm tools were valued at \$250. The cash value of the farm had increased threefold since 1870. Howard estimated that he paid \$720 in wages the previous year (for 208 weeks of hired labor). His livestock included ten horses, seventeen milk cows, two working oxen, 35 other cattle, eleven calves, 75 sheep, 30 lambs, 61 poultry (360 dozen eggs produced in 1879), and 36 swine. The flock of sheep yielded 46 fleeces (230 pounds). The value of all livestock was estimated at \$2,200. The production of grains included 250 bushels of wheat, 1,650 bushels of corn, and 500 bushels of oats, and 14 bushels of buckwheat. The farm also produced 20 bushels of Irish potatoes, 200 pounds of honey, 500 pounds of butter, and 37 tons of hay. Howard's crops did not include rye in this enumeration. Other farm produce included 300 gallons of molasses and 300 fruit-bearing trees in eight acres of orchard. Howard estimated that 100

cords of wood were cut to account for \$50 of forest products in 1879.<sup>39</sup>

Taken comprehensively, the census data gathered at the Howard's farm show mixed farming practiced over the years. The Howards operated a large farm compared to the average size of Wythe County farms (approximately 400 acres), but they grew the same crops as their neighbors. Over the years, the Howards diversified their livestock to include sheep, hogs, beef, and poultry. Poultry appear on the farm as a commercial item in the 1880s, a period that witnessed a nationwide boom in the chicken market. Rye and flax lost their presence in the farm's fields, but buckwheat, which had not been present earlier, made an appearance among the farm's grains in the 1880s. Livestock, cattle in particular, were the prominent source of value on Howard's farm. Most importantly, hired labor becomes visible after emancipation. Between 1880 and the end of the nineteenth century, agricultural census data, which would have provided further details into Howard's evolving farm practices, are not available. However, Wythe County land tax returns show the value of his farm's homelot (a 70-acre tract with buildings assessed at \$600) increasing from \$15/acre in 1867 to \$18/acre in 1892. John M. Howard's mother, Sally Howard, died on 27 July 1884, and John M. Howard died in 1905. His heirs apparently leased out the property to tenants. His son D.H. Howard lived in Lynchburg, and his daughter Alice M. Howard lived in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> US Bureau of the Census, *Ninth Census of the United States (1870)*, Agricultural Schedule, Wythe County, p. 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> US Bureau of the Census, *Tenth Census of the United States (1880)*, Agricultural Schedule, Wythe County, p. 12.

Lynchburg and later in Roanoke when they sold the farm in 1926.<sup>40</sup>

Railroads dominate the post-bellum history of the area in relation to economic development and the industrialization of natural resource extraction. Investment and corporate control from beyond the region characterizes the general themes of the area's economic history. For example, northern capitalists invested in zinc and lead industries along the New River in Wythe County and coal mine operations in the Pocahontas area of Tazewell County after the war. Ivanhoe, located on the New River in Wythe County, maintained a thriving iron industry, as did Max Meadows, which had a blast furnace, during this period, until the massive economic collapse of 1893. Additionally, the Enoch W. Clark Company, a Philadelphia-based banking and investing firm, acquired the Shenandoah Valley Railroad in 1879 and the bankrupt Atlantic, Mississippi & Ohio Railroad (formed through the consolidation of several Southside Virginia rail lines, including the Virginia & Tennessee Railroad, in 1871) in 1881, renaming them the Norfolk & Western Railway. Norfolk & Western acquired land in Roanoke for a carworks, offices, a hotel, worker housing and more right-of-way for building branch lines into southwestern Virginia and central North Carolina. Norfolk & Western profited in particular from the shipments of Appalachian coal to Tidewater ports. The Norfolk & Western Railway proceeded through Wythe County in 1881 along

the Virginia & Tennessee Railroad's existing alignment and along the New River flood plain, across the river from the Frazier's historic property, on the Cripple Creek Extension (077-5068), which was also known as the North Carolina Branch.<sup>41</sup>

Regional economic growth is evident in the construction of a second railway serving the region's coalfields. The Virginian Railway dates from 1907 when the Tidewater Railway and the Deepwater Railway Company merged. The corporation completed construction of the line in 1909. The railway extended from Deepwater, West Virginia, to Sewell's Point at Hampton Roads. The Virginian Railway, known for adopting the latest innovations in railroad engineering, competed with the Norfolk & Western's New River Division. Along with providing freight service for booming regional natural resource extraction industries, both railways also offered passenger service. The Virginian Railway merged with the Norfolk & Western in 1959.42

The Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University (VPI), originally named the Olin and Preston Institute in Blacksburg, re-opened during this period through federal funding provided by the Morrill Act. Prior to the war, southern senators and congressmen had blocked this legislation. The school provided agricultural and mechanical training for white students. The growth of farms in the region may have been supported by VPI's agricultural

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Kegley, Wythe County, Virginia: A Bicentennial History, 280; Wythe County Land Tax Books, microfilm on file at the Library of Virginia, Richmond; Headstone in the Howard Family Cemetery, Wythe County; Wythe County Deeds, Book 62, p. 102, Book 74, p. 482.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Kegley, Wythe County, Virginia: A Bicentennial History, 306, 311.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Michael J. Pulice and John Kern, *Virginian Railway Passenger Station, NRHP Nomination* (Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond, Virginia, 2002); Worsham, *Prehistoric and Historic Resources of Montgomery County, Virginia*, E14.

education outreach office, which published prescriptive literature based on its investigations of improved farming methods. Throughout southwest Virginia, F.B. Kegley of Wythe County promulgated the latest agricultural techniques such as commercial fertilizers, erosion-control, new breeds of livestock, and equipment beginning in 1911. The Wytheville Training School, established during this period in Wytheville, educated local African Americans in trades and other skills since segregation policies did not allow them to study in white institutions. When the commonwealth announced plans to construct a teaching college for women in 1904, Wytheville lobbied hard for the campus; however, the state decided to build it at Radford.43

#### 4.7 World War I to World War II (1917-1945)

Twentieth-century history of the upper New River drainage reveals a resurgence of agricultural and industrial production. As a part of this trend, Wytheville and Tazewell became the commercial centers in the region. Surrounding farmlands produced orchard crops, grains, and livestock, which was shipped from depots at the two towns. The period also witnessed an intensification of the dairy business. (Figure 8) Profits in iron making, however, were harder to come by due to economies of scale enjoyed by iron and steel makers in the Great Lakes region. All of the iron forges and furnaces once active along the New River in Wythe County ceased operation by the end of the Great Depression, but the lead and zinc mines at Austinville remained viable until

the 1980s. In Tazewell, coal mining sustained the economy with employment and other attendant commercial services. Highway improvements between Tazewell and Wytheville, funded by the State Highway Commission, included the construction of US Route 21 in the 1920s.<sup>44</sup>

The economic effects of the Great Depression were felt throughout Virginia. While western Virginia did not witness catastrophic job losses that northern industrialized cities suffered, the depression did shape its history during this period. The construction of the Blue Ridge Parkway and the establishment of Jefferson National Forest in 1936 stand as prominent examples of New Deal work programs in Virginia during this period. For instance, parkway construction necessitated the establishment of four Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) camps along the alignment. In Wythe County, two CCC camps operated throughout the duration of the program. Other significant events occurring during this period in the project area include the creation of the George Washington National Forest in 1933. The Radford Army Arsenal became a major industrial factor in the region in the early 1940s.45

World War II brought momentous changes to Virginia, transforming the commonwealth from a rural and traditional southern society, as seen in the farming practiced by the Howards, to a more mainstream urban state with a growing

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Kegley, Wythe County, Virginia: A Bicentennial History, 157, 102-103, 291-292; Worsham, Prehistoric and Historic Resources of Montgomery County, Virginia, E58, E77-79.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Worsham, Prehistoric and Historic Resources of Montgomery County, Virginia, E14, E79-80;
Worsham, Historic Architectural Survey of Tazewell County, Virginia, 28; Kegley, Wythe County, Virginia: A Bicentennial History, 72, 343-362.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Worsham, *Prehistoric and Historic Resources of Montgomery County, Virginia*, E69-70.



Defense non-native population. build-up affected Norfolk, Hampton Roads, and Northern Virginia with increased population of laborers military production and clerks for for administration. While Tidewater's navy yards burgeoned, southwestern Virginia became the site of munitions industries, in particular the Radford and New River ordnance works. The Radford munitions complex employed 22,000 people at its peak of production. In Roanoke, American Viscose manufactured rayon fabric used in tires, and children collected scraps and waste, including cooking fats, for schoolsponsored scrap drives. Virginia's share of war contracts ranked second to Texas among southern states.46

#### 4.8 The New Dominion (1945 to Present)

Virginia's population grew twenty percent between 1940 and 1950. Virginia's black war veterans returned to a firmly entrenched segregated society, but their leadership advanced the civil rights movement in the state. mechanized Industry. agriculture. and government spending fueled a vibrant post-war economy. Government subsidized housing and education for veterans resulted in expansion of Virginia's colleges and universities, as well as its housing market. Efforts to establish a community college in Wytheville began in 1961. Wytheville Community College opened in 1963 and has expanded its program from providing transfer courses to offering certificates and degrees. Virginia's military-industrial complex thrived during the Cold War through government spending, as seen in the continued functioning of the Radford munitions arsenal.<sup>47</sup>

The prominent historical themes of this period, such as population mobility, industrialization, and suburbanization, are evident in the towns of Wytheville and Tazewell, as well as the new neighborhood around the log house. Radford, through its munitions plant, grew quickly into a city and better illustrates these trends. Highway construction and American car culture brought the extension of the nation's interstate highway network to the area when Interstate 77 was constructed through Big Walker Mountain in the late 1960s and completed in 1972. Additionally, Interstate 81 was opened in all directions for traffic in 1987. Modern interstate highways engendered a commercial building phase related to the tourist service industry, as seen at the Graham's Forge interchange.48

The Frazier Family has owned the property since 1984 when Jerry Frazier of Carroll County purchased it from Brinson Diesel Sales & Service, Inc. Since then, they have subdivided the farm acreage into housing lots, where contemporary dwellings now stand. The log house, however, is surrounded by 55 acres, and the new homes are out of view.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Virginia Historical Society, *"V" for Virginia: The Commonwealth at War, 1941-1945*, 4, 13, 15, 16, 26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Virginia Historical Society, *"V" for Virginia: The Commonwealth at War, 1941-1945,* 30, 32; Kegley, *Wythe County, Virginia: A Bicentennial History,* 158-159.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Kegley, Wythe County, Virginia: A Bicentennial History, 75.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Wythe County Deeds, Book 307, p. 908-913.

#### 4.9 Architectural Analysis

The built environment at the Frazier property, which is significant for its architecture, reflects various examples of wood construction techniques, in addition to one masonry building. (Figure 9) Some of the outbuildings, the corn crib and the shed, have light, machinemilled lumber (or balloon framing). The springhouse is of brick construction. The house, the smokehouse, and the dilapidated slave dwelling, however, are heavy timber (or log framed) construction. As a collection of structural systems, these frame buildings and additions to the main dwelling made by the Fraziers, show later episodes in the evolution of American building technology.

The European building techniques that arrived with colonists in the seventeenth century involved intricately carved joinery that locked structural members together into a mutually supportive unit. Traditional European carpentry demanded the skilled hand of a master builder who knew how to shape neighboring timbers into units that braced the whole from several directions simultaneously. Each joint served a specialized function. Framing members were not interchangeable. Instead of adhering to this inherited system of building, colonists went down the path of simplification and elimination of specialized joinery. They began omitting complicated framing tasks for expedient solutions in their buildings for various reasons. When the Carters were establishing their farm, they based their building decisions on available techniques and materials-like most other builders in the area during this time period. The main dwelling, the slave's house, and the smokehouse reflect this simplification process. The brick springhouse postdates the heavy timber frame buildings, and the remaining outbuildings (corn crib and shed) originated through twentieth century construction projects on the farm.<sup>50</sup>

Firstly, the dwellings and smokehouse, with their log construction systems, stand as significant architectural artifacts. They feature half-dovetail corner notching, which illustrates the simplification of joints in American buildings. These changes evolved gradually, and wood construction remained a preferred choice for most builders. Timber framing became "the dominant structural system throughout the history of American architecture," according to Dell Upton.

Before settlers moved into the upper reaches of the New River, the Virginia house, an earthfast building of simplified bracing and a tilted false plate that facilitated roof construction, became a hallmark of seventeenth-century building practices in the Tidewater.<sup>51</sup> Eventually, builders eliminated the frame itself. Pioneers in the Great Valley exploited the abundance of timber for wall and roof construction and further simplified building practices. In a region that lacked brickyards and sawmills, log construction became the repeated choice. Throughout the South, "simple two-way tenoned or lapped joints were substituted for the complex, multi-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Dell Upton, Architecture in the United States (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 150-151; Cary Carson, Norman F. Barka, William M. Kelso, Garry Wheeler Stone, and Dell Upton, "Impermanent Architecture in the Southern American Colonies," in Material Life in America, 1600-1860, ed. Robert Blair St. George (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988), 134.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Wells, Camille, "The Planter's Prospect: Houses, Outbuildings, and Rural Landscapes in Eighteenth-Century Virginia," *Winterthur Portfolio* 28, no. 1 (1993): 1-31.

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directional joints of the older frame, making the parts virtually interchangeable. The assembly was imagined as two long parallel walls held together at the top by floor joists notched like Lincoln logs and dropped on to them. In pursuit of a traditional goal, labour conservation, "a traditional structural system had been completely reinvented," writes Upton.<sup>52</sup>

This historic property possesses a remarkable example of this important transformation in American domestic architecture (Photograph 1). Although this type of building is recognized for its significance today, it had its detractors in the past.



Photograph 1. An Overview of the Main Dwelling and its Outbuildings

To Thomas Jefferson, who favored classically inspired brick buildings over wood frame, this type of housing diminished the commonwealth's reputation and standing among the other new states. In late-eighteenth century Virginia, he observed that "The poorest people build huts of logs, laid horizontally in pens, stopping the interstices with mud." Yet, he acknowledged that, appearances aside, the huts of log are "warmer in winter and cooler in summer, than the more expensive constructions of scantling and plank." As for frame buildings in general, he wrote, "It is impossible to devise things more ugly, uncomfortable, and happily more perishable."<sup>53</sup> Had he seen the Carter's house and slave quarter, which have not perished, he may have had the same thought.

The Craigs and the Carters, through their ancestor's land investments, were not among the region's poorest people. Yet, they built here

> with the heavy timber frame system, not just for their slaves, but also for themselves. This style of domestic architecture suited them, and the Howard Family, throughout the nineteenth century. The Craig and the Carter families form the first period in the architectural history of the property. John Craig, a wealthy planter in Montgomery County, willed to his daughters Idress Carter and Nancy Crockett land and slaves. John Craig, who invested heavily in land warrants in western Virginia and plane apparent of a form access the New

Kentucky, also operated a ferry across the New River near the Frazier's property. Idress and Nancy had grown up in a household of modest refinement served by slaves, based on a reading of the inventory of their mother's estate mentioned earlier. They slept on comfortable beds. They sat on chairs, not benches. They

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Upton, Architecture in the United States, 153; Carson et al., "Impermanent Architecture in Southern American Colonies."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Jefferson, Notes on the State of Virginia, 187.

read books at home. On the whole, they had adopted some modes of gentility. foundations, which contributed to their "perishibility" that Jefferson noted. The main dwelling stands on a continuous masonry foundation, while the slave cabin and the smokehouse stand on stone pier foundations. These types of log buildings are common within the region's repertoire of architecture dating from this time period. Other architectural historians have noted that the type of heavy timber framing in the houses and smokehouse remained popular in the region until the middle of the nineteenth century, and even after that benchmark.54

The house they built stood on a stone foundation. Some houses built during this time period were built without such masonry.

There are four floors within the interior of the house: basement, first floor, second floor, and attic. Scale drawings of the dwelling's elevations and floor plans appear in Appendix A. The house stands two-stories tall and is leveled by a foundation of cut fieldstones laid up in irregular courses with mortared joints. A one-story, five-bay-wide, one-bay-deep porch has been appended to the façade. (Photographs 2 and 3) The chinking between the log members has been replaced.



Photograph 2. The Façade prior to window installation in the gable end and repairs to the front porch, where ghost lines of the former entry are evident



Photograph 3. The Stone Chimney Stack

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Worsham, *Prehistoric and Historic Resources of Montgomery County, Virginia*, E29; Worsham, *Historic Architectural Survey of Tazewell County, Virginia*, 12-13, 35-36.



Photograph 4. Detail of the Corner Notching

Recent repairs to the front porch involved the replacement of cedar posts with milled and treated lumber. The side-gable roof and the porch's shed roof have sheet metal roofing. Ghost lines are evident in the center of the façade, which featured a gable-roof covered entry in the past. Two windows light the living room, and one window lights the kitchen area (Photograph 4). The upper story features two windows. The window apertures have one-overone, double-hung, wood sashes. These are not the original windows. The metal front door, which provides access to the interior, is glazed in the upper section and dates from the 1980s. Fascia boards cover the rafter tails.

Chimneystacks rise against both gable ends. The chimney on the southeast elevation is a shouldered brick chimney with a corbelled cap. Two new windows have been chased out of the frame in the attic on the southeast elevation in the past two years as updates have been made to convert the attic into a living space. The chimney on the northwest elevation appears to be an original stone chimney.

The rear elevation, which faces the river, once had a full-height kitchen ell appended to it (Photographs 5 and 6). Ghost lines from this addition are visible on both stories of the rear elevation. The window apertures on this elevation feature the same sashes as those on the façade. A doorway from the living room and exterior steps on the southeast elevation provide access to the first level of a contemporary, full-height,

shed-roof porch. Steps proceed up the porch to the second level, where a new door aperture has been cut out of the wall. Undressed cedar posts support this porch. A balustrade extends between each post on both levels of the porch. According to Matthew Frazier, the kitchen ell was removed at an unspecified time soon after his grandfather purchased the property in the 1980s. He also stated that the two-story porch the on rear elevation was installed approximately fifteen years ago. He stated that that he made the repairs to the one-story front porch about five years ago.55

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Matthew Frazier, personal communication, May 2009.



Photograph 5. The Rear Elevation features a two-story, full-width porch

The basement is an undivided space used for storage and household chores. Stairs behind a door in the kitchen area and an exterior door in the northwest elevation provide access to the basement. The first floor features a kitchen, a bathroom, and a living room. The living room and the kitchen are not divided by a partition. Interior updates include the installation of carpet and wood paneling. The open floor plan on the first floor appears to be a contemporary development, suggesting the removal of partition walls at some point in the recent past. bathroom, Access to the which has contemporary fixtures, is gained through the kitchen. The interior walls feature new wood paneling. The hearth in the living room features a Greek Revival-style wood mantel with carved details. The mantel has been painted black. A boxed staircase leads to the second floor.

The second floor features two bedrooms. Both bedrooms have closet space. A hallway at the top of the stairs separates the two bedrooms. Access to the attic is gained through the bedroom on the northwest side of the house. Both bedrooms contain modern fixtures. The



Photograph 6. A shed appended to the Rear Elevation

attic space is undivided presently; however, Matthew Frazier is in the early stages of converting this space into another bedroom. Two window openings have been installed at this level in the southeast elevation. Wood pegs join the rafters together. No bark edge was visible on any of the roofing members. However, rose-headed nails were observed in one of the rafters. This type of hand-wrought nail corresponds in time with the construction and early use of the house.

Alterations to the house have occurred recently. They include the removal of a covered entry on the façade and a rear kitchen ell extension; the replacement of original windows with contemporary windows; the creation of new door and window apertures in the original walls; the installation of new porches on both the front and rear elevations; and the construction of an open-side shed on the northwest elevation to shelter lawn-mowing equipment. The Fraziers preferred that the interior of the house not be photographed.

Outbuildings are also constituent elements in the historic property. A heavy timber frame smokehouse and a brick springhouse (Photograph 7 and Photograph 8) stand immediately west of the main house. A frame shed (Photograph 9) has been appended to the west side of the smokehouse. West of the shed stands a two-story granary that is in a terminal condition (Photograph 10).



Photograph 7. The deteriorating Springhouse and the Smokehouse



Photograph 8. The Smokehouse entry and gable end



Photograph 9. A contemporary shed attached to the Smokehouse



Photograph 10. The deteriorating Granary

All outbuildings have gable roofs clad in standing seam metal. The smokehouse is clad in weatherboard with cornerboard trim and a brick gable-end chimney. The brick springhouse has a deteriorating extended gable roof overhanging the gable end entrance. The springhouse is in poor condition; its roof is failing. The shed stands one-story tall under a shed roof. The granary is clad in lath on frame siding. The gable ends of the granary are weatherboarded.



Photograph 11. A Shed addition to the Granary has collapsed

A shed addition to the southwest elevation has collapsed (Photograph 11). A gravel road leads west from the granary uphill toward the slave cabin. The slave cabin, which dates from circa 1805, stands on a stone pier foundation. (Photograph 12) The log-framing members have half-dovetail corner notching (Photograph 13).



Photograph 13. Corner notching on the Slave Cabin



Photograph 12. Façade of the Slave Cabin

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Both eave walls feature a one window and one door aperture. A shed had been appended to the west elevation. (Photograph 14) It has collapsed.



Photograph 14. The Slave Cabin and its Collapsed shed addition

The stone chimneystack is still standing against the east wall. The roof has collapsed, as have the floors. However, the spaces in the wall that received the joists are visible. The chinking between the logs has disappeared. The cabin is deteriorating. The slave cabin is about 380 feet northwest of the main house. The distance between the two residences is significant. Distance and vegetation put the slave cabin out of view from the main house, creating a social buffer. This arrangement illustrates one aspect in the social relations that existed between master and slave in antebellum Virginia. Donald Frazier identified this building as a slave cabin, based on his conversations in the past with

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previous owners, including descents of John M. Howard. Census data and Wythe County court records support such an attribution.

In western Virginia, log construction was common for building slave quarters in the nineteenth century. Clay, easily found locally, was used as chinking between the logs. It weathered away quickly and required constant maintenance. Even chimneys on slave cabins were built with clay and smaller pieces of wood. Some slave cabins lacked windows. Travelers and journalists of the nineteenth century commented on slave housing and noticed these construction details. The slave cabin at this historic property, with windows in both eave walls and a stone chimney stack, suggests a concern for improving the living conditions of the Howard's slave family. Windows provided cross ventilation and a stone chimney stack relieved the occupants of one maintenance task.56

The Howard Family Cemetery, which is outside of the historic property's NRHP boundary, is located approximately 220 feet east of the main dwelling. A stone wall surrounds the cemetery. (Photograph 15) Boxwood has grown up around and in the cemetery. Some burials are located outside of the cemetery wall. The headstones

<sup>56</sup> Bernard Herman, "Slave Quarters in Virginia: The Persona Behind Historic Artifacts," in *The Scope of Historical Archaeology: Essays in Honor of John Cotter*, ed. David G. Orr and Daniel G. Crozier (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1984), 253-283; Robert Sears, A Pictorial Description of the United States, Embracing the History, Geographical Position, Agricultural and Mineral Resources, *Population, Manufactures, Commerce, and Sketches* of Cities, Towns, Public Buildings, etc. (Boston, Massachusetts: John A. Lee & Co., 1867), 348. provide some information about the Howard Family.



Photograph 15. The wall of the Howard Family Cemetery

#### 5.0

#### CONCLUSIONS

A variety of sources places the Frazier Log House in the context of Wythe County's settlement history. The secondary sources illustrate the importance of transportation, ferries and railroads in particular, in the development of the farm and Wythe County. Colonial history and the history of the early republic American provide contextual understanding of land disposal problems faced by Virginians, as well as the development of local markets for farm produce and manufactures in the region. Primary evidence, from deeds, wills, tax records, land grants, and census enumerations, shows generations of families transferring property among themselves, property values increasing, and farm activity diversifying. Oral history gives us a sense of changes made to the house in recent years and the presence of slavery in the property's history. The architectural details convey historic construction techniques and the arrangement of space inside the house and in the vicinity of the homelot.

Traffic flows within the house have changed over the years. Based on examples of other log houses in the region, the original house featured immediate access from the outside to either of the two first floor rooms (the hall or the parlor—most likely the hall). In the nineteenth century, as preferences among homeowners for privacy developed, the entry into the house's façade was covered, perhaps enclosed, to create a buffer between interior and exterior, between public and private. Removal of the entry and the interior partition, leave this point unconfirmed. If the interior partition formed a hallway in this single pile

dwelling, it would have created a center passage type of layout. If it simply divided the space in half, the house's floor plan would have been recognized as a hall and parlor type of house. The rear kitchen ell also played a role in the arrangement of interior space. The ell may have added convenience to meal preparation and service, and it may have provided more private rooms for family members. The removal of the ell leaves the house's most developed arrangement of service and served spaces up to the imagination. Although changes to the floor plan and footprint of the house limit our understanding of its historic uses, the clues it and the slave cabin provide about domestic architecture in nineteenth-century Virginia are invaluable.

Looking over the history of the region, Wythe County, and this property, a mosaic of farms, buildings, ferries, roads, turnpikes, towns, forges, furnaces, iron mines and coal camps, rivers and creeks, soil, mountains, and railroads comes into view to shape a historical portrait. All of these facets in the region's history bear on the history of the farm. The chain of events associated with the county's history chronicle the human events that shaped its current character. The heavy timber frame buildings on the farm constructed in the early nineteenth century proclaim the persistence of traditional and useful building practices. The building on the farm that utilized lumber processed at saw mills, the granary, illustrates the coming of change and innovation in American architecture. As a whole, acknowledging the significance of the Frazier's property enriches the commonwealth's architectural record and southwest Virginia's history.

## 6.0

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# Appendix A Architectural Figures

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## Chain of Title

DOCUMENT AND PAGE	DATE	GRANTOR	GRANTEE
Wythe County Deed, 010 005 374	10/25/2001	Donald Ray Frazier, Tammy Frazier Alderman, Tina Frazier Winesett, and Matthew Frazier	Donald Ray Frazier, Tammy Frazier Alderman, Tina Frazier Winesett, and Matthew Frazier
Will Book 65, pages 171-174	24-Mar-94	Jerry J. Frazier	Donald Ray Frazier, Tammy Frazier Alderman, Tina Frazier Winesett, and Matthew Frazier
Deed Book 307, pages 908-913	May 1, 1984	Brinson Diesel Sales & Services, Inc. (formerly Cummins Diesel Sales & Service, Inc.)	Jerry Frazier
Deed Book 138, pages 374-375	4/28/1952	J.W. Beasley and Pearl Beasley	Cummins Diesel Sales & Service, Inc.
Deed Book 129, pages 363-364	10-Jun-49	George G. Dunford and Myrtle C. Dunford	J.W. Beasley and Pearl Beasley
Deed Book 77, page 28	April 1, 1926	Nannie V. Howard and James R. Gilliam, executors of D.H. Howard, deceased	George G. Dunford
Deed Book 74, page 482	12-Jan-25	Alice M. Howard	D.H. Howard
Deed Book 73, page 464	18-Jun-24	D.H. Howard and Nannie V. Howard	Alice M. Howard
Deed Book 62, page 102	12/31/15	Alice M. Howard	D.H. Howard
Deed Book 50, page 455	9-Jan-05	John A. Howard and Susie P. Howard, Sue H. Sayers and T.B. Sayers, Cora Lee Jackson and W.L. Jackson, D.H. Howard and Nannie V. Howard	Alice M. Howard
Deed Book 19, pages 397-398	January 28, 1853	Robert A. Howard	John M. Howard

DOCUMENT AND PAGE	DATE	GRANTOR	GRANTEE
Will Book 7, page 541	April 12, 1852	Anderson Howard	John M. Howard and Robert A. Howard
Deed Book 16, pages 755-756	September 19, 1843	Idress Carter (wife of Mitchell Carter), Craig Carter, and Betsey Carter	Anderson Howard
Deed Book 15, page 545	December 2, 1828	Samuel and Nancy Crockett	Mitchell Carter
Will Book 1, page 399	March 8, 1808	John Craig	Samuel and Nancy Crockett
Land Office Grants No. 36, 1796- 1797, p. 51 (Reel 102)	November 23, 1797	Commonwealth of Virginia	John Craig

Appendix B